



Translation and soft power

Translation culture
of the Paul Zsolnay publishing house 1924–1938

Tatsiana Haiden

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Transkulturalität – Translation – Transfer, Band 68

Herausgegeben von

Martina Behr/Julia Richter/Larisa Schippel

Tatsiana Haiden

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1924–1938

Umschlagabbildung unter Verwendung von Adobe Firefly.

FWF Österreichischer
Wissenschaftsfonds

Veröffentlicht mit Unterstützung des Austrian Science Fund (FWF): 10.55776/PUB1255

peer reviewed content



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ISBN 978-3-7329-1061-8

ISBN E-Book 978-3-7329-8865-5

DOI 10.57088/978-3-7329-8865-5

ISSN 2196-2405

Frank & Timme GmbH Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur
Berlin 2026.

Herstellung durch Frank & Timme GmbH

Wittelsbacherstraße 27a, 10707 Berlin

info@frank-timme.de

Gedruckt auf säurefreiem, alterungsbeständigem Papier.

www.frank-timme.de

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Acknowledgements

First of all, I want to express my gratitude to Larisa Schippel. Her precise scientific feedback and support during my PhD years were crucial for this work and for me personally. I want to thank Michaela Wolf, Outi Paloposki and David Rechter, whose ideas influenced this work and me personally to a great extent. I am grateful to the reviewers of my work Christopher Rundle and Rafael Schögler for their positive reviews, constructive comments, and also for their inspiring scientific works. The volumes by Murray G. Hall became a point of reference for this research. I am grateful for his enormous effort in investigating the history of the company and Austrian publishing history.

I would like to thank the Paul Zsolnay Verlag's director Herbert Ohrlinger for his support and assistance in accessing the information that became a basis for this work. I am also thankful to the team at the literary archive of the Austrian National Library, where the partial Zsolnay archive is located, and especially to Andrea Hipfinger who, over the course of almost a year, delivered all the requested boxes with the archival documents I needed for my research. I am grateful to the archival officers from Injoest, Harvard Medical History and the Literature Archive Marbach for their availability and support. Researchers who worked on the biographies of some translators and generously shared their research results with me – Iza Nyari, Matt Johnson, Andreas Tretner and Alain Venot – also contributed to this work.

This work was supported by IFK Junior and IFK abroad scholarships, Literar Mechana grant, KWA funding from the University of Vienna, ÖFG travelling scholarship and FWF book publication grant. I am grateful to all the funding bodies and reviewers for believing in me and supporting my research. My enormous gratitude to the IFK team and the IFK fellows 2019–2021, especially to Thomas Macho, Johanna Richter and Julia Boog-Kaminski. While working on this book, I spent research periods at Oxford University, SDU and the University of Copenhagen and presented this work at conferences in Switzerland, Austria, Finland, Serbia, the UK, and Australia. I am grateful

to colleagues for their interest in my research, for sharing their thoughts and asking important questions.

I am endlessly grateful to my grandparents, everyone of whom contributed to me seeing the world as diverse, global and open. Being born in a multi-lingual and multi-cultural family is what influenced me mostly in my eagerness to explore the world. My personal and professional development would not be possible without my parents who invested their financial and personal resources in my growth and education. Their ability to let me go, give me complete freedom and believe unconditionally in my choices made my way much easier and securer. This journey and the result would have never been possible without my husband, who not only shared the childcare and household responsibilities, but supported me all the way through and inspired me with his passion and dedication to science. My children, my source of love, joy and inspiration, made this journey more challenging and complex, but also more meaningful and complete. I dedicate this book to them.

Introduction

Translators' agency, networks and soft power in the publishing field are the key issues of this volume. Switching focus from the publisher or the author as the protagonist at the publishing company, I place translators at the centre of investigation, and study the history of a publishing house from a translator-centred perspective. This approach shines a new light on the company's development in publishing studies and book history, it enriches translation history with new data on historical developments of the profession, and offers an example of networks-based and biographical methods to study translator agency to translation sociology. Furthermore, this book provides a new approach to reconstructing a historical translation culture, which implies investigation of both networks and following the intersection between micro-, meso-, and macro-levels showing the Paul Zsolnay publishing company as an independent component of the Austrian translation culture.

Since the end of the last century, translation studies have focused not only on text investigation but on the socio-historical context in which translations are produced and on the agents that influence the translation process (e.g. Pym, Delisle, Woodsworth). According to Wolf (2013), a "sociological turn" in the discipline occurred in the 2000s, while in the 2010s, we witnessed the "activist turn". Translators, their lives, aims and interests, their professional paths and education, the translation process, and the role of the translator in society (e.g. Sela-Scheffy) are studied today within numerous research projects in translation sociology. Some researchers dedicate their work to reconstructing biographies of translators¹ or connecting them to the most extreme cases of migration – exile². Other scholars focus on the functioning of translations under specific regimes in different time periods (Rundle, Wolf) or investigate the role of the transcultural mediators in war conflicts (Kujamäki,

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1 E.g. Germersheimer Übersetzerslexikon <https://uelex.de/> (Last access: 27.06.2023).

2 E.g. The project Exil:trans <https://exiltrans.univie.ac.at/> (Last access: 27.06.2023) and its continuation PostExil:Trans <https://post-exile-trans.uni-graz.at/de/> (Last access: 12.05.2025).

Wolf, Footitt). Within these tendencies, translation history has been formed as a reaction to the necessity of providing translation studies with data on the transcultural history of translation and the stories of its protagonists – translators. The new sub-discipline is discovering new methods and approaches to the numerous case studies that have appeared in the last 20 years. Working in a newly established field opens broad perspectives on material and a choice of case studies but simultaneously poses methodological challenges. In this respect, my work was not an exception: it was unproblematic to choose a case study for analyses, it was more difficult to find research material and data about the translators, nevertheless selecting translation-historical and -sociological methods and adapting them to the needs of this research project within translation studies was a complex and challenging task.

I aim to establish the translators' role in developing the Zsolnay publishing company in the interwar period and uncover the instruments that helped the translators reach their professional, personal, and financial goals. From a sociological perspective, a publishing house can be seen as a fruitful case study example for analysing translation policies: it includes a limited number of agents and has clearly defined borders, both in time and space. It is possible to investigate economic, ideological and aesthetic aspects as all are well structured. Most publishers' archives, if not destroyed, are open to researchers and provide information on personal and business networks³. There may be different criteria for choosing a publishing house for analysis: geographical location, historical period, or literary genre. The publishing house as the micro-level of a broader translation culture was investigated by Bedson and Schulz (2016) using the example of the Soviet *Academia* and *Vsemirnaja literatura*. The authors published a detailed chronological analysis. Magda Jeanrenaud (2014) investigated a Romanian *Polirom* based on the sociological concepts of field theory. Nottola (ed. Rundle, 2010) worked on the Italian publisher *Einaudi* and its policies during the Fascist Regime. A volume dedicated to *Suhrkamp Verlag* investigates the contribution of the publishing company to the cultural transfer from Eastern Europe to Germany (ed. Kemper, Bakshi, Zajas, 2019). Within the

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3 The concepts “agent”, “field”, “networks”, and “capital” will be used in this thesis according to the definition of Pierre Bourdieu (1986).

field of book history, a history of the publishing house Zsolnay is presented by Murray G. Hall (1994), who also investigated its functioning on various levels in the Austrian publishing industry (Hall, 1985). Translation policies of the Zsolnay publishing company, based on a certain author or source language analyses, were partially described in Master theses by Hartmann (2012) and Grabovzski (1993). In contrast to the listed case studies, my work switches the focus to the translator at the publishing company, to their aims and networks, interests and understanding of translation quality – it presents the publishing company and its translation policies from a different, **translator-centred** perspective.

Globally speaking, this work confirms the crucial role translators played in the circulation of world literature and the development of the literary tastes of society. It demonstrates their methods of implementing soft power⁴ through their translational activity. Remaining at the company's level, this work proves that the company's networks with translators provided led to a successful development of the company in the 1920s–1930s (see also Haiden, 2021). However, the benefit was bilateral: Translators' relations with the publisher and authors were essential to reaching translators' personal and professional goals – receiving more translating proposals, earning more, fleeing from pre-*Anschluss* Austria in the late 1930s and establishing new lives in exile countries. Consequently, this publishing company can be considered a network hub for translators, authors and the publisher (see also Haiden, 2023).

Apart from studying a publishing company through the lens of its translators' agency, I aim to discover if a publishing house can build its own translation culture and reconstruct it. The concept of translation culture was introduced to the discipline by Erich Prunč and was applied to different case studies several times, incl. in the volume edited by Pekka Kujamäki “Historische Translationskulturen” (2020) where various levels and geographical spots have been investigated. The concept proposed by Prunč is profound and multidimensional, therefore, I not only had to reconstruct biographies of certain translators (in this way producing microhistories), but I needed a more complex vision of the external circumstances and agencies around the company and the translators. To achieve this, I introduced, among

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 4 In the understanding of Roig Sanz (2025, p. 2).

others, a multi-level approach, based on the *histoire croisée* method, to connect micro-, meso- and macro-levels of the company's functioning. The empirical analysis presented in this book demonstrates that this company managed to build a separate translation culture as a part of the broader Viennese/Austrian translation culture in the 1920s to the 1930s and describes it in detail.

Focusing on the interwar period, a white spot in the Austrian translation history so far, this case study partially closes the gap between the end of the monarchy and the Austrian *Anschluss* to Germany. The last decades of the Habsburg monarchy (the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th), as well as its translators, translations and translation policies were investigated by Michaela Wolf (2012), while the project "*Österreichische Übersetzerinnen und Übersetzer im Exil*" led by Larisa Schippel focused on the reasons for exile, ways of fleeing and building (or not) a new life abroad for Austrian translators. The international project "*Exil:trans*", which begins its investigation with the year 1933, is dedicated to translators persecuted by the National Socialist regime in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. The Vienna, Mainz and Lausanne researchers worked on translators, publishing companies and knowledge transfer. In comparison to the larger projects, this volume is a small contribution to a bigger picture or a starting point for a more complex investigation of the Austrian or Viennese translation history and translation culture of the interwar period.

Speaking more about the applied methods, it is essential to remember that the project is conducted on the edges of various disciplines: translation studies, sociology, history, partially publishing studies and Jewish studies. Consequently, it is essential to comment on how it relates to the disciplines mentioned above, which results could be expected and which research methods and theories these disciplines could offer for the case study. This work widely relies on the definitions given by Pierre Bourdieu of capital forms, incl. networks as a type of social capital. However, I avoid speaking about translators' habitus, but I apply Prunč's careful and, for our discipline, more appropriate notion of habitualised behaviour, attributing it to the three groups of translators defined in this work. In addition, I prefer the pure translation studies concept of translation culture to the sociological notion of the (translation) field. Erich Prunč suggested a concept of translation culture, which, to my mind,

better suits a case study within translation studies and is thus one of the key concepts in this work. The concept comprises both sociological and cultural aspects of the translation phenomenon and considers the translators' agency at the same time. Historically, I aim to reconstruct translators' networks and biographies and connect them to the development of the company's translation culture. I apply a triangulation of methods: *histoire croisée*, networks-tracing, and biographical methods to investigate the historical aspect of the chosen events. The *histoire croisée* showed its effectiveness within this case study, interconnecting several points on various levels. Furthermore, in this work, I consider the concept of the construct as central for a historical investigation: I see biography as a construct, professional or religious attributions such as a translator or a Jew as constructs, as well the idea of quality of translation as a social construct (see Haiden, 2024). Finally, in this work, I apply the idea of Jewish difference, a socially constructed notion, introduced by Lisa Silverman (2012) to the professional group of translators.

The Zsolnay publishing company has been chosen for this case study for several reasons: First, its focus on translations (ca. 40% of all published books were translations); second, the multilingual and multicultural personality of the publisher and his networks; third, the company's size and success; and fourth, Zsolnay's unique strategy of soft power implementation in the 1920s–30s in publishing and supporting Jewish authors and translators, but also introducing socialistic literature and hiring NS-supporting translators. In fact, Paul Zsolnay was well-connected in Vienna, especially in its Jewish community. The Jewish Viennese community comprised a significant number of authors, journalists, translators, and publishers, which made Paul Zsolnay well-acquainted with the literary and publishing fields and inspired him to establish his own “authors-friendly” publishing company. From the beginning, he chose a newcomer strategy and published a high number of translations (see Appendix 1), also from peripheral⁵ or national languages (e.g., Hungarian, Polish, Danish, etc.). While in the first years, he enjoyed freedom in choosing what to publish, in the 1930s, he had to adapt to the changing circumstances, e.g. adding socialist authors to the book lists or eliminating all authors from

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5 According to Abram de Swaan's global language system.

“unfriendly” countries. Nevertheless, he published translations from Yiddish until 1932 and until 1938 even managed to collaborate with Jewish translators, who lost their principal jobs as journalists or teachers. Despite collaborating with Jewish translators, Paul Zsolnay started working with NS-supporting translators (e.g., Walter Kotas). This was a unique strategy in interwar Vienna.

Considering that my principal goal was to study translators’ agency at the publishing company, I wrote, among others, a history of the company’s first 14 years based on the reconstructed professional biographies of its translators and their networks. Following the principal research question, the empirical tasks of this work comprised: 1) recalling the names and reconstructing biographies of the Viennese literary translators who worked for the company in the interwar period; 2) connecting translators’ aims, interests and life circumstances to the development of the publishing company; 3) following networks between the publisher, the authors, and the translators. I created a list of all 231 translations published by the Paul Zsolnay Verlag between 1924 and 1938 (see Appendix 1), established translators’ names and source languages of published books. In the list of translators (see Appendix 2), there were 66 names. It was impossible to fully reconstruct the biographies of all these translators who worked for the company during this period. Moreover, it seemed to be too broad for a PhD thesis. For this reason, I have chosen to study only the biographies of those who translated more than four books for the publisher (16 translators who translated 177 books). Moreover, I found about 70% of these books at the company’s library in Vienna and analysed the peritexts of these books.

As the main **corpus**, I refer to the correspondence between the author, translator and publisher, as well as the peritexts of the translations in the library collection⁶ of the publishing company. The material for this case study is mainly business correspondence from the Paul Zsolnay partial archive at the Austrian National Library. The Paul Zsolnay Verlag archive is not a translator’s collection but the archive of a publisher, therefore, the information has to be extracted carefully from a considerable amount of information that is not necessarily all that relevant for this case study (for more about working with biographical data of translators in the archives see in Haiden, forthcoming). The publisher’s

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6 Prinz Eugen Strasse, 30, 1040, Vienna, Austria.

archive was not enough to reconstruct biographies; thus, I had to consult other archives – exile, Jewish or migration archives, personal collections, and author's archives. This includes private correspondence, (auto)-biographies, emigration documents (visa application, customers' documents, passport copies, etc.), church, university or school registers. Additionally, in January 2019 I conducted a semi-structured one-hour interview with the director of the publishing house Herbert Ohrlinger.

While analysing the publisher's translation culture, I use a telescopic principle to show the interconnectedness of the macro (society) and micro (individual) levels, introducing a middle – meso (organisation) – level. I advocate the central role of meso-history as a binding point of a general and personal level in the historical approach in contrast to purely micro- or macro-historical studies. The first chapter is dedicated to the socio-political context of interwar Vienna and its relevant characteristics for this case study: Jewish difference and the development of the publishing industry. The second chapter is focused on the publishing company: I argue why this Viennese publishing company is worth studying within translation studies as well as why it is relevant as a case study for this research question. I start with a classical investigation of source languages and a number of published books, proceeding with the experimental method of measuring the growth of a publisher's capital through the (constructed) biographical details of its translators (age, gender, education, exile). In the second chapter, I study how translators constructed the translation culture of the publisher and influenced it on different levels. In the last chapter, I present professional biographies of each translator, focusing on the fourteen years of their work for the Zsolnay Verlag. Moreover, I share the hierarchy of the translators at the publishing company based on the networks of the translators, which I revealed from a peritext of translated books and the company's archive (presented in the last chapter and, in more detail, in my article on paratext in translation studies in Haiden, 2024b). There were author's translators, publisher's translators and independent translators working at the company. Based on this classification, I demonstrate that some translators were paid more for their work and had more professional freedom and attempt to reveal the habitualised behaviour for each of the groups. Furthermore, I show how the translators influenced the company to different extents: acted

as mediators between the authors and the publisher, publisher's agents abroad, editors, and internal decision-makers. Translators influenced source language choices, the authors' income and the publisher's networks. As noted before, due to the networks established at the company, several lives were saved: the networks helped the translators and the publisher flee pre-*Anschluss* Austria. In this work, I skip textual analyses of the translations, suggesting instead a deep socio-historical immersion in the translation culture. This helps to reveal the agency behind translation and connect it to the relevant historical events. These analyses might be of great help to those who decide to focus on the textual analyses of any of the translations published by Paul Zsolnay Verlag in the interwar period.

Interdisciplinarity and interconnection of other disciplines with translation studies are not only fascinating to follow but provide reliable results. On the one hand, the study outcomes are essential for publishing studies and book history: I look at the development of the publishing company from the perspective of translation studies and translation history, providing publishing studies and book history with valuable empirical data and new methodological approaches of studying a publishing company. Indeed, through statistical parameters of translators (objective such as formal education, exile, but also constricted such as gender), I deliver more details on the development of the publishing house. On the other hand, I reconstruct a translation culture relying on the functioning of a chosen publishing company and agents' interactions within this company, seeing this publishing house as a sociological space to test the concept of translation culture. Furthermore, empirically, I focus on the data traditionally considered book historical – the publisher's archive. This information is used in this work to investigate translators' activism and networks and the essential role of the translator in constructing a publisher's translation culture. I prove that each of the translators influenced the development of the publishing company, some of them assisted in achieving its short-term goals, while others left a long-term impact on its translation policies. Moreover, the work, as expected from a case study on interwar Vienna, provides some empirical material for the field of Jewish studies, especially applied to the professional group of translators. Finally, I apply the concept of Jewish difference to the field of translation history.

Theoretical background and methods

In this part, I recall the definition of translation culture, briefly summarize the thoughts of some scholars on the concept, and contextualise them in my project. Further, I introduce the model I will be using in this book to investigate the chosen translation culture. Finally, I discuss the method of *histoire croisée*, which is widely applied in this volume.

Translation culture

Various societies in different epochs apply particular ways of translating and interpreting: methods and strategies of translating are connected to the events happening in society and are related to outer circumstances. Any process of transfer, inclusive translation, reflects the processes happening in the society as well as the society is constantly influenced by transfer phenomena. The idea of **translation culture** implies that translation is more than just the transfer of signs, it is much broader – from political processes happening in society to retranslations of a certain book. The translation is not only a text; but it starts much earlier than the first target text word being typed or put onto paper: The translation process begins with the idea of translating a certain text, proceeds with the decision to translate or not, and entails barriers on the way to finding a sponsor, publisher, translator. Translating the text itself is only a part of a complex process in which the society is involved: On the reaction of the readers depends whether the book is successful or not, on the authorities, especially in autocratic regimes, whether the book is prohibited or promoted, on the publisher whether there is money to support both author and translator in the future. The concept of translation culture helps to explain why most translations need to be adapted to new circumstances or updated with time and why different languages or linguistic areas require various approaches to the translated text.

Translation is a transcultural process that happens at a certain moment in a given place under particular circumstances, in which a number of agents are involved (see also Richter, 2022, Arrojo, 1997). It is essential to consider the socio-cultural dimension to better understand the translation process in a broader sense and it is necessary to use available methodological concepts to investigate these processes. Therefore, I apply the idea of translation culture suggested by Erich Prunč to analyse the sophisticated agency in translation of the Paul Zsolnay publishing company and its translators in the interwar period. Moreover, I suggest a new approach to study translation culture as a solution to the concept's main challenge – its openness.

Even though the concept of translation culture appeared to be productive in this work and is widely used in the discipline, one of its technical problems is that it is mostly applied in German-speaking countries but not in other linguistic communities. Kujamäki (2020) confirms it, mentioning this as one of the reasons why the volume *“Historische Translationskulturen”* (2020) is presented both in German and in the language of the community of the described translation culture. However, Prunč's article has recently been translated into English by Blum and Schögler (2024), which is a clear sign of growing interest in the concept among the international community. My work, written in English, might contribute to spreading the concept beyond the German-speaking area.

The idea of translation culture (1997) is based on the field theory of Pierre Bourdieu (1986). However, it avoids admitting that a translational field or translator's habitus exist (Wolf, 2010 and 2013). The concept of translation culture has been adapted to the needs of translation studies and its sociological aspect, relying on the field theory and considering important aspects of translation studies such as ethics and loyalty and the cultural aspect of translational phenomenon. Let me present the definition of translation culture:

The historically grown, self-referential and self-regulating sub-system of a culture that relates to the field of translation and derives from a dialectical relationship to translation practice. It consists of a set of norms, conventions, expectations, values and habitualized behavioral patterns that are socially established, controlled and controllable, and

are shared by all agents actually or potentially involved in the translation processes within the respective culture (Prunč 1997, translated by Blum & Schögler, 2024)⁷.

The concept comprises social immersion (1) of the translational phenomenon; dynamics (2) as the main characteristic of a translation culture; its belonging to the system of culture (3); its actors (4) as principal modifications and modifying elements; and social norms and conventions which cause the dynamics of translation culture (5).

I agree with Kujamäki (2020, p. 7) that practices of translation lead to establishing certain translation cultures of different historical periods and geographic areas. All of the translation cultures were or are in constant development: translation culture as part and as a constituting element of a society changes with it and adapts to its necessities. The status of ethics of translation also modifies when a new form of social mechanism is established. This volume is a step toward understanding how translation culture develops historically and which factors influence its formation and transformation. In fact, **dynamics** is an essential feature of any translation culture: Translation culture is not a static event, it changes under the pressure of internal and external factors, re-evaluating power relations. Translation strategies change with time and with the development of the society in which certain translation practices are being undertaken or not. Actors have to accept the new rules or try to set their own. Any society and its current translation culture are strongly connected and influence one another. For this reason, it is to be expected that the translation culture would illustrate the existing social condition and contribute to its formation or change it.

7 “Unter Translationskultur ist dann das historisch gewachsene, sich aus dialektischen Beziehung zur Translationspraxis entwickelnde, selbstreferentielle und selbstregulierende Subsystem einer Kultur zu verstehen, das sich auf das Handlungsfeld Translation bezieht, und das aus einem Set von gesellschaftlich etablierten, gesteuerten und steuerbaren Normen, Konventionen, Erwartungshaltungen und Wertvorstellungen sowie den habitualisierten Verhaltensmustern aller in dieser Kultur aktuell oder potentiell an Translationsprozessen beteiligten Handlungspartnern besteht” (Prunč 1997).

Schögler (2023) sees **norms** as a coordinative balance of a translation culture: They change translation culture and are changed by the new regulations of the culture and its agents. They provide the dynamics of translation cultures. According to Prunč, norms are connected more to the social side of the translation process and less to the text. However, the material part could help establish these modifications – paratext, translation analyses, or comparison of translations could show changes in societal norms and conventions. Norms exist until every community member explicitly or implicitly recognises them; when capital balance changes, translation culture transforms. Constant modification of norms is comparable to the mutability of any translation culture: new norms substitute the old ones, which later change under the new social circumstances. In this way, according to Schögler (2023), the dynamics of translation cultures consists of changes and modifications of the norms, conventions and expectations in the society. In fact, in the interwar period at the Zsolnay publishing company, there was an implicit consensus, which worked until the outer circumstances started putting in danger the existence of the publishing house. This caused the change of the norms.

The advantage of the concept of translation culture is that it not only considers the specific conditions of time and space, in which translation takes place and translators have to act, but includes an investigation of actors' behaviour, motivations and interests. **Actors** or social agents of the translational process play a key role in the theory of Prunč: he differentiates types of translation cultures according to the preference for one of the actors – autocratic, authors-centred, initiators-centred, translators-centred and addressee-centred translation cultures. In this volume, focusing on the actors of translation, I demonstrate how translation culture at the Zsolnay publishing company transforms from readers- and initiators-oriented to autocratic in only 14 years. Translators and professionalization of this group remain the focus of my investigation. In fact, the idea of translation culture is closely connected to the professionalization of translators, their professional consciousness and its development. This might become a background for further studies applying the concept: on translators' preparation, professional unions, optimisation of the quality of translations and improvement of working conditions of translators. In this work, I suggest a classification of translators at the Zsolnay publishing

company based on their networks, which is a step forward in understanding the formation process of translators as a professional group.

Though analysing translator habitus is disputable in translation studies (see Simeoni, 1998, Wolf, 2010), Prunč (2008) includes the behaviour of the actors influenced by their habitus into the factors that define a translation culture – habitualized behaviour practices. Relying on this, I follow the **habitualized behaviour** of the three groups of translators I have established through the paratextual and archival research (see Chapter III).

One of the fundamentals for Prunč is Bourdieu's concept of **capital** and its forms. It seems relevant for this project to clarify what is meant under various forms of translator's capital. All forms of capital as defined by Prunč and Bourdieu – symbolic, economic, cultural and social – will be applied in this volume in order to define success criteria in interwar Austria. By economic capital, I understand the amount of money translators or publisher received for their work or the amount of money they or their families possessed. Cultural capital, according to Bourdieu, is divided into institutionalised (certificates from universities, schools and various courses), incorporated (e.g., language knowledge) and objectified (art objects, e.g., paintings or sculptures that one possesses). I refer to networks, both personal and professional, as a part of social capital. Finally, I see symbolic capital as an invisible power, reputation that allows people to achieve their aims. I show especially in chapters II and III that symbolic capital was used as an instrument of soft power by the publisher and the translators. Being a translator in the interwar period was not a stable job, protected by any professional unions or with fixed monthly earnings. For this reason, measuring different types of capital could be helpful both in establishing the success of single translators, their instruments of power, and in defining possible ways of becoming a successful translator of the period.

Initially this work focused only on the concepts of capital and agency in translation, taking the concept of translation culture as a theoretical framework. However, at the final stage of publishing this work, during the transformation of my doctoral dissertation into a book, I came across the idea of **soft power** and its application to the field of translation studies (Roig Sanz, Campanella, Carbo³-Catalan, 2025). I realised that this was the concept I had been searching for to summarize the results of my study for many years. This is what I meant

by agency in translation, translator's role in society, publisher's influence on the current situation, etc. However, the discipline has just started to test the concept and many questions and challenges remain unsolved. This work is a first, to my knowledge, attempt to connect the idea of translation culture with the notion of soft power. Moreover, I see a huge potential of the concept in translation and publishing studies.

Translation culture and its development is defined by its actors and their interactions based on the various amount of capital they possess. These interactions are usually based on the demonstration of power or attempts to influence the translation culture or other actors. In this way, power relations and various forms of power are crucial to consider while investigating a translation culture. Soft power was especially relevant for the Paul Zsolnay Verlag, which influenced literary and cultural flows. Roig Sanz et.al (2025, p. 2), drawing on Joseph Nye's definition (1990), define soft power as:

Soft power operates by making others desire what one desires, an aim attained by generating appeal and attraction rather than imposing one's objectives. Therefore, instead of relying on coercion or military force, at the core of soft power strategies are feelings such as attraction, respect, admiration, esteem, affect, and trust, which act as parameters encouraging cooperation and compliance.

Roig Sainz et. al (2025, p. 6) state that cultural organisations, incl. publishing companies, play a critical role in shaping cultures (see also Dujovne, 2025, Codina Sola and McMartin, 2025, Castro and Linares, 2022, Campanella, 2022). The current work is in line with these studies. During the first years, the Paul Zsolnay Verlag was independent and free, therefore it managed to become an important actor in the cultural and political fields. Later on, when control had begun to increase, Zsolnay employed instruments of soft power in a more implicit way. The publisher fought growing reactional ideological pressure in a "soft" way by publishing translations by authors neutral or oppositional to National Socialism, by supporting translators considered Jewish by offering them jobs or by helping them flee Vienna. However, while there are studies on the cultural organisations employing soft power, I have not seen studies

on the soft power employed by individual translators or any parameters to measure soft power applied by translators. Therefore, this volume points out instruments of soft power employed by translators within the given translation culture (Chapter III).

Can a publishing company be defined as a translation culture? The concept of translation culture is broad and easy to adapt to various case studies with different focuses. Wolf (2010) underlines that “translation culture encompasses at the same time text, actors, historical period and environment”. According to Hermans (2022, p. 44), “It covers the whole amalgam of habitual practices and ways of translating, along with the legal, economic and other conditions that circumscribe the production and dissemination of translations, plus the expectations and value judgements that observers – including translators and critics – bring to translation”. He underlines that the concept of translation culture “refers to the way that translation is both practised and conceptualised in a given community at a given time”. Moreover, it is essential to realise that translation culture does not necessarily correspond to the political or linguistic borders (Wolf, 2010, p. 23), it is autonomous and can cover more than a geographical country or be smaller than a defined region. It can be a company, city, country, region or continent.

In some studies, a single publishing house is defined as a translation culture (Bedson, Schulz, 2015), while others avoid defining a publisher as a translation culture (Schögler, 2023). I agree that the concept of translation culture includes a broader space than a single publishing house. For this reason, a publisher could be seen as a part of the translation culture system, which contributes to its constriction and develops within this system. Furthermore, not every publishing company necessarily forms a translation culture, but in the case of the *Paul Zsolnay Verlag*, it is evident that *a larger translational space was formed*, and it could be defined as *an independent part of a larger translation culture* (see examples of other Austrian and German publishing companies in chapter I). Artificially limiting a publishing house to a separate translation culture (within a bigger one) also has practical reasons for its investigation within the theoretical framework suggested by Prunč and developed in this work (see next part dedicated to the telescopic approach based on the *histoire croisée* method). Constructing a limited space where translation culture could

be investigated is challenging and risky, but it is constantly being done with cultures – while investigating Viennese culture, we admit that this is a part of a larger Austrian culture, or if we work with the Austrian culture, we might also consider it being a part of a German-speaking culture or a Western/European culture. In this regard, the idea of a publishing house as a particular case of a broader translation culture might be seen as productive: it already includes a limited number of participants in time and space, its internal dynamics and norms, which is a reaction to external challenges. This makes it a fruitful background for a translation historical cultural investigation.

Assuming that the Paul Zsolnay company managed to establish its own translation culture within a larger translation culture of interwar Vienna or newly established Austria, we notice that all the components listed by Prunč that define a translation culture existed at the company: In Zsolnay there was both a special way of practicing translation and, as the archive proves, conceptualisation of translational practice, mostly originating from practicing translators. This particular publishing company had chosen its own path in a new socio-political situation (see more about Zsolnay working with Jewish translators, but simultaneously introducing NS-supporting translators to the company in chapter I, and more about source languages in chapter II); the period under investigation was intense and dynamic, which required the publisher to adapt his policies, incl. translation policies, to the changing situation; at the same time the company was focused on its own development and survival which illustrated its approach to translations and translators: its actors, especially translators, were central in developing and constructing this smaller translation culture within the larger context of Vienna and/or Austria (investigation provided in chapter III proves it). The development of the translation culture was further inevitably connected to the norms and conventions existing in Austria in this period (see reflections of the translators on how to translate in the section on translation quality in chapter II and in individual translators' portraits in chapter III). It is important to underline that I do not define any publishing company as a unique translation culture, but I argue that this particular publisher, the Paul Zsolnay Verlag, can be considered an independent component of a larger translation culture of the period. I connect it with the publisher's conscious focus on translations and

use of translation policies as an instrument of soft power and survival in the new situation (this is proved in chapters I and II), the intense historical period and the personal situation of the publisher (also chapters I and II) which, in combination, caused dynamics in the development of the company, change of norms and conventions in the society, as well as active agency of translators in and outside the company (Chapter III), which led to the unique way of functioning of this company and its innovative approach to translations. I argue that the translation culture established by the Paul Zsolnay Verlag in the interwar period influenced not only the literary field of Vienna but left a broad impact on the formation of the Austrian book market. Translation practices of the actors, which could be considered an essential part of the translation culture of the publisher, considerably influenced the formation of the Austrian culture and Austrian translation culture at the beginning of the 20th century.

Multi-level or telescopic approach

An advantage of the openness of the concept of translation culture can be seen in the fact that it provides a fruitful framework for a historical, spatial and cultural investigation. Moreover, Kujamäki (2020) states that Prunč did not want to define any borders for the concept but wanted to leave it open to any changes and new applications. This makes the concept unique and receptive to new scientific and methodological challenges. However, this openness of the concept also appears to be problematic and is connected to its complexity. It is broad and difficult to describe. To analyse a translation culture as a concept, it might be useful to compare different translation cultures and decide how to differentiate them. The more topologically and chronologically translation cultures are described, the easier the comparison process (Kölbl, Orlova, Wolf, 2020). In this work however, I prefer the *histoire croisée* method to the classical comparison. *Histoire croisée* involves “encouraging more than two positions to enter into dialogue with each other, or in other words as an approach that introduces multiple perspectives in order to avoid the ‘dichotomous mode of thinking’” (Wakabayashi, 2018, p. 156). The *histoire croisée* focuses on the interaction, its results and on the processes involved in the constitution

of categories (Zimmermann 2020, p. 7). Considering this, I suggest a new approach to studying a translation culture based on the method of *histoire croisée* and the meso-historical approach. In this work, I split the research space into three parts (macro-level, meso-level and micro-level), investigate each part separately, analyse how they interact with each other and construct a more complete picture as a result⁸.

The book is divided into three chapters, each of which describes the interwar period in Vienna from different perspectives: first, I focus on the elements of a historical period that are important for this investigation – macro-level (Jewish difference and development of the book market), then I proceed to work on an organisation (meso-level) that was established and functioned in this period, and finally, I reconstruct and analyse biographies of translators (micro-level) who worked for this organisation in the context of the historical events. Reconstructing and connecting these three dimensions provide me with a fuller picture of the period and with the perspectives of different actors.

Level	Research area	Dynamics
Macro	Global	
Meso	Organisation/group	
Micro	Actors	

Figure 1: Multi-level approach to studying a translation culture

These three dimensions correspond to what Rundle (2018) describes in his article “Temporality”, where he defines several prisms of writing histories: micro-level, i.e. focusing on single people or groups (e.g. microhistory), macro level, i.e. focusing on the global picture (e.g. Marxist theory), and meso-level (size that falls between micro and macro levels, e.g. community or organisation). Though Rundle (2018) suggests choosing one of the three levels, in my book, I combine them and trace their interaction (applying

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8 This approach is more suitable for larger case studies and might be challenging for smaller investigations. Nevertheless, smaller studies might use the meso-historical or organisational approach alone, connecting the individual and the global.

the *histoire croisée* method). Therefore, it can be said that I am using the telescopic principle: I first address the general characteristics of the period, then I focus on a publishing company as a translation space, and after this, I study the translators and the publisher as actors of translation. This allows me to understand how the translation culture shaped the actors' lives and how specific actors influenced this specific translation culture. The analysis of the publishing company (meso-level) provides this case study with a bridge between collective and individual.

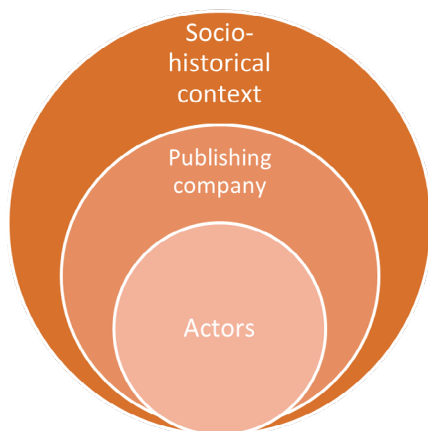


Figure 2: Application of the model to the case study

Initially, my plan was to write microhistories of the translators, showing them as principal actors in the formation of a translation culture of the publishing company and, consequently, the Austrian or Viennese translation culture. However, during my research, it became clear that without considering the concept of Jewish difference (macro-level) that was inherent in interwar Vienna and skipping the publishing company as the meso-level of analyses would considerably reduce the complexity of the research results, especially connected to the profound nature of the idea of translation culture. This is why I avoid conducting exclusively microhistorical analyses. I emphasise the interconnection of the three levels and state the importance of observing

the results of their interconnection (which can be action or non-action of translators, change of translation policies, modification of translation culture, etc.). What Zimmermann describes is exactly what happens in this work:

Histoire croisée argues in favour of going beyond dichotomist reasoning, that is, in terms of micro versus macro, and instead emphasising their inextricable interconnections and how they constitute each other, this being achieved by giving an interactive account of time and space that makes a fulcrum of people's agency (Zimmermann 2020 p. 9).

To the dichotomy macro vs. micro, I introduce the meso-level, while analysing what I define as the translation culture of a company. However, it can also be applied to the larger entities of translation culture. For example, if we want to describe a field of literary translation in Austria, it might be helpful to take several publishing companies as a meso-level and work with them, adding to the description relevant macro-factors and analysing actors of translation on the micro-level. As a meso level, we can work with translation agencies, sworn translators' unions or translators and interpreters at the international organisations (UNO, OSCE, etc.). In fact, my new project tests the functionality of this approach for larger contemporary translation cultures. I investigate the contemporary field of niche publishing companies specialised in translations from specific languages in the chosen countries. I consciously choose two countries from the European geographical area to demonstrate the differences and similarities on the macro-level. Then, I focus on several publishing companies, studying whether using or avoiding artificial intelligence tools can be seen as a form of soft power in the contemporary situation. Finally, I proceed to the micro-level and investigate the agency of the translators in these changing circumstances.

Histoire croisée

Histoire croisée focuses on movements (translations, translators or exile situations), intersections (actors' interaction on different levels, as well as

interdisciplinarity) and their results (translations, policies). The method focuses attention on the object of the analysis and the current point of view on this object, but not on systematising and categorising it (Wolf, 2016). Moreover, its structure-agency approach (Zimmermann 2020, p. 11), as opposed to exclusively structure or agency, allows researchers to trace the flow of interactions of the actors and adapt the research not only to the changing circumstances but to the available material. This makes the approach broader, more flexible and suitable for more studies. Indeed, this structure-agency intercrossing, as well as the dynamics of the interaction between actors and processes, is widely applied in this case study.

The concept of the construct is crucial for this work. All historians interpret history and offers their version of history. I fully realise that what I offer in this work is a construct created by me as a translation scholar, in which I follow my aims and rely on my scientific and personal background. Therefore, I apply the *histoire croisée* method that legitimatises reflexivity and offers multiple perspectives on the same object, event or process. Theo Hermans (2022) refers to Hayden White, who underlines that we do not write the history, but a history. This awareness of producing a construct is an essential aspect for a translation historian: it makes us aware of being potentially subjective and makes us feel more responsible for the text we produce. Indeed, any history of the publisher's translation policies or biography of a translator that a translation scholar writes would tend to fit into a current translation studies agenda using the narrative methods preferred by the scholar or the scientific group they are working with. In this way, it might be interesting to consult other scientific works (=constructs) dedicated to the policies and history of the Zsolnay publishing company, which already exist within other disciplines in different periods of time (Hall 1994, Grabovzski 1993, Hartmann 2012, partially Silverman 2012).

“The relational, interactive and processual character of *histoire croisée* invites one to distinguish different and complementary dimensions of intercrossings that might be found in one and the same study at the *empirical, epistemological and methodological level*.” (Zimmermann, 2020, p. 8) The first, empirical, intercrossing points to the object of the study, the second, epistemological, is the researcher's relation to this study, the third is the methodological one “involves approaches such as multi-level analysis and the

combination of different time-space scales” (Zimmermann, 2020, p. 8). This case study applies *histoire croisée* in all three dimensions.

On the empirical, or agency, level, I shifted focus from the figure of the publisher to the figure of the translator, without separating them, but discovering connections between them in the form of networks (see chapter II). Moreover, according to my research results, a connection to the author helps to reveal other important networks. In my work, a translator-centred perspective is offered to investigate the development of the publishing company. The history of the publishing house is traditionally and reasonably written from the perspective of the publisher, their biography, tastes and opinions, status and connections, and professional and personal background. Some studies about publishers investigate authors who collaborated with the company or source languages of the translations. Shifting the perspective from the publisher to the translator in investigating the company’s activities “means breaking with the logic of pre-existing, ready-made scales” (Zimmermann, p. 9, 2020). I consider the interaction of the actors of the historical events (translators, authors and the publisher) and the processes of their interactions and networks’ origins. My case proves that the development of the publishing company can and needs to be studied not only within the literature, book history or the publishing field but also from other perspectives, e.g. from the point of view of translation studies.

The second level, defined by Zimmermann as epistemological, deals with the intercrossing of historical object, context or perspective, and the observer’s current position. It works with the researcher’s point of view, their steps on the way to the result, questions and difficulties they face. In fact, *histoire croisée* presumes documentation of reflections on the research and its insertion into the final result. Focus on the researcher’s position helps one to consider that they present just one of the possible perspectives in this society in the given period of the chosen event. Wakabayashi (2018, p. 262) states that *histoire croisée* “highlights not only enmeshments between different places and between different layers at the same place but also between the historian and the object of study”. Subjectivity is one of the warnings of any case study analysis in humanities and cannot be absolutely avoided, but the researcher’s position and reflections must be discussed and taken into account. Considering this idea of historical intercrossings, I look at the history of the development of a publishing

house from perspectives from different time periods: In the correspondence, I find the emic (i.e., internal) view of the 1920s–1930s; in the work of Murray G. Hall, I see a book historical perspective from the early 1990s; while my work offers a translation studies perspective of the early 2020s. Moreover, looking at another intercrossing – interdisciplinarity – it becomes apparent that this work written within translation studies is closely interconnected with neighbouring disciplines, such as history and sociology, book history, publishing, exile and Jewish studies. In this volume, I use methods and theoretical framework from history, sociology and the publishing field, projecting them to the field of translation studies and enriching it not only with new empirical data but also methods and combinations of methods. Conversations with scholars from other disciplines helped me gain another view of the company’s development in this period and influenced this volume to a great extent. Moreover, within translation studies, I have chosen to work on a socio-historical case study because of my personal background and because of my scientific surrounding. These factors must be taken into consideration not only by me as a researcher but also by other the readers of this work.

The third level, methodological, involves multi-scale analyses in time and space. Indeed, in this work, I apply the multi-scale vision to the company’s development as a principal solution to the complexity of the idea of translation culture. I zoom from the perspective of interwar Vienna (Chapter I) through the level of a publishing company (Chapter II) to the agency of the translators (Chapter III) who worked for the company in this period. This last level division helps to see the interconnectedness and importance of studying a translator’s agency within an institution. “By means of this principle, the local comes to be a ‘particular modulation’ of the global and, at the same time, a ‘different’ version of macro-social realities” (Werner and Zimmermann 2006: 42). “The understanding that something occurs in the intercrossing process is one of the basic assumptions of *Histoire croisée*” (Zimmermann 2020 p. 8), therefore I consider three levels (macro, meso and micro) that intercross and produce the effects we receive in the form of the historical events or our interpretation of the historical events because the very event meets our perspective and is shaped by it.

This case study is not the first that introduces a meso-level of research. Daniel Little (2000) argues that a compromise between the macro and the

micro scales is actually the most fruitful approach, he calls it “meso-history”. Indeed, as a historian it is up to you what research design to choose:

The historical cake can be cut up in many ways. We can focus on a large or a small geographical space. We can zoom in on a single person or object or survey groups of people active in broad domains such as the economy, politics, religion, science, and art. We can trace abstract entities like ideas and concepts. We can approach things from the perspective of those at the top of social hierarchies or those below them. We can consider a cross-section at a particular moment or take in longer temporal stretches, the so-called *longue durée*. All stories have time space, agents and events, that are connected by interactions (Hermans, 2022).

The same happens in this work. I retell the same story three times at different levels, remaining within the same historical period and the same geographical area.

Even though Richter (2020) doubts that the method can be productive for a historical case study, I still focus on its two principles: self-reflectivity and a many-sided view, i.e. focusing on the object of investigation from different perspectives, including the author’s perspective. *Histoire croisée* combined with other methods in this volume exhibits its productivity for a socio-historical case study within translation studies. I make the study less subjective and more complete by applying this method, though it still represents my view, personal and academic background and networks and reflects my personal aims and scientific interests. Moreover, it takes into account that the analysed material is subjective and was selected by someone, and therefore should be considered critically (more on the material used for this work in Haiden, forthcoming). This also allows shifting of the frames, avoiding dichotomy and receiving a multi-perspective view of the research object.

Considering the theoretical and methodological framework presented above, I invite you to trace the modifications of the translation culture constructed by the Paul Zsolnay Verlag and its translators in interwar Vienna. And, most importantly, follow them as actors of translation and cultural diplomacy.

I Interwar Vienna

*The historian in fact never departs from historical time.
Time sticks to his thought like soil to the gardener's spade.
Of course he may dream of escaping it.
(Braudel, 1958, 2009)*

Why were the second and third decades of the 20th century chosen? The period from the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, economic destruction and political crisis after WWI to the *Anschluss* to Germany is rich and intense in the history of the Austrian Republic. The Zsolnay publishing company was established in 1924 during the time of the First Republic, with its challenges as a small new state trying to find its way. Moreover, Austria, at the beginning of the 20th century, garners attention for its rich historically conditioned heritage – both linguistically and culturally. Vienna, since the period of the Habsburg monarchy, had attracted the multilingual population of the Empire. According to Wolf, from 1880 to 1900, Vienna's population grew by 130%. All these factors turned Vienna into a rapidly growing multilingual and multicultural centre. In this period, the international book market was formed (according to Sapiro it happened after the Berne convention for the protection of literary and artistic works was signed in 1886; see also Mus, 2020⁹), and many publishing houses appeared in Austria as well. They searched for their place in the book market, were allowed to autonomously choose what and how to publish; the market dictated the rules, not the government. Publishing activity illustrates the tastes and interests of the readers and can easily influence them through translations as well. Promoting and discovering new authors, the publisher influences the readers and mediates between the author and society.

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9 He defines translation, monolingualism and multilingualism as symptoms of literary internationalisation after WWI.

In the 1930s, people defined as Jewish were often engaged in the translation activity and publishing industry – for some, other activities were implicitly or explicitly forbidden (Hall, 1994, Silvermann, 2012). Most of the translators of the publishing house were defined as Jews. It is essential that all translators with a Jewish background who worked for the Zsolnay publishing company managed to flee, also thanks to the connections established during work at the publishing house or because of their foreign language skills, which can be considered a sign of high symbolic and social capital of these translators (more in chapter II). The publisher, Paul Zsolnay, considered a Jew by the National Socialists, had to flee to the United Kingdom and leave the publishing house for an extended period. Some Jewish translators continued working for the company from exile as translators or as publisher's agents abroad. At the beginning of their new lives, they needed money just like many other Austrian translators who emigrated in the 1930s and were still connected with their home-publishers (Kremmel, et al., 2020). Exile research, war studies and Jewish studies are those areas that closely interact with translation history and translator studies, especially in Central Europe of the 20th century. Therefore, questions such as those relating to “translating/translators and exile”, “translating in war”, and “the Jewish identity of translators” are often addressed by translation scholars. This case study is no exception and this first chapter is dedicated to the notion of Jewish difference, an essential factor for the interwar period.

This work does not focus exclusively on three disciplines – translation studies, history and sociology, but goes beyond, partially covering book history and Jewish studies as well. It became a multi- and interdisciplinary project which is a challenge for someone who works within translation studies, but, at the same time, interdisciplinary exchange offers more opportunities for material search (Haiden, 2026). Information about translators can be gathered from the publishers' archives, whereas publisher's histories can be enriched with details about their translators who played a crucial role in constructing translation policies of the publishing companies. Jewish studies provide important information on the Viennese intelligentsia, many of which had to flee in the late 1930s, but histories of translators in exile also contribute to Jewish history. This chapter will focus on both aspects – Jewish difference and the history of Viennese publishing in the interwar period as a part of a macro-historical investigation.

Jewish difference

Like all binary processes according to which meaning is constructed, the term of Jewish difference often remained unarticulated in Austrian culture, but this very “invisibility” could be its most powerful quality.

Lisa Silverman (2012, p. 174)

In this case study, two constructs, translator and Jew, are closely connected. Shortly before and after the *Anschluss*, many activities were forbidden to those defined as Jews by National Socialists and translating became one of the opportunities to earn their living (Hall, 1994, Silverman, 2012). This is what happened to the majority of the translators who worked for the Paul Zsolnay publishing company in the interwar period: many of them started translating in the 1930s and, in the late 1930s, emigrated to the USA, the UK, France, Hungary or Palestine. A categorisation question, which has often been raised at conferences dedicated to this project, was the question of the Jewish identity of the translators – who could be called a Jewish translator or referred to as a Jew? Am I also allowed to call them so? Am I aware of the categorisation of the National Socialists and its consequences? One of the warnings is to avoid applying the National Socialists’ definition of a Jew, which was subjective and manipulative. Silverman (2012) confirms that “codings of Jewishness were abstract, detachable, applicable to a range of individuals, and not necessarily contingent upon the degree to which they, or others, considered themselves as Jews, if at all”. As an example of a random and subjective attribution of the construct, one of the mayors of Vienna, Karl Lueger, could be quoted “I decide who is a Jew” – a declaration made by him while serving as the mayor of Vienna¹⁰.

Before proceeding with this part, I would like comment on my attribution to someone as “something” (profession, nationality, gender, etc.) and dis-

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10 Hall (1994): Nach der Lueger’schen Formel: „Wer a Jud’ ist, bestimm’ ich“.

cuss the idea of writing a biography as a construct. Writing a publisher's history or a person's biography is inevitably connected to the attribution of categories – profession, political views, religion, hobby, family, etc. Attributing any nomination to someone – a Jew, a translator, a man or a woman – is the question of constructing social categories from the perspective of a biography or history writer. All of these constructs could be used as instruments of pressure or manipulation both by the author of a biography or by those attributing social categories to someone else. Any social categorisation has to be analysed both from the external or etic point of view (the society or the members of the community who attribute to someone this definition, no matter if the person agrees or not) and the inner or emic point of view (the persons define themselves or the persons secretly consider themselves as someone or something). This is the case where the *histoire croisée* method is applied in this study – it is essential to consider all possible perspectives – person, closer community, contemporaries and social circumstances in which they act, writer's/author's point of view and interest, author's community and time influence.

As follows from Hahn's (1988) proposal, we could attribute a specific description to a person who was self-declares as X (in the case of autobiographies or private correspondence), or someone else could define the person as X (biographies or contemporaries' memoirs or correspondence). Let me apply it to the binary opposition Jew/non-Jew: One of the translators – Siegfried Schmitz – defined himself as a Jew and Zionist. Moreover, he worked for Zionist journals and newspapers, interpreted at the Zionist congresses, and before WWII, emigrated to Palestine. It is a clear example of a self-nomination. In the second case, the majority in this case study, contemporaries attributed a particular nomination to a person, and the person had to accept or decline it and decide how to react. Most translators never called themselves Jews for different reasons but had to act and adapt their lives to the changing socio-political circumstances. Such translators didn't leave any explicit written confirmation of being a Jew or considering themselves Jews. There are only facts – such as starting to translate at the beginning of the 1930s or fleeing Austria in the late 1930s. Leaving personal items at Jewish archives could be seen as a signal about their belonging to the Jewish community or considering themselves Jews. This

volume considers mainly biographies of those who were victims of what is called by Silverman “generating Jewish difference”¹¹ in interwar Vienna¹². She states that the concept was socially constructed, and there was an unclear line between those considered Jews in the society and those who were not, though it was not explicitly articulated. In this case study, we see that constructing Jewish difference, or Jewish Otherness in interwar Vienna, influenced people and we further see how it affected the development of the publishing house with the growth of anti-Semitic ideas. As Friedrich Heer (1971) notices, “Jews’ place in Vienna was a perfect mirror image to Vienna’s place in the country”. He underscores the importance of the Jew as a foundational symbol in interwar Austria. Vienna’s Jews were to Vienna as Vienna was to Austria: a critical symbol of “Other” necessary for self-identification.

Let me provide some data on the Jewish population in Vienna after the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy to clarify that it is impossible to work on interwar Vienna without considering the construct of Jewish difference. Interwar Vienna had the third largest urban Jewish population after Budapest and Prague (Silverman, 2012, p. 105); the Jewish population started rapidly growing after the fall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In 1910, Jews made up 8.6% of Vienna, ca 200 000, while in 1850, there were practically no Jews in the city (Rozenblit, 1984 pp. 16–19). Jews in 1909 comprised 65 % of Vienna’s lawyers, over half of its journalists and 59 % of its physicians¹³. Right after WWI, 46% of the students enrolled at the University of Vienna were Jewish, a decade later, it decreased to 18%. Like Germany, “no other group in Austria was so racially, passionately, and violently anti-Semitic as students of university

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- 11 Marking the parameters of Jewish difference when those parameters are not self-evident requires both critical distance and careful consideration of the cultural circumstances within which that difference functioned (Silverman, p. 175).
- 12 Even before the Anschluss, however, the presence of Jews in Austria was already carefully circumscribed by absence. [...] Austrians continued to order their world according to the invisible framework of Jewish difference. Anyone immersed in interwar public life had to be aware of the significance of this social and symbolic order, as coding people, places, and events as Jewish and non-Jewish took on new urgency amid the general sense of chaos and anxiety. [...] In a new nation [...] Jewish difference served as a crucial interpretive lens (Silverman, p. 105).
- 13 Online source: <https://germanics.washington.edu/being-jewish-vienna> (last access 8.11.2022).

age” (Pauley, 1993). “It is a historical fact that Jews were a significant presence in Austrian culture and life before 1938, just as they were largely absent after 1945. [...] By the mid-1930s, political changes in Austria were bringing to an end the involvement of Jews in Austrian culture. Days preceding and following Anschluss, thousands were arrested, many had their property confiscated, and others were forced to wash streets with brushes as onlookers cheered” (Silverman, 2012, p. 172). Basically, states Silverman, there remained three options for the Austrian Jews in the late 1930s: persecution, emigration, or suicide. Indeed, the suicide (attempt) rate of translators analysed in this work was 1:4. Three translators committed suicide in the 1940s, and one made an attempt but was saved. It is important to note that all translators with Jewish backgrounds whose biographies I am analysing here managed to emigrate in the late 1930s, and no one returned. All the translators managed to avoid persecution, except the publishing house’s literary director Felix Costa, who was murdered in the concentration camp together with his wife and son.

In everyday life, Jews faced discrimination and the gradual growth of anti-Semitic ideas, which influenced people’s self-declaration as a Jew. Silverman, on the example of the trials of Jews, explains the characteristics of the rise in anti-Semitism: Trials served as performances that constructed Jewish difference where people were accused of crimes, which they did not commit, only because of their ethnical or religious belonging. The first of the trials she describes is dated to the year 1925. The trials continued systematically until the *Anschluss*. This demonstrates a gradual increase of anti-Semitism in society – it was a matter of years and not a momentary switch. In her investigation, it is underlined that sometimes people who had nothing to do with Jews were defined as Jews and were attributed the negative stereotypes connected with Jews.

... Social re-enactments during the Austrian interwar period, beginning with anti-Semitic meetings, statements, and acts, followed by accusations that Jews are running society, and then finally reinforcing the boundaries of community by denigrating or killing the Jew – or, in absence of a Jew, someone who came close enough (Silverman, p. 65, 2010).

She notices that the concept of being-a-Jew was an absolute social construct, there were no “right rules” of how to define someone as a Jew.

Returning to *histoire croisée*, we have seen how people defined themselves and how the community developed ideologically. How are these two perspectives intercrossed? What happened when these two points did not match? In his autobiography “My Youth in Vienna”, Arthur Schnitzler wrote:

It was not possible, especially not for a Jew in public life, to ignore the fact that he was a Jew; nobody else was doing so, not the Gentiles and even less the Jews.

Many Jews tried to assimilate and “become Austrians”, but it made many of them even more obviously Jewish to some extent. Many started avoiding any topics of Jewishness or being presented to the public as Jews.

The marked absence of the ‘Jewish’ in so many works [...] suggests a deliberate attempt to bracket its engagement as a part of the process of becoming Austrians (Silverman, p. 68).

It would still be unfair to say that Jewish topics were never presented to the public or that the Jewish did not participate in public life. Numerous films, plays and literature are the best confirmation of the Jewish presence in the cultural life in Central Europe. Interwar Vienna, especially its cultural and artistic life, was hard to imagine without Jews. The integration of Jews into the intellectual life of Vienna can be demonstrated by mentioning that eight of fourteen Vienna circle members were Jews. Among artists and intellectuals, some tried to prove their Austrianness, some secretly supported the Jewish community without public announcement, and some were proud of being Jewish and demonstrated it within the community. Independently of self-identification, these people continued to create together with the others what is defined as Viennese, Austrian or Central-European culture. In her “Becoming Austrians”, Lisa Silverman does not ask what exactly characterises Austrian or Jewish culture, though she differentiates between Jews and non-Jews. She speaks about the culture created in the interwar period by people

living in Austria, particularly Vienna. Silverman postulates that Jews actively contributed to constructing the Austrian culture, which would not be the same without them. She goes beyond the distinction of Jew/non-Jew, asking, “What happened when Jews and Austrians created together?”. To the question of the Viennese Jews’ identity or the experience of Jewishness in Vienna, Silverman states: “They considered themselves politically Austrian, ethnically Jewish, and now more than ever – “culturally” Viennese” (2012, p. 16). For her, examining how Jewishness and Austrianness constitute one another and cannot be disentangled is essential. She pays much attention to the theatre as a symbol of cultural assimilation for Austrian Jews: Jewish theatre in Vienna and the *Salzburger Festspiele* were organised by the same Jewish actors (among which was Bertha Zuckerkandl, a translator who worked for the Zsolnay publishing company). This fact shows how understanding the Jewish difference divided the society but united the cultures¹⁴. The same is true about numerous publishing houses that, independently of their identification as Jews or others attributing this category to them, constructed the Viennese culture.

Paul Zsolnay had a “mixed Jewish background” (Silverman, 2012). At the very beginning, he, supported by the economic and social capital of his family, was less interested in making any financial profit with his publishing house, but aimed to reshape the boundaries of Austrian culture. His interest in Austrian intellectual culture developed at salons hosted by his mother, Amanda Wallerstein. Like many other Viennese publishers, he was surrounded by the Viennese Jewish community and was interested in publishing Jewish authors. Generally, “regardless of whether and to what degree, if at all, they openly self-identified as Jews, actors, writers, filmmakers, and publishers often maintained affiliations with Jewish social networks that proved crucial to their careers” (Silverman, 2012, p. 68). Murray Hall (1994) often refers to Zsolnay¹⁵ as “Jewish” or “Jewish publisher”, though Zsolnay’s Jewishness and its public declaration changed with time. Zsolnay was adapting to the new circumstances

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14 That Jewish Austrians – or Austrians engaged with Jewishness – led the drive to create and support both forms of theatre illuminates the curtail role its binary played in the development of culture after the collapse of the empire (Silverman, 2012, p. 171).

15 Silverman: Zsolnay was known as a “Jewish publisher” (Silverman, 2012 p. 194).

and protecting his business, trying to simultaneously support people from his social surroundings. Paul Zsolnay and his publishing house changed its public attitude toward Jewishness several times: at the beginning, a Jewish publisher who worked with Jewish or Austrian-Jewish authors and translators; as tensions rose, as one who secretly supported Jewish women authors and translators; in the late 1930s, as one who refused to admit the fact of being Jewish himself; and the inevitable exile to the UK in 1938.

Jewish difference was one side of the limitations authors and translators faced in interwar Austria, another was gender. Among the published authors at the company in the interwar period, men were prevalent: in 1928, the firm had published texts by only two women, both texts were translations. Generally, a woman-author was less common than a woman-translator, therefore, those women who wanted to publish at the company as authors, with rare exceptions, received a proposal to translate¹⁶ (more in chapter II). “Jewish men were undeniably instrumental in supporting the entry of Jewish women into professional networks during the interwar years” (Silverman, 2012, p. 68). Paul Zsolnay was no exception. The publisher did his best to help Jewish female authors or translators who faced limitations in the public sphere as both Jews and women¹⁷. Women in interwar Austria still suffered gender discrimination, considering that Austrian women gained the right to vote only in 1919. At the same time, there were plenty of stereotypes about Jewish women, which distanced them from being accepted in society; therefore, Jewish women could be considered one of the most vulnerable layers of society in the 1930s.

Initially, we see that about half of the translators working for the Zsolnay publishing company were women. Paul Zsolnay was initially considered a

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16 Even if Zsolnay did not publish Jewish women writers, he provided them with translation work, an important source of income and creative achievement, though admittedly one that also kept the translator “invisible”. Eric Hobsbawm, whose mother published a novel and worked as a translator in Vienna, claims that she “clearly took great and legitimate pride in the professionalism and literary quality of her translations” *Interesting Times. A Twenty Century Life* (New York, Pantheon, 2003) (Silverman, p. 240).

17 “Women more likely than men to be suspected of not having the proper disposition to become Austrians” (Silverman quotes Maureen Hearly p. 84, 2012). [is there a mistake in the quote?: women were more likely than men...?] I don’t have access to the book right now, but it is definitely better with “were”.

Jewish publisher, after the political changes in Vienna, he tried to publish more Austrian writers, but he still supported Jewish writers and translators, predominantly female. Mela Hartwig was the first (Jewish) woman published by the Viennese publisher Zsolnay. Mela Hartwig was also a translator, and after her books could not be published, she was offered some translation work¹⁸. Berta Zuckerkandl, who wrote newspaper articles, translated English and French novels into German, and acted as a literary agent by procuring manuscripts for Zsolnay from foreign authors, played several important roles in Vienna's cultural sphere. Dozens of letters between Zuckerkandl and Zsolnay from the interwar years attest to their close working relationship: she translated several of Gerald's books from French for the Paul Zsolnay Verlag and acted as the company's agent in France. Käthe Gaspar, an Austrian-Hungarian Jewish translator from a freelancer, became after having started as a freelancer one of the leading publishers' translators, an authorised translator of famous Hungarian authors, and Zsolnay's agent in Hungary.

After 1934, however, Zsolnay's dependence upon the large German market ultimately led him to cease the publication of works by Jewish authors. Zsolnay nevertheless continued helping Jewish writers as antisemitism became an increasing problem¹⁹. In 1934 he tried to help Elias Canetti obtain a Turkish passport and wrote a letter on his behalf to the Swiss consulate (Hall, p. 353, 1994). Felix Costa, Zsolnay's literary director, also tried to assist a number of Jewish authors whose work he was forced to reject. Numerous Jewish translators (Paul Amann, Annie and Viktor Polzer, Andreas Gaspar, Fritz Lehner) worked for the Zsolnay company in the interwar period until the emigration of Paul

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18 The implications of this gendered Jewish absence are explored via examples from the publishing industry. Publishers like Paul Zsolnay and Richard Kola provided opportunities for Jewish women like Mela Hartwig, Hilde Spiel, and others to earn a living as writers, translators and literary agents, but only at the price of strictly limiting – and sometimes even prohibiting – their content (Silverman, p. 25, 2012).

19 Nicht minder interessant ist die Einstellung des Antisemiten Kotas Paul Zsolnay und seinem als "jüdisch" verschrieenen Verlag gegenüber. Beide nahm er nämlich in Schutz und informierte seinen zweifelnden Freund in Schweden wissentlich falsch: Zsolnay wäre früher einmal ein jüdisch orientierter Verlag gewesen, jetzt aber habe er sich allen jüdischen Personals entledigt und gebe keine jüdischen Autoren mehr heraus (Hall, 1994, refers to Kotas' letter at Morberg's Collection, 1935).

Zsolnay and forced “aryanization” of the publishing house. These translators and the publisher were part of those constructing the culture through their translation activity and those influencing society through their translations, independent of whether it was visible to the public or not.

In this work, I am not trying to investigate the binary opposition between Jews/non-Jews of interwar Austria, though I understand the complexity of the problem of Jewish identity. This case study does not belong to the field of Jewish studies, therefore I am not going to analyse the construct of Jewish difference in detail, but I want to show that I am mindful of the sensitive question, and for this reason, I will be careful with nominations in this case study: I intend to use “people defined as Jews”, “Jewish roots”, “from a Jewish family”, etc. in cases when people did not leave an explicit confirmation of self-declaration as Jews. I also realise that it is essential for this case study to appeal to this binary opposition because working on the culture of interwar Vienna is impossible without taking into account the Jewish visibility/invisibility: it influenced the destiny of the translators (of 16 translators in this case study at least eleven were influenced by terms of Jewish difference to varying degrees), it wholly modified translation policies of the publisher and consequently the company’s translation culture, and left a long term impact on the future of the publishing house. At the same time, studying a publishing company could provide more information about Jewish translators and the constructed idea of Jewishness in interwar Austria.

Publishing industry

*Das österreichische Verlagswesen aus 1918–1938
hat eine „bewegte Geschichte“.*

Murray G. Hall, 1985

This work is a complex investigation of an Austrian publishing house and its actors in the interwar period. Therefore, it is unsurprising that one of the parts

is dedicated to the situation in which the Austrian publishing industry found itself in the year 1918, how it developed further and what the main features were when it joined the big German publishing field in 1938. Special attention will be dedicated to comparing some German and Austrian publishing companies and their destinies, anti-Semitic policies in Germany and Austria, and the reaction of the prevalently Jewish Austrian publishing industry on to the shift towards National Socialist Germany. In this part, I will trace Austrian publishing history to understand the situation in which the Zsolnay publishing company was founded, which challenges it had to overcome and compare the company to other publishing institutions in Vienna. It might provide hints for future investigations of the Zsolnay Verlag policies, a deeper understanding of the publisher's choices, and the reasons for the company's success.

I first describe the situation in Austria before and after 1918, then I focus on the boom of the publishing companies in Vienna and discuss the reasons for the success of the Paul Zsolnay company. I present an overview of the translational boom in some other European dictatorships. Afterwards, I compare the situation in Austria and Germany in the early 1930s and explain why some Austrian companies moved to Germany. Then I proceed with the limitations in the publishing industry faced by those Austrian publishers who managed to survive until 1937. I describe how the Austrian publishing industry reacted to the anti-Semitic restrictions and why German Jewish companies chose to move to Vienna. I discuss the unique strategy that Paul Zsolnay chose to save his company, as well as other options that publishing companies defined as Jewish chose.

This part is based on a patchwork of studies on the history of the Austrian publishers and archival material at the partial archive of the Paul Zsolnay publishing company and other relevant volumes and collections worldwide. Most of the studies I refer to in this part were produced in the 1980s–1990s when there was a boom of publishing studies in humanities, inspired by Bourdieu's investigation of the French publishers. These books contain exclusive and valuable information about publishing companies' history, policies and networks, though they are mainly focused on the biographies of the publishers. In 1994, Murray G. Hall noted that there was no interest in writing a publishing house history in Austria, and no researchers were working on it. He managed

to change this trend. Murray G. Hall started a revolution in Austrian literature. He was one of those who began to study the history of Austrian institutions that produce literature. He focused on investigating the economic and political background of literary production in Austria. His main method of writing publishers' history was to studying archives, correspondence and official and financial documents of the companies, but not writing a publisher's biography. My work changes perspective and presents the history of the publisher from a translation studies perspective, relying on the studies and points of view from other disciplines and time periods (*histoire croisée* method).

According to Carl Junker (ed. Hall, 2001), there were only few fiction publishers in Austria before the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Hall (1985, p. 51) states that before 1918 Austria was a country of school books, calendars and specialised publishing houses. Wolf (2015) underlines that many fiction translations were published as newspaper articles, which was a common practice in Europe (e.g. Rundle, 2010, on Fascist Italy). According to Hall (1985, p. 52), from ca. 1860 until 1918, Austria was a country without a leading or well-known fiction publishing house.

The economic situation after 1918 was catastrophic. The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the devastation after WWI left a small new country in a difficult financial situation but open to new thoughts and ideological tendencies. This provided a fertile background for founding fiction publishing companies. Indeed, according to the simplest way of getting superficial statistical information – googling – around at least 30 publishing companies appeared in Vienna between 1918 and 1930. One of them was the Paul Zsolnay publishing company. Murray G. Hall also notes the same tendency:

Gerade als Paradox zur wirtschaftlichen Lage, zurzeit ärgster wirtschaftlicher und sozialer Not, erlebte das Verlegen schöner Literatur in Österreich eine einmalige Blüte (Hall, 1985, p. 92).²⁰

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20 “Paradoxically, at a time of the most severe economic and social hardship, the publication of fine literature in Austria experienced an unprecedented flourishing” (Hall, 1985, p. 92).

Let me share three relevant notes about the interwar period and the publishing field. First, it is essential to consider the situation after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and its cultural and linguistic heritage. According to Meylaerts (2018, p. 219)

Formed long before the 19th century, the Austro-Hungarian empire did not partake in the national homogeneity of the north-western European nation-states.

According to Wolf (2015), translation played a crucial role in ensuring communication between the German, Hungarian, Czech, Polish, Ukrainian, Romanian, Croat, Serbian, Slovakian, Slovenian, Italian, Hebrew and Yiddish speakers in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Thus, it was to be expected that the readers living in this territory would be curious about other languages and cultures, incl. translated literature. Second, Bachleitner (2022, p. 108), recalling the history of publishing, points to the role of literacy that caused a demand for more published books:

The various fields of science replaced theology and religious writing on the book market. Hence, reading served mainly as a means of secular education and entertainment. Due to compulsory school attendance, literacy was constantly on the rise, and the mode of reading changed from intensive to extensive reading, i.e. from the repeated reading of the same (religious, classical) texts to one-time reading of every new works. In some countries, by the end of the 19th century, the rate of literacy reached the mark of 90 or even 100 per cent among the urban population; the countryside still lagged behind.

Third, publishing translated trivial literature was a general tendency in Germany, e.g., from the 1820s, national literatures depended on translations: by 1850, every second novel published in German was translated (Bachleitner, 2022). Summing up, there was a traditionally multi-cultural and multi-lingual community with a high literacy rate in the region with a booming translation exchange.

The same applies to the number of translations across Europe: according to Rundle (2010), the first part of the 20th century in Europe is characterised by a translation boom in the publishing industry because of a significant number of translations from English, especially crime fiction and novels. Translations, especially from the English language, constituted a big part of the book market. According to Hall (1985, p. 47), the big German publishers published more translations²¹.

As in many European countries, the boom of translations caused a big competition in German-speaking countries: Translations published in parallel or retranslations of newly translated books were not uncommon at this time. The Zsolnay publishing company was aware of the problem, and in several letters, this issue of translation copyright was raised. Below is an extract from a letter from 23 November 1927 where the publisher asks to check if another translator, Nüsse, has already translated the book to avoid producing more translations by several translators:

... since you arrange for the translation, it would avoid confusion if he let you know before the translation was made so that there would not be two people making translations at the same time.

Other example of retranslations can be traced in Haiden (2024a), e.g., Zsolnay's translator Leon Schalit edited the old translation of Luise Wolf of one of the books by John Galsworthy, and the Zsolnay company did not mention the name of Wolf on the title page. This led to a legal proceeding against the publisher. The article discusses other retranslation challenges, issues of translation quality evaluation and its manipulative nature, copyright issues, and translator's professional recognition and protection.

According to Hall, there was copyright chaos in this period in Austria, and the publishers and the authors were not protected by law. He does not say

21 „Rowohlt z. B. brachte 1924 Honoré de Balzac groß auf den Markt und Kurt Wolff hatte von Beginn an tschechische und französische Literatur gefördert. In den ersten Nachkriegsjahren forcierte er vier große französische Romanciers (Guy de Maupassant, Emile Zola, Charles Louis Philippe, Romain Rolland)“ Hall, 1985, p. 47.

anything about translators, however. Nevertheless, authors' rights, as well as translators' rights, were not entirely, if at all, protected in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (Wolf, 2015). The first copyright law in Austria was an imperial patent on 19 October 1846 "*zum Schutz des literarischen und artistischen Eigentums gegen unbefugte Veröffentlichung*"²² (Wolf, 2015). According to Hall (1985, p. 11), there was intense publishing activity in Austria immediately after 1918. In 1919 there were already 3137 publishing companies. The demand for the regulated copyright system was high, and the example of the neighbour countries demonstrated that it would be essential to introduce a regulating system of the relations between the publisher and the author. The situation with copyright in Austria started changing after 1920 when Austria signed the Berne convention for the protection of literary and artistic works.

Gisele Sapiro (2008) argues that the international translation market started emerging with the Berne convention for the protection of literary and artistic works in 1887 and became global and unified in the 1970s. The Austrian book market inevitably became a part of the international book market and followed its rules. At the beginning of the 20th century, many publishing houses appeared in Austria. They searched for their place in the book market, and were allowed independently decide what and how to publish; the market dictated its rules, not the government. Publishing activity illustrated the tastes and interests of the readers and could easily influence them through translations as well. Through promoting and discovering new authors, the publisher influenced the readers and was a mediator between the author and society. The Paul Zsolnay company was established in 1924, soon after the international book market started developing. It developed together with the Austrian market of translations. Paul Zsolnay, due to the social capital of his multicultural family, grew up surrounded by national and foreign authors and translators, he knew the challenges the publishing industry and its agents faced.

Establishing a publishing company in 1924 could be considered a wise decision, despite the intense competition among the newly established publishers. One of the reasons for the success of the publishing house is often mentioned in the fact that at the beginning, Paul Zsolnay had enough money

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22 "for the protection of literary and artistic property against unauthorized publication".

not to think about the financial difficulties of the epoch, he just pointed to spreading “*schöne Literatur*”²³ among the Viennese public and supporting his numerous friends in the literary field. However, with time, he managed to exchange his social and symbolic capital for economic capital. Wittmann (2015) underlines that the Zsolnay company developed into Austria’s most successful financial and notable literary publishing house within ten years. No less than 75% of its production was sold in Germany, also after 1933. Hall states (1985, p. 495) that in 1935 the Paul Zsolnay publishing company was “*der einzige zurzeit wirklich gleichgeschaltete kulturelle Grossbetrieb in Österreich*”²⁴. This makes the company a particular case (Wittmann, 2015, p. 363).

Das Unternehmen entwickelte sich binnen zehn Jahren zum finanziell erfolgreichsten und literarisch markantesten Verlag Österreichs. Nicht weniger als drei Viertel seiner Produktion setzte er im Deutschen Reich ab, zunächst auch noch nach 1933. Dies macht ihn zu einem aufschlussreichen Sonderfall²⁵.

Indeed, most companies founded in this period did not exist for a long time. One of the reasons for the failure of many Austrian enterprises could be considered a stock market crash in 1924 in Austria. This meant immediate bankruptcy for some publishers. Hall explains their failure not only by economic problems, but

Unerfahrenheit, Konzeptlosigkeit und schlechte Geschäftsführung (Hall, 1985, p. 92); dass sie (Verlage) keine Trägerrolle für die heimische Literatur annahmen, annehmen konnten (Hall, 1985, p. 93).²⁶

23 Fine literature.

24 “the only cultural large-scale enterprise in Austria that is currently truly brought into line.”

25 “The company developed within ten years into Austria’s most financially successful and most literarily distinctive publishing house. No less than three quarters of its output was sold in the German Reich, initially even after 1933. This makes it an illuminating special case.”

26 “inexperience, lack of a clear concept, and poor management” (Hall, 1985, p. 92); “that they (publishers) did not undertake, or nor were able to undertake, a leading role for domestic literature” (Hall, 1985, p. 93).

He connects the success of the Paul Zsolnay publishing company to the difficult financial situation in Germany and the bad strategies of other publishing houses (Hall, 1985, p. 93). He underlines that these Austrian publishing companies that existed for a short period did not have any publisher's authors as was the case in Germany in such famous companies as *S. Fischer*, *Insel-Verlag*, *L. Staackmann Verlag*, and *Kurt Wolff Verlag*. In contrast, the Paul Zsolnay company had three big authors, one of which was presented to German readers in translations. Paul Zsolnay's primary strategy was to find authors, who would be associated with his publishing company. He succeeded: Thomas Mann, Franz Werfel and John Galsworthy were considered to be "Zsolnay's authors". Research shows that some well-known authors (Galsworthy, Dreiser, Wells, Asch, Anet) preferred the Zsolnay Verlag to the big and famous German publishing houses. Here is how the creators of the Mahler Foundation²⁷ describe the success of the company:

It was the most successful publishing company during the interregnum period, publishing authors such as John Galsworthy, H.G. Wells, Pearl S. Buck, A.J. Cronin, Franz Werfel, Felix Salten, Robert Neumann, Roda Roda, Hilde Spiel, Ernst Lothar, Hans Kaltneker, Friedrich Torberg, Leo Perutz, Heinrich Mann, Kasimir Edschmid, Carl Sternheim, Emil Ludwig, Walter von Molo, and Frank Thiess.

As criteria for success, they name famous writers who worked with the company, among them were some Nobel prize winners. In this way, the success of a publishing company can be explained by its social capital (e.g. networks with the authors) and its symbolic capital, received through publishing the Nobel prize winners, thus making the publishing company prestigious for other authors. Conversion of symbolic and social capital into economic capital in a long-term perspective, as opposed to short-term profit typical for the commercial industry, was the main strategy for a wealthy young Paul Zsolnay. Other national or international literary prizes of authors also bring symbolic

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 27 Online source <https://mahlerfoundation.org/gt-member/paul-zsolnay/> (last access: 8.11.2022).

capital to the publisher, but only the Nobel prize will be discussed in this volume. John Galsworthy, Roger Martin du Gard and Sinclair Lewis, whose works were published by the Paul Zsolnay Verlag in the interwar period, received a Nobel prize. Du Gard was translated at Zsolnay by Eva Mertens, Galsworthy by Leon Schalit, and Sinclair Lewis by Clarisse Meitner (published at Paul Zsolnay's *Bibliothek zeitgenössischer Werke Verlags A. G.*). Some Nobel prize winners put the publisher in contact with or informed him about the existing or potentially possible other foreign Nobel prize winners. This was the consequence of the growing social capital of the publisher.

So verdankte der Zsolnay Verlag Heinrich Mann einen seiner vier Nobelpreisträger für Literatur, nämlich Roger Martin du Gard (1881–1958). Mann hat den Verlag Anfang 1928 auf den französischen Autor aufmerksam gemacht, und Zsolnay fragte beim Autor nach, ob die deutschsprachigen Rechte an den „Thibaults“ schon ... (P. Zsolnay to H. Mann, 29.5.1928)²⁸

Brilliant politics in publishing and promoting translations should be mentioned as a significant reason for the publisher's success. By publishing translations and networking with foreign agents, Zsolnay aimed at short-term financial profit and built networks in the field, providing a long-term gain of social and symbolic capital. A well-structured system of collaborating with translators, which will be discussed in the next chapter, can be seen as an essential part of network-constructing and social capital accumulation.

The publisher himself defined another success criterion: the number of books sold or financial profit. For Bourdieu, sales are the primary criterion for measuring the success of the publisher in large-scale circulation, Zsolnay can be considered to have achieved large-scale circulation in Austria. This fact of being the biggest publisher in a smaller German language area made Zsolnay's

28 Thus, Heinrich Mann recommended to the Zsolnay publishing house Roger Martin du Gard (1881–1958), one of its four Nobel Prize winners in Literature. Mann drew the publisher's attention to the French author in early 1928, and Zsolnay asked the author, whether the German-language rights to *Les Thibault* were already ... (P. Zsolnay to H. Mann, 29 May 1928).

activity more challenging and required more creativity in leading the company. According to Hall (1994, p. 170), the publishing company issued many copies of all the published books, even if the number of unique titles was not that high. Moreover, Paul Zsolnay was very active in promoting his books in various periodicals. Advertising was one of the main directions of the publisher's work. At the correspondence archive of Zsolnay, there are several examples of the publisher insisting on changing the book title in translation because, in his opinion, it would make the book more attractive to the readers (correspondences with translators Amann, Hoffman, Schön). Nevertheless, Paul Zsolnay seldom tried to influence or change the text of the translation. This could mean that he gave complete freedom to his translators regarding the text work. Murray Hall had the same impression in the early 1990s when he worked at the archive:

Es mag für manche überraschend klingen, aber die Korrespondenz zwischen dem Verlag und einem Autor dreht sich, wie das Archivmaterial überdeutlich zeigt, nicht um Stilprobleme, um Werkinhalte, um Verbesserungsvorschläge oder ähnliches, sondern an erster Stelle um Geld, um Erscheinungstermine, Auflagenhöhen, um Werbung, um Herstellungsfragen.²⁹

The economic situation in Austria worsened by the end of the 1920s when the world economic crisis of 1928 happened. It influenced the book market: According to stock market journal 101 (1934), the number of published books decreased about 30% between 1928 and 1934. In 1925, there were 31 595 publications, while in 1933 the number was the smallest, only 21 601 books (Hall, 1985, p. 102). Though later, from 1937 on, the number of publications started increasing again. Indeed, the total number of books and the fracture of translated books (see figure in Chapter II and Hall, 1994, p. 399) demonstrate that the Paul Zsolnay publishing company, as a part of the Austrian publishing

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29 It may sound surprising to some, but the correspondence between the publishing house and his authors, as the archival material clearly demonstrates, does not revolve around questions of style, content of the work, suggestions for improvement, or similar, but first and foremost around money, publication dates, print runs, advertising, and production matters.

industry, was reacting in the same way to the crisis years of the world and the Austrian economy.

Paul Zsolnay had to do business in turbulent and unstable times, he had to adapt to constantly changing economic situations, as well as to the political challenges that will be discussed later in this chapter. According to Hall (p. 299), the highest inflation rates during 1923 were challenging for many publishers. The year 1929 and Black Friday brought another inflation wave. In 1930, the book prices decreased by about 25% (Hall, 1985, p. 148). Moreover, a political crisis hit Austria. The years 1930–1933 were often called crisis years in the correspondences. It was precisely in these years, according to the archives, that the salaries of some publisher- and author-translators decreased, and the company had difficulties in paying its authors. According to Hall (pp. 397–8), to solve his financial problems during the 1930s, Zsolnay had to ask for help from the federal chancellor of Austria and his friend³⁰, Kurt Schuschnigg.

The year 1933 became the turning point for a new period in the history of the Austrian book market and publishing industry. As expected, Austria depended on Germany in book production and followed the tendencies of the German book market. In October 1937, a law was passed limiting deliveries of Austrian goods to Germany to 60% (Hall, 1985). The Paul Zsolnay publishing company reacted to these prohibitions because it was the most prominent fiction publisher in Austria and the larger exporter of Austrian books to Germany (Hall, 1985, p. 317). Though the damage for the Paul Zsolnay publishing company could be minimised, as Zsolnay was officially registered as a German company and had offices in Berlin and Leipzig since the mid-1920s.

In terms of translations, their proportion to the German-speaking authors was still high, and the National Socialist government was sceptical of this trend. (Wittmann, 2015, p. 309). Controlling translations was a strategy in other dictatorships of that period. In the early 1930s, according to Rundle (2010), translations made up about 50% of all published books in Italy, by the end of the decade, it was forcibly reduced to 25%. The number was reached not by reducing

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30 “Zsolnay war mit einigen Ministern, vom Bundeskanzler ganz zu schweigen, befreundet” (Hall, 1985, p. 317) / “Zsolnay was friends with several ministers, not to mention the federal chancellor”.

translations but by publishing translations in periodicals and journals, but not as books. Another essential fact about Italian censorship was that no specific language was censored, but the number of translated books³¹ was considered. According to Rundle (2010), translated novels were widespread both in Italy and in Germany. In Germany, Goebbels even supported their publication.

When analysing source languages of Italian translations, Rundle (2022) suggests paying attention to the countries where Italian was a source language for translation and comes to the conclusion that there were very few countries that translated from Italian, which was a big problem for the Italian regime whose basic ideology was the unique Italian culture and its expansion to other territories. It was solved by allowing the publishers to publish translations from other languages only if they were successfully promoting Italian books abroad. This can also be projected to the German-speaking countries in this period. In the archival documents, there is evidence that the Zsolnay Verlag was eager to promote German-speaking, primarily Austrian, authors to be translated abroad and kept buying rights to the books and selling them for translation abroad. Indeed, extensive documentation on translation rights to works by Thomas Mann is kept at the office of the Zsolnay publishing company. As one can expect, starting in the mid-1930s, fewer publishers were interested in translating authors living in German-speaking countries (not those writing in German!) because of the political situation. If German-speaking authors were translated, they were either German-speaking Jews or opposed to the National Socialist regime. Most of them fled Germany or Austria.

According to Rundle (2010), in Germany the first censorship cases are dated to 1935, when it was necessary to ask permission to publish translations

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31 As a part of my PhD program, I investigated the Italian translation of "Gone with the Wind" that was published in Italy in 1939 by publishing company Mondadori. At first glance it seems impossible that a translation of an American novel would be published in a Fascist Italy in December 1937 (the book was translated and edited in less than one year after the original was released in the USA), but looking closer one sees that it was a common practice in Italy to publish translations from English. The government was controlling number of translations, but not the languages. Moreover, to make the book more attractive for the Fascist government, the translators and the publisher "Italianised", the translation i.e. translated all the proper names into Italian (e.g. Rosella-Scarlett), as well as used all the new Italian words introduced by the language reform in the translation.

from the Reich Chamber of Writers. The consequences of publishing a forbidden person in Germany were stricter than in Italy. There were lists of unwanted literature: with the aim of replacing Anglo-American literature and its dominance, the translations from a few friendly languages and states were welcomed, especially the Scandinavian "*Blutsverwandten*"³², less from Spain and Italy. Zsolnay perfectly followed this line (see next chapter and appendixes). His translation programme from 1934 was quite similar to the German publishers: translations of Anglo-American and Scandinavian fiction and some neutral lyrics and novels. Wittmann (2015) provides the following statistics: From 40 best sold novels in 1933–1934, there were only four translations (ca. 10%). Comparing this average to the statistics of translations published by the Paul Zsolnay Verlag, the percentage of translations published by Zsolnay was much higher than the average and was about 40% of all published books. This makes it clear that the Paul Zsolnay Verlag focused on publishing translations.

Hall defines 1936 as the beginning of the cultural Anschluss (*Das Juli-Abkommen* 1936) and states that Austria's National Socialist background was already created in the 19th century. In this situation, publishing companies, which were prevalently ruled by Jews and had numerous Jewish employees, had to find ways to continue working with Jewish people or those considered Jews by someone else. Hall (1985, p. 273) postulates that after 1933 the Austrian Jews were not cancelled from all spheres. It was impossible in Vienna. He (p. 273) adds that the publishing organisations found ways to keep working with the Jews.

... die Judenpolitik im künstlerisch-literarischen Bereich war voll von Kompromisse, Sachzwangen und Inkongruenzen, wodurch Theorie (Ideologie, Gesetze, Erlasse. usw.) und Praxis (Ausschaltung der Juden) oft weit auseinanderklafften ... In Österreich fehlte eine Ausschaltung der Juden aus dem Verlags- und Buchwesen. (Hall 1985, p. 109)³³

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32 Blood relatives.

33 "... Jewish policies in the artistic and literary spheres were full of compromises, practical constraints, and incongruities, as a result of which theory (ideology, laws, decrees, etc.) and practice (the exclusion of Jews) often diverged widely" ... "In Austria, the Jews were not excluded from the publishing and book trade" (Hall 1985, p. 109).

Moreover, some Austrian companies managed to publish authors forbidden in Germany or advertise books written by Jews in the stock market journal. Indeed, Herbert Reichner, a Jewish publisher, announced a book by a Jewish author forbidden in Germany, Stefan Zweig, in the stock market journal and managed to publish it in 1934. However, in 1937, another book by Zweig was forbidden. The Paul Zsolnay publishing company continued publishing Shalom Asch until 1932 and worked with Jewish translators until 1938.

Hall (1985, p. 152) postulates that the Austrian press did not accept the German rules, especially its cultural-political aspect. The situation in Austria was comparable to that in Fascist Italy, where no strict censorship was introduced initially, and there was no organisation to censor the new publications like in Germany. Even the imposed censorship in the later years allowed the publishers to be flexible with what they publish (Rundle, 2022). The main point of control became the number of published books, sometimes source languages, but not the text itself³⁴. Moreover, Austrian fiction publishers were not affected by the restrictions (Hall, 1985, p. 108). This led to the tendency that Austria became attractive to German Jewish publishers, and some of them moved their companies to Austria (e.g., *S. Fischer/Bermann-Fischer, Thomas-Verlag Jakob Hegner, and Bastei Verlag*). Among the reasons for publishers to move to Austria, Hall mentions “racist and economic” motivations. Moreover, Jewish publishers were even privileged in Austria because, in contrast to German Jewish publishers, until at least the end of 1937, they were allowed to be included in the advertising of the stock company (Hall, 1985, p. 275)³⁵. Advertising in the stock market newspaper played an essential role in advertising for the publisher. It allowed the entire German-speaking area to be notified about the existence of the publisher and its new publications. Indeed, the Zsolnay Verlag was the most frequently appearing publisher from all Austrian companies in the stock market journal (Hall, 1985, p. 281).

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34 In contrast, the communist governments dictated translation strategies and controlled translations’ texts (Rundle, Lange, Monticelli, 2022).

35 All the publishing companies were allowed to do it before 1933, while after 1933 German Jewish companies were prohibited from doing this, while Austrian Jewish companies had still access to it.

After the Austrian *Anschluss* to Germany in 1938, controlling fiction publishers and the literary market was the highest priority and an important cultural and political task for National Socialists (Wittmann, 2015, p. 296). In Austria, there was constant control of the programmes of single publishers, and literary officers attentively observed the whole fiction book market (Wittmann, 2015, p. 305). The firm was in control of unpolitical entertaining literature “*Unterhaltungsliteratur*”³⁶ (Wittmann, 2015, p. 306). Hannes Dietl, the head of the *Regional Cultural Office of the NSDAP in Austria* (Hall, 1985, p. 393), was Zsolnay’s controller since March 1938.

All the Austrian publishing companies were in a difficult financial situation in 1937. In this year, the Zsolnay publishing company published much less because of economic difficulties. Though Austria was considered to be a country of publishing houses before 1938, after 1938 the number of publishing companies reduced considerably (Hall, 1985, p. 323). There were about 30 publishing companies in Vienna at the moment of the *Anschluss*, and only a few of them, both “Jewish” and “Aryan”, survived 1938. Publishing companies that were still active were divided into several sections (Hall, 1985, P 180). Paul von Zsolnay was a part of propaganda and exhibition affairs and literary publishers. Moreover, there was a list of Jewish publishers in Vienna that were supposed to be controlled after the *Anschluss*. There were two categories “*gefährliche Juden*” (*dangerous Jews*) and “*bodenständige*”³⁷ (*grounded*). According to the letter from 8th March 1937³⁸, the Paul Zsolnay company was considered to be a dangerous one:

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36 Popular fiction.

37 (Hall, 1994, p. 165 quotes Elster, 1933): Erst vorgestern schrieb mir wieder ein wertvoller Autor: „als Nationalsozialist habe ich allerdings das Bedenken, ob der Zsolnay-Verlag bei seinem prononciert jüdischen Gepräge nicht vielleicht doch eine große Gefahr für einen heutigen Autor wäre, zumal er in Wien lokalisiert ist, was ja gegenwärtig zu neuen Kollisionen Anlass geben könnte“. / Just the day before yesterday, an important author wrote to me again: “As a National Socialist, I doubt, whether the Zsolnay publishing house, a clearly Jewish publisher, might still be more dangerous to a contemporary author, especially since it is located in Vienna, which could rise new conflicts”.

38 Hall quotes „Akt F 10823, Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Schreiben der Deutschen Gesandtschaft (3.2.1937) an den Börsenverein, 431 Sächsisches Staatsarchiv Leipzig, Bestand Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler zu Leipzig“. / “File F10823, Paul Zsolnay Publishing House, letter

Ich würde es besonders begrüßen, wenn mich Ihre Zeitschrift in dem Kampf gegen die ausländischen Judenverlage unterstützen würde und dabei wieder besonders im Kampf gegen Zsolnay. *Der Besitzer ist Jude. Zsolnay war vor der Machtübernahme der größte und gefährlichste Judenverlag Europas.* Von ihm wurde jüdischer Geist auf die raffinierteste Weise in das deutsche Volk gepumpt. Nachher hat er, um das deutsche Geschäft nicht zu verlieren, sich schnell einige charakterlose sogenannten nationale Schriftsteller zur Tarnung vorgebunden. Dabei fand er leider sogar Unterstützung in der deutschen Gesandtschaft in Wien und besonders dank geschickter und gefährlicher Machenschaften eines Dr. Leber gelang es Zsolnay sogar einige ganz ordentliche Leute zu sich herüber zu ziehen. Hinter diesem Versteck verbreitet er im Übrigen den alten Judengeist. Die deutschen Buchhändler aber, besonders der Bahnhofsbuchhandel, überschwemmen das deutsche Volk mit Zsolnay-Büchern. Über alles das hat die „Neue Literatur“ immer wieder berichtet, leider ohne den gewünschten klaren Erfolg (Hall, 1985).³⁹

Wittmann (2015), who confirms that the Paul Zsolnay company was considered Jewish, states that there were two options for the Jewish publishers (or those considered to be Jewish) in Austria: liquidation of the company or transferring it to the German owner (aryanization). From the mid-1930s, all companies suspected to be Jewish had to prove they were not Jews, and many did. In 1934 Will Vespers stated that Zsolnay was a Jewish publisher, Zsolnay answered that

from the German Embassy (3 February 1937) to the Börsenverein. 431 Saxon State Archive Leipzig, holdings of the Börsenverein of German Booksellers in Leipzig”.

- 39 “I would particularly welcome if your magazine would support me in fighting against the foreign Jewish publishers, and especially – against Zsolnay. The owner is Jewish. Before the seizure of power, Zsolnay was the largest and most dangerous Jewish publisher in Europe. From him, Jewish ideas were pumped into the German people in the most sophisticated way. Afterwards, in order not to lose the German market, he quickly tied some characterless so-called national writers to himself as a cover. Unfortunately, he even found support in the German embassy in Vienna, and thanks to the clever and dangerous machinations of a Leber, Zsolnay attracted some very good people. Behind this facade, he continues, moreover, to spread the old Jewish spirit. German booksellers, especially those in railway stations’ book-stores, inundate the German people with Zsolnay books. The *Neue Literatur* has repeatedly reported on this, unfortunately without success” (Hall, 1985).

he belonged to the German minority of Czechoslovakia and was therefore allowed to publish in the Reich⁴⁰. Though Vesper accepted it for a while, later he stated that Zsolnay (Hall, p. 407) was married to a Jewish woman (= Anna Mahler) whose mother (= Alma Mahler Werfel) was married to a Jewish author (= Franz Werfel). Moreover, there were some published Jewish authors, but there were also “pure” German authors in the company. Concluding, he admitted that the company should be seen as mixed. The same follows from the information from *Saxon State Archive, Leipzig*⁴¹ where the head of the stock market union Albert Heß in January 1937, stated:

„Die dzt. Leitenden Personen“, heißt es da, „sind meist Arier. Bloss der Hauptaktionär Paul Zsolnay gilt als nicht ganz rein arisch.“⁴²

In this situation, by 1937, the company had to be sold to someone who was not considered a Jew in society. Many other publishers sold their companies to the “aryan” person de jure, but de facto ruled their companies themselves.

What was the strategy of the Paul Zsolnay company in dealing with the new reality? After 1933 many authors refused to publish at the Jewish company to avoid problems with their careers, though it was not easy because of the existing contracts. So, Edschmid, in 1933, informed Zsolnay that another publisher would further publish his works:

Da es ein Prinzip Zsolnays war, zumindest den Versuch zu machen, das „Gesamtobjekt“, d.h. auch die Rechte auf sämtliche früher erschienene Werke eines Autors, zu erwerben, bedeuteten solche Transaktionen das

.....
40 „daß er sich für die Errichtung einer reinen deutschen Schule eingesetzt habe und ‚bei uns lediglich die Einstellung zum Deutschtum und die Zugehörigkeit zur religiösen Konfession [Zsolnay war evangelisch] von Bedeutung‘ sei“ (Hall, 1994) / “that he had advocated for the establishment of a purely German school and ‘for us are only important the attitude toward Germanness and affiliation with the religious belonging [Zsolnay was Protestant]’” (Hall, 1994).

41 Holdings of the Börsenverein of German Booksellers in Leipzig, 143 (Hall, p. 427).

42 “The current management,” it says there, “are mostly Aryans. Only the main shareholder, Paul Zsolnay, is considered not entirely of pure Aryan origin”.

Aufbringen von erheblichen Geldsummen, vor allem wenn man mit mehreren Verlagen verhandeln mußte. (Hall, 1994, p. 316)⁴³

The first prohibitions for the publishing company started after 1933 by recommending not to publish certain books, e.g. communist literature. It became clear to Zsolnay that he had to modify his booklists drastically when in 1935, Hermann Leber put Paul Zsolnay in contact with Vesper regarding the “aryanization” of the publishing house (Hall, 1994, p. 175). The publisher had to introduce to his programme several Austrian writers who supported the NSDAP, which was forbidden in Austria. According to Hall, these changes in the programme after 1933 were an absolute financial failure for the publisher (Hall, 1994, p. 433). By the end of the 1930s, the Zsolnay publishing company tried publishing more detective stories in order to adapt to the changing situation and gain some financial profit without collaborating too much with the supporters of the NSDAP, though it was necessary to take away some works by the authors who were considered Jewish, which caused severe financial damage for the company:

Mit einem Verbot aller Werke belegt wurden: Claude Anet, Schalom Asch, Henri Barbusse, Theodore Dreiser, Stefan Grossmann, Heinrich Eduard Jacob, Josef Löbel, Emil Ludwig, Julius Meier-Graefe, Hans Natonek, Robert Neumann, Roda Roda, Hans Sochaczewer, Carl Sternheim und Otto Zarek (Hall, 1994, p. 390). ...

Die französische (bis auf kleine Ausnahmen) und russische Literatur wurde, wie erwähnt, aus dem Programm gestrichen. Weitere Opfer waren Joseph Chapiro, Waither Eidlitz, Johann Fabricius, Max Fleischer, Lili Grün, Mela Hartwig, Leon Schallt, Sil-Vara, Hermann Sinsheimer, Hilde Spiel, Ernst Weiß und Victoria Wolf (Hall, 1994, p 393).⁴⁴

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43 Since Zsolnay has always tried to acquire the ‘complete object,’ i.e., also the rights to all previously published works of an author, such steps involved raising substantial sums of money, especially when negotiating with several publishers (Hall, 1994, p. 316).

44 All works by the following authors were banned: Claude Anet, Shalom Asch, Henri Barbusse, Theodore Dreiser, Stefan Grossmann, Heinrich Eduard Jacob, Josef Löbel, Emil Ludwig,

To save some of his authors, Paul Zsolnay is considered to have founded *Bibliothek zeitgenössischer Werke*⁴⁵ (Hall, 1994, p. 201) in Berne, which existed until 1940. However, according to Hall, it was not clear if Paul Zsolnay had something to do with it:

Der Verlag „stellte sich um“! Die Judenliteratur wurde nach Zürich abgeschoben, in eine „Bibliothek zeitgenössischer Autoren“, die merkwürdigerweise nur alte Zsolnayliteraten verlegt. Angeblich hat aber der Zsolnay Verlag nichts mit ihr zu tun. Die Neue Literatur, August 1935, (p. 495).⁴⁶

During the years 1930–1932, the following authors, incl. translated, were published there: H.G. Wells, Schalom Asch, Kasimir Edschmid, John Galsworthy, Heinrich Mann, Max Brod, Sinclair Lewis, Franz Werfel, Johann Fabricius, Georg von der Vring, Walter von Molo, Anton Tschechow, Egmont Colerus, Ernst Lothar, Roger Martin du Gard, Paul Frischauer, Valentin Katajew, Fannie Hurst, Mary Webb, Hans Sochaczewer, Felix Saiten, Stefan Grossmann, and Theodore Dreiser.

It was not a new development that National Socialists influenced Austrian publishers from 1933, though the party was still illegal in Austria. As mentioned before, Zsolnay's strategy was to collaborate with NSDAP supporters. Walter Kotas, a translator from Scandinavian languages, started working at the Paul Zsolnay company in this period. In 1936 he was imprisoned because he participated in a NS-organisation forbidden in Austria. Despite Kotas'

Julius Meier-Graefe, Hans Natonek, Robert Neumann, Roda Roda, Hans Sochaczewer, Carl Sternheim, and Otto Zarek (Hall, 1994, p. 390).

As previously noted, French (with few exceptions) and Russian literature was removed from the publishing program. Other affected authors included Joseph Chapiro, Walther Eidlitz, Johann Fabricius, Max Fleischer, Lili Grün, Mela Hartwig, Leon Schallt, Sil-Vara, Hermann Sinsheimer, Hilde Spiel, Ernst Weiß, and Victoria Wolf (Hall, 1994, p. 393).

45 Library of contemporary works.

46 The publishing house 'reorganized'! Jewish literature was sent to Zurich, into a 'Library of Contemporary Authors,' which, strangely, published only previous Zsolnay authors. Supposedly, however, the Zsolnay publishing house had nothing to do with it. *Die Neue Literatur*, August 1935, p. 495.

criminal case, Zsolnay continued working with him, writing letters to the jail asking him to work on other translations. There could be two explanations for this behaviour: first, Zsolnay showing or trying to show a collaborative approach to the NS-supporters; second, the professional qualities of Kotas, who worked with rare Scandinavian languages and his networks in Europe, incl. Scandinavian writers popular in the German-speaking area at that time. This is a representative example of Zsolnay's business friendship with a National Socialist supporter. Furthermore, Zsolnay could just have been lacking translators for Scandinavian languages, as there were not so many of them in Vienna. After having analysed all the translators from the Scandinavian languages presented at UeLex, I have established that none of them would fit this role at the time period 1924–1938 and be geographically close to Vienna.

In the mid-1930s, Paul Zsolnay was trying to save the company by all means, which brought ambiguous results: In the publishing company, that was considered Jewish, most of the new authors after 1934 were members of the NSDAP. One of the examples is described by Hall: According to a German law from August 1933, all the authors had to become members of the Union of German writers, many Austrian writers were not sure if they had to follow this tendency in order to be published in Germany and/or by the German publishers. Many authors of the Paul Zsolnay company had this concern, incl. Franz Werfel. In this situation, Zsolnay and Costa decided to become members of this union, demonstrating the reliability of the authors, even if some of them were not "aryan". Zsolnay and Costa tried to balance the risk of being cancelled from the German book market with being loyal to their origins. According to Hall, Zsolnay, Costa, and Werfel's limitless political naivety was the main reason they continued publishing in the 1930s and collaborating with NS-actors⁴⁷. Hall states that they also became members of all possible groups

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47 Denn gerade was das Bild des Zsolnay Verlags in den 30er Jahren, den Verlagsinhaber Zsolnay und den literarischen Leiter Felix Costa betrifft, so zeigt sich, daß deren ästhetische Neigungen (für Verleger keine negative Eigenschaft, im Gegenteil!) sie daran hinderte, den Nationalsozialismus in seiner ganzen Gefährlichkeit zu begreifen. Sie waren dem Irrglauben verfallen, dass im nun angebrochenen Zeitalter der politisierten Literatur weitehin nur ihren hohen Idealen der Kunst dienen könnten und dass es genügte, Autoren wie etwa Franz Werfel tunlichst von den Niederungen der Politik fernzuhalten. Sowohl Zsolnay als auch Felix Costa (man könnte auch Franz Werfel ohne weiteres miteinbeziehen) waren von einer – wie

because they believed in the “aesthetic ideas” of the National Socialists. Though it seems that their actions were only motivated by financial profit, this could be seen as the most significant step away from the Austrian Jewish community, which felt betrayed by the publisher. So Zsolnay was considered a betrayer in his old Jewish community and a foreigner or a “Jew/half-Jew” in his new reality.

Denn nun kauften die Wiener Juden keine Zsolnaybücher mehr und im Reich blieb er schließlich bei allen Kunststücken der Judenverlag. Josef Weinheber to Will Vesper: 29.06.1935 (Hall, 1994, p. 499).⁴⁸

How did the “aryanization” happen at the Zsolnay publishing company? According to the new law from 1935 (Hall, 1985, p. 200), Jews were not allowed access to publishing companies public funding. Paul Zsolnay was asked to be one of the leaders of such a funding distribution committee, but as expected, he couldn’t receive any funding himself. Nevertheless, Zsolnay’s company received some funding before 1938. In this situation, Paul Zsolnay decided to sell a part of the company to Ritter Jantsch, a friend of his, but in fact, Paul Zsolnay took all the decisions in the publishing company himself. According to Hall, what Zsolnay did in 1938 was a quasi-aryanization⁴⁹:

sich zeigte – **grenzenlosen politischen Naivität**. Sie erkannten einfach nicht, dass es sich da nichtum eine Bewegung oder ein Regime handelte, das verlegerisch rationalen Standpunkten und Argumenten zugänglich war. (Hall, 1994) / In the 1930s, the image of the Zsolnay publishing house, its owner Paul Zsolnay, and its literary director Felix Costa was shaped by their aesthetic inclinations(not a negative feature for publishers at all), which actually worked against them. These inclinations prevented them from fully grasping the dangers of National Socialism. They were under the mistaken belief that, in the new era of politicized literature, they could continue to serve only their high artistic ideals, and that it was enough to keep authors like Franz Werfel as far as possible from the rough terrain of politics. Both Zsolnay and Costa (and Werfel could easily be included here) displayed a **boundless political naivety**. They failed to recognize that this was not a movement or regime that could be reasoned with through rational publishing arguments or appeals (Hall, 1994).

48 “For now, the Viennese Jews no longer bought Zsolnay books, and in the (German) Empire he remained, after all the tricks, a ‘Jewish publisher.’” Josef Weinheber to Will Vesper: 29 June 1935 (Hall, 1994, p. 499).

49 In German, Hall calls it “Scheinarisierung”: quasi-aryanisation.

Zsolnay soll – nach Stebich – während dieser ganzen Zeit lediglich „vorübergehend“ von Wien abwesend gewesen, immer wieder in dem Verlag erschienen sein und einen Einfluss auf die Geschäftsführung geltend gemacht haben (Hall, 1985, p. 401).⁵⁰

Jantsch owned 75% of the company, while 25% belonged to Paul Zsolnay. The company was considered to be aryanised. Wittmann (2015) presents the list of the aryanized publishers and the Paul Zsolnay company is not on this list (Kliemann, 1986, p. 48). In 1938, Paul Zsolnay went on a business trip to London, where he realised that it was dangerous to return to Vienna, so he decided to remain in the UK. He took part in the life of the publishing company from London and was in constant contact with Jantsch, according to both the archive and Hall's history of the publisher:

Zsolnay lenkte den Verlag zum Teil von London aus, wo er zusammen mit William Heinemann sich erneut als Verleger etablierte – noch bis März 1939 (Hall, 1985, p. 400).⁵¹

This proves that the Zsolnay publishing company was aryanised only de-jure, only formally changing the owner, while another Jewish Viennese company E P Tal was also only de facto aryanised: it was sold to Alfred Ilbach (who was a translator) and was managed by him (Hall, 1985, p. 409).

This volume ends its investigation in the year 1938, but it is essential to know that in March 1941, it was decided to change the name of the Zsolnay company and to choose new authors for the publishing house. It became a part of Karl H. Bischoff Verlag in Berlin.

Fast drei Jahre nach Übernahme des Zsolnay Verlages durch Jantsch und Konsorten wurde nun hochhoffiziell versucht, reinen Tisch zu

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50 “According to Stebich, Zsolnay was supposed to be ‘temporarily’ not in Vienna during this entire period, but he repeatedly appeared at the publishing house, and influenced its work” (Hall, 1985, p. 401).

51 “Zsolnay partly directed the publishing house from London, where he, together with William Heinemann, established himself as a publisher, even before March 1939” (Hall, 1985, p. 400).

machen, denn trotz ‚jüdischen‘ Namensproduzierte der Zsolnay Verlag weiter und machte beträchtliche Umsätze (Hall, 1985, p. 405).⁵²

After the war, Paul Zsolnay returned from London, and in 1946, the Paul Zsolnay publishing company was registered again. This all shows that Zsolnay was trying to balance a challenging political situation and his roots and beliefs. Hall connects Zsolnay's success with political naivety, which might be true for the first half of the 1930s. Generally, from the correspondence archive, it is evident that Paul Zsolnay and Felix Costa were aware of the developing situation and reacted to the challenges and tried to employ soft power instruments to influence the situation. On the one hand, they were trying to save the company by all means and, on the other hand, they wanted to help the discriminated minorities from their original community, friends and acquaintances, and their families.

What happened to other Viennese publishing companies in this period? What were other ways of surviving for Jewish publishers? Some, such as *Cassirer*, *Erich Reiss*, *S. Fischer*, and *Ullstein*, suffered from changing circumstances and had to choose between emigration or aryanization (Wittmann, 2015, p. 289). In this, Paul Zsolnay, who decided not to return from the business trip in 1938, was not the only publisher who had to flee and chose the UK. For example, Bruno Cassirer emigrated to the UK in 1938. Fritz Ungar transferred his Saturn Verlag to the only "Aryan" in the company, Theo L. Görlitz, and in April 1938, emigrated to the USA. Some fiction publishers preferred working with non-ideologized products, such as travel guides at Engelhorn publisher, or Carl Hanser Verlag, who focused on specialised literature (Wittmann, 2015, p. 21).

While speaking of the Austrian publishing history, S. Fischer must be mentioned. The company was established in 1886 in Berlin. The founder had Jewish roots and published both fiction and specialised literature. Thomas Mann and Hermann Hesse started working with Fischer after receiving a

52 "Almost three years after Jantsch and his companion taking over the Zsolnay publishing house, an official attempt was made to reorganise the company, because despite its 'Jewish' name, the Zsolnay publishing house continued to operate and brought considerable revenue" (Hall, 1985, p. 405).

Nobel Prize, which brought symbolic capital to the publisher. In accumulating symbolic and social capital in the literary and publishing fields, Fischer admitted that his biggest mistake was refusing to publish “All quiet on the Western front” by Remarque. In the 1930s, a part of the house was aryanized, and one part of the company continued operating in Berlin, directed by Peter Suhrkamp. The other part went to Vienna with its Jewish owner and his family. For this reason, another publishing company appeared in Austria in the late 1930s that could be comparable to Zsolnay, namely the Bermann Fischer Verlag, which according to Hall, actively used its networks. Gottfried Bermann, Fischer’s son-in-law, managed the publishing company in Vienna. Bermann had a friend in the government, Hans von Hammerstein-Equord, who helped him at the beginning. Nevertheless, in the late 1930s the Bermann-Fischer company was closed, and its owner had to flee Vienna on 13 March 1938. He started his career in Germany, then fled to Vienna in 1938, after which he fled to the USA through Switzerland and Sweden. After the war, he returned to Germany but then moved to Italy (Wittmann, 2015).

Overview Chapter I

This chapter started with a construct of Jewish difference in interwar Vienna, which is essential to consider while discussing a Viennese company between the two wars. Then I briefly commented on what happened to Austria’s publishing industry and the options for Jewish publishers in this period in Vienna. This chapter focuses on the larger picture of what happened in Vienna in the interwar period and on the two topics essential for this case study: Jewish difference and the publishing industry. The first one influenced Austrian society to an extreme extent, it changed the country’s life and the lives of many people living in Vienna, including the destiny of the publishing house analysed in this work. Paul Zsolnay was considered a Jewish publisher, like many Viennese publishers, and had to survive proving that he was not Jewish, while still supporting marginalised minorities, incl. Jews. The publishing industry blossomed in the 1920s but was suppressed in the 1930s. It was an intense and turbulent period both for people and for businesses. It was challenging to

manage a company in this period, and everyone tried to find ways to survive. Paul Zsolnay managed to save the company and worked with Jewish translators until it was completely forbidden in 1938. The information from this chapter is important to start analysing translation politics and translation culture of the Zsolnay publishing company in the next chapter and is even more important to see how translators who worked for the company in this period influenced it and changed its destiny (Chapter III).

II The Paul Zsolnay publishing company and the translations (1924–1938)

*The publisher legitimates literary products;
he creates the creator.*
G. Sapiro (2015)

At the end of the last century, French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1999) highlighted the relevance of publishing field research for translation studies. Gisele Sapiro (2008) underlined that the sociological approach to translation needs to consider publishers, whose role in the international circulation of books is crucial. Listing three variables that influence the success of translated literary works – the centrality of the target language, the centrality of the place where the translation is published, and the symbolic capital of the publisher⁵³ – Sapiro points to the central role of the publisher as a mediator between the author and the society (though not mentioning the translator!), as well as to the publisher's role in the destiny of a translated literary work.

Bourdieu's analytical model (1999, 2008) helps to study the international and national publishing market and compare the publishing structure in different countries, and to consider specific actors as well as international circulation of

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53 Sapiro (2008) "Even in the same language and location, the impact of translation on the visibility of any work in the transnational literary field varies significantly according to the prestige and respectability of the publisher. There are at least two reasons for that. First, a well-established publisher has a larger distribution network. However, the firm's business and its commercial power are not the main factor: more important is the symbolic capital of the publisher which is transferred to the work through publication and translation. The symbolic capital of the publisher enhances the opportunity of a translated work to gain attention in the media and to attract the learned readership. Furthermore, it increases the chances of the work to be noted by the publishers of other countries".

publishing models. In this chapter, I rely on the criteria described by Bourdieu to investigate the internal dynamics at the company. In different parts of this chapter, I address 1) capital distribution between the actors of the field; 2) the two-scale dichotomy as proposed by Bourdieu; 3) publisher's booklists and policies; 4) source languages of the translations; 5) external factors. In the last chapter, however, I also analyse the agency of the translators at the company.

While Bourdieu and Sapiro's approaches to studying the publishing field are clearly sociological, some book historians suggest connecting book history and translation studies. For example, in 2009, Bachleitner released an article called "A Proposal to Include Book History in Translation Studies". Recently he noted that it has actually happened:

the inclusion of print history (book history) into translation studies is a rather recent phenomenon. (Bachleitner, 2018, p. 103)

My work goes in line with these ideas, applying sociological approaches and demonstrating that a publishing house could be seen as an effective platform to study global translation flows and actors of translation, who influence and modify the translation policies of the publishing house and influence the translation culture in the region.

In the field of translation studies, research on publishing houses' policies is being actively conducted, e.g. an investigation of the Soviet publishing houses "*Vsemirnaya Literatura*" and "*Academia*" by Maxim Schulz and Tatiana Bedson, and of the Italian house "*Einaudi*" by Francesca Nottola. In Austria, in the case of the Zsolnay publishing house, a great deal of work has been done by Murray G. Hall (1994), who presents in detail the publishing house's history. An extensive study on the "*Suhrkamp*" publisher (2019), its translation policies and work with East European languages includes not only valuable methods of investigating a publisher but some theoretical thoughts on translation policies in general. Magda Jeanrenaud (2014) analyses the Romanian publishing house "*Polirom*". She contextualises events, people and policies by applying the key notions of Bourdieu's field theory. Empirically this case study focuses on the publishing company as an actor is far not the first in translation studies. Indeed, the volume "*Übersetzer und Übersetzen in der DDR*" (2020) is dedicated to the

publishers and translations at different publishers in the GDR: Luo Yang works on the history of translations of Chinese literature by the publishing company *Volk und Welt* in 1980–1990; Tashinskiy investigates translations by Tolstoy at the publishing company *Rütten und Loening* in 1952–1962. My volume relying on the studies mentioned above goes further connects publishing and translation studies and considers sociology, history and exile studies. Within translation studies research, I rely on sources from book history, exile and apply sociological and historical methods.

The primary goal of this chapter is to analyse how the Zsolnay publishing company adapted to the socio-political challenges through translation policies and how translators influenced the process, remembering that translation and translators are the focus of this volume. First, I describe the translators' role in choosing source languages and defining the number of published translations, then I present a connection between translators' income and their networks and status at the publishing company. Further I apply the sociological data of translators to the history of the publishing house and use it to explain the development of the company, the growth of the company's symbolic and social capital, its support for discriminated minorities and change of the translation policies in new socio-political circumstances, following its transformation from the initiators-centred translation culture to the autocratic one. Simultaneously, I pay special attention to the objective and constructed sociological parameters of translators and determine what these factors reveal about changes in the status and capital of the publishing company in the field. Finally, I briefly mention the construct of translation quality, which was used as an instrument of manipulation and a way of adapting to changing circumstances. In this work, quality is treated as a social construct, based on the actors' aims and interests (based on Haiden, 2024a).

It is essential to note that the data presented in this work have never been published before in this connection: the exact annual fraction of published translations to the whole number of publications at the Zsolnay publishing company, the number of translators, their names and biographies, as well as the information about the relationship between translator-author-publisher (I have gathered data from different sources). However, some data was collected by others, e.g., all the book titles published by the Paul Zsolnay Verlag are

listed by Murray G. Hall (1994), and can also be recalled from the archive of the publishing company at the Austrian National Library. Subsequently, I have extracted all the translations (Appendix I, all published translations, source languages and translators' names) from these lists and revealed the names of the translators of these books. In fact, most translators' names were not mentioned before and translator's agency has never been considered as a parameter for analysing the history of the Paul Zsolnay publishing company. These were detected, among others, within peritext analyses of the translated books (see more in Haiden, 2024b), kept at the publisher's library in Vienna. I must admit that reconstructing translators' biographies was a great challenge, as little data about almost all these translators was available. At first, I partially reconstructed biographies with the help of the publisher's archive, where addresses of the translators in different periods, their social contacts, some personal data (weddings, holidays), financial situation, etc. were to be found. The information from the publisher's archive was not enough to write any biography, but it pointed to where I could find more information (e.g., translator's networks or home addresses). For this reason, I later consulted other archives: authors' archives, personal archives, church, exile, or Jewish archives, and contacted other researchers who worked on the biographies of these translators (see more about the archives in Haiden, forthcoming). On the whole, the detailed analysis of correspondence between the publisher, author, and translator from different archives allows me to reveal the connection between translators' networks, capital, and status in the publishing company and their income, professional freedom, and the possibility of fleeing after the Austrian Anschluss to Germany in 1938.

Why the Paul Zsolnay publishing house?

Of all the Viennese publishing houses that first appeared in the interwar period, why is Paul Zsolnay of particular interest for translation studies? First, it may be considered one of the most successful and well-known fiction publishing companies in Austria. It was the biggest fiction publisher in Austria then, and it exists until today (even as a part of a larger German Hanser company), which

means it had successful publishing policies during the last hundred years. Moreover, the networks, as a part of the social capital, as well as the number of sold books, as a part of the economic capital, define the company's success. Another significant reason for the publisher's success could be his brilliant politics in publishing and promoting translations. Indeed, by publishing translations and networking with foreign agents, Zsolnay focused on the short-term financial profit and building networks in the field, providing a long-term gain of social and symbolic capital. Lastly, a well-structured system of collaborating with translators, which will be traced in this and the subsequent chapter, could be seen as an essential part of network construction and social capital accumulation.

The second reason for choosing this company as the case study object is the publisher's personality: a well-educated, wealthy young man, a book lover, who established a publishing house in intercultural and multilingual Vienna. Paul Zsolnay, originally from a family with "a mixed Jewish background" (Silverman, 2012), moved to Vienna from Hungary and, as we see from the correspondence, had a good command of English. In his case, at least four cultures and languages of communication are considered. Additionally, Zsolnay had good networks among the Viennese intellectual and artistic circles, he knew the needs of the authors and the problems existing in the Viennese publishing industry. Murray Hall (1994) underlines that economic profit was less important for him, but his love of "good literature" was decisive. Summing up, Paul Zsolnay had enough initial capital to fulfil his ambitious ideas. Third, Paul Zsolnay managed to find a solution for supporting Jewish authors and translators until 1938, on the one hand, and adding neutral or socialist authors to the company's programme in the mid-1930s on the other hand. This was a unique strategy among the Viennese publishers of the late 1930s. Basically, Zsolnay was trying to adapt to changing circumstances and found a solution for the new socio-political situation – the growth of Austro-fascism and antisemitism, especially after 1933 when Hitler came to power in Germany. In the late 1930s, Zsolnay had to avoid any acute political publications. In the letter to Thompson in December 1937,⁵⁴ he underlined:

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54 Zsolnay correspondence archive, Literature Archive Vienna, Austrian National Library.

We cannot publish it as we do not publish political pamphlets, on principle. We are publishing only fiction and general literature of the non-political sort.

The fourth reason is its translation policies and its focus on translations. In the following parts, I will discuss the number of translated books published by the Paul Zsolnay publishing company and the source languages chosen for translations. The role of the translators in developing the company's translation policies will be the focus of this chapter.

Translation policies

Number of published translations

As one of the objectives of this study is to analyse translation policies (as a part of translation culture reconstruction) in interwar Austria using the example of the publishing company Paul Zsolnay Verlag, this part contributes to constructing the larger picture of how publishing translations functioned in Europe in this period and how it changed society. Though social scientists are intensively investigating all the factors that influenced translations and were influenced by them, there are still many blank spots on the map. Analysing translation policies in different regions is still on the to-do list of several scientists all over the globe. In fact, this must be done to get the complete picture, which may be represented as a patchwork constructed from different geographic areas and periods. In this part of the case study, I compare my results to the material already available for this period for other case studies in Europe. The comparison to the fascist regimes of the first half of the 20th century and the communist regimes' policies regarding translations was especially fascinating for me.

Before starting to analyse Zsolnay's translation strategy, let me recall Bourdieu's (1999, 2008) two scale dichotomy, which is especially helpful in understanding the complex and sophisticated agency of the company in the interwar period. Bourdieu suggests considering the publisher's aims in the field depending on the publishing house's age and focus: dominant versus dominated

(old agents vs newcomers) and autonomy versus heteronomy (small-scale vs large-scale). According to Bourdieu (1999, 2008), large independent publishers publish more volumes, focus on classics and are careful with modern literature. The small scale is usually oriented to the specific literature, has a clearly defined niche, and considers best-sellers less frequently. Sometimes, these publishers work with authors whose books are sold with less success. Interestingly, sales play a minor role for small-scale publishers: What counts is literary recognition, which can convince a publisher to continue translating an author even in the case of poor sales (Sapiro, Bourdieu). This is what Pierre Bourdieu called “the production of belief” at the pole of small-scale production in the publishing field: value is created by the belief that different agents, publishers, literary agents, and critics have in an author. Another dichotomy – old agents vs. newcomers – illustrates the publisher’s age. While the newly established publishers search for their niche and experiment with genres and authors, the established or old agents already have solid and reliable networks in the field: writers, critics, translators, and international networks. Innovation in the field comes from the newcomers: they cannot afford to pay well-known authors and have to take risks, which makes the field dynamic.

The construction of the symbolic capital is, probably, the most important factor for the newcomer to the publishing field, especially within fiction publishing. Rafael Schögler (2023) mentions that the idea of “*Suhrkamp* culture” and the status of “*Suhrkamp*-authors” is an excellent example of positioning and constructing reputation. The first years of the publishing house are prominent in building further networks and positioning in the field, an attempt to find its niche. The same could be applied to publishing *belles-lettres*: In Zsolnay’s case, the construction of reputation and publisher’s positioning started even before starting the publishing business through the networks of its founder and his cultural and social background. Paul Zsolnay started in 1924 as an Austrian independent publisher and in 1996 the company became a part of the larger German *Hanser* publisher, which definitely also influenced its translation policies. At the beginning, the company was less bound by the economic success and focused on the “production of belief”, while joining *Hanser* changed its focus in what translations to publish. The publishing house now contributes to the success of the larger German publishing company

with translations from Central, Eastern, South-Eastern European and Balkan languages. However, the situation with the Paul Zsolnay Verlag in the interwar period was controversial, considering that the company became the largest and most successful fiction publisher in Austria, while remaining rather on the small-scale for the whole German speaking area.

Now, keeping in mind Bourdieu’s theory and Zsolnay’s position as a newcomer in the field, the largest Austrian fiction company but a small company for the German-speaking area, let us return to the connection between socio-political events and the number of published translations between 1924 and 1938. Table 1 is based on the information from the Paul Zsolnay Verlag correspondence archive, Hall’s history of the publisher, and the collection at the library of the publishing house. According to the chart, from 1924 to 1938, 38% of all publications were translations. This is a classical choice for a newcomer in the field.

Year	Published books	Translations
1924	18	8 (44,4%)
1925	30	8 (26,7%)
1926	20	7 (35%)
1927	28	16 (57,1%)
1928	36	18 (50%)
1929	50	24 (48%)
1930	53	30 (56,6%)
1931	44	13 (29,5%)
1932	54	15 (27,8%)
1933	41	11 (26,8%)
1934	31	7 (22,6%)
1935	44	10 (22,7%)
1936	61	25 (41%)
1937	51	22 (43%)
1938	52	18 (34,6%)
TOTAL	613	231 (37.7%)

Figure 3: Number of translations published by Zsolnay, 1924–1938

This chart allows us to establish two periods in translation policies for these 14 years from a translation studies point of view: an increasing trend in the number of translations from 1924 to 1930 and a considerably decreasing and then slowly increasing tendency to publish translations from 1931 to 1938. As Wolf (2015) notes, it does not mean that the periods start or stop at that exact point: the periodisation helps us to systematise data and connect it to the region's socio-political situation, but not to set artificial chronological barriers of the naturally developing social processes.

In the first four months, half of all published books (eight books) were translations (four books). Even considering a translations boom all over Europe, according to Hall (1994), it was an impressive number for a German-speaking publisher. Later, in 1927, more than half (57%) of published books were translations. Moreover, the number of translated books doubled in comparison to the previous year (1926). The years 1927–1930 were characterised by the equal or prevalent number of translations (from 48 to 57%)⁵⁵ over new original German releases. In fact, Bourdieu's newcomer strategy if applied to the Paul Zsolnay publishing company might explain this high number of translations. Initially, newcomers in the publishing field focus on translations, while big prestigious houses continue to publish non-translated literature. According to Bourdieu (1999, 2008), focusing on translations is correct but a risky strategy for newcomers in the publishing field. On the one hand, discovering new foreign authors, some of whom later become famous, helps accumulate symbolic capital and brings long-term economic profit. On the other hand, well-known authors usually prefer famous and reliable publishers with high symbolic capital in the field. This strategy was chosen by Paul Zsolnay: After starting a new publishing enterprise, he opted for publishing translations in order to accumulate symbolic and social capital through connections abroad, also with the help of translators as mediators. The tendency to publish a

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55 It is comparable to what happened in Fascist Italy (Rundle, 2010): When Mussolini came to power, the society was eager for changes and there were many new translations published, while in the 1930s the state started controlling and censoring not only published authors, but translations and the text of the translation. In Austria there was no direct censorship in publishing translations, as there was in Italy or Germany, but there were still implicit ideological limits.

significant number of translations continued in the following years until the financial crisis started to become noticeable in Austria in the 1930s. In 1931, the number of published translations dropped significantly (25%) due to the world economic crisis. At this moment, Zsolnay could not pay the authors and translators, many of whom stopped collaborating with him. Since then, short-term financial profit had become decisive for the company.

A comparison to the number of translations as a fraction of all published books in Germany helps to describe the translation policies of the company and to prove that translations were considered a part of the economic strategy:

Im deutschen Buchhandel gab es z.B. 1927 1267 Verlagsveröffentlichungen, die aus Fremdsprachen ins Deutsche übersetzt wurden. Im Jahre 1928 waren es 1477, also um 16,6% mehr. Der Anteil der Übersetzungen an der gesamten Verlagsproduktion im Jahre 1928 betrug also nur 5,3 %. Vorherrschend waren Werke aus dem Englischen (37 %), Französischen (19 %) und Russischen (12 %). (Hall, 1985, at p. 272 refers to the stock market journal, Nr. 58, 9.3.1929).⁵⁶

For the reasons listed before, the publisher was often criticised by his contemporaries for publishing *Ausländerei*⁵⁷, therefore the publishing company tried to reduce the number of translations during the first years. To one of the translator's proposals about publishing a translation, Felix Costa replied that this French translation was attractive, but they would prefer to do it later (about Claude Anet's "Ariane"):

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56 For example, there were 1,267 translations released in 1927 in the German book market. In 1928, the number rose to 1,477, an increase of 16.6%. The share of translations in total publishing output in 1928 thus amounted to only 5.3%. Works translated from English (37%), French (19%), and Russian (12%) predominated. (Hall, 1985, p. 272, referring to the stock exchange journal, no. 58, 9 March 1929).

57 Foreign literature (from German). Hall, 1994: Von den ersten 18 (eigentlich 19) Verlagswerken waren nicht weniger als acht (9) Übersetzungen, was durchaus den Intentionen des jungen Verlags entsprach, aber beim Publikum und bei den Buchhändlern auf Kritik stoßen sollte, Stichwort „Ausländerei“. / Of the first 18 (in fact, 19) publications issued by the publishing house, no fewer than eight (nine) were translations. This was entirely in line with the intentions of the newly established company, but it met criticism from both the public and booksellers under the catchword 'foreignness.'

Was den Roman „Erdbeben“ anlangt, können wir uns heute unmöglich entscheiden. Denn abgesehen davon, ob uns das Werk gefällt oder nicht, müssen wir derzeit darauf Rücksicht nehmen, den deutschen Buchhandel, der uns unsere „Ausländerei“ schon sehr verübelt, nicht weiter zu reizen. Erst dann, wenn wir eine Reihe neuer deutscher Bücher auf den Markt gebracht haben, können wir wieder daran denken, ein französisches Buch zu bringen. Selbstverständlich können wir Ihnen nicht zumuten darauf zu warten, da Sie selbst ja durch eine befristete Option gebunden sind. Wäre es nicht möglich, dass Ihnen Anet diese Option entsprechend verlängert? (Costa to Schwarz, 1924)⁵⁸

Who decided and how which translations to publish? Hall (1994) states that the company regularly checked foreign new releases and then asked for advice from external experts on whether it was worth publishing in German. Afterwards, Zsolnay or Costa made the final decision. From the correspondences, it transpires that Felix Costa mostly made the final decision about translations and translators. Zsolnay only acted when among authors or translators that were his friends or acquaintances. Hall also mentions that the translators and publisher's authors acted as mediators⁵⁹. Furthermore, according to my investigation, almost every translator acted as a mediator in different career periods. Indeed, the translators' role should not be underestimated: They searched for new authors abroad, promoted Austrian authors in other countries, acted as mediators between different book companies, and were representatives of the Paul Zsolnay company abroad or author's representatives in Austria. Translators did much more than only a transfer of signs from one

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58 Regarding the novel *Erdbeben*, we are currently unable to make a decision. Independently whether we like the work or not, we must currently consider the necessity not to further irritate the German book market, which already strongly resents our 'foreignness.' After we have published a number of new German books, we can again consider publishing a French book. Of course, we cannot expect you to wait for this, since you are limited in time. Would it not be possible for Anet to wait until then? (Costa to Schwarz, 1924).

59 Der Verlag ließ sich ausländische Neuerscheinungen regelmäßig zukommen und gab sie an externe Gutachter weiter. Diese lieferten einen kurzen Bericht auf Grund dessen sich Costa oder Zsolnay für oder gegen eine Aufnahme entschieden. Vermittelt wurde auch durch Übersetzer und Verlagsautoren (p. 190, Hall, 1994).

language to another: Their ideas and life circumstances directly influenced the publisher's translation policies and its translation culture construction (more in chapter III).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Italian government tended to control the number of translated books in Italy, while Germany was concerned with the origin of the translated author. In Austria, both tendencies were almost ignored until the mid-1930s and the number of translated books and source languages remained the publisher's responsibility. The main feature of the existing studies on fascist regimes – on Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Germany – is the question of controlling translations, both their amount and translation policies, hostility to translations, which might be seen as an indicator of a fascist regime (Rundle, 2022). This growing control might indicate the transformation of a translation culture into an autocratic one, which happened in Austria in the late 1930s, influencing also the translation culture of the Paul Zsolnay Verlag.

This fully corresponds to Erich Prunč's (2008) conclusions: The German and Austrian translation culture of the 19th and 20th centuries was authors-oriented, but in the field of trivial literature in these countries it was initiators- and readers-oriented. In fact, he defined a readers-oriented or addressee-centred translation culture with the following phrase: "*Qualität ist, wenn der Kunde zurückkommt, nicht die Übersetzung*"⁶⁰ – this could be a motto of the Zsolnay philosophy in the interwar period. In the 1930s, similar to the translation culture in Italy, which became autocratic during the fascist regime, Paul Zsolnay's translation culture, as a part of Austrian trivial literature translation culture, was changed from initiators- and readers-oriented into autocratic. The publisher had to change his translation policies and adapt them to changing social expectations of the translations. In fact, it was not only connected to the processes happening in society but to the publisher's awareness of the importance of translations. To prove that the translation culture started transforming from initiators- (the initiator was often the publishing house) and readers-oriented to autocratic, I will analyse it from the point of view of the actors' behaviour connected to translation practices. Moreover, this book will show how certain external circumstances modified

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60 Quality is when the customer comes back, not the translation.

translation culture and how single actors, such as publisher or translators, managed to change it on different levels.

Nobel prize

While studying publishing companies, Bourdieu (1999, 2008) suggests a focus on the capital distribution among the actors in the field. All the actors have their aims and interests in the field, which they achieve through different forms of capital they possess, gain or lose. Publishers are established as well as strong actors of translation, who cause changes in cultural and linguistic policies (Milton und Bandia 2009, p. 1), they influence translation strategies or introduce trends in translating. Denise Merkle (2009), also sees publishers as “agents of translation”. Using the example of the French publisher *Gallimard*, Sapiro (2014) analyses authors’ and publishers’ symbolic capital as well as the interconnection of both actors. She shows how the publisher contributes to the accumulation of symbolic capital for the author, she examines the publisher’s strategies, connecting networks with the gain of symbolic capital. Moreover, studying networks of the publisher with other institutions in the literary field, such as, e.g. the Goethe-Institute in German-speaking countries, is becoming more popular, especially in connection with soft power (Roig Sanz et al., 2025). Julia Richter (2020, p. 162) sees an accumulation of different forms of capital as a motive for actors. Analysing Heidegger’s translations into different languages, Richter (p. 165) emphasises the key role of the publisher in the accumulation of capital by translators. This is also confirmed in this work dedicated to the Austrian publishing company Zsolnay: translators, authors, and the publisher are in a constant exchange of different forms of capital, helping each other develop together and separately. This constant capital exchange transforms the translation culture of the company and influences it at every stage. Before I proceed to the source languages, I need to clarify an important point connected to the author’s symbolic capital, the publishers’ strategies regarding famous authors and translators’ role in this process. Sapiro (2014, p. 27) underlines the importance of the symbolic capital of the author for the publisher and the fact that publishers are eager to publish more or even all works by the same author if they possess considerable symbolic capital. While working with the publisher’s strategies and capital accumulation, it could be

important to consider how many, if any, Nobel prize winners⁶¹ were published by the publishing house and when (before or after the author's nomination). Receiving a Nobel prize places the author in an advantageous position in the field and adds a considerable amount of symbolic capital to them and, as a consequence, brings it to the publisher, who published a Nobel prize winner or a future Nobel-prize winner. Publishing Nobel prize winners could be seen as a long-term investment and definitely the right strategy to gain long-term success in the field. The same works in the other direction: publishing at the publishing house with high symbolic capital could contribute to the author's nomination for any prize. Being published by a particular publisher could also contribute to being translated into more languages, which is also one of the criteria for the author's nomination for the Nobel prize of the Swedish Academy. This increases the status of mediators, such as publishers or literary agents, who contribute to increasing the value of literary works. For example, Paul Zsolnay possessed translational rights to some books and authors and acted as a mediator between foreign agencies and authors. The company also possessed rights to the German books by Thomas Mann (Nobel prize winner) and sold them to foreign companies who wanted to translate the author's books. The Paul Zsolnay Verlag, from the very beginning, consistently published books by John Galsworthy, who received the prize in 1932. Moreover, Zsolnay received all the rights to the German translations of Galsworthy, which brought him financial profit and increased symbolic capital of the publisher in a long-term perspective⁶² (more on the role of the translator in this collaboration see chapter III, Leon Schalit). Paul Zsolnay was accumulating symbolic capital and managed to publish authors who, in the future, became Nobel prize winners. Another of Zsolnay's author, Martin Du Gard, who published at the company between 1928 and 1937, received the prize in 1937. Pearl S. Buck received Nobel Prize in 1938 and was published every year by the Paul

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61 In this work, I only consider a Nobel Prize. However, other prestigious prizes are also important for similar investigations.

62 "To gain transnational consecration through translation is the first step for entering the world canon. A major step in the canonization process is the publication of the complete works of an author, a step that often occurs postmortem, ensuring the access of an author to the classical canon."

Zsolnay Verlag from 1933 to at least 1937. In the late 1930s, the accumulated symbolic capital of the publisher was so high that being published at the Paul Zsolnay publishing company contributed to the growth of the symbolic capital of the authors. As this volume is written in translation studies, I will only pay attention to those authors who received a Nobel prize and were published in German translations by the Pauls Zsolnay Verlag.

Author and translator	Nobel prize	Year of publishing
John Galsworthy (translator: Leon Schalit)	1932	1924–1937
Roger Martin du Gard (translator: Eva Mertens)	1937	1928–1930
Pearl S. Buck (translators: Richard Hoffmann, Annie Polzer)	1938	1933–1937

Figure 4: Foreign authors who received a Nobel prize and were published at Zsolnay, 1924–1938

All three foreign Nobel prize laureates published at the Paul Zsolnay company between 1924 and 1938 received the prize during or after being published by the company. It may indicate the fact that the publisher managed to accumulate symbolic capital by working with talented promising authors who received the prize afterwards. This accumulated symbolic capital he could exchange for the economic afterwards. This is clearly the field newcomer’s strategy described by Bourdieu – pointing to long-term success and symbolic capital accumulation. Moreover, as a field newcomer, he probably would not be able to publish already established literary stars with a Nobel prize, as they would have preferred publishing companies with more symbolic and social capital.

It is essential to note that Zsolnay being a newcomer in the field had its advantages, e.g., being open to new authors, genres and languages. Paul Zsolnay was searching for affinities in other countries: they could also be provided through the networks of translators. Paul Zsolnay was well-known in the cultural and literary circles in Vienna and had the necessary networks among authors, publishers and translators, both due to his family’s social status and capital and his previously accumulated networks. Thanks to his friendship

with some well-known Austrian writers, he knew the problems the authors faced in the publishing industry from the inside. At the beginning of his career, he experimented with authors and languages and searched for his niche in the Austrian publishing industry. The economic capital was less important for him – he was ready to invest in the company, pointing to the symbolic capital accumulation and recognition as a field agent. Let me delve deeper into Zsolnay's strategy in accumulating social capital through the authors and translators on the next pages.

Source languages and the translators

Gisele Sapiro commenting on Bourdieu's article (2016, 2008), mentioned methodological approaches for publishing translations: **publisher's policies**, **booklists** and **source languages** of translations. In fact, for translation sociology, **source and target language choices** are important criteria for defining the publisher's strategy. Even-Zohar's (1990) core-periphery model suggests that translations ideally move from the core to the periphery, the books are translated from the languages of the regions with more power into those still accumulating their capital. In the 21st, as well as in the 20th, century, the English language is the core language preferred by big publishers, while national or minority languages are published by small publishers. Heilbron (1999) differentiates languages, placing in the centre those languages exporting translations: English and French could be defined as such in the modern West-European context. Exporting translations is a symbol of high symbolic recognition not only for a region but for a single publisher, which is why it was important for Paul Zsolnay to promote his German-writing authors abroad and sell translational rights. Nevertheless, the core-periphery principle does not work when translation culture transforms into autocratic, it has to follow the rules established by a totalitarian regime: a core moves, e.g. from the English-speaking area to German-speaking countries, or the number of translations can decrease. In these situations, the external factors trigger the circulation of the literature. The sociological approach helps to study world literature's factors and specific hierarchies (Casanova, 2004, 1999). For example, Sapiro (2008) lists four categories of external factors that could trigger translational book

flows: political, cultural, social, and economical. Let us apply these factors to the current case study.

There are numerous examples of translations being used for *political* or ideological objectives, they help to spread ideas, doctrines or visions of the world and may hinder or trigger the circulation of books. One of the examples presented by Sapiro: between 1955 and 1980, Lenin was the most translated author according to Index Translationum. Furthermore, the translation may serve as a means of censorship by the state (Venuti, 1995, p. 158) that can control the distribution of the book through copyright – authoritarian governments more, liberal ones less. Rundle (2010), in the volume “Translating under fascism”, pays attention to the fact that during the first years, the fascist government did not pay much attention to translations, but in the late 1930s introduced severe censorship not only to the translated books but also to the text of translations. Especially notable is the language reform in Italy, according to which all the foreign words were substituted by new Italian words (“*italianizzazione*⁶³”): a political step to shift the core-periphery border. Sapiro (2008, p. 4) states that the circulation of symbolic goods is highly politicised in countries where the political field is dominant over other fields. During the German occupation in France, the Third Reich forbade translations from French into German, except for a few writers who actively supported the occupation. At the same time, the German occupying forces required French publishers to translate as many German authors as possible as part of their policy to break France’s cultural hegemony. For the Paul Zsolnay Verlag, at some point, political factors became prevalent: it had to adapt its policies to the new reality of the late 1930s and cancel “unfriendly” Soviet, French and Yiddish authors from the booklist, but at the same time, it added regime-friendly Italian and Spanish authors.

The circulation of books depends on the distribution of global *economic* networks, from book and press industries. Economic factors can be investigated from the two-scale dichotomy of Bourdieu or Even-Zohar’s core-periphery perspective. So large-scale publishers prefer short-term economic profit and are oriented to bestsellers, while small-scale publishers work on long-term

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63 Italianisation.

profit and symbolic capital accumulation. In the UK and US, considered central language regions, the large-scale market does not have many translations, while the small-scale market does have a great variety of translated languages. Geographical position and linguistic situation strongly influence economic factors: Interwar Vienna was an important centre for book production, according to Roig-Sanz (p. 10, 2020), but not the biggest such as Leipzig, London and Paris, according to Sapiro (2008). This means that for a Viennese publisher it was more challenging to publish a book by a famous author. Moreover, Austria is in the same linguistic area as Germany, which has both advantages and disadvantages. So already in the interwar period, Paul Zsolnay left the monopoly of translations from the “bigger” languages to Germany and started working with smaller Central European languages, choosing the path of a small-scale publisher who does not focus on immediate financial profit. This is observed in its current translation policies when it became a part of a bigger German publisher: Zsolnay continues to publish translations from Hungarian and Polish, adding to it Romanian and other Eastern and Central European languages (from my interview with the company’s director Herbert Ohrlinger in 2019).

Cultural factors start playing a bigger role when the publisher, through translations, tries to promote new cultures or languages, gain long-term symbolic capital, or when they try to influence the formation of the national or international book market and set a new trend in the translation culture, i.e., applying soft power. Translations spread new ideas, and smaller publishers and/or newcomers to the field often set trends and publish books from peripheral languages. In Europe, the focus is on translations from other European languages, though publishers at different points of their history try publishing from non-European languages (Sapiro, 2008). Indeed, Paul Zsolnay attempted to introduce translations from Chinese and books about China. However, it was not successful.

Social factors’ investigation should become an essential part of the publishing studies research. Sapiro (2008) states that literature illustrates existing power relations in the social group noting that for a long time, male prevalently white Western authors were published. Especially postcolonial and gender studies contributed to investigating these phenomena. In the interwar period, Zsolnay

tried to go against the flow by introducing female and Jewish writers into his booklist for personal reasons. He did not always succeed in introducing Jews and women in such a public activity as writing, but he discovered a less public niche – translating and filled it with Jews and women. Social factors, that influence translation flows will be discussed further in this chapter, in the part dedicated to the networks.

Based on the core-periphery principle and relying on the external factors that trigger translations’ circulation, further I will analyse the source language choice of the publishing company. Even though this part is dedicated to the publisher’s choice of source languages, it is also about the translators who often put the publisher in contact with the authors, decided which new books to publish, or worked as editors and literary agents. In addition, I show the translator’s role in constructing translation policies, in the development of the publishing company and its future success. The next chapter demonstrates retrospectively how translators construct the translation culture of the publishing company in more detail. As Prunč (2008) and Wolf (2012) agree, translation contributes to constructing the culture, therefore choosing a source language or a specific author is a question of ideological importance. Moreover, I argue that for the Paul Zsolnay publishing company, the choice of the source languages and authors can be interpreted as a way to survive, benefit economically, and fit into a new challenging social situation.

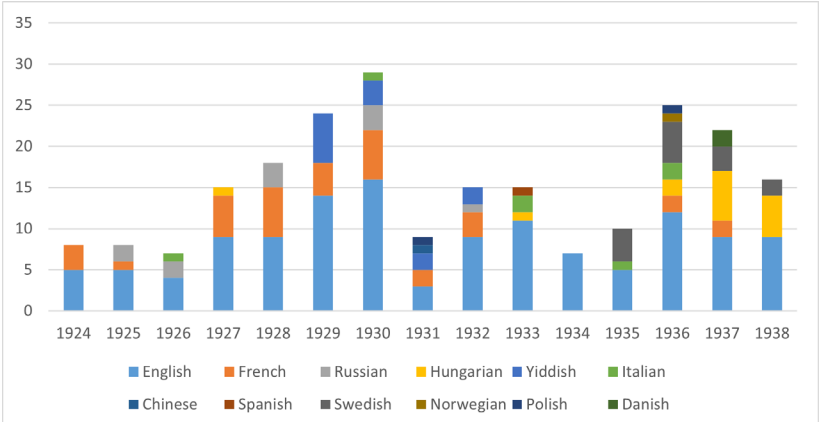


Figure 5: Source languages, Zsolnay, 1924–1938

Publishing translations, especially from rare languages and by less popular authors, can be seen as means of accumulating symbolic capital and building a credible list (Herve' Serry, 2002) as there is less competition in this field and it might bring sudden success, contributing to the future growth of the publisher's symbolic capital. I claim that precisely this strategy was chosen by Paul Zsolnay and Felix Costa. While large (German) publishers translated less, mainly from English and other Western European languages and especially bestsellers, Costa and Zsolnay started publishing translations and building networks abroad and translated from less popular source languages (e.g., Hungarian, Polish, Chinese). Furthermore, some of these languages are still the company's specialisation today. If the publisher could initially freely choose the source languages, expectantly in the 1930s, the Paul Zsolnay Verlag had to change translation policies because of the external circumstances. The choice of source languages was dictated by the necessity to survive economically and ideologically, i.e. was triggered by political and economic factors – translation culture started transforming from readers-and initiators-oriented to autocratic. This can be illustrated by analysing the source languages for published translations.

A brief glance at the list of published books and source languages (Figure 2), allows us to define two periods: 1924–1930 and 1931–1938. Key events could be considered the establishment of the company (1924), the financial crisis, the reaction to the events in Germany (1930–1931, 1933), and the Austrian *Anschluss* to the Third Reich (1938).

As in most regions of the world in this period, English was a dominant source language during those 14 years – 124 books were translated from English. The core-periphery principle can be clearly traced also for the Paul Zsolnay Verlag in the interwar period. Two translators translated most English books – Richard Hoffmann (26) and Leon Schalit (14). Though the language was the same, the conditions of both translators in the publishing house were completely different (more about the difference, see chapter III). **Richard Hoffman**, a translator from English, Russian, and Italian, started his career at the publishing company as an independent translator and became the publishing house's main translator; in other words, he was directly connected to the publisher and was actively promoted by him. In fact, he was among

the first to receive new orders and frequently edited other translations in the company. Moreover, he happened to be the only person at the Paul Zsolnay publishing company who worked as a full-time translator. His impact on the development of the publishing house is hard to underestimate: He not only translated letters and legal documents, but he also acted as a publisher's agent and editor, created publisher's networks, and dealt with a new reality after Paul Zsolnay had to flee. Later, in 1938, he took one of the directing positions at the publishing house and worked at the company until Paul Zsolnay returned from exile after the war. This was only possible because the notion of Jewish difference was not attributed to him. He was one of four translators under investigation in this volume who were not persecuted for any reasons and were not forced to leave the country.

Leon Schalit was an author's translator (see my classification of translators in the next chapter) of John Galsworthy. Galsworthy was one of three "big authors" of Zsolnay's first years – Heinrich Mann, John Galsworthy, and Franz Werfel – and the only one presented to the reader in German translations. Galsworthy's main wish was that Leon Schalit, his authorised translator and "*bevollmächtigter Vertreter*"⁶⁴ in German-speaking countries, would be a translator. Undoubtedly, the symbolic capital of John Galsworthy (future Nobel prize winner) forced Zsolnay to accept Schalit as the translator of "The Forsyte saga". In fact, the translator being appointed by the famous and influential author gave him more freedom which he successfully used: He prohibited changing his translations and required his name on the book's covers under the author's name. Though he did not influence the work of the company beyond translating his author, he still translated a considerable number of books for the Paul Zsolnay publishing company and put the publisher in contact with one of the company's most successful authors. The company's destiny might have been completely different without Schalit and his network with Galsworthy. Moreover, later on, he helped to save the publisher's life: in 1938, thanks to the assistance of Schalit and the widow of John Galsworthy, Ada Galsworthy, Zsolnay managed to flee to the UK.

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64 Authorised representative (German).

According to the stock market journal, in 1927–1928, English, French, and Russian were the most popular source languages for German translations.

Vorherrschend waren Werke aus dem Englischen (37%), Französischen (19%) und Russischen (12%). (Stock market journal, Nr. 58, 9.3.1929, Hall, 1994, p. 272).⁶⁵

Indeed, Zsolnay's first period was defined by several publications of French and Russian literature, which disappeared after 1932 with political changes in the region. According to Hall, Russian literature was chosen based on the aesthetic tastes of Costa and Zsolnay (Hall, 1994, p. 149). The years 1924–1928 were decisive for the publisher in building networks and positioning himself in the field. In this period, Zsolnay started working with **Dmitrij Umanskij**, a bilingual, as he defined himself. He had many contacts in the newly established USSR. The translator put the publisher in touch with several Soviet authors and acted as a mediator between them, which allowed Umanskij to position himself as an author's translator of Leonov.

Berta Zuckerkandl translated some books by Gerdy from the French in the 1930s. She was a famous personality in Vienna's artistic circles and influenced the company as an authorised translator of Gerdy. She also possessed high social and symbolic capital: Paul Zsolnay and Felix Costa⁶⁶ were regular guests at her literary salons. In addition, thanks to her networks in the French elite (e.g., her sister was the wife of French president Clemenceau), Zuckerkandl put the publisher in contact with famous French authors and translators. The same applies to **Erna Redtenbacher**, the translator of the French author Colette, who was well-connected in France. In fact, she introduced the books by Colette to the company and set the connection between the company and the author, becoming the author's translator of the French author at the publishing company.

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65 Most translated works were from English (37%), French (19%), and Russian (12%). (Stock exchange journal, no. 58, 9 March 1929; Hall, 1994, p. 272).

66 Felix Costa was a literary director of the publishing house. See more about him in Chapter III.

The first attempt to publish a translation from a rare language and to find a niche in the Austrian publishing field is dated to 1931, when Paul Zsolnay published the first Chinese translation. The book sold poorly, therefore no other attempts to translate from Chinese followed. It can be seen as a field-newcomer strategy that failed. Nevertheless, it is essential to note that in the case of Chinese translations, it was a translator who contacted the publisher and suggested publishing the poems:

Selbst Fernöstliches war im Programm durch einen modernen chinesischen Liebesroman vertreten. Schon 1927 hatte der mit dem Verlag befreundete Redakteur Max Fleischer seine „Nachdichtungen chinesischer Lyrik“ von Li-Tai-Pe u. a. unter dem Titel *Der Porzellanpavillon* veröffentlicht. Weitere Angebote Fleischers wurden abgelehnt. Über Vermittlung des Sinologen Franz Kuhn (1884–1961) 24 und in dessen Übertragung versuchte es Zsolnay mit dem Roman *Fräulein Tschang: Ein chinesisches Mädchen von heute* von Hai Schang Schuo Mong Jen im September 1931. Der Liebesroman bot, wie das *Prager Tagblatt* schrieb, „Einblick in eine unbekannte Welt, in der der Zusammenstoß uralter Tradition mit modern internationaler Oberflächenkultur in ungeahnter Heftigkeit erfolgt“ (Hall, 1994, p 257).⁶⁷

During the years of 1930–1932, Zsolnay published translations from Yiddish (books by Shalom Asch, translated by **Siegfried Schmitz**). The reasons for publishing a Jewish author and working with a Jewish translator while antisemitism was on the rise are still under investigation. Murray Hall underlines that Paul Zsolnay underestimated the degree of the social and political changes

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67 “Even literature from the Far East was represented in the program: it was a modern Chinese romance novel. Already in 1927, the editor Max Fleischer, who was the publisher’s friend, had published his *Paraphrases of Chinese Lyric Poetry* by Li Tai-pe and other novels under the title *Der Porzellanpavillon*. Further Fleischer’s proposals were rejected. Through the mediation of the sinologist Franz Kuhn (1884–1961), and in his translation, Zsolnay attempted to publish the novel *Fräulein Tschang: A Chinese Girl of Today* by Hai Shang Shuo Meng Jen in September 1931. As the *Prager Tagblatt* wrote, the romance novel offered ‘insight into an unknown world, in which ancient tradition and modern international surface culture clush with unprecedented intensity’” (Hall, 1994, p. 257).

pointing to his political nativity (1994). Zsolnay's main formal argument for publishing this author in the correspondence was that Asch was American⁶⁸ but not Jewish. Undoubtedly, the fact that he was a well-known author and his books sold well worldwide made it easier to publish his works. Networking and friendship between Asch, who was introduced to Zsolnay by Franz Werfel, and the publisher also played a role. In the afterword to the book *"Von den Vätern"*, Asch postulated that Zsolnay reopened his works to the German reader.

Er erwarb meine Bücher von den diversen Verlegern und erweckte mich beim Deutschen Lesepublikum wieder zum Leben (Asch, 1931, p. 333).⁶⁹

Another significant reason for publishing a Jewish writer in pre-Anschluss Austria could be the author's ambivalent attitude to Zionism and his positioning himself as someone working on the general questions of humanity:

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68 „Der Verlag Paul Zsolnay kann mit gutem Gewissen behaupten, die Interessen seiner österreichischen Autoren nach wie vor streng zu wahren. Ich habe keinen einzigen meiner früheren österreichischen Autoren aufgegeben. Richtig ist wohl, daß ich auf verschiedene Schriftsteller, die mehr oder weniger offene Gegner des heutigen offiziellen Deutschlands sind, verzichtet habe, doch sind dies ausschließlich Ausländer gewesen.“ (Auf eine Zwischenfrage ...) „Heinrich Mann ist Reichsdeutscher, Schalom Asch ist Amerikaner. Der Wiener Autor Robert Neumann ist freiwillig aus dem Verlag ausgeschieden und nach London übersiedelt. Nicht richtig ist, daß man in Berlin, wo wir übrigens ein eigenes Verlagshaus besitzen, irgendeine Loyalitätserklärung von mir verlangt hat. Ich habe keine derartige Erklärung abgegeben.“ (Zsolnay's letter to Rainalter July, 1934). / “The Paul Zsolnay publishing house surely can claim that it continues to strongly promote the interests of its Austrian authors. I have not abandoned a single one of my former Austrian authors. It is true that I have stopped publishing some writers who are more or less open opponents of today's Germany, but these were exclusively foreigners.” (In response to your secondary question ...)” “Heinrich Mann is a citizen of the German Reich, Shalom Asch is an American. The Viennese author Robert Neumann voluntarily left the publishing house and moved to London. It is not true that in Berlin, where, by the way, our office is situated, any declaration of loyalty was demanded from me. I made no such declaration.” (Zsolnay's letter to Rainalter, July 1934).

69 “He acquired my books from the various publishers and brought me back to life for the German reading public” (Asch, 1931, p. 333).

Ich bin tief durchdrungen vom Glauben an die Menschheit, und für diesen Glauben bemühe ich mich, in jedem meiner Werke die Stimme zu erheben (Shalom Asch, p. 9, 1931).

Seine künstlerische Gestaltung hatte und hat die Kraft, das Schicksal jüdischer Menschen in das Schicksal der Menschheit zu stellen, gewissermaßen an diesen Menschen die Menschheit zu exemplifizieren (Siegfried Schmitz p. 10, 1931).⁷⁰

Furthermore, the role of the translator Siegfried Schmitz must be considered in his promotion of Zionist ideas through translating a Yiddish-writing author. This could be seen as an example of the translator's Zionist activism and his attempt to transfer Zionist ideas through translations. In fact, Schmitz was active as an interpreter, journalist, and editor for numerous Jewish newspapers and journals; in 1935 (probably also in 1937), he was an interpreter and translator for Yiddish at the Zionist Congress(es) in Switzerland. Moreover, being an author's translator raised the symbolic capital of the translator at the company to a greater extent. In fact, the letters at the archive show that being an author's translator, accompanied by being a friend of the author, put Siegfried Schmitz into a privileged position. Asch underlined the importance of the friendship with Schmitz:

Seit einigen Jahren überdies in der ausgezeichneten deutschen Übertragung meines ‚deutschen Dolmetschers‘ und Freundes Siegfried Schmitz, der sich mit wahrhafter Treue meiner Werke annimmt. (Asch about Schmitz pp. 332–333 in *Von den Vätern*).⁷¹

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70 "I believe deeply in humanity, and I strive to underline it in every one of my works" (Shalom Asch, 1931, p. 9).

"His artistic creation had and still has the power to project the fate of Jewish people to the fate of humanity as a whole, to exemplify humanity, as it were, through these individuals" (Siegfried Schmitz, 1931, p. 10).

71 "For several years now, moreover, in the excellent German translation by my 'German interpreter' and friend Siegfried Schmitz, who has taken up my works with genuine fidelity." (Asch on Schmitz, pp. 332–333 in *Von den Vätern*.)

The second period, mainly 1933–1935, was characterised by a drop in published translations. The year 1934 was poor in terms of published books: there were only seven translations from the English language and only one new foreign author. According to Hall (1994), in the mid-1930s, the Paul Zsolnay publishing company changed the focus of its English translations from modern English novels to specialised literature. Basically, this means the company tried to adopt a strategy used by many other Austrian Jewish publishers who did not want to publish National Socialist authors but wanted to survive⁷². Additionally, this was the moment of financial crisis at the publishing house: some authors and translators stopped working with Zsolnay due to the publisher's financial problems. Since then, economic profit became a more important factor in choosing what and how to translate. In 1936–1938, the number of translated books rose again, but source languages changed significantly: Scandinavian languages, Hungarian, Italian, and Spanish literature. In other words, Zsolnay continued his translation-focused publishing policies, adapting them to the new socio-political agenda. This was the moment of transformation of the translation culture that can be traced by following the political and economic factors, but not the core-periphery principle any more.

Translators **Käthe and Andreas Gaspar**, a Jewish couple, who after 1936 had to move from Austria to Hungary because of the changing political circumstances, often appeared as initiators of translating Hungarian literature. The Gaspars started working for Zsolnay as tensions rose. At the beginning of the 1930s as independent translators, they gradually became Zsolnay agents in Hungary and publishing house translators. Indeed, they translated very quickly and proposed many new authors. In fact, the decision to publish Hungarian books proposed by the Gaspars was a turning point in the publishing house's history and influenced its future. Nowadays, the Zsolnay positions itself as a publishing house specialised in translating literature from Central Europe and

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72 Ab Mitte der 30er Jahre begann der Zsolnay Verlag immer mehr von seiner traditionellen Pflege zeitgenössischer englischer Belletristik abzugehen und, aus welchen Gründen auch immer, von der Romanliteratur auf englische Sachbücher auszuweichen (Hall, 1994, p. 280).: "From the mid-1930s, the Zsolnay publishing house increasingly moved away from its traditional contemporary English fiction, whatever the reasons may have been, and shifted from novels to English-language non-fiction works" (Hall, 1994, p. 280).

the Balkans. The choice of these source languages is not surprising, considering the fact that Austria until 1918 was a part of a multilingual Habsburg Monarchy, where among others, the most translated language into German was Hungarian. Moreover, finding people working with Hungarian in Vienna was much easier than in Berlin or Hamburg. Thus, what was a rather untypical source language for Germany in the 1930s, was quite expectable in Vienna. Translations from Hungarian are not rare for Austrian publishers also today.

Italian and Spanish translations were a reaction to the political cooperation with the respective regimes – another sign of the transformation of translation culture from initiators-oriented to autocratic. As the initiator of translations in most cases, the publishing company could not choose the source languages for translations. Basically, publishing works by new Spanish or Italian authors could be seen as a compromise in this situation. At this point, it is essential to mention that Zsolnay never published authors whose first one or two books sold poorly, even if they originated from a “politically close” source language community. The company searched for other authors from these countries if the first two books were not creating a financial profit. In this way, Zsolnay’s balancing act between adapting to the social changes and economic profit could be shown on the example of his dealing with books by Paola Masino, whose works were ambivalently accepted in Fascist Italy. It is noteworthy that Masino was not a pro-fascist author, she was considered neutral in Italy. One of the most prominent Italian publishers, the *Bompiani*, proposed publishing Masino’s first book in Austria in the translation of **Dora Mitzki**⁷³, an independent translator, to Zsolnay in 1933. The book was an apparent failure in Austria – it sold poorly (The company blamed the translator for this failure – see Haiden, 2024a). The second book by Masino, translated by the publisher’s main translator, Richard Hoffmann, also sold poorly. Later, no further attempts were made to translate from Italian (at least until 1938).

In the late 1930s, Zsolnay tried to stay true to his path in the publishing translations by working with socialist authors from the Scandinavian languages. He needed a translator for these rare languages:

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73 More about Mitzki in Antonello, Anna (2023) Una germanista scapigliata. Vita e traduzioni di Lavinia Mazzucchetti, Quodlibet, Macerata.

Erst etwa sechs Jahre nach der Verlagsgründung kam Interesse für skandinavische bzw. „nordische“ Dichtung auf, obwohl die Bemühungen vorerst zu keinem Abschluß führten (Hall, 1994, p. 190).⁷⁴

Walter Kotas was one of the few in Vienna who could translate from Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian. Kotas was a controversial figure, and his relationship with the Paul Zsolnay company was complicated: Kotas was a National Socialist supporter and a member of a party forbidden in Austria, the NSDAP. As mentioned before, Zsolnay was eager to have a good personal relationship and even be friends with many of his authors and translators, and many of the networking circle of Zsolnay were Jews or people supported under pressure, therefore it seems surprising that Walter Kotas translated so many volumes for Zsolnay. There might be several reasons for this. First of all, despite Kotas' obvious pro-Hitler position⁷⁵, participation in illegal antisemitic organisations, and legal problems, Zsolnay continued working with him. Kotas' language skills were more important than his political position. This is an example of the prevalent economic interest over the ideological ideas of the publisher in the late 1930s and another sign of the transformation from initiators-and readers-oriented translation culture to autocratic. Second, Kotas brought an important author to the publishing company – Vilhelm Morberg, who first worked with another publishing company, Pipas Verlag. Hall names another reason for working with Kotas: working with pro-National Socialist authors and translators might be seen as an adaptation of the publisher to the new conditions and showing his loyalty to the new political administration (more in chapter III).

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74 "Only about six years after the founding of the publishing house, there was an interest in Scandinavian, or 'Nordic,' literature, although these efforts initially led to no concrete results" (Hall, 1994, p. 190).

75 Nach Ansicht Kotas', dem die „deutsche Volksgemeinschaft“ nach eigener Aussage über alles Persönliche hinaus „heilig“ war, waren die Juden bzw. die jüdischen Verleger dafür verantwortlich, daß in Deutschland bzw. in Österreich bisher die „guten“ nationalen Autoren nicht zum Zug gekommen waren (p. 192, Hall, 1994). / According to Kotas' view (who by his own account regarded the 'German national community' as 'sacred' above all personal considerations) the Jews, or Jewish publishers, were responsible for the fact that in Germany and Austria the 'good' national authors were not successful (Hall, 1994, p. 192).

The English language was still prevalent during the interwar period, and there was always a need for translators working with the English language. At this point, it is essential to mention that in the second period, the main characteristics of Zsolnay's translators changed. While in the beginning, there were primarily young people with home education or those starting their professional life, in the 1930s, there were people in their 40s with brilliant education and experience in working with languages, primarily Jewish people (more about this later in the chapter). One of them was **Paul Amann**. In 1938 he emigrated to the United States as a Jew and was in contact with the publishing house until he died in 1958. In fact, he not only translated for the company but promoted German publications of the company in the Anglo-American environment and recommended some American books to be translated by the Zsolnay Verlag. Moreover, his understanding of the importance of his work can be followed in numerous letters where he profoundly reflects on the translators' responsibility and the main task of translations. It is important to underline that this reflectivity of translators about their role in society is what did not happen with the translators from the first period. In fact, Amann's letters illustrate a very high level of loyalty to the profession (more in Chapter III).

This detailed translator-centred source language investigation offers analysis of the role that translators played in establishing the publisher's policies, the company's development, and network building. Essentially, translators acted as mediators, editors, and agents abroad. Moreover, changing source languages and collaborating with specific translators might be signs of transformation of the publisher's translation culture from initiator's- or reader's-oriented to autocratic. Further, I comment on the translator's income at the company, but first, let me present my classification of the translators who worked for the company. This is fundamental while commenting on the translators' income in this chapter and the translators' habitualised behaviour and soft power in the next chapter.

Networks

Networks were a central element of the company's success. In this work, I look at networks as a part of social capital from the Bourdieusian point of view. I see networks as a form of social capital resulting from professional or

personal relations that can be transformed into another form, benefitting the actors. In other words, family, friendships, hobbies clubs, professional unions, fellow students, and colleagues can be considered networks. Consequently, the relationships established at the publishing company and through the publisher can be seen as networks. Indeed, translators' networks and contacts between translators and the publisher have influenced the translation policies of the publishing company. Translators thus can be defined as the social capital of the publishing company: They connected the publisher with the authors, brought new people to the company, worked as mediators between the publisher, partners and editors, and translated legal documents. Furthermore, translators' networks in the publishing field could be transformed into financial and symbolic capital. Networks were essential for translators' symbolic power, financial success, and professional freedom.

As a fruitful background for studying networks, Pym (1998) calls periodicals and small social groups the meso-level. Such an analysis appeared suitable for a publishing institution as a closed space connected to the outer world, where different actors act in their own interests and influence the publishing company in different ways. The publishing house is a reliable background for reconstructing historical networks. It offers the possibility to work with the biographies of individual translators related to a certain translation hub and then, from the bottom up, to reconstruct the publishing company's development through those actors. The results of writing the publisher's history from the bottom up and reconstructing translators' networks is presented in this volume – doing this helps to reconstruct processes and understand results, reasons and consequences (the goal of *the histoire croisée*).

Networks, as a form of social capital, are useful for translation studies research because translation pushes the development of international connections and networks and is strongly connected to the translators' multiculturalism. The transcultural mediators are expected to set transcultural links and act in social settings shared by two or more cultures and are, therefore, highly valuable in the capital exchange in any field (both geographical or the one in Bourdieusian understanding). Translators are mediators between cultures and exist at the intercrossings of the cultures (Pym, 1998, p. 91). The fact that the networks go beyond one geographical entity associated with culture is proved by the fact

that the networks, constructed in the interwar period by the Zsolnay publishing company after its translator fled, moved geographically but remained as the company's network. After exile in 1938, many translators transformed into the publisher's networks abroad and, at the same time, provided the Paul Zsolnay Verlag with new connections, broadening and empowering its social capital. In this way, translators could be seen as network creators because of their cultural incorporated capital (languages) and social capital abroad.

This volume aims to understand the translators' role in developing the Zsolnay publishing company in the interwar period and establish the instruments that helped the translators reach their professional, personal, and financial aims. I argue that networks were one of the most important means of reaching translators' goals – getting more translating proposals, earning more, and emigrating in the late 1930s. Moreover, the translators' international networks that were also created during translational activity and the period of working for the Zsolnay publishing company helped all its Jewish translators flee or emigrate when it became necessary.

In this work, network tracing was introduced based on the ongoing biographical archival research results, and this choice allowed me to follow the translators' hierarchy that existed at the publishing company and was mainly based on the translators' networks. During the archival work, I was surprised how differently translators were treated at the company and how differently they behaved with the publisher: Some translators were paid more than others, some of them could forbid any modifications in their translations, while others accepted all editing notes and proposed extreme numbers of books to translate. When I went to the company's library, where most of the published since 1924 books are kept, and saw the peritext of the books, I understood what hid behind that. Therefore, my classification of translators at the publishing company is empirically based on archival research and work with peritext⁷⁶, especially with title and copyright pages. **Naming the translator on the title and copyright pages was directly connected to the status of the translator in the publishing house and their networks in and outside the company.** Already hundred years

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76 In 2019, at the private collection of the publisher in Vienna I found 177 (ca. 70%) of Zsolnay's translated books of the period.

ago, the Paul Zsolnay publishing company had an implicit classification of translators that reflected networks and helped to establish respective salaries systems. There were only three possibilities for naming a translator in the company's translations (*autorisierte Übersetzung/Übertragung, berechnigte Übersetzung and Deutsch von/aus dem Englischen von...*). These were author's translators (the ones who owned the right to translate all books of a certain author into German and often put the author in contact with the publisher) were defined as "*autorisierte Übersetzung*"⁷⁷, publishing house's translators (if they were not authorised) – as "*berechnigte Übersetzung*"⁷⁸ (who worked directly for the publisher, were the first to get an offer from the publisher and were actively promoted by Zsolnay; their principle network was the publisher), and independent translators as – "*Deutsch von ...*"⁷⁹ (those who contacted the publisher to initiate the translation, they had no networks at the company). This information determined the introduction of an incremental (network-tracing) method to this work. Moreover, this classification might be tested for other publishers of the same period to see if the networks-based relations between the publisher and the translators were common for the period or exclusively the particular case for the Zsolnay publishing house (further results might be provided by the case study by Giada Brighi from the University of Stockholm in her PhD project).

The significance of the networks for the company, especially the connection between author and publisher, is underlined in Hall (1994):

Im Gegensatz zur heutigen Praxis, die dem Autor eher selten persönlichen Kontakt zu „seinem“ Verleger erlaubt, und wenn, dann bestenfalls bei Vertragsabschluß, war die persönliche Verbindung zwischen dem Verleger Paul Zsolnay und seinen Autoren oft herzlich bis freundschaft-

.....
77 Authorised translation.

78 Justified translation.

79 German by ...

lich. Anders gesagt: es erschien kaum ein Werk, mit dem er sich nicht selber beschäftigt hatte.⁸⁰

He also maintains that there was a system of editing and agency, especially for English literature. According to Hall, the only exception was John Galsworthy, who was put in contact with the publisher by Leon Schalit, his chosen translator into German. Moreover, the correspondence clarifies that Zsolnay did everything possible to establish a friendship with the author and used the translator as a network. Consequently, this helped Leon Schalit receive a higher status in the company and gave him more professional freedom. According to the peritext, Schalit belonged to the **author's translators**, who had more freedom and were allowed to trade with the publisher because they were chosen and supported by the author. Leon Schalit, who had worked with Galsworthy since 1910, was "*autorisierter Übersetzer und bevollmächtigter Vertreter*"⁸¹ of the author in German-speaking countries and the writer's friend. Later on, Leon Schalit established direct contact between the author and the publisher: They met and spent time together when John Galsworthy and his wife Ada were in Austria in June 1929. As a result, this gave the translator more power and a higher status at the company. Indeed, it is evident from the correspondence that he was conscious of the role of the translator in society, and he was the only translator at this time whose name was on the book's title page directly under the author's name. Moreover, Schalit being an author's translator allowed him to insist on including the translator's name directly under the author's name. The name of the translator on the title or/and copyright page was so important for him that he used his status to support another translator at the company: Louise Wolf, whose name was deleted from the copyright page (see more in Haiden, 2024a). This exemplifies how an author's translator used his status, widened the publisher's networks, and fought for his colleagues' rights.

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80 In contrast to today's practices, which rarely allow authors' personal contact with 'their' publishers, (and if it happens, then it is usually at the end of the contract), the personal relationship between the publisher Paul Zsolnay and his authors was often warm and even friendly. In other words: no work appeared without his participation.

81 "authorized translator and accredited representative."

An author's translator who put the publisher in connection with the Soviet author Leonid Leonov was Dmitrij Umanskij. He often used his Moscow networks in Vienna. Indeed, Umanskij's connection to the author helped him work for the Paul Zsolnay company for four years, despite the quality of his translations and missing deadlines. According to the editor of his translations, his knowledge of German was not good enough to translate into German. Even though his translations were often criticised⁸², Zsolnay had to work with this translator because of Umanskij's status as an author's translator. But as soon as the publisher established a direct connection with the author, work with Umanskij ended. This proves that networks were more important than professional qualities. Generally, it was possible to upgrade from one category to another, mostly from independent to publisher's or author's translator, or from publisher's to authorised; it was also possible to lose networks and become an independent translator, as happened to Umanskij.

Another author's translator who missed deadlines and ignored the publisher for weeks was Siegfried Schmitz, a translator from Yiddish of Shalom Asch. Schmitz's friendship with the author and financial and professional support helped him remain at the company. Moreover, his author's translator status allowed him to forbid any editor's changes in his translations, and the publisher had to accept this condition.

Not only translators brought new networks to the publisher, but also the publisher provided translators with new networks. It was true, especially for the publisher's translators who constructed their networks at the company and due to the company. Belonging to the second category – **publisher's translators** – allowed translators to receive the orders first and provided a stable income. Furthermore, the publisher promoted his translators and recommended them to the new authors. Some of the publisher's translators thus became author's translators afterwards. They often also worked as editors for the publisher or translated correspondence between the publisher and the author. So, Richard Hoffmann, the only full-time translator at the company, translated circa 30

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 82 „bloß Umanskijsche Rohübersetzung und bedarf einer längeren und gründlichen Feile“, „für den ersten Teil des Romanes überhaupt keine künstlerische Übersetzung, sondern eine gewerbmäßige eines Übersetzungsbüros vorzuliegen scheint“. Hoffman → Zsolnay, 1926.

books from three languages for the company, worked as an editor and was in the company's direction after Paul Zsolnay fled from Vienna in 1938. Marianne von Schön, the translator from the English language, became an author's translator of Theodore Dreiser due to her connections with the publisher.

Finding any information about the publisher's translators was challenging, in contrast to famous personalities in Vienna, such as Bertha Zuckermandl, who developed from a publisher's translator to an author's translator. This upgrade became possible through her networks in France (her sister was married to a brother of the French president) and Vienna (Zuckermandl was a friend of Paul Zsolnay). She was organising her salons in Vienna. She put Zsolnay in contact with Gerald and became his author's translator at the company. Her translations were first designated as *berechtigte Übersetzung*⁸³, but later as *autorisierte Übersetzung*⁸⁴. The same upgrade applied to Erna Redtenbacher, who started as an independent translator from the English language in collaboration with other translators, but later became an author's translator for the company because of her networks in Paris. She brought famous French author Colette to the Paul Zsolnay publishing company and translated many of her works into German.

Independent translators had no contacts at the company and had to establish networks showing initiative and proposing new books to translate. Because of the lack of networks, their proposals were often declined. As an example of this category, a Hungarian couple, the Gaspars, can be mentioned: In the 1930s, they were in a difficult situation as Jews and needed jobs. Andreas Gaspar, born in Hungary but moved to Vienna in the late 1910s, had a wide networking circle in Budapest. It is clear from the correspondence that they were translating quickly, proposing many new books, and changing their home addresses often. Käthe Gaspar translated nine books in two years, Andreas – seven. In sum, their networks in Hungary helped them establish contacts at the publishing company and broader publisher's networks.

Networks that were detected with the help of this classification help us to analyse relationships inside the company, the networks of the company

83 Justified translation.

84 Authorised translation.

that were also built due to translators, as well as the networks that permitted translators to flee in the late 1930s and to build their new lives in exile. As noted in the previous chapter, the publishing company may be considered a cluster for Jewish networks. In fact, the number of translators who were forced to exile proves this: at least twelve of 16 translators analysed in this work were forced to flee. The classification into author's translators, publisher's translators and independent translators is essential for this work and several articles connected to my PhD research because almost all conclusions are based thereon, incl. translators' income, payment methods, exile, etc. Moreover, according to the archive data, publisher's translators were paid better than independent translators (10:1). Salaries (one must take into consideration inflation though) of those who continued working for the company increased (doubled or tripled) with time and they gained symbolic and social capital, or were upgraded from an external translator to an author's translator. Independent translators tended to require money for mediation while publisher's or author's translators did not. Mostly, author's translators and mediators shared the money with the author or were paid directly by them.

However, my hypothesis is that this kind of networks-based hierarchies are the prerogative of historical investigation of translators' professional relations. Today relations between the publishers and the translators are regulated by law and contracts. Therefore, there is no need to introduce explicit or implicit hierarchy of the translators. Moreover, it would have been considered unprofessional of the publishing house and could cause legal complaints from the translators.

Network building was significant in many ways: how the publishing company built new networks through translators, how translators and authors received new contacts in the company and through the company, and also which role the networks played in the ability to flee and while in exile. This classification is the basis for describing the publishing company's translation culture through its translators' biographies. Chapter III of this thesis analyses translators' networks within and outside the company in more detail. In this part of the second chapter, I need the classification to proceed to financial issues and show that networks were decisive in translators' income growth and were sometimes did not align with their professional qualities.

Financial policies

*Es mag für manche überraschend klingen,
aber die Korrespondenz zwischen dem Verlag und einem
Autor dreht sich, wie das Archivmaterial überdeutlich zeigt,
nicht um Stilprobleme, um Werkinhalte,
um Verbesserungsvorschläge oder ähnliches, sondern an erster
Stelle um Geld, um Erscheinungstermine, Auflagenhöhen,
um Werbung, um Herstellungsfragen
(Hall, 1994).⁸⁵*

Translators should first of all be considered human beings who need to provide for themselves and earn their living. We should try to explain their actions from this point of view. Socio-political factors and ideas should also be considered a motivation for their actions. Pym (1998) looks at translators as people made of flesh and blood who need to feel safe and have their individual personal needs. “How did translators make a living?” is an important question. Indeed, this question of payment is central in the correspondence between Paul Zsolnay and the translators. In the literature archive of the Austrian national library, there is a significant amount of data on translators’ income, and this could be aligned with the status translators had at the publishing company as well as with their symbolic and social capital, especially their relationship with the author. According to the results of this case study, translators did much more than the text work they were paid for. They set a connection between the publisher and the author, promoted the author’s books published by the publisher abroad, did editing work and suggested new foreign authors to translate. They influenced both the publisher and the author, as well as the text and the reader.

85 “It may sound surprising, but, as the archival material clearly demonstrates, the correspondence between the publishing house and its authors does not revolve around questions of style, content, suggestions for improvements, or similar, but first and foremost around money, publication dates, print, advertising, and production” (Hall, 1994).

Naturally, while speaking about financial factors or economic capital, and reflecting on translators' lives and activities, their working conditions and financial needs, we sometimes forget that some people translated because it was a pleasure for them, they loved working with the languages and cultures.

Given the chance to do something more advantageous, why would anyone in their right mind want to stay a translator?... There may be such a thing as a pure love of translating.... Some kind of emotional relationship with a particular foreign culture or individual author (Pym, 1998, p. 167).

Some cases of this type also existed at the Paul Zsolnay company. These included: Bertha Zuckerkandl in the 1920s, who was a passionate Francophile and wanted to disseminate this culture in Vienna, or Zionist Siegfried Schmitz, who in the 1930s translated Shalom Asch from Yiddish. Paul Amann can be considered a particular case; his numerous pages of reflections on the importance of a translator's activity can be found in the company's archive. Or Walter Kotas, who explicitly admitted in correspondences that translating was a pleasure.

However, in this part, I will skip the romanticised aspect of professional passion and focus exclusively on the material part. As it follows from the correspondence, financial issues were much more important for the publisher than the text or stylistic problems of the translated text. The companies' financial issues and all the other policies were variable and depended on the socio-political situation. The Zsolnay correspondence archive at the Austrian National Library provides detailed information about the payments and payment methods at the company in the interwar period, though not all information is available. Important data about financial matters provide official agreements, contracts, and notes from telephone conversations and personal meetings available at the archive. Examples in this part show that social and financial issues should be examined more closely in the social sciences, inclusive translation studies. Furthermore, they give trustable and valuable information about the publishing company and translators' biographies. In

fact, my classification of the translators' hierarchy at the publishing company is partially based on this financial information.

In evaluating translators' salaries, I consider two parameters: 1) how much in percent of the entire revenue per sold copy translators received (in the correspondence, they often use percentage as a parameter, also because they often dealt with different currencies for foreign authors); 2) how much the translator was paid in proportion to the author. These two parameters help me to reveal a connection between the three categories of translators. Commenting on the second parameter, we see that, e.g., Asch's (= author's) translator Schmitz received five times less than the author as well as independent translator Käthe Gaspar who also got five times less than her authors, while publisher's translator Polzer used to get only three times less than the author. Before I start analysing the data, I present a table of information regarding financial agreements between the publisher, author, and translator:

Translator	Years of translators' activity at the company	Translator's rate from the total income	Currency	Translator's: author's salary, fraction
Schalit Leon (AT)	1924–1938	7.5% in 1924, 13% in 1926, in 1929 –15%, in 1930 –18%	Schilling	1:1 in 1924, 2:3 in 1930.
Dmitrij Umanskij (AT)	1924–1928	7%, 4%	Dollar	1:1, 1:2
Berta Zuckerkandl (PT→AT)	1927–1932	5%	Schilling	1930 – 1:3, 1932 – 1:8.
Siegfried Schmitz (AT)	1929–1931	2.5%	Schilling, dollar	1:5
Annie Polzer (PT)	1935	5%	Schilling	1:2 or 1:3
Richard Hoffmann (PT)	1935	5%	Schilling	1:3
Kotas Walter Hjalmar (IT→AT)	1935–1938	2% in 1935, 5% by 1938.	Schilling, krone	1:6 in 1935; 2:3 by 1938.
Gaspar Kathe (IT)	1936–1938	2.5–5%.	Schilling	– 1:2, 1937 – 1:1.

Translator	Years of translators' activity at the company	Translator's rate from the total income	Currency	Translator's: author's salary, fraction
Lehner Fritz (IT)	1936–1938	4% in 1936, 40% in 1937	Schilling, dollar	2:3 in 1936, 1:1 in 1937.
Viktor Polzer (PT)	1939	20%	Schilling	
Willem Lux (IT)	1939	4%	Schilling	

Figure 6: Translator's income in comparison to the total profit and to the author's salary (in percent) – Author's translator=AT, publisher's translator – PT, independent translator – IT.

The general rule was that the author and the translator together received 15% of the retail price of a sold copy. This is confirmed in a number of letters: e.g., in the correspondences with Paul Gerald, Felix Costa confirmed that the author and the translator in the publishing company usually shared 15% of the retail price for a sold copy. If more than 5000 copies were planned for print, the money was paid to the translator and the author in advance. In the correspondences at the archive from 1932, the following numbers were found: 5 pfennig – to the translator, 10 pfennig – to a foreign author, and 15 pfennig – to a famous foreign author. Indeed, this rule worked especially well for publisher's translators. Publisher's translators used to proportionally share money with the author at 1:3 (translator: author), or 5% of the revenue to the translator. So, for example, Richard Hoffmann who received 3 pfennig (6 groschen), while his author Lowell received 10 pfennig. The amount in other currencies was calculated according to the Swiss course (Hall, 1994, p. 33). This rule worked relatively well, though there were some exceptions. The difference depended very much on the networks of the translator in and outside the publishing company. In the next chapter, I discuss in detail the three groups of translators (based on their networks) that existed implicitly in the publishing company and were clearly defined in the paratext – author's translators (AT), publisher's -translators (PT), and independent translators (IT).

The Paul Zsolnay publishing company positioned itself as an author-friendly publisher and was eager to offer the authors all possible financial

benefits. In the letter from 3 June 1930 to Bertha Zuckerkandl⁸⁶, Paul Gerald's translator, Paul Zsolnay argued that no other publishing company in Vienna paid more than 15% to the author. In the same letter, Zsolnay stated that the translators had to share their income with the author and, as an example, used German translators of Galsworthy and Wells, who shared their income with the author. In addition, the author's translator Siegfried Schmitz shared a bank account with the author.

While considering the differences in translators' salaries, two things are important: First, how long the translator worked for the publishing company, and second, what kind of category the translator belonged to at the moment of payment (the categories for translators could change). In a letter from 19 May 1927, an independent translator, Zuckerkandl, proposed to Zsolnay to buy the rights to the German translations of Gerald, putting the author and the publisher in contact. After this, she became a publisher's translator, and in the following years, received 5% for her work and the author 10% of the retail price per sold copy. The publishing house's translator Annie Polzer received 5% for her translation of the novel *"Die erste Frau"* in 1935⁸⁷, according to the agreement. While the author received 10% of the retail price for a sold copy if less than 5 000 volumes were sold, 12% for less than 10 000, and 15% for more than 10 000. By 1935, Annie Polzer had worked for the company for ten years and her salary remained at 5%. It is noteworthy that author's translator Leon Schalit, a translator from the English language working with John Galsworthy, was receiving an equal or almost equal salary to the author. Moreover, his salary grew with time from 7.5% in 1924 to 15% in 1929 to 18% in 1930. This might indicate his high social and symbolic capital and result from his friendships with the author and publisher. He established contact between the publisher and the author. His social and symbolic capital was exchanged for higher economic capital with time.

Schalit's colleague Siegfried Schmitz, an author's translator from Yiddish, was in a different situation. The correspondence allows us to conclude that

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 86 1925 income for comedy "Son Mari": author:15%, translator: 5%; 1930 – 15%:author, 5%: translator, 1932 – Gerald – 4180 schillings, Zuckerkandl – 500 schillings for "Christine".

87 Letter from 7 March 1934.

Schmitz had financial problems and was supported by the author. However, even being an author's translator, Schmitz's salary was rather low compared to Leon Schalit (18% Schalit in 1929 and 2.5% Schmitz in 1932). The financial situation of the translator remained difficult until the end of his life. Reportedly, Schmitz committed suicide in exile due to economic difficulties. Schmitz's low income at the publishing company might be explained by his bad relationship with the publisher and his ignoring the company's letters for weeks. The same might be true for Dmitrij Umanskij, a translator from the Russian language. In the case of Dmitrij Umanskij, an author's translator lost contact with the publisher because of bad textual work and unprofessional behaviour, such as missing deadlines and disappearing for weeks. His salaries illustrate this relationship with the publisher – during a short collaboration, his salary decreased⁸⁸.

An example of a PT transforming into an AT is Marianne von Schön. Her Dreiser's translations were sold well, and she established a good relationship with the author, so he asked her to become his author's translator. The publisher had to pay her rates during the year because the rates of sold books were so high that the publisher could not afford to pay the whole sum at once⁸⁹. Another example of an IT transforming to an AT and receiving more was Käthe Gaspar. Her income increased from 2.5 to 5%, and by 1937 she shared an equal rate with the author⁹⁰. Interestingly, her successor translator Willem Lutz was asked to translate from Hungarian in 1939 (because the Gaspars were not allowed

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88 In 1925 author and translator together got 14% of retail price for a sold copy + guarantee for 3000 copies. Umanskij and Leonov shared the money 50/50. When Umanskij became author-translator, he received 42% together with the editor Prashaska. Author (60%), translator (28%), editor (14%) – Leonov – 2485 schillings, Umanskij – 1200 schillings, Prashaska – 600. Total: 4285 schillings: 350\$.

89 50/50 – author+translator/publishing house; 7 pfennigs per copy was the initial sum, but the novel "American tragedy", sold so well that Zsolnay could not afford to pay the whole sum, so he paid her 20000 pfennigs in four rates during one year.

90 1935: 7.5% for author and translator (3000 schil.); 1936: 10% to author and translator, 30 schillings, 30 groschen (author- 20 Gr., translator- 10 Gr.), plus 5 Gr. for the mediation; 1936 – 20 Gr. for the translation and 5 Gr. for mediation; the author – 35 Gr.; 133 schil. (+66,5 afterwords) per copy. She gets 322.5; 645 schillings.: translator and author.

to work for the company due to attributed Jewishness) and was offered 4% for the work as an independent translator.

A combined percentage of 12.5% to the author and translator was also a common practice, so Schmitz and Asch together received 12.5%, just as Andreas Gaspar and his authors did. The same happened to Walter Kotas, a translator from the Scandinavian languages. At the beginning of his collaboration with the company, he received ca. 2.5% of the profit, while the author received 10%. In the following years, when his capital grew both because of his social networks in Scandinavia and his political preferences, his proportion compared to the author was 2:3 in 1938⁹¹. This might be explained by the fact that Scandinavian languages suddenly became popular in Vienna in the second half of the 1930s, and few people could offer translations from these languages. Kotas' upgrade from IT to AT might also explain his salary improvement.

Translations of novels were paid less than translations of scientific books: Richard Hoffman, the main publisher's translator, translated "*Mondjahr*" by Bredon in 1937 and was paid more than what he usually received for translating novels. In one of his letters, an Italian author who wrote in English, Daniele Varè, argued that his books were more expensive than novels and could not be expected to reach the same sales as novels, so he required 7% payment for up to 2000 copies, 10% for up to 6000. In cases when the Paul Zsolnay company was not satisfied with translators' work, translators were paid less. So, when Anna Nussbaum translated "Sister Carry" and the translation was considered poor by the company, she was paid 1.5 marks per copy instead of the required four marks per copy.

Information about the translator Helene M. Reiff was unavailable during this research; the only information I have managed to find was some financial data regarding her. Her translations were published in 1928–1932, but she received money from Zsolnay in 1934 (1200 schilling for a book) and 1937 (250 schilling monthly rates during the year). More information about her is available in the folder where the editor of her translations, Otto Mandl, is mentioned – it shows that her payment arrived in his account (10 pfennigs per copy to author and translators).

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91 Author – 12%, translator – 2% in 1935; author got 60% and the translator 40%.

Commenting on translators' income as a fraction of the full profit, we must note that Viktor Polzer received 20% in 1939 for his translation of S. Buck's work from the English. The same happened to Fritz Lehner – he received 30% of all income for the book⁹². This might be explained by the translators' brilliant professional background or the publishing company's eagerness to support the Jewish translators who emigrated or had to emigrate.

To sum up the information above, let me provide the table of salary dynamics for the three groups:

Author's translators:

- Leon Schalit 1924→1930: 7.5%→18%
- Walter Kostas 1935→1938: 2%→5%
- Dmitrij Umanskij 1924→1926: 7%→4%
- Siegfried Schmitz 2.5%

Publisher's translators:

- Bertha Zuckerkandl, Eva Mertens, Annie Polzer, Richard Hoffmann 5%

Independent translators:

- Käthe Gaspar 1936→1938: 2.5%→5%,
- Fritz Lehner 1936→1937: 4%→40%,
- Polzer Viktor 1939: 20%.

Figure 7: Translators' income by categories

There were two ways of transferring money to translators: If they were freelancers, they received a fixed amount immediately after submitting the translation. The translator received money beforehand if more than 5000 copies of the translated book were published. In other cases, the translators received their payment from the publishing company or the author later. Transferring money from Austria abroad was challenging in the late 1930s. It

92 1936: author + translator 10% for 5000 copies (author:translator – 60:40), 12% if more; 1937: 40% publisher, 30% author, 30% translator.

was necessary to work through Germany. For this reason, Zsolnay registered a company in Berlin: it was easier to send money to partners in other countries. In the correspondence between Kotas and Zsolnay, it is underlined that making money transfers from Austria to Sweden was impossible, therefore, it was done through the Berlin office. Moreover, the Berlin office was used only for paperwork and money transfers. Hall (1994, p. 293) notes that the problems were standard for all companies in the interwar period:

Das Faktum, daß Überweisungen von Österreich aus zwar nicht völlig unmöglich, aber zumindest „sehr schwer“ durchzuführen waren, tritt gegenüber den Schwierigkeiten im Reich in den Hintergrund.⁹³

The company had a constant editing system. One of the editors was the full-time translator Richard Hoffman, who also worked for about 20 years at the company (his biography will be presented in this work in the next chapter). Another editor (1925–1938) was Jonas Lesser,⁹⁴ who was recommended to

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93 The fact that money transfers from Austria were not entirely impossible, but ‘very difficult’, these problems were minor compared to the difficulties faced in the Reich.

94 More about him (Hall, 6, 1994): Der erste angestellte und längstdienende Lektor des Verlags war Jonas Lesser, der aus einer orthodox-jüdischen Familie stammte und am 3. August 1895 in Czernowitz geboren wurde. Er hatte Altphilologie und Germanistik in seiner Heimatstadt und Wien studiert und am 4. Juli 1925 in Czernowitz *summa cum laude* promoviert. Die Stellung im Zsolnay Verlag bekam er auf Empfehlung von Leon Keller. So wandte sich Leszer (recte: Lesser) am 11. September 1925 brieflich mit der Frage an den Dichter, ob es diesem „vielleicht irgend möglich“ wäre, ihm „zu einem Erwerb zu verhelfen“. „Vielleicht zu einem literarischen, in einem hiesigen Verlag oder in einer Buchhandlung.“ 4 Schnitzler dürfte bei Paul Zsolnay interveniert haben, denn laut Personalkartei trat Lesser am 18. Dezember 1925 in den Dienst des Zsolnay Verlags ein und war mit seiner Stelle, wie er Schnitzler dankend mitteilte, sehr bald zufrieden. 5 Er arbeitete dort bis Ende Juni 1938 als Lektor. / The first hired and longest-serving editor of the publishing house was Jonas Lesser. He was born on 3 August 1895 in Czernowitz and was from an Orthodox Jewish family. He studied classical philology and German studies in his hometown and in Vienna, and on 4 July 1925 he earned his doctorate *summa cum laude* in Czernowitz. He obtained his position at the Zsolnay publishing house on the recommendation of Leon Keller. Accordingly, on 11 September 1925, Leszer (correctly: Lesser) asked him whether it might ‘perhaps be at all possible’ to ‘help him secure a livelihood,’ perhaps a literary one, at a local publishing house or in a bookshop.’ Schnitzler might have contacted Paul Zsolnay, for according to the personnel records, Lesser entered the service of the Zsolnay publishing house on 18 December 1925. He was soon very happy

Zsolnay by Arthur Schnitzler. Editor Leon Keller⁹⁵ was supposed to follow all the new releases in the English book market and recommend translating the most interesting for German readers. From March 1929 Zsolnay's editor became Gottlieb A. Crüwell⁹⁶. Hall describes how much editors were offered for their work:

Sie bekamen regelmäßig einen Stoß Bücher zugeschickt und erhielten pro Gutachten und Werk ein Honorar in der Höhe von 5 Mark. An jedem empfohlenen und vom Verlag erworbenen Buch war der Gutachter jeweils mit einem Prozent am broschierten Ladenpreis beteiligt.⁹⁷

Editing was paid differently and, if done by a translator, depended on their status at the company. So independent translator Gaspar Andreas received ten schillings, while a publisher's translator Richard Hoffmann received 58 schillings for editing. It might have depended on the book's size or the language's rarity. Another editor, translator and mediator Alkalay received 180 schillings "für Bereitwilligkeit, stilistische Glättungen in der deutschen Übersetzung, die uns teilweise notwendig erscheinen"⁹⁸. He edited the German

with his position, as he gratefully informed Schnitzler, and he remained employed there as an editor until the end of June 1938.

- 95 Kellner, 1859 in Tarnow, Galizien, geboren, promovierte 1883 in Wien zum Dr. phil. Sieben Jahre später war er Privatdozent für englische Philologie an der Universität Wien, 1904 wurde er als ordentlicher Professor an die Universität Czernowitz berufen und ging 1924 in Pension. Seit wann Kellner für den Zsolnay Verlag arbeitete, wissen wir nicht (Hall, 1994). / Kellner, born in 1859 in Tarnów, Galicia, received his doctorate (*Dr. phil.*) in Vienna in 1883. Seven years later he became an associate professor in English philology at the University of Vienna; in 1904 he was appointed full professor at the University of Czernowitz and retired in 1924. It is not known when Kellner began working for the Zsolnay publishing house (Hall, 1994).
- 96 1866 geborener Historiker und Referent für Anglistik war in der Person und 1898 war er als Volontär in die Universitätsbibliothek Wien eingetreten und wurde 1924 deren Direktor (Hall, 1994); A historian born in 1866 and a lecturer in English studies, he joined the University Library Vienna as a trainee in 1898 and became its director in 1924 (Hall, 1994).
- 97 They regularly received batches of books and were paid a fee of five marks for each review and each work. For every book they recommended that was purchased by the publisher, the reviewer also received a one percent share of the retail price.
- 98 For the willingness to apply stylistic changes in the German translations, which we occasionally consider necessary.

translation of the author Franz Molnar who was paid 1800 schillings. This shows the gap in the payments to editors and authors.

One of the consequences of the world economic crisis was the decision of Zsolnay in 1930 to transform from an Ltd. to a joint-stock company (Hall, 1994, p. 305). This is how Hall explains the history of this transformation:

Begonnen hatte der Paul Zsolnay Verlag als sogenannte Einzelfirma. Der Inhaber war Paul Zsolnay, der Einzelprokurist Felix Kostia-Costa. Die Firma war am 6. Mai 1924 in das Wiener Handelsregister eingetragen worden (Re.g. A 21,50a). Im Sommer darauf, als sich ein größerer Geschäftsumfang abzeichnete, entschlossen sich Zsolnay und Costa, das Unternehmen in eine Ges.m.b.H. umzuwandeln. [...] Die neue Geschäftsform wurde mit Gesellschaftsvertrag vom 14. August 1925 beschlossen. Das Stammkapital, von dem Zsolnay S 16 000 und Costa S 4 000 beistellte, betrug S 20 000. Beide wurden nun als „Geschäftsführer“ eingetragen (Re.g.C 27,92). Neben der Erwerbung der bisherigen protokollierten Firma wurde auch der „Betriebsgegenstand“ von „Buchhandel“ auf das „Buch-, Kunst- und Musikalienhandel mit Einschluß des Verlagsgeschäftes“ erweitert. [...] Zusätzlich erweitert wurde das Betätigungsfeld des Zsolnay Verlags durch den „Verlag und Vertrieb von Bühnenwerken“ im Dezember 1926.

Obwohl entsprechende Unterlagen leider nur sehr spärlich zur Verfügung stehen, wissen wir, daß der Paul Zsolnay Verlag die für den Buchhandel sehr schwierigen Jahre 1928 und 1929 nach eigener Angabe jeweils mit einem bescheidenen Gewinn abschließen konnte. [...] Schon im September 1930 reichte der Verlagssyndikus Dr. Paul Neumann die erste Eingabe an das Bundeskanzleramt (Inneres) in Wien mit einem Ansuchen um Billigung der Errichtung der Paul Zsolnay Verlag A. G. ein. [...]

Nach der Konstituierung der neuen A. G. wurden Zsolnay, Costa und der Verlagssyndikus Dr. Paul Neumann zu Mitgliedern des Verwaltungsrates ernannt. Die Erstgenannten blieben in dieser Funktion bis zum pro forma-Abgang im Jahre 1938, während Neumann schon im

Februar 1934 aus dem Handelsregister gelöscht wurde, dem Verlag aber weiterhin als Rechtsbeistand diente.⁹⁹

Few studies, for now, investigate translators' salaries at publishing companies, but their number is growing steadily. One of them is the work by Paloposki (2017). According to her results, the situation with payments at the *Edlund* company was the following:

Men did not seem to be paid more generously than women as a rule; famous authors' work seems not to have attracted higher fees than less known or leisurely reading. An exception was Topelius, the father figure of Finnish literature, who wrote in Swedish, closely oversaw his own texts' translations, and was a clear asset to the publishing house with print runs and reprints guaranteeing a steady income. The receipts for translations of his work (in two cases out of three) reveal higher fees than usual. The translators, too, were rather famous and are still much better known than most other translators at Edlund's. Non-fiction in many cases seems to have been better paid than literary translation;

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99 The Paul Zsolnay publishing house began as an independent company. The owner was Paul Zsolnay, and the only authorized officer was Felix Kostia-Costa. The company was registered in the Vienna Commercial Register on 6 May 1924 (Reg. A 21,50a). The following summer, as the business began to grow, Zsolnay and Costa decided to convert the enterprise into a limited liability company (GmbH/LLC).

The new structure was formalized by a partnership agreement dated 14 August 1925. The total share capital was S 20 000, to which Zsolnay contributed S 16,000 and Costa S 4,000. Both were then registered as managing directors (Reg. C 27,92). In addition to the previously registered aims, the scope of business was expanded from 'book trade' to 'trade in books, art, and music, including publishing.' The company further broadened its activities in December 1926 to include the 'publishing and distribution of stage works.' Although surviving records are sparse, it is known that the Paul Zsolnay publishing house, according to its own account, managed to close the very difficult years of 1928 and 1929 with modest profits. By September 1930, the company's legal counsel, Paul Neumann, had submitted the first petition to the Federal Chancellery (Interior) in Vienna, requesting approval for the registration of the Paul Zsolnay Verlag JSC. Following the formation of the new joint-stock company, Zsolnay, Costa, and Paul Neumann were appointed to the supervisory board. Zsolnay and Costa remained in this role until their formal resignation in 1938, while Neumann was removed from the commercial register in February 1934 but continued to serve the publishing house as its legal advisor.

the editing and adapting which was considered necessary for much of the non-fiction translation may have affected the fee (Paloposki, 2017, pp. 41–42).

Concluding this part, I would like to underline that at the Zsolnay publishing company, there was a fixed payment system for authors and translators. Usually, the author and translator received 15% of the income for a sold copy, which they shared at a rate of 1:3 (translator: author). There were also examples when the shared income was 12.5%. In this case, the author received 10% and the translator 2.5%. The variations depended on the symbolic and social capital of the translators. The translators who worked directly for the company had a stable income of 5% during many years, while those who worked for the author had to coordinate their salary conditions with them. Salaries of author's translators were not necessarily higher than the publisher's translators. Independent translators were paid less than the other two groups, but they could become publisher's or author's translators after establishing contact with the publisher and/or the author. While analysing translators' income, the translators' classification proposed in this work appeared to be useful.

Translation quality

In the correspondences at the Austrian National Library archive, several letters referenced the quality of translations. In each letter, it was evident that the interested people used the concept of quality manipulatively and subjectively. I discuss definitions of quality, its connection to the notion of translation culture on the meta-level and the case of Zsolnay and the three categories of the translators deeper in my article in the *Yearbook of Translation Hermeneutics* (Haiden, 2024a). The examples in the article show that quality can be seen differently in various situations and communities; it can be used as an instrument of manipulation, justification, and power (such as a publisher using the idea of quality to promote his favourite translators or eliminate undesired ones). Indeed, quality concept is one of the most controversial in the discipline. However, it could be represented as a social consensus or construct from the sociological perspective or a contract, implicit and/or explicit, with all the actors of the translation culture at this historical moment. At this point I go

back to the idea of translation culture and focus on translation culture features relevant to the Paul Zsolnay Verlag. Prunč (2008) differentiates between several types of translation cultures. As follows from this case study, it might be helpful to see who defines the quality of translation. In initiators-oriented translation culture, the publisher typically decides whether the translation is good. For readers-oriented translation culture, the number of sold books might be considered a criterion for a book's success. The concept of quality as well as translation culture change their norms with political and social changes. For this reason, the interwar period is a curious time to work with: within 14 years, initiators- and readers-oriented translation culture transformed into an autocratic one. Quality and competence criteria for the translators and text requirements are constructed socially based on the political situation. Establishing a kind of translation culture could help to establish quality and competence criteria. They are interconnected.

Sociological overview of the company's translators

Who was a typical translator at the publishing company in the interwar period? What was their gender, age, nationality, education, and financial situation? Referring to Bourdieu's study of large- and small-scale publishers, where he analyses the sociological data (age, gender, company's central office location, etc.) of founders of publishing companies, I suggest a translator-centred approach to this sociological investigation. In this part, I look at translators' sociological parameters and establish what these data can reveal about the publishing company and its development. I follow such constructed categories as Jewishness, gender, as well as objective facts such as age, university degree, number of books they translated for the company, and the fact of exile. In this case study, it is important to focus on Jewishness, which played a crucial role in the lives of many in the first half of the last century. The construct of Jewishness was inevitably connected to the situations of exile and migration. The idea of movement is essential while analysing translators as a social group: migration influences the lives of many translators, and it is directly connected to foreign language skills and integration into other cultures. Networks abroad are also

a factor that one needs to consider: They not only help to improve the foreign language of the translator but can also be converted at home into other forms of capital. In fact, this type of social capital, such as knowing the author and even being chosen by them to translate their works, can be exchanged into other forms of capital, such as economic or symbolic. This part is meant to show what kinds of people worked at the Paul Zsolnay publishing company, to help understand their motivations, and speak about evaluating their translations (later in this chapter) and their social and symbolic capital in the next chapter.

Gender

The topic of gender¹⁰⁰ and translation is being intensively investigated within translation studies for decades (e.g., Flotow, 1997), as well as within other social sciences. The gender balance, especially studied within certain historical periods, might give insights into the situation in the company, women's rights in the region, or networks within a chosen area. Indeed, in this case study, I see changes in gender balance: During the first four years there were, with a rare exception, only male translators at the Zsolnay company, and starting from 1927, the number of women who translated for the company rose and became equal or sometimes overtook the number of men-translators. Unfortunately, there are no statistics on gender balance in other publishing organisations in Austria, so I cannot make any conclusions about the support of female translators by the Zsolnay publishing company.

Below are two charts describing gender balance at the company:

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100 I realise that gender is a social construct as well, and I define someone as men or women only if I see from the correspondence that he or she does it him- or herself.

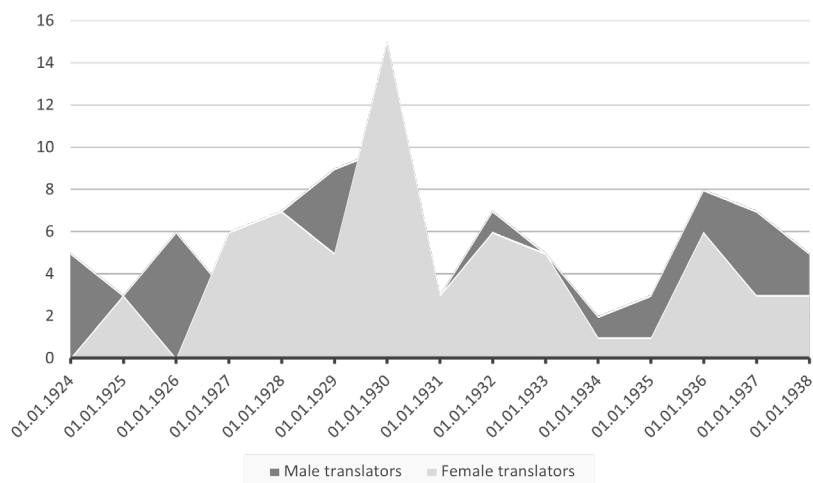


Figure 8: Number of female and male translators working for Zsolnay each year

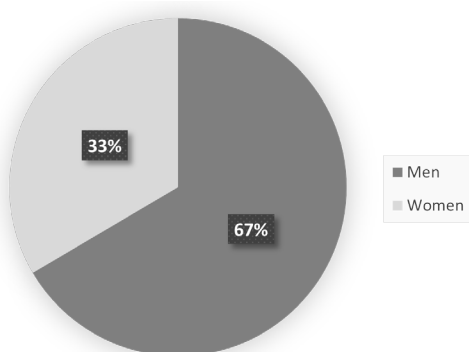


Figure 9: Books translated by men and women, 1924–1938

In the first chart, we see how many male and female translators there were at the publishing company (in this chart, I included also translators who translated one, two, or three books for the company and were usually not taken into account in this study). The second chart demonstrates how many books were translated by male and female translators (I have also considered all translations released in the period). We see that during the whole period, there was a relatively

equal number of male and female translators, with a slight male prevalence, while the number of translated books demonstrates that men translated about two-thirds of all volumes, while women only translated a third. Men tended to translate more books while women might have been translating as a part-time job or in parallel to household and childcare duties (?). It is also essential to note that the biggest number of books are translated by those translators chosen by the author for translation into German and the Zsolnay Verlag main translator Hoffmann, who translated about 30 books for the company (more than 10% of all published translations in this period). In addition, men tended to be author's translators more often than women, while women tended to translate in collaboration with other translators. Sometimes the editor's name was put together with the translator's name in the paratext. This happened to Otto Mandl, an influential Viennese business man who organised the translation process: his name was often mentioned alongside the translators' names, mainly with the two female translators: Erna Redtenbacher and Helene M. Reiff. Interestingly, there is no book where his name is mentioned as the only translator. There is no data on Mandl's contribution to the translations, therefore, even if his name is often mentioned in the peritext, I have excluded him from the list of translators under analysis in this volume.

The first chart shows that in the first three years of the existence of the publishing company, men dominated. The years 1927–1933 are critical as they illustrate statistically what Lisa Silverman also noticed: In these years, the number of women and men translating for the Zsolnay is equal or almost equal; some years later, more women were translating for the publishing company than men. Silverman underlines that Zsolnay explicitly and implicitly supported the discriminated minorities – women and Jews – by giving them jobs that were allowed, in this case translations. Hall (1994, p. 175) argues that Zsolnay supported female authors, stating that Zsolnay 1929 started publishing women's novels and novels about women. Mela Hartwig was the first female author published by the company, later followed by V. Wolf (1933), L. Grün (1931), and H. Spiel (1929). In these graphs, we do not see an explicit prevalence of men translating for the Paul Zsolnay company, so we cannot state that translating was seen as a predominantly male job, we also cannot see the prevalent number of women and cannot state that translating was typically

a female job. To make more conclusions, one must see data about male and female translators from other Viennese publishers of the period. Furthermore, it might appear that having half of the women translating for a publishing company was untypical for the interwar period. Additionally, another fact to be checked is whether any of the women published translations under male pseudonyms or did translations that a man published, though I do not expect it in this case study.

One of the excellent examples of approaching networks of translators may be considered the Master thesis by Kölbl (2019) at the University of Graz titled “We hung on every word of translation *Die Bedeutung anglophoner Translator_innen im Spanischen Bürgerkrieg (1936–1939)*”. Applying Actors-Network-Theory (ANT), she follows male and female translators’ specific networks in the civil war in Spain. She uses ANT theory focusing on the processes instead of agents. While the traditional theories focus on agents and relations of power, ANT allowed her to differentiate networks of men and women in the time period and establish their special features. Men had other qualifications, e.g. medical or military, and translated only if they were asked, while women accepted combining their language knowledge with other jobs such as secretaries or assistants in order to build networks. Women built their networks because of their language competencies, while men started translating because they were asked to do so within their existing networks (Kölbl, 2019, p. 116). The same tendency can be noticed among the translators who worked for the Zsolnay Verlag: the female translators acted primarily within their language tasks, while male translators came into contact with the publisher because of other roles. Kölbl also noticed that the existing networks tended to be kept by the agents, but the roles of the agents in them changed. This is also true for the Paul Zsolnay Verlag – many of its networks with translators and translators’ networks with each other survived geographical distance and time or were transferred to exile places.

Age

The next analysis point is the translators' age¹⁰¹ when they started working for the publishing company. This factor indicates: 1) how the company's symbolic capital grew and changed the "quality" of its translators; 2) how Zsolnay supported Jewish people in Vienna.

Name	Years of life	Years of work for the company	Age while working for the company
Dr. Hoffmann Richard	1892–1961	1924–1951	32–59
Schalit Leon	1884–1950	1924–1938	40–54
Umanskij Dmitrij	1901–1977	1925–1928	24–28
Redtenbacher Erna	1888–1940	1926–1932	39–44
Reiff M. Helene		1926–1932	No data
Polzer Annie	1908–2000	1927–1938	19–30
Schön von Marianne	1889–	1927–1932	38
Dr. Zuckerkandl Berta	1864–1945	1927–1930	63–66
Dr. Mertens Eva	1895–1981	1928–1930	27–29
Dr. Schmitz Siegfried	1886–1941	1929–1931	43–45
Dr. Amann Paul	1884– 1954/8	1929–1933	45–49
Dr. Gaspar Andreas	1897–1955	1933–1938	36–38
Kotas Walter Hjalmar	1900– 1955/6	1935–1938	35–38
Dr. Gaspar Kaethe	1905(?)– 1944	1936–1938	Ca. 31–33
Dr. Polzer Viktor	1892–1965/6	1936–1938	44–46
Dr. Lehner Fritz	1893–1961	1936–1938	43–45

Figure 10: Age of translators while working at the Paul Zsolnay company

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101 The concept of age in this volume is connected exclusively to the number of years that a person had to gain professional experience or formal education. It is not connected to any type of age discrimination.

The average age of a translator at the beginning of their work for the company was 38. Between 1924 and 1928, the average was 34, while between 1929 and 1938, it was 40. Until 1927 there was a significant age gap between the translators – four translators in their 20s or early 30s and one person in her 60s. The two youngest translators – Annie Polzer and Dmitrij Umanskij – will change their main job in the future, while Bertha Zuckerkandl, who was in her 60s while translating for Zsolnay, was also not a translator as a main job. Among the translators during the first years was Erna Redtenbacher, who only translated works by Wells and Colette for Zsolnay but never worked as a translator again. It might be explained by the fact that the Paul Zsolnay company did not have much capital initially and could not afford to employ professional, experienced translators, while in the 1930s, most of those who started translating for the company either had linguistic education and had done language-related jobs before or were experienced translators and mediators (Andreas Gaspar, Walter Kotas). From 1929, the age of people translating for Zsolnay varies between 30 and late 40s. In the 1930s, mostly Jewish people started working as translators at the company: those who lost their principal job because of the growing anti-Semitism and the new restrictions. In fact, this might be seen as a sign of Zsolnay supporting Jewish-discriminated people in Vienna, both men and women.

Language knowledge, education, and other jobs

According to Bourdieu, foreign language knowledge is considered a part of cultural incorporated capital. However, there are almost no means to measure the exact level of knowledge of a foreign language of a person living in the past. Speaking a foreign language helped people in establishing contacts at home or abroad and helped them to emigrate or flee. This happened with many translators working for the Paul Zsolnay publishing company: twelve of 16 translators considered here emigrated or fled. Formal university education and any information about home education at the archives (primarily for women) can be considered an objective indicator of education. According to Bourdieu, the university degree is a part of institutionalised cultural capital. Further, I list translators' working languages, their other jobs during, before or after translating for the Paul Zsolnay publishing company.

Name	Languages	Job/s	Education
Dr. Hoffmann Richard	German, English, Italian, Russian	Translator, editor	Ph.D. at the University of Vienna (after 1919)
Dr. Mertens Eva	German, French, English	Translator, Romance studies scholar, lecturer.	Ph.D. at the University of Marburg; Romance, German, and English studies at the Universities of Marburg and Berlin.
Dr. Gaspar Andreas	German, Hungarian, English, French, Spanish, Danish, Russian, (14)	Translator, editor, journalist	Ph.D., humanities and law at Debrecen University, Hungary.
Dr. Schmitz Siegfried	German, Yid- dish, Hebrew, English, Russian, Italian	Translator, interpreter, journalist	Ph.D. at the University of Vienna
Dr. Amann Paul	German, English	Translator, language teacher, college professor	Ph.D., German and Romance studies at the Universities of Vienna and Prague.
Dr. Polzer Viktor	German, English, French	Translator, editor	Ph.D. in German studies at the University of Vienna (1921) ¹⁰²
Dr. Lehner Fritz	German, English, French	Translator, college pro- fessor, radio presenter	Ph.D. in German and Romance studies at the University of Vienna (1919)
Schalit Leon	German, English	Translator, journalist	Literature and history, University of Vienna.

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102 From Polzer's documents in the JANY follows that for a doctoral degree, a person needed to complete one more year at the university in addition to his or her university degree (for Polzer it took four years).

Name	Languages	Job/s	Education
Umanskij Dmitrij	German, Russian	Translator, radio presenter	School education in Moscow; University of Vienna (1919–1924)
Kotas Walter Hjalmar	German, English, Danish, Swedish, “almost all European languages, some oriental”	Translator, author	Oriental and Nordic languages, University of Vienna
Polzer Annie	German, English	Translator, secretary, author	Home education
Schön von Marianne	German, English, French	Translator	Probably home education.
Redtenbacher Erna	German, French, English	Translator, unemployed (by choice)	Probably no University degree and home education
Dr. (?) Zuckerkandl Berta	German, French, English	Translator, author, journalist, cultural activist	Home education. Sometimes addresses as Dr. Zuckerkandl – might be connected to the academic title of her husband.
Dr. Gaspar Kaethe	German, Hungarian	Translator	No information about her education, but in some letters, she is addressed as “Frau Doktor”, – might be connected to the academic title of her husband.
Reiff M. Helene	German, French, English	Translator	No data.

Figure 11: Working languages, professions and education of the translators

One person was a full-time translator for the company – Richard Hoffmann. Andreas Gaspar was also exclusively a full-time translator in some periods, but he worked for many different companies. This allows us to conclude that translating as a full-time job was done only by a few people, while for the others

it was a part-time job, combined with other activities, or in a freelance capacity. Only one person of 16 worked as an interpreter: Siegfried Schmitz participated as an interpreter at the Zionist congresses in 1935 and 1937 in Switzerland. Many translators were connected to mass media: journalists Schalit, Schmitz, Gaspar, and Zuckerkandl; radio presenters Umanskij and Lehner. Annie Polzer worked as a secretary for an exile journal “*Aufbau*” in the USA (working there she needed both English and German). She also worked as a lecturer and wrote a book on how to learn English (see more in the next chapter). As expected, several translators were also active as authors: Andreas Gaspar, Kotas, Schmitz. Some translators also worked as editors, e.g., Viktor Polzer, Richard Hoffmann, and Andreas Gaspar. Some had to leave teaching in the 1930s and switch to translating, as Lehner and Amann did. Eva Mertens continued her academic career parallel to translating. Interestingly, no one chose or was forced to stop working with languages after 1938. Two people, Redtenbacher and Zuckerkandl, were interested in theatre and enrolled in plays in Vienna and Paris; at the same time, they translated from French, also plays. These two women are defined as women of letters in various sources, which points to their active role in promoting culture and literature and their networks with the cultural elite. It is essential to point out that Erna Redtenbacher, according to the investigator of her biography A. Venot, used to translate until 1931, while afterwards she did not work at all. She travelled mainly in France with her partner C. Denayer. Redtenbacher was not Jewish, and her well-off Austrian family had not lost money when the regime changed, so she probably had enough money to afford not to work. For most translators, there was a change in professions in the pre-*Anschluss* years, after the exile, and in exile.

Translators possessed extremely high incorporated capital – knowledge in languages and cultures, as well as institutionalised university degrees in different disciplines, incl. PhDs. Of the 16 translators considered in this work, at least three were polyglots (Kotas, A. Gaspar, Schmitz). Richard Hoffmann and Viktor Polzer worked with three foreign languages, while other translators with one or two foreign languages. People were not preferred due to the number of languages they worked with but for the rarity of the languages they translated from. Among the 16 translators under investigation, at least seven people completed a PhD, most of whom received a Dr. Phil. title, but one person had a PhD degree in law.

Three people graduated from the university. Translators studied history, literature, German, Romance, or English studies, and law. Interestingly, most people with academic titles started working for the Zsolnay Verlag in the mid-1930s. Women from wealthy families, such as Bertha Zuckerkandl or Annie Polzer (probably also Erna Redtenbacher and Marianne von Schön, who translated under different pseudonyms), had home education, which was enough to work as a translator. They initially used their families' networks to find a job as a translator. Another category includes women, often addressed as *Frau Doktor* in the correspondences, but there is no evidence of their academic titles. This might be connected to the academic titles of their husbands and the Austrian tradition of transferring to women not only the husband's last name but his academic title. Unfortunately, there is not much information about Helene M. Reiff, but the publishing company archive can give us information about one of her jobs (translating), foreign languages knowledge, and partially about her professional networks.

Notably, in the first period (1924–1928), people who worked for the company were home-schooled and freshly graduated, while most of those who translated for the Paul Zsolnay publisher in the second period (1929–1938) possessed a PhD and had several years of work experience in translating, languages or teaching. This might be explained by three facts: First, the symbolic capital gained by the company in the first period allowed it to hire people with better education and more experience; second, the publisher was profiting from the fact that Jewish people lost their jobs in other spheres and needed new places where they were still allowed to work, e.g., as translators; third, it might be a sign of the publisher's support of the Jewish community in Vienna. As expected, almost everyone working for the Zsolnay publishing company had other jobs; only two were full-time translators. Other activities were connected with journalism, writing, teaching, editing, and administrative jobs. Translators had very high cultural capital, incorporated (four people working with more than three languages) and institutionalised (at least seven PhDs and three university degrees). These types of capital and the translators' high social capital could be exchanged into higher economic capital¹⁰³.

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103 Read more on the professional journeys after exile of the translators in my article in *Tertium* (Haiden, 2025).

Jewish difference and exile

The next parameter concerns Jewish difference, a constructed issue that caused several exile situations. Indeed, most people who were defined as Jews or considered themselves as Jews had to flee Austria in the late 1930s. Moreover, this happened to almost all translators of the publishing house; twelve of 16 (about one translator, I found no information) emigrated or fled. In fact, the exile situation might be seen through the prism of translatorial activity: First, translators, as people located between cultures and languages, establish social connections abroad easier, making it less difficult for them to receive invitations for visas. Second, all translators emigrated to the countries where their first or second foreign language was spoken, which made it easier for them to integrate. Third, they could continue translating remotely or become publishers' agents abroad, which some did. The following chart lists countries of translators' exile or emigration:

Name	Years of life	Exile
Amann Paul	1884–1954/8	USA (1938)
Lehner Fritz	1893–1961	USA (1938)
Polzer Annie	1908–2000	USA (1938)
Polzer Viktor	1892–1965/6	USA (1938)
Gaspar Andreas	1897–1955	Hungary (1938)
Gaspar Kaethe	1905(?)–1944	Hungary (1938)
Zuckerkindl Berta	1864–1945	France (1938)
Redtenbacher Erna	1888–1940	France (1938)
Umanskij Dmitrij	1901–1977	USSR (1926–1928)
Schalit Leon	1884–1950	UK (1938)
Schmitz Siegfried	1886–1941	Palestine (1938)
Schön von Marianne	1889–	Switzerland?
Hoffmann Richard	1892–1961	No
Kotas Walter Hjalmar	1900–1955/6	No
Mertens Eva	1895–1981	No
Reiff M. Helene	No data	No data

Figure 12: Exile of the translators

Situations of exile are horrific events caused by direct danger to a person's life or freedom and are a question of personal survival, but still, they represent a research space for investigation of multiculturalism and movement, interconnection of cultural spaces and new language acquisition, social challenges and adaptation to the new reality. Translators are exposed to migration because they already live between cultures and languages, they are those who adapt to new circumstances easier because of foreign language and culture knowledge. They possess high social capital abroad and cultural capital through language knowledge. To name some studies on translation and exile: Hans Peter Neureuter discusses the exile of Berthold Brecht, and Pereira Nunes worked on the exile circumstances of Ilse Losa. "Exile could be seen as an extreme reaction to the censorship", Zahra Samareh (ed. Kelletat, 2016, p. 190) states, differentiating between exile, emigration and diaspora. I participated in the project dedicated to the Viennese translators who had to leave their motherland in the late 1930s and worked on the biography of Mimi Grossberg, a translator from the English language in Austria who later emigrated to the USA. Such projects investigate life circumstances that push translators to choose exile as a solution and investigate how exile affects translators' futures. They also follow whether people who emigrate change their profession – stop or start translating, become language teachers, reporters or change the field completely, like Mimi Grossberg, who became a hat designer after her exile to New York. The ways of fleeing are also being investigated: many translators, for example, had to make four-five stops in Europe to get to South or North America. Some translators chose rare directions, like Bertha Zuckerkandl, who emigrated to Algiers.

The publishing house director Paul Zsolnay as well as his brother, daughter and mother went to the UK. John Galsworthy's author's translator Leon Schalit and his family also fled to London. Furthermore, it was the translator Schalit and the widow of John Galsworthy, Ada, who assisted in Zsolnay's exile and the settlement of the new life in the UK. Schalit and Zsolnay collaborated with the AJR (Association of Jewish Refugees) in London. Bertha Zuckerkandl (translator of Paul Galdy) went to France because of her networks. Afterwards, she moved to Algeria, where her son lived. Thanks to his Zionist activism and networks, Siegfried Schmitz (author's translator of Shalom Asch)

and his wife, Melitta Eisner, fled to Palestine through Switzerland and Italy. The Gaspars (translators from Hungarian) emigrated to Hungary and later were deported to the labour camp. Four translators emigrated to the USA: Annie and Viktor Polzer (translators from English), Paul Amann, and Fritz Lehner (translators from English and French). Amann's and Lehner's exile stations were the countries of their foreign languages – Amann went to the USA through France, while Lehner travelled first to the UK, and then to the USA. It is important to note that all translators considered in this thesis managed to flee and save their lives. They all emigrated to the countries where their first or second foreign languages were spoken. Notably, that exile happened and saved the lives of some of the agents under investigation in this thesis because of the networks established during translators' work at the Zsolnay Verlag. In fact, Viktor Polzer, who emigrated to the USA in 1938, helped Paul Amann flee France in 1941 when the NS army occupied it. Annie and Viktor Polzer received help in applying for American citizenship from the author whose works Annie Polzer translated in Vienna – Pearl S. Buck, which shows that the networks built through translatorial activity helped in exile. The exile of Leon Schalit was possible because of his long friendship with the Galsworthys.

The change of profession was connected to the reality of exile. Larisa Schippel (2022) defines possible professional paths for refugee translators: literary field; mass media, teaching and politics. For many people, translations became an option to survive in exile. For the 20th-century translation history and exile studies, Larisa Schippel (2022) established three ways in which women changed their profession and started or stopped translating scientific texts in exile: First, women scientists who were in the shadows of their men and translated their works; second, those who worked as scientists before, but could not find work as scientists in exile and were forced to translate to earn their living; third, those who could not remain in academia and left academia. She connects exile situations to the change of profession. Indeed, translating activity was often chosen as a job for the first years of exile. I state that the translator's job before exile could be seen as a background for successful exile and integration. In the next chapter, I focus partially on the preconditions and preparation for emigration, though I also briefly investigate what happened

with the translators in exile¹⁰⁴. In this case study, people who had never translated before started translating in pre-exile years, or those who translated before their exile, never translated again in the exile country. Translating as an activity was often chosen for the first years of exile, though only a few continued working as translators later. Still, many worked in other related fields (teaching, journalism, research, publishing), having to translate as a part-time job. Amann worked as a college professor for German and French, as well as his colleague from Vienna, Fritz Lehner. Both were agents of the Paul Zsolnay publishing company in the USA after the war. The Polzers were also in contact with the publishing house after the war. They were members of the Austrian community in the USA. Annie Polzer worked for the exile journal “*Aufbau*”¹⁰⁵, while Viktor Polzer worked for Alliance Book Club Corporation in New York. Most of the translators managed to integrate into the new society in exile, which can be connected to their cultural capital but also to their own networks and those of the publishing company. Moreover, translators’ exile helped the publisher build new networks abroad. Many of them also functioned after the war.

It is important to mention that speaking about exile or migration in the interwar period, we do not always consider exile based on the construct of Jewish difference. In fact, in this case study there are two examples of people emigrating for other reasons. The first example is Dmitrij Umanskij, who grew up in Moscow and still had some family there, had Austrian citizenship. However, he decided to return in 1926 after completing his studies at the University of Vienna. His support of communist ideas and his networks in the newly established USSR led him to work at the Soviet radio, also dealing with translations from the German language. Political ideas were indeed important: exile countries were not eager to host politically left refugees, except the Soviet Union (Schippel, 2022). The second example is the history of Erna

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104 More detailed investigation of the exile of the translators from this case study, see in my article Haiden, 2025.

105 German-speaking refugees built the communities in the exile-countries, and some of them had their own periodicals, such as *Das Wort* – in the USSR (1936–1939), *Orient* – in Israel (1942–1943), *Aufbau* – in New York (1934–2004), *Freies Deutschland* – in Mexico (1941–1946) (Boguna, 2022).

Redtenbacher, a Catholic baptised at St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna and her exile, which was not based on Jewish difference but on her sexual orientation. She was homo-or bisexual, and did not hide this fact; it was known both in Vienna, where her family lived and in Paris, where she spent much of her time and had many close friends. On the day of the Anschluss, she fled from Vienna to Paris. Afterwards, when the German troops entered France during WWII, she committed suicide with her partner C. Denayer, fearing they might be deported to the concentration camp.

There are two important points in this part: First, three of the 16 translators I am working on committed suicide in exile during the war: Erna Redtenbacher in 1940, Siegfried Schmitz in 1941, and Käthe Gaspar in 1944. Andreas Gaspar attempted suicide but was saved. The first wife of Leon Schalit, Susanne, committed suicide in 1935. Second, of twelve translators who went to exile or emigrated, no one returned to Vienna. This might also be connected to the possibility of cultural and social integration because of their foreign language skills and profession. In fact, the only person who did return to Vienna was the publisher Paul Zsolnay. He came back twelve years later and continued developing his publishing company.

I do not work with the period after 1938 and the situations of exile directly, but it could definitely be important to consider as a continuation of this case study as the majority of the translators I am working with were refugees. In my case study, there is an interesting case of a domestic exile – the translator Walter Kotas who collaborated with the NS and was an active supporter of the NSDAP in Austria. After the war, he hid in Austria and was afraid of coming to Vienna. He continued his translational activity and earned his living through translations.

Within the *Exil:Trans* project, Richter (2023) looks at which capital the emigrants lost and which they gained. Translators are privileged because of their foreign languages and social capital. The same happened to the Paul Zsolnay Verlag and the translators: due to their networks that were also built during their work as translators, they managed to flee, they took with them their cultural embodied (languages) and institutionalised capital (half of the translators from the investigation had PhDs), their social capital. This will later be exchanged into economic capital, something that was lacking for many new immigrants.

Summing up the relation of the company, its networks and the fact of translators' exile, I note that the networks created when translators worked for the Paul Zsolnay publishing company influenced the destiny of all the translators and the publisher and saved several lives. The Paul Zsolnay company became a networks-hub that created a basis for translators' exile preparation, proper exile, and integration (see also Haiden, 2023). Moreover, all translators that fled managed to integrate into the new culture and society, also because of their cultural and social capital gained through translational activity. They all fled to the countries where their first or second foreign language was spoken.

Let me conclude this part on translators' sociological portraits with a construct: to describe an average translator working for the Zsolnay publishing company, there should be two portraits. Between 1924 and 1930, it was a young female home schooled or freshly graduated person at the beginning of her professional path. Moreover, most translators who started working for the company during this period later changed their professional focus. After 1930, it was a man with Jewish origins in his 40s possessing a doctoral degree and considerable work experience in translating, editing or teaching. This demonstrates that at the beginning, the Zsolnay Verlag did not have much symbolic, economic, and social capital to attract experienced professionals. Still, by the beginning of the 1930s, it had accumulated considerable symbolic capital. It found his place in the Austrian publishing field, being able to hire translators with more formal qualification parameters. Nevertheless, Paul Zsolnay's relationship to Jewish difference must be taken into account while speaking about the 1930s: he consciously supported Jewish authors and translators (as long as it was possible), as many of them needed help because they lost their principal job in the late 1930s.

Overview Chapter II

This chapter contains three empirical parts. The first part analyses the publisher's development through source language and the number of translations, focusing on the translators' role in mediating between the publisher and the author. Then, I present a translator classification, which is essential in analysing

the publisher's translation policies, incl. financial policies and the publisher's attitude towards to the notion of quality of translations. The third part deals with constructed and objective translator's sociological parameters to analyse the publishing company's development.

In the interwar period, personal interests, networks, and aims of the publisher and translators defined the development of the publishing house and its translation policies. As a newcomer in the publishing industry, Zsolnay focused on discovering new foreign authors and publishing more translations than was common. Wealthy young Paul Zsolnay, in the first years (1924–1930), focused on the long-term profit in the field of publishing promising authors, among which were many authors who were presented to the Austrian readers in translation. In the beginning, Zsolnay accumulated symbolic capital, which he did intensively through networks in Vienna, diffusing them gradually abroad. Later this also gave legitimacy to the authors who worked with him. By the beginning of the 1930s, the company established connections in the literary field in Austria and abroad and could use it to cope with the new challenges, also with the help of translators. In fact, in the first years, his priority was building networks, especially abroad. Therefore, translators' symbolic and social capital (networks) were often more important than their professional skills, which consequently helped the publisher gain long-term symbolic and social capital and economic profit. During the second period in the 1930s, he had to switch to short-term financial profit and survival in the challenging socio-political and economic situation through source languages choice and collaboration with certain translators and authors. He clearly used translation, namely source languages and translated authors, as an instrument of soft power. In the pre-Anschluss years, due to financial difficulties, Zsolnay followed the dominant ideology and sometimes betrayed his ideological principles by working with NS-supporters. As a consequence, by 1938 the company's translation culture from initiators- and, partially, readers-oriented started transforming into an autocratic one.

Analysing the publishing house from a translator-centred perspective allows us to establish that translators influenced source languages choice, acted as publisher's agents abroad, mediators between author and publisher, and reflected on the translation process and quality of translations. Some of the

translators influenced the Zsolnay publishing house's translation policies in a long-term perspective, some impacted the publisher's success in the interwar period, and some changed the publisher's destiny. Moreover, the Zsolnay's translators of the last century made themselves visible in the text by introducing prefaces or footnotes, insisted on mentioning their name on the cover, and made explicit conditions of how the translation should look and left dozens of letters arguing why their translations should remain unchanged. Translators clearly used their professional activity as a soft power, furthering their interests and ideas either through promoting chosen source languages or authors who expressed ideas close to the translators. It is noteworthy that the company had an implicit, but well-readable from peritext, hierarchy of translators: author's translators, publisher's translators, and independent translators. These designations defined the translator's position in the publishing house and reflected their symbolic, economic and social capital.

In the third part of this chapter, I analysed who worked as translators for the company based on their age, gender, job, language knowledge, and education. The concept of Jewishness, together with the fact of exile, was also considered in this analysis. It transpired that during the first six years, primarily inexperienced home educated young people translated for the company, while in the following years, when the symbolic and social capital of the company had grown, only people with experience, excellent education and networks translated for the Zsolnay Verlag. Moreover, almost all people who joined the company in the second period were attributed by the idea of Jewish difference. The sociological analysis hints that Zsolnay supported (Jewish) women as a discriminated group offering them jobs as translators. Moreover, translators were successful in organising proper exile thanks to their connections abroad. Not one of these translators returned to Vienna.

In the first chapter, I focused on the socio-political situation of interwar Vienna. This second chapter was dedicated to translation policies in a classical understanding: source languages, names of translators, motives of the publisher and translators. In preparation for the next chapter, some statistics about translators working for the publishing company were shown. The next chapter will be dedicated to what I see as a central component of any translation culture – people. I argue that translation culture is about people

paving the way of working with translations and the translation process. Translation policies are undoubtedly a part of translation culture, but its central component is actors. I support Rafael Schögler (2019, p. 26), who underlines that a translation culture could be considered a consensus of the interests of all people and organisations taking part in the translation process. Translation culture is constructed and formed by people. I write biographies of translators from the period focusing on their contribution to the translation culture of the publishing company. I also see how the publisher and the director governed the company, moving it to this or that type of translation culture.

III The translator

Bourdieu (1999) pays special attention to the role of the translator in international book circulation and establishment of the global book market, even if he does not put the translator in the centre. On the one hand, globalization shows the importance of reevaluating and appreciating the role and status of translators as it contributes to the professionalization of the agents. It is obvious that no negotiations or bilateral relationships are possible without a translator. Larisa Schippel (2017) also underlines translators' fundamental role in transculturality. They translate not only from one language into another but from one culture into the other. From the article it is clear that translators are protagonists, without them, no communication is possible in a modern transcultural world. On the other hand, globalisation stimulates cultural exchange and translation production – according to Index Translationum, translations worldwide increased by 50% between 1980 and 2000. Globalisation leads to the internationalization of the book market, which is one reason for the growing relevance and visibility of the translator's job around the world. Translators gained more symbolic power in the fields of literature or publishing with the emergence of the international book market, they often acted not only as text-translators but as agents or mediators because there were few specially trained people who could do this job, primarily due to insufficient language expertise of the national book agents. This chapter shows the process in the first half of the 20th century in Austria and is an addition to numerous studies on the agency of the translators.

At the end of the 20th century, several Western-European scholars were focussing on translator agency (Chesterman, 2003, Bassnett and Lefevere, 1995, 1998, Delisle and Woodsworth, 1995, Arrojo, 1997). It is postulated that “translation is never neutral” (Arrojo, 1997, p. 31), it always illustrates the existing social situation, aims and ideas of the translator, publisher or government. The focus shifts towards the translator, their personality, cognition, education, culture, circumstances in which they grew up, their political ideas and social background. The tendency continues with the Graz Conference in

2005 (Volume ed. Wolf, Fukari, 2006). Rakefet Sela-Sheffy applies Bourdieu's concepts to translation sociology: She shows Israeli translators as trend setters and the creators of the literary language. Tashinskiy (2014) publishes his paper "*Tod des Authors – Geburt des Übersetzers*"¹⁰⁶ (2014), confirming the idea of Prunč (2011) that if the "deconstructed" author dies, the translator is born. Jasen (2019) shows the translator's agency in the publishing field in Denmark, relying partially on the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu.

In contemporary translation studies, the tendency to recall the names and biographies of the leading actors of translation extends beyond translation courses: Not only is specific research conducted on the life and work of numerous translators in the historical context, but biographical summaries based on countries, genres and epochs are also being suggested. Pym's idea of writing biographies of translators was an inspiration for the first translators' lexica, a Swedish Lexicon, *Svenskt översättarlexikon*, explained Kleberg in the article "*Übersetzungsgeschichte von unten*" (2014, p. 22). Kleberg and Hakanson were its creators. In Sweden, the researchers used various databases of translations of different periods and languages in Scandinavia. Kleberg speaks about little information on translators and again mentions a publishing company as a source of information about a translator. Moreover, he consulted the national biographical lexicon (I also used this strategy and found information about those translators who did not only work as translators, e.g. Zuckerkandl, Amann, and Schalit). Translators' lexica now are available also in Finland, Denmark, the Netherlands and Germany. The Danish lexicon (*Dansk oversætterlexikon* – danskoversaetterlexikon.dk) comprises information about active translators: for this reason, it cannot be defined as a historical one, while the German version includes only biographies of translators who passed away. This, according to its creators, makes the collection historical. The *Germersheimer Übersetzerlexikon* in Germany was created by a group led by Andreas Kelletat. In Austria, a great job has been done in this direction at the Centre for Translation Studies in Vienna, by establishing an online journal of translation history – *Chronotopos*, with the projects "Translators in exile" (2020) and "Translating in the Third Reich" (volumes from 2021,

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106 The death of the author – the birth of the translator.

2016), and organising several editions of translation history summer schools. Translation scholars need to dedicate attention to case studies in order to collect the historical results and to create such a lexicon on the international level. An example of such an international collaboration in translation history is the project “*Exil:Trans – Leben und Arbeit verfolgter Übersetzer*innen*” which united translation historians from Austria, Germany and Switzerland. The biographical database of exiled translators could be listed as one of its numerous results. In 2021 a scientific society, “History and Translation” was established, and the leading translation history scholars were included in its scientific committee. In 2025 the new joint DACH Project *Post:Exil Trans* started. The aim is to investigate what happened to translators who fled from the German speaking countries in the first decade of their exile, up to the 1960s. All these projects have inspired my research and some of them have provided me with concrete data that I could use in my analyses.

In this chapter, placing the translator at the centre of the investigation, I see how their life circumstances and personal aims interact with the company’s development. This work investigates translators’ biographical details with two practical aims: 1) to show the influence of translators on the processes within the publishing house, in this way raising the question of the translator’s place in society (translation studies); 2) through the details provided by translation studies research to contribute to the historical studies of the chosen period and publishing house investigation within (new) book history.

Recently, the biographical turn in the literature and history has been spoken about (Renders 2017). Indeed, there are also several translation scholars working on translators’ biographies: e.g. Tashinskiy (2019) who calls it a biographical approach or Pym (1998) who suggests humanising translation history, Wakabayashi (2018) applies microhistory, Carsten Sinner (2020) works on oral histories. This work is not an exception. In order to contribute to creating the larger picture of the development of translation history, I apply a biographical approach, as defined by Tashinskiy (2019), to project the biographical details of the translators to the development of the publishing company in the chosen historical period. I have opted for a biographical method in combination with other methods to study translators’ agency retrospectively. I understand the biographical method in exclusively investigating the life circumstances of the

translator, e.g. using biographical details of translators to measure the growth of different forms of capital of the publisher or to explain why some translators acted as initiators of translation, etc.

Reconstructing biographies of translators and applying them to study the development of a publishing company and contributing to the global picture of a translator's job in the interwar period could be seen as a microhistory, but in this case, I prefer speaking of a biographical method. Wakabayashi (2018, p. 251) underlines three essential features of microhistorical research: "(1) intensive investigation of a particular object, typically (but not necessarily) on a small scale and of an obscure nature; (2) the challenging or refining of generalisations, revealing implications that transcend the specific object of study (microhistory does not mean the questions explored are trivial); and (3) an emphasis on the agency of individuals or groups that are either exceptional or representative in some way, situated within a broader context". Another of its feature could be seen as a focus on (4) documentation of the research and reflective incorporation into the narrative of "the procedures of research itself, the documentary limitations, techniques of persuasion and interpretive constructions" (Levi 1991, p. 110). Microhistory "is essentially based on the reduction of the scale of observation, on a microscopic analysis and an intensive study of the documentary material" (Levi 1991, p. 95). The microhistorical approach often puts a focus on (5) studying marginalised groups. Indeed, my case study might be defined as microhistory (especially its last chapter): it investigates an object on a smaller scale (1), tries to avoid generalisations (2), puts emphasis on the agency of the translators (3), documents research and reflects on its limitations (4), explores a marginalised group (5) – Jewish and female translators in interwar Vienna. This shows that the microhistorical approach cannot be avoided in this case study: It gives insights into the development of a publishing company from another perspective, helps to reconstruct unknown details, and understand the reasons for the success of the publishing house in the interwar period.

My research in this chapter might seem to be typical microhistorical research dealing with histories that "focus, for instance, on the life, work, connections and influences of an 'ordinary' translator in order to explore larger themes", but it is not so for several reasons. Firstly, I consider macro factors

in the first chapter (such as Jewish difference and the history of publishing in Europe) and introduce a medium stage between micro and macro in the second (my investigation of the publishing company). Microhistory is supposed to be abstract from the larger perspective, which does not happen in this study. Secondly, I find defining some translators from my case study as a marginalised group problematic. Thirdly, my case study gives representativity as far as possible with a group of translators and writes the histories of 16 people united by working for a certain organisation. The principles that fully fit into this research are a focus on agency and documentation of the research. For these reasons, I prefer to define my method as biographical with elements of microhistory.

Adding a meso-level by introducing a publishing company in the previous chapter enforces the need to apply *histoire croisée* to follow the intercrossings of all the levels of interaction. The data found at the Zsolnay archive provides essential information about the networks of the publisher and translators as well. Therefore, another historical method applied in this work is *tracing networks*, i.e. working bottom-up, from the small to the large. Pym defines it as an incremental method. This method is closely connected to the biographical method but goes beyond, paying more attention to the reconstruction of the networks. It is reminiscent of a classical induction method as it goes from particular to general, from a case study to theory building.

As stated before, based on the ideas of Hayden White and *histoire croisée*, I realise that any biography is a construct that serves to achieve the aims of the person who creates it. In this case study, I (re-)construct biographies of translators who worked for a publishing company in the interwar period, therefore, the focus is exclusively on the 14 years that are interesting for the research aims of this case study and on their professional activity as translators. I also mention their education (relevant to their work as translators), exile (connected to their networks at the company), and other jobs (mostly related to their translational activity). I speak about the translator's families and personal events when possible and relevant to the case study. All this points to the fact that these are not biographies that interest everyone. These are constructs that are relevant to this case study.

Some other questions that a new writer of translator biographies poses are: “What are the criteria to call a person translator?” or “Was translation the main activity or a part-time job for a person? What was their main financial source?”. Defining someone as something is a social construct and role attribution. In this, Alois Hahn (1988) suggests either to refer to someone as a translator if this person declared him- or herself to be something, e.g., a translator, or if someone else stated that the person was working as something, e.g., a translator. It is also helpful to consider which part of a biography will be central: a professional or a personal biography, centred on a certain period or describing the whole life. As an example of professional biographies, the *Germersheimer Übersetzerlexikon* can be considered. One of its founders Andreas Kelletat (2014), commenting on writing biographies, notes:

Es geht bei UeLex nur um eine Teilbiografie, um die Sprach- und Topobiografie, um das WAS und WARUM des Übersetzens sowie um das WIE des Übersetzens.¹⁰⁷

Here, he recognises that they are not aiming to write a complete biography of a person (if it is possible at all), but they focus on the activity of the person in translating. In my case study, I concentrate my attention on the professional side of a person’s life, especially in their job as a translator. Additionally, the investigation includes a limited historical period (1924–1938). In any case, significant life events and personal networks will be mentioned: some of them led people to or from the profession. In this work, I analyse the translator’s attitude to the profession, follow life circumstances that lead to translating or non-translating, establish ways of language acquisition, and possible ways of transforming language knowledge to other forms of capital. I follow how the person influenced the text, the publisher, and the society, and vice versa: how the text, the publisher and the society influenced the translator and their life. Who was called a translator in the interwar period, and if it changed in exile situations? Some people who worked as translators in Austria changed their

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107 UeLex deals only with partial biographies: the language and topographical biographies, with WHAT and WHY of translating, and the HOW of translating.

job, or those who did not translate much in the interwar period made their living in exile exclusively with translations. All these considerations are then taken into account along with the development of the publishing house at this time and allow us to show how translators and their life circumstances influenced the publishing company in the interwar period and partially after and during WWII. Another common problem for those writing biographies is romanticising and heroicising the objects of the study. Tashinskiy, as well as Richter, supports the idea of not writing about translators as heroes but being self-reflective. Hayden White (p. 31, 1973) underlines that “the historian both creates his object of analysis and predetermines the modality of the conceptual strategies he will use to explain it”. This is both power and responsibility. One must always be self-reflective and keep the final aim in mind.

In this last chapter, I suggest looking at the translators as the creators of the translation culture. I see translation culture as a phenomenon constituted by people producing translations and dealing with translations within a specific socio-historical context, in contrast to translation policies that are consciously presented as a plan. I argue that translators were agents that directly contributed to the formation of the company’s translation culture. In this part, I tell the story of a publishing house shifting the focus and looking at the translators as protagonists and retell the story based on their biographies. These people appeared close by chance and could be united by working for the same publishing house in the interwar period. My interest is to understand the life circumstances of the translators, the reasons for choosing this profession, their attitude to translating as an activity, and connect it to the company’s development in the interwar period.

I consider that not only translators were the actors of the process, but also publishers, directors, lawyers, editors, authors, etc. I do not underestimate the role of the publisher Paul Zsolnay and the company’s director Felix Costa. Indeed, at the beginning of this chapter, information about both company’s leaders is provided.

Publishing company as an agent

*Man hat an mich oft die Frage gerichtet, wie man mit Erfolg
einen Verlag aufbaut, und ich kann dazu nur ein Wort sagen,
das eigentlich auch auf andere Berufe zutrifft: Dieses eine
Wort heißt Liebe. Liebe zum Buch, zu den Menschen,
denen man mit Büchern eine Freude bereiten möchte,
und – last but not least – Liebe zu den Menschen,
denen wir die Bücher verdanken. Wenn man mich fragt,
wie groß die Liebe sein soll, möchte ich den Untertitel der bei
mir erschienenen Anthologie ‚Liebe‘ zitieren:
Das Maß der Liebe ist lieben ohne Maß.¹⁰⁸
Paul Zsolnay, 1955¹⁰⁹*

Even though this chapter is dedicated to the translator, I first introduce the publisher as the agent because he was the main communicator and decision-maker. The Paul Zsolnay company is represented by two actors who build the publisher as a collective agent – its founder and owner, Paul von Zsolnay, and the company's director Felix Costa-Kostia.

108 Online source: <https://www.hanser-literaturverlage.de/verlage/zsolnay/verlagsgeschichte> (last access: 8.11.2022).

109 "I have often been asked how one can successfully develop a publishing house, and my answer can be summed up in a single word, the one that applies to many professions: this word is love. Love for the book, love for the people whom one hopes to delight with books, and, last but not least, love for those to whom we owe the books. And if one asks how great this love should be, I would quote the subtitle of the anthology *Liebe* that I published: 'The measure of love is to love without measure' (Paul Zsolnay, 1955).

Paul von Zsolnay



Archiv Paul Zsolnay Verlag

Paul von Zsolnay was born in 1885 in Budapest to the family of the tobacco industrialist and Austrian consul general Adolf von Zsolnay and Klara Amanda Wallerstein¹¹⁰. His brother Friedrich (Fritz) von Zsolnay was one year younger than Paul. The Jewish family converted to Protestantism in 1901 and moved from Budapest to Vienna. Paul Zsolnay studied agriculture at BOKU in Vienna. With his parents' financial support, Paul Zsolnay founded his publishing company, the Paul Zsolnay Verlag, in 1923 in Vienna.

Paul Zsolnay's relationship with Anna Mahler must also be mentioned. Anna Mahler was the daughter of Alma Mahler Werfel and Gustav Mahler; Anna's stepfather was Franz Werfel. Anna and Paul knew each other from childhood, but (re)met in Semmering in 1929. Shortly after, according to Alma Mahler's autobiography (1960, p. 213), Zsolnay asked Alma to marry Anna. Even though Zsolnay's father was against the marriage, Anna Mahler and Paul Zsolnay married in 1929 in Paris. They moved to Berlin, where their daughter Alma was born in 1930. Hall (1994) describes the relationship between Anna Mahler and Paul Zsolnay:

Am 2. Dezember 1929 heiratete der vierunddreißigjährige Junggeselle die Künstlerin Anna Mahler (1904–1988) heimlich in Paris. Für die (...) war dies bereits die dritte Verheirathung. ... Im Frühjahr hatte Alma Mahler ihre aus Berlin zurückgekehrte kranke Tochter zur Kur auf den Semmering geschickt. Durch die langjährige Freundschaft seiner Fami-

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¹¹⁰ She was a close friend of Alma Mahler. part of their correspondence can be found at the University of Pennsylvania archive https://franklin.library.upenn.edu/catalog?f%5Bauthor_creator_f%5D%5B%5D=Zsolnay%2C+Amanda+von%2C+-1956.

lie mit Alma Mahler hatte Paul Zsolnay Anna Mahler schon seit ihrer frühesten Kindheit gekannt. Er hatte sie einige Jahre lang nicht mehr gesehen, bis es der Zufall im Sommer 1929 fügte, daß, wie Paul Zsolnay erzählt, „ich mit ihr einige Wochen [sc. Juni–Juli 1929] gemeinsam am Semmering verbrachte. So hatten wir Gelegenheit, einander aufs Neue kennenzulernen und entschlossen uns sehr rasch, uns zu verbinden“... Angesichts eines solchen Protests bzw. solcher Unstimmigkeiten – manche meinen, Alma Mahler hätte ihre Tochter in diese Ehe gedrängt – ist es nicht verwunderlich, daß unter Ausschluß der Öffentlichkeit und fern von Wien geheiratet wurde. „Es war der Wunsch meiner Frau, den ich vollkommen teilte“, schreibt der Frischvermählte an den ihm gratulierenden Gesandten in Konstantinopel, „dass die Heirat möglichst unbemerkt vollzogen werde“, was in unserem Fall nicht ganz leicht war. Aus diesem Grunde haben wir unsere Vermählungsanzeigen erst nach der Hochzeit versandt. ... Auf Hochzeitsreise ging es nach Ägypten, und im neuen Jahr wollte Zsolnay zumindest kurzfristig, vielleicht auf Wunsch Anna Mahlers und wie in mehreren Briefen dokumentiert ist, seinen Wohnsitz nach Berlin verlegen. „Ende dieser Woche“, teilte er Schalom Asch am 15. Januar mit, „fahren wir nach Berlin, wo wir einen grossen Teil des Jahres zu verbringen gedenken. Ich glaube, dass dies den (sie) Verlag von grossem Vorteil sein wird, da Berlin immer mehr das Zentrum des deutschen Geisteslebens wird.“¹¹ Am 20. Januar 1930 meldete sich der Verleger nach Berlin ab, wo er bis zum 2. Mai blieb. Am 5. August kam die nach ihrer Großmutter benannte Tochter, Alma, zur Welt.¹¹¹

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111 On 2 December 1929, the thirty-four-year-old bachelor secretly married the artist Anna Mahler (1904–1988) in Paris. For her, this was already a third marriage. In the spring, Alma Mahler had sent her sick daughter, who had returned from Berlin, to Semmering for a cure. Through his family's long-standing friendship with Alma Mahler, Paul Zsolnay had known Anna Mahler since her earliest childhood. He had not seen her for several years, until by chance in the summer of 1929, as Paul Zsolnay recounts, "I spent several weeks [June–July 1929] together with her in Semmering. This gave us the opportunity to get to know each other again, and we decided very quickly to get engaged." Given the level of protest and disagreement (some even suggesting that Alma Mahler had pushed her daughter into this marriage), it is not surprising that the ceremony was private, far from Vienna. 'It was my wife's wish, which

From Berlin they moved back to Vienna, where they lived in the villa Kaunitzschlüssel in the 13th district of Vienna. Alma Mahler recalls this period in her memoirs:

... aber nun sitzt Anna brav, geföhlt mit Protest bis an den Rand, in ihrem schönen Schloss. [...] Anna Mahler föhlt auf einmal den Reichtum als zu ihr gehörig, mehr als ich das je vermögt hätte ... (1960, p. 213)¹¹²

In 1932 Zsolnay's father died and left his valuable collections to the two sons and his wife. According to the asset's declaration, Zsolnay's art collection was valued at around 10,000 reichsmarks. Most of it was later confiscated by the NS government.

In 1935 Paul Zsolnay and Anna Mahler divorced. Their daughter Alma remained with her father and grandmother. In 1938 Paul Zsolnay went on a business trip to London, from which he did not return to Vienna. His mother and daughter followed him to the UK at the beginning of 1939 through Czechoslovakia. His brother fled to the UK in 1938 through Hungary and Switzerland. Paul Zsolnay came back to Vienna in 1946 to restore his company. In 1947 Paul Zsolnay started the procedure of reclaiming his confiscated possessions and succeeded in many cases. In the following years, he travelled between London and Vienna. In 1960, Paul Zsolnay died in Vienna.

Speaking of Paul Zsolnay's agency in the company, it is important to note that most of the correspondences at the company's archive were signed by

I fully supported,' the newlywed wrote to the congratulating envoy in Constantinople, 'that the marriage be carried out as quietly as possible, which in our case was not entirely easy. For this reason, we only sent out our wedding announcements after the ceremony.' They went on a honeymoon to Egypt, and at the beginning of the new year, Zsolnay intended, at least temporarily and perhaps at Anna Mahler's request, as documented in several letters, to move to Berlin. 'At the end of this week,' he informed Shalom Asch on 15 January, 'we are going to Berlin, where we intend to spend a large part of the year. I believe this will be of great benefit to the publishing house, since Berlin is increasingly becoming the center of German intellectual life.' On 20 January 1930, the publisher departed for Berlin, where he remained until 2 May. On 5 August, his daughter Alma, named after her grandmother, was born.

112 ...but now Anna sits obediently in her beautiful castle, her sense of protest seemingly stretched to the limit. [...] Anna Mahler suddenly feels the wealth as belonging to her, more than I ever could have imagined... (1960, p. 213).

Costa. Zsolnay intervened only when the letter was from or to his friends or acquaintances or when it was about problematic financial arguments. So, after 1935, Zsolnay had to explain to the authors that the company published only apolitical literature (a sign of autocratisation of translation culture). In one of his letters of January 1937, the Revai agency answered Paul Zsolnay that the novel “Uz Bence” was apolitical and, therefore, could be published. Zsolnay also explained to the authors and agents that the company published only the books of those authors whose first books had success (a sign of initiator-oriented translation culture) or those who would potentially be sold out quickly:

Unser Programm sehr überlastet ist, sodass wir nur Interesse an wirklich überdurchschnittlichen Romanen und Biographien haben.¹¹³

This was how Paul Zsolnay replied to Steen, who wanted to publish the other books at the company (letter from 24.10.1935). The refusal of new publications in 1937 affected Daniele Varè because translations of his books into German sold badly.

It is impossible to consider the company’s development and the translation culture constructed within the Zsolnay Verlag without considering Paul Zsolnay’s initial economic capital, which he received from his parents. This gave him more freedom in establishing the company’s policies, including translation policies. In all its forms, his cultural capital was much higher than average in the interwar period. For example, incorporated capital, he was familiar with at least four cultures and languages or institutionalized capital, he received a formal higher education at BOKU. He also possessed a huge amount of objective cultural capital: products of arts he inherited from his father that could have been exchanged for economic goods. The family’s social capital was also extremely high, including connections to famous Viennese artists, intelligentsia, and political actors. As expected, all these forms of capital provided Zsolnay with high symbolic capital. This person started his career with a very large amount of resources, which he successfully used to invest in

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113 Our program is overloaded, so we are only interested in truly exceptional novels and biographies.

the publishing company, which survived during one the most turbulent periods of European history and found its place on the modern market. Applying translation as a soft power, he managed to balance his understanding of literary aesthetics, Jewishness, financial profit, and the growing ideologisation of the Austrian publishing industry in the 1930s. His agency in the book market enriched the Viennese public with Russian, French, and Yiddish literature. His wish for the company to survive in the 1930s opened up Hungarian and Scandinavian authors to Austrian readers. He managed to keep Jewish translators in his company until 1938, parallel to introducing NS-supporting translators. This was a unique strategy for a publisher in the interwar period.

Felix Costa-Kostia

Speaking about agency within the publishing house, it is essential to describe Felix Costa's influence on the company's development and formation of its translation culture. When I refer to the publisher in this work, I usually mean a collective agent represented by both Paul Zsolnay and Felix Costa. Costa was in contact with most of the authors and translators and took decisions about releases equally with Paul Zsolnay. Costa had a degree in literature, in contrast to Paul Zsolnay, who studied agriculture. Costa's interests and literary tastes are reflected in the choice of new releases and the selection of source cultures for translations. Costa was defined as the soul of the literary success of the company:

Nach Ansicht Stebichs war Costa eigentliche „Seele“ der literarischen Erfolgs Verlage (Hall, 1985, p. 404).¹¹⁴

Felix Costa was born in Vienna in 1887; he was a co-founder of the Ilf publishing company in 1919. He was catholic but defined by some as a Jew. He lived in the first district of Vienna before being deported to the concentration camp (Rotenturmstrasse 22/16, Vienna, 1010). He was married to Julie Kostia (defined as Jewish), and they had a son Carl Hans (born 1929). According to

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¹¹⁴ "According to Stebich, Costa was the real 'soul' behind the publishing house's literary success" (Hall, 1985, p. 404).

Yad Vashem catalogues, Julie Kostia was born in 1891. During the war, she lived in Vienna and, together with her husband and son, was deported from Vienna to Maly Trostenets in August 1942.

Costa was invited to the company at the beginning, as it was clear to Zsolnay that he would need an expert in literature and understanding of the publishing industry. Paul Zsolnay needed someone who would know how the publishing industry functions and was familiar with the new trends in literature and finance. Indeed, most letters with authors and translators at the archive are signed by Costa. Hall calls Costa "*Zsolnay's rechte Hand*"¹¹⁵:

Für Paul Zsolnay waren Verlagsverträge und nicht nur sie völliges Neuland. Als es etwa darum ging, den Druckauftrag für das am 4. April 1924 erschienene erste Werk, den Verdi-Roman, zu vergeben, wußte er noch nicht, was der Unterschied sei zwischen Fraktur und Antiqua und bedurfte fremder Hilfe. Als Landwirt hätte er zudem wegen fehlender Qualifikationen (Befähigungsnachweis) von der strengen Behörde sowieso keine Konzession erhalten. Und ohne einen Mann, der ihm jahrelang treu zur Seite stand, wäre Zsolnay auf völlig verlorenem Posten gewesen. Denn der Betrieb des Verlagsbuchhandels war in Österreich im Gegensatz zu Deutschland noch immer ein konzessioniertes Gewerbe. Zsolnay brauchte also nicht nur eine „rechte Hand“, sondern auch jemanden, der im Besitz einer gültigen Konzession war und Branchenerfahrung hatte. Er hieß Felix Kostia-Costa.¹¹⁶

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115 Zsolnay's right hand.

116 For Paul Zsolnay, publishing contracts, as well as the entire publishing business, were completely unknown territory. When, for example, it came to preparing the contract for the first work appeared on 4 April 1924, the Verdi novel, he did not yet know the difference between "Fraktur" and "Antiqua" typefaces and had to rely on the others. As an agriculturer, moreover, he would in any case have been denied a license by the strict authorities due to his lack of the required professional qualifications (*Befähigungsnachweis*). Without a man who supported him for many years, Zsolnay would have been entirely at a loss. In Austria, unlike in Germany, the operation of a publishing book trade was still a licensed profession. Zsolnay therefore needed not only a 'right-hand person,' but also someone who possessed a valid license and substantial experience in this area. That person was Felix Kostia-Costa.

First, external agents found new works, then they reported about it to Zsolnay and Costa, and afterwards, one of them decided whether to publish the book. Translators or publisher's authors usually acted as mediators. A special significance was the translation of the title, which was considered part of a market strategy. The main interest of the publisher in translating the title was to make the book sell better. The company's director Costa took the final decision, rarely was it Zsolnay:

Es war letztlich Felix Costa, der die meisten Vorschläge, ja auch den endgültigen Titelvorschlag machte. Freilich war die Titelgebung vor allem bei Übersetzungen von verkaufsstrategischer Bedeutung, denn der Originaltitel konnte u. U. andere Assoziationen hervorrufen als in der Zielsprache. (Hall, 1994, p. 196)¹¹⁷

Felix Costa tried to influence the translation process, such as the translation of proper names in *"Aneinander vorbei"* by Birabeau or *"Schlaflos"* by Morberg. Moreover, he had to discuss with authors and translators the final version of translations or solve conflicts between authors and translators (e.g., Steen and her *"Matador"*, where Costa praised the translation by Viktor Polzer and the author did not like it), or long discussions with the translator Amann who did not want to accept modifications of his translations. Speaking about a century ago, one must remember that the delivery and mailing issues were challenging; therefore, in correspondence, it is possible to find letters where translators complained about the bad quality of material or mailing problems. So, Kotas complained that the delivery did not work correctly and the received material was damaged. These problems were to be solved by Felix Costa. This all demonstrates the enormous influence and high symbolic capital of the company's director and his role in the company's development.

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117 Ultimately, it was Felix Costa who made most of the decisions, including the final suggestions for the titles. Titles selection was particularly important from a sales and marketing perspective, especially in translations, since the original title could evoke associations in the target language that differed from those in the source language (Hall, 1994, p. 196).

After taking into account the biographical details of the publishing house's owner and director and their functions in the company, let me proceed to the translators.

Translators

As mentioned in the previous chapter, peritext of published books gives valuable information about translators' networks. Every translation on the copyright or/and title pages has a note with the translator's name, which contains three modes of introducing the translator: *Autorisierte Übersetzung von*, *Berechtigte Übersetzung von*, *Deutsch von/Aus dem Englischen von*. These nominations directly correspond to the status translators had in the company, the way they behaved professionally, the amount of money they received for their work and the level of professional freedom they possessed. This was also connected to their ways of applying soft power (or not). In this way, we see from the peritext that the Paul Zsolnay Verlag had an implicit but clear and visible hierarchy of translators:

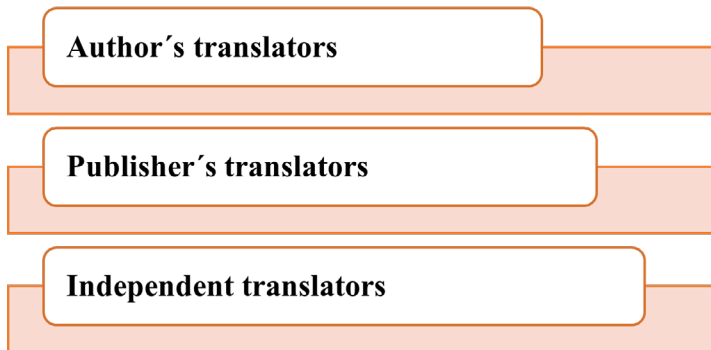


Figure 13: Translators' classification at the Paul Zsolnay publishing company

The category change was common with the gain or loss of certain forms of capital. I see certain patterns that point to the established, habitualised behaviour of each group. I avoid the Bourdieusean idea of habitus and prefer

the softer notion of habitualised behaviour of Prunč. On the following pages, I describe each group and present biographies of the translators belonging to each category. I first propose author's translators' biographies, then the publisher's translators, and afterwards describe independent translators. In every category, translators are listed chronologically by the year they started working for the publishing company. This helps to see similarities in translators' status in each of the groups at the company, but also to follow how the translation culture of the company changed with time and how these changes influenced the networks. As noted before, a well-structured system of collaborating with translators could be seen as an essential part of network-constructing and social capital accumulation. I must note that this classification was critical to the state and development of the profession in interwar Austria. What the Paul Zsolnay Verlag did was essential for recognizing translators as a professional group in the interwar period. This classification was a step forward in the legalisation and authorisation of translators and in measuring their qualifications, whether consciously or intuitively. The discovery of this classification within this volume offers material for investigating the profession's institutionalisation.

As I claim before, every biography is written with a specific aim and by a person with certain interests. Indeed, this book's objective is to zoom in on the role of the translator in the development of the company. Therefore, in each biography I first give some basic information about a person and their life (I); then I comment on the collaboration of the translator with the Paul Zsolnay company, focusing on the status of the translator in the publishing house and some patterns of their (habitualised) behaviour (II); afterwards I explain what consequences this status had for the translator and the company or give more information on the translatorial activity of the person (III). At the end of every biographical sketch, I add a part about the material: where I found it, how I came across the source of the necessary data, and about the researchers who conducted the investigation (IV). I discuss what kind of information about translators a publishing house archive gives us and what can be found in other archives. The last, auto-ethnographic, section is a necessary point for translation history, which is interested in what was found, where and how it was found, and what it means. This part is also my personal story.

Author's translators

In this part, I address the agency of the company's most influential and professionally free group of translators – author's translators. They were typically those explicitly applying soft power and promoting their ideas, interests, and source cultures through translations. Translators' symbolic power and demonstration thereof is a central issue in this part. I will speak about Leon Schalit, Dmitrij Umanskij, Erna Redtenbacher, Bertha Zuckerkandl, Eva Mertens, Helene M. Reiff, Siegfried Schmitz and Paul Amann. Their main network was the author, and many were paid directly by the author. The translators of such famous authors as John Galsworthy or Shalom Asch enjoyed complete professional freedom. They have explicitly forbidden any changes in their translations. Moreover, Schalit demanded to have his name both on the copyright and the title page. It sometimes happened that translators from other categories became author's translators with the corresponding symbolic power and gain of professional freedom. These translators formed a translation culture in the company for many years and produced (or not) dozens of translated works. They were active as mediators between the publisher and the authors and source cultures of translations.

In this work, this group of translators is defined as author's translators, but not authorised translators, as might follow from the peritext where it is noted that the translations presented were authorised (*Autorisierte Übersetzung von ...*). I have chosen not to call this group "authorised" to avoid confusing them with legally authorised translators in today's understanding. Indeed, Pym, Sfreddo, and Grin (2012/3) speak of authorised translators, or sworn ones, in the case when translators work with legal documents¹¹⁸.

This group of translators was protected by the authors. While author's power was clear at that time, the situation with the translators was different. The undeniable power of the author over the translator is confirmed by the

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118 For them, authorised for legal translations is certified by a selected organ in the country. For Stejskal (2003) authorisation is a mode of certification that grants not just recognition but also the power to act on behalf of the certifying institution. Translators who are "sworn" in the sense that they can say a translation is legally valid have thus been "authorised" to say this by a government agency.

Berne convention, which was signed by the majority of the European countries. “According to the 1889 Berne International Convention on the protection of literary and artistic property, based on the French conception of *droit d’auteur*, the author’s moral rights are inalienable. Consequently, the author can ask for control over the translation” (Sapiro, 2016). This leads to a relatively weak position of the translator and their dependence on the author or other actors of the publishing process. The Paul Zsolnay company’s networks of the last century confirm this: translators protected by the authors had more symbolic power in comparison to those without networks with the authors.

Pym’s¹¹⁹ analysis of 217 professional associations shows that literary translators were the first to form associations in the 1950s. He studied when translators’ associations were founded, their size, and their aims (Figure 1 p. 470)¹²⁰. According to Pym (p. 472), translators became members of literary translators’ associations not through certificates or training but by having translated at least one literary work and having been paid for it in money. A name in the peritext and a signed contract could also be such a confirmation for literary translators in the 20th century. The Zsolnay translators were conscious that the name in the peritext was their marketing instrument, and afterwards, it also became a ticket to translators’ associations. For example, in the letter from 7th of September 1926, Leon Schalit explicitly forbids making any changes in the translation and requires the translator’s name to be under the author’s name. To this, he receives the following answer:

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119 In “Translator associations — from gatekeepers to communities” Anthony Pym analyses 217 associations for translators and/or interpreters showing that in the 1950s and 1960s, there was a progressive specialization of associations. ... separate institutions have been created for literary translators, sworn/authorized translators and interpreters, conference interpreters, public-service interpreters and audio-visual translators.

120 The first sign of this separation was the appearance of the Verband deutschsprachiger Übersetzer literarischer und wissenschaftlicher Werke (VdÜ) (Association of German-Speaking Translators of Literary and Scientific Works). In 1954 – the generalist BDÜ. The literary translators then joined with the Verband deutscher Schriftsteller (Association of German Writers) in 1974 and now claim to have more than 1,200 members. Anthony Pym (p. 472).

Ich werde dafür Sorge tragen, dass von nun an bei jeder neuen Veröffentlichung der Name des Übersetzers der Galsworthys Werke genannt wird (21.6.1926 Felix Costa to Leon Schalit)¹²¹

This chapter is dedicated to translators' agency in the field; therefore, it is helpful to take into account correspondences where translators demonstrate their consciousness of the process of translating. Translators' idea of how to translate was primarily based on their own experience, as there were no institutions that trained translators and interpreters. Another reason for my interest in translators' reflections on translations is that these reflections might further have been considered to become the basis for translation training organisations in the 1950s and literary translators' unions.

As expected, authors expressed their opinions about the text both to their translators and the publisher. Author's translators connected to the author had to obey their writers' wishes. At the same time, the company acted according to the importance of the writer. In the case of famous authors, such as John Galsworthy, Paul Zsolnay answered personally and promised that the next time the translation would be provided according to the author's ideas. In September 1931, John Galsworthy complained about the changed proper names in the published German version (he stated that the translator was not informed about these changes), to which followed the immediate answer of Paul Zsolnay with excuses and promises that it would never happen again. There were also situations in which the author expressed his expectations about the translation to the translator, as did Paul Gerald, who gave recommendations to Bertha Zuckerkandl on how to translate his works. For example, he asked to leave space between the lines in the translations so that he could add his comments (letter from 5 Apr. 1930, Zuckerkandl to Zsolnay).

On the following pages, I describe the author's translators individually and see how and when they did (not) influence the company. As announced before, the plan for the description is the following: I. Biography; II. Agency in the company and habitualised behaviour; III. Translating activity; IV. Sources.

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121 I will ensure that from now on, in every new publication, the name of the translator of Galsworthy's works is mentioned" (Felix Costa to Leon Schalit, 21 June 1926).

Leon Schalit

(1884 Vienna, Austria–1950 London, UK)

Exile: Vienna–London

I. Leon Schalit (pseud. L. Leonard) was born in Vienna to the family of bank clerk Joseph Schalit. After school, Schalit graduated from the University of Vienna with a degree in literature and history. He worked as a journalist in Vienna and London for the “*Wiener Zeitung*”, “*Observer*”, and “Jewish morning journal”. Schalit was a member of the Austrian PEN club. His father wrote for “*Wiener Israeliten*” and “*Neue Freie Presse*”; his half-brother Isidor Schalit was a Zionist, and a part of the family later emigrated to Palestine. The first wife of Leon Schalit, Marie, committed suicide in Vienna in 1935, trying to kill their three-year-old son as well. The second marriage was to Susanne Schalit; together with her, he had three children. In 1910 Leon Schalit first met John Galsworthy. Afterwards, he received his “authorisation” for all the German translations and became an official representative of Galsworthy in German-speaking countries. Schalit published some articles and volumes about the Nobel prize winner and became a good friend of Galsworthy. According to Elster, Leon Schalit signed a famous PEN Club manifest “against Germany” (Hall, 1994, p. 376). Notably, in this paper, Schalit is referred to as the “*Galsworthy-Übersetzer*”¹²²:

Es ist auch sehr stark aufgefallen, dass Leon Schallt, der Galsworthy-Übersetzer, Csokor, Frischauer usw. das bekannte P.E.N.-Club-Manifest gegen Deutschland unterschrieben haben.¹²³

In 1938, the widow of John Galsworthy – Ada Galsworthy – assisted Schalit in fleeing to London, where he wrote, translated, and acted as a director of the Austrian PEN club in exile. He died in London in 1950.

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122 Galsworthy’s translator.

123 It was also very noticeable that Leon Schalit, the translator of Galsworthy, along with Csokor, Frischauer, and others, signed the well-known P.E.N. Club manifesto against Germany.

II. Schalit started working for the Paul Zsolnay company from the very beginning – in 1924 – as an official representative and author’s translator of Galsworthy. Galsworthy was one of three “big authors” of Zsolnay’s first years and the only translated author. Galsworthy’s main wish was that Leon Schalit, his translator and “*bevollmächtigter Vertreter*”¹²⁴ in German-speaking countries, would act as his translator. This gave more freedom to the translator he successfully used: He prohibited changing his translations and required his name on the book’s cover under the author’s name. Schalit possessed all translation rights for Galsworthy’s books in German-speaking countries.

It was a common practice for the publishing companies the GDR to communicate with the authors through mediators, e.g., *Volk und Welt* authors communicated with the publisher through the agents and other publishers. Also, at the Zsolnay publishing company, translators often acted as mediators, though Schalit was more privileged than an average translator-mediator. This is how Zsolnay addresses Galsworthy in one of the first letters, mentioning Schalit as a mediator:

While thanking you we wish at the same time to express our great pleasure in having the opportunity of publishing the works of an author of so high a standing as you; you may be assured that we shall do all in our power to issue them in such a manner as will give you satisfaction in every sense of this expression. We hope that this, our first attempt, will prove the beginning of a closer and closer relationship between ourselves and you, dear Sir. We feel sure that there will be a large public eager to read and appreciate a German edition of all your works. [...] No doubt Mr. Schalit has informed you of our plans and ideals; it will always be our endeavour to publish the best literature of different nationalities (Paul Zsolnay Verlag → Galsworthy, 6.2.1924, Galsworthy folder).

With time Zsolnay and Schalit became friends. Schalit translated 13 books by John Galsworthy and one book by Ada Galsworthy into German for

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124 Authorised representative.

the company; Schalit's monograph about John Galsworthy in German was published by the Paul Zsolnay Verlag. According to the archive, the author paid Leon Schalit monthly and Schalit sent Galsworthy weekly reports about his work. Zsolnay, from his side, underlined that he paid Schalit and Galsworthy more than other writers and translators, explaining it with the friendship between all of them. It was Schalit who introduced Paul Zsolnay and his wife Anna to the Galsworthys, who were visiting Austria in 1929. In this way, a long business friendship started between them. Later it was Ada Galsworthy, the widow of John Galsworthy and Leon Schalit, who helped to organize Paul Zsolnay's business trip to London that saved him from the NS persecution.

III. The problem of retranslations was common in the interwar period when the boom of translations happened. There were several translations of the same Galsworthy's works into German, provided by different translators and published by various publishing companies:

Schon seit 1909 waren Werke Galsworthys neben den in der Tauchnitz Edition erschienenen englischen Originaltexten in deutscher Übersetzung auf dem Markt. Bis er erstmals 1924 von Zsolnay unter Vertrag genommen wurde und „seinen“ deutschen Übersetzer und autorisierten Agenten Leon Schallt bekam, waren insgesamt 11 Werke des Autors – Theaterstücke wie Romane – in fünf verschiedenen Verlagen verstreut. Den ersten Rang nahm Bruno Cassirer in Berlin mit fünf Titeln ein, gefolgt von Oesterheld & Co. (3 Titel), Rikola Verlag (1 Titel), Rascher & Cie. (1 Titel) und Anzengruber-Verlag Brüder Suschitzky (1 Titel, 1916, von dem man erst später erfuhr, daß es sich um einen Raubdruck gehandelt hatte). Eines dieser Werke, das 1914 bei Oesterheld & Co. erschienene Drama in 4 Akten, Der Flüchtling (The Fugitive), wurde übrigens von dem erst zwanzigjährigen L. Leonhard = Leon Schallt ins Deutsche übertragen. (Hall, 1994)¹²⁵

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125 Since 1909, works by Galsworthy, alongside the English original texts published by the Tauchnitz Edition, had been available on the market in German translation. By the time of his first contract with Zsolnay in 1924 and Leon Schalit became 'his' German translator

Zsolnay was doing his best to acquire the translation rights to all the German translations of John Galsworthy and to publish them under the name of Leon Schalit. According to the correspondences in the folder “Galsworthy” at the Austrian National Library, the publisher rejected two potential translators of Galsworthy’s works into German (Elise Zacharias and Gerda Steiner). In 1929, Lisa Landau, one of Galsworthy’s translators, was informed that her published work would be edited by Leon Schalit because of the large number of omissions in her translation. A similar situation occurred with Luise Wolf, whose translation of one of the novels of “The Forsyte Saga” from 1913 was republished/retranslated by Schalit & Zsolnay in 1925. They explained it by the necessity of adapting the translation to the new circumstances. In the last case, the name of the initial translator was not mentioned in the paratext of the retranslation. The copyright page had only one reference “*bearbeitet von Leon Schalit*”. Luise Wolf fought with the publisher for her professional right to be mentioned on the cover of the translated book and succeeded. Schalit’s professional awareness and application of power can be clearly followed in this case. He took the colleague’s side in this conflict between the publisher and the translator, underlining the importance of mentioning translator’s name on the copyright page. Schalit used his social and symbolic capital in this case. In fact, Schalit started working at the company with a high social capital and increased it due to the right networking strategy within the company. At the Zsolnay Verlag, Schalit acted autonomously and confidently. He protected his professional rights and supported his colleagues. Moreover, the increase of his social capital also brought financial profit: according to the archival data, he received more money for his work than an average translator at the publishing company.

and authorized agent, eleven of the author’s works (plays and novels) were scattered across five different publishing houses. Bruno Cassirer in Berlin had most titles – five, followed by Oesterheld & Co. (three titles), Rikola Verlag (one title), Rascher & Cie. (one title), and the Anzengruber-Verlag Brüder Suschitzky (one title, 1916), which was only later discovered to have been a pirated edition. One of these works, the four-act drama *Der Flüchtling*, published by Oesterheld & Co. in 1914, had in fact been translated into German by the then only twenty-year-old L. Leonhard, later known as Leon Schalit (Hall, 1994).

IV. There is some open-access information about Leon Schalit. Most of it is connected to his book about John Galsworthy, though there are some links about him as a translator. They are mainly in the Austrian-German segment. This information does not allow us to paint a complete picture of his translational activity, in contrast to information found in the publisher's archive in Vienna. There are several folders dedicated to John Galsworthy; in many of them, there are letters from, to, or about Schalit. This gives a unique possibility to follow his business relationship with the publisher and author and his role as a mediator between them. Not only linguistic.

Dmitrij Umanskij

(1901, Mykolayiv, Russian Empire–1977, Moscow, USSR)

Exile: Mykolayiv–Vienna–Moscow–Vienna–Moscow

I. Dmitrij Alexandrovich Umanskij was born in Mykolayiv, Russian Empire. In 1906 his family moved to Vienna, where relatives of Umanskij's mother, Theresa Umanskij (Goldstern), lived. In 1910 the family moved to Moscow, where his father, Abraham (Alexander) Umanskij, was offered a new job. In 1918, after having finished school in Moscow, Umanskij together with his mother and brother Konstantin returned to Vienna. From 1920–1924 Umanskij studied at the University of Vienna. From 1920 to 1925, he held an Austrian passport. In 1925 he became a member of the Communist party in Austria. In 1927, Umanskij returned to the Soviet Union, where he worked as an editor for the state publishing house for fiction literature; In 1933, the publishing house was transformed into the agency, and Umanskij became its director. It is essential to underline that Umanskij left Vienna in the late 1920s, not because of the construct of Jewish difference but because of his communist views and networks in the USSR. During WWII, he was responsible for Soviet propaganda on radio and translated German anti-fascist literature. From October 1942, he worked for the Soviet information agency and published two "*Vrag, kak on est*" series¹²⁶. His mother, Theresa Umanskij, was deported

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126 Transliteration from Russian Врaг как он есть.

to the concentration camp *Theresienstadt*, but she survived, and after the war, she lived in Vienna; his half-brother and half-sister managed to flee to the USA in 1938. In 1945 he started writing articles on international politics for the radio, state journals, and magazines. He was married to Tatyana Maliutina (1908–1981), and they had a daughter, Natalya. Umanskij died in Moscow in 1977.

II. In the 1920s, Umanskij introduced Russian-speaking literature to German readers and worked for German-speaking publishing companies. He made several proposals to the Paul Zsolnay Verlag about possible collaborations, highlighting the fact that he could connect Zsolnay to Soviet authors. Umanskij was well connected to the Soviet intelligentsia. The years 1924–1928 were decisive for the publisher in building networks and positioning himself in the field: Paul Zsolnay was interested in this proposal. The translator put the publisher in touch with several Soviet authors and acted as a mediator between them, which allowed Umanskij to position himself as the official representative and author's translator of Leonid Leonov. Dmitrij Umanskij also translated Tolstoy's "*Briefe an seine Frau*" for the company.

III. Umanskij defined himself as a Russian-German bilingual, although he worked with an editor, a German native speaker Bruno Prashaska. The editor Prashaska, the literary director Felix Costa as well as some other external agents, e.g. Ludwig Simon, criticized Umanskij's translations for grammatical and stylistic errors. Nevertheless, Umanskij's social capital covered the problematic quality issues for some years and the publishing company continued collaborating with him (see Haiden, 2024b). The company stopped collaborating with Umanskij only after having established direct contact with Leonov. This shows that the social capital of the translator was more important than his professional skills; it also indicates that networking was a priority for the Zsolnay Verlag in the first years.

IV. The translator's biography has been reconstructed with the help of the translator's daughter, who provided one of the Austrian Jewish archives with biographical details of her father. This is not uncommon that data of translators

is found in Jewish archives. It might be that the events of the 1930s and 1940s influenced the self-perception of the translators to whom was attributed the construct of the Jewish difference and led to their self-identification as Jews.

Murray Hall (1994), in his work, said very little about the quality of Umanskij's translations and nothing about his interaction with Zsolnay. Hall only mentioned his name twice. It might be explained by the fact that this information was irrelevant to the book history 30 years ago. In contrast, applying the translator's biographical details to the publishing company's history from this volume is a modern translation studies' contribution to better understanding the company's development.

As mentioned above, several studies are dedicated to the lives and professional activity of translators from the past, but not much information is available about working conditions and the organization of the working process of translators. In this, some data from the Zsolnay partial archive appeared to be useful: Working conditions of the translators are usually mentioned in the private or business correspondence by translators themselves, mostly when they complain about the damaged and unreadable original texts (e.g. Letter of the translator Kotas to Zsolnay), or, for example, Bruno Prashaska an editor of Leonov's translator Umanskij, who was editing the translation without seeing the original Russian text, found it very irritating and had foreseen it could influence the quality of the target text. These small patches from the history of the translated text are valuable in analysing the future of the translation and also by analysing the translated text itself. This reminds us that the text was not translated by machines but by human beings who had to solve not only linguistic enigmas and take translational decisions but had to do with the material world and challenging working conditions.

Erna Redtenbacher

(1888, Vienna, Austria–1940, Morbihan, France)

Exile: Vienna–Paris–Morbihan



Erna Redtenbacher, 1939,
BNF, NAF 18708

I. Erna Redtenbacher was born in 1888 in Vienna to the family of Moritz Redtenbacher and Maria Stöger. Her father worked at the Austrian-Hungarian central bank. Her little sister Gertrude was born in 1893. Erna's grandfather Josef Redtenbacher was a famous chemist and professor at the Universities of Prague and Vienna. The family lived in Vienna's first district, and Erna was baptised in the catholic St. Stephen's Cathedral.

According to Venot, Redtenbacher took a train to Paris on the day of the Anschluss. However, Jewish difference was not the reason of her exile, but her sexual orientation could be. Erna Redtenbacher was homosexual and did not hide it in Austria and France. Colette, whose author's translator she was, helped her to become legalised in France and put her in contact with Renee Hamon, who proposed to Redtenbacher to move to La-Trinité-sur-Mer. There she was presented to Christiane Denayer, a young pianist. She became Erna's partner until 1940. In May 1940, Erna was imprisoned because of her Austrian origins and was freed with the assistance of Denayer. They settled in the village Saint-Philibert. When the German troops entered France and the village where they both lived, the couple decided to commit suicide. Both were buried at the local cemetery.

II. Erna's translational activity is mainly connected to the Viennese publisher Paul Zsolnay. Her translations were released between 1926 and 1931. According to Venot, she worked with Zsolnay from 1924 onwards. She translated from English and French. Due to her frequent visits to France, she got acquainted with the French writer Colette, and the women became friends. Erna Redtenbacher translated eight works of Colette into German for the Paul Zsolnay publishing company and put the publisher in contact with the famous French writer. Erna Redtenbacher became the author's translator of Colette at the Paul Zsolnay publishing company. Erna translated a couple of books by Wells from English into German in collaboration with Helene M. Reiff and Otto Mandl¹²⁷.

III. According to Index Translationum¹²⁸, Erna Redtenbacher translated the works of Colette from French and Wells from English for the Zsolnay publishing company. She also translated works by Panait Istrati from French (according to IT, translations were released in 1987 and 1988). According to other data, the translations of Panait appeared in the German publishing companies *Enoch* and *Wegweiser Verlag* in 1927 and 1928 correspondently. Panait Istrati was a Romanian working-class author who "explicitly depicted a homosexual character in his work"¹²⁹. Translating this author might be seen as her translator's activism. The same might be true about the bisexual French writer Colette. Redtenbacher only translated between the 1920s and mid-1930s. After that, she no longer worked and travelled with Christine Denayer. It might be explained by the fact that her family in Vienna could afford to maintain Erna because the issues of the Jewish difference and its consequences did not concern the catholic and well-off family.

IV. The history of Redtenbacher's biography is curious because it is connected to the author of her biography Alain Venot. As Venot recalls (I conducted an

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127 As stated before, there is no evidence that Mandl did the translations, it seems that he mostly acted as initiator and editor of the works.

128 <https://www.unesco.org/xtrans/bsresult.aspx?a=&stxt=&sl=&l=&c=&pla=&pub=&tr=Redtenbacher&e=&udc=&d=&from=&to=&tie=a>.

129 Panait Istrati – Wikipedia.

interview with him in 2023), once in a village in France where his family usually spends holidays, he was told that there was a grave of four people at the local cemetery, where only the names were known. There was a legend in the village that one of them was “a cousin of Hitler” – Erna Redtenbacher¹³⁰. Venot was fascinated with this enigma and decided to do his research. After a couple of years of research (2015–2019), he wrote some articles about Redtenbacher’s life and a novel (released in 2020¹³¹) inspired by Erna’s life. He received a prize for this work in 2019 from *Société des Amis de Colette*¹³². He states that the correspondences of Erna Redtenbacher can be found in the National Library of France and the collection of Michel Remy-Bieth.

Helene Marie Reiff

I. No data was found.

II. Helene M. Reiff worked for the Zsolnay publisher between 1926 and 1930. She translated seven books from French and English, often with Erna Redtenbacher and/or Otto Mandl. According to Index Translationum¹³³, she translated four books by Wells, one of them as the only translator. According to the information from the Zsolnay partial archive and the peritext of the interwar publications at the Zsolnay Verlag, she translated two books by Colette from French in collaboration with Redtenbacher (in 1928 and 1930) and five works by Wells (in 1926 – one book, in 1927 – two books, in 1928 – one, in 1929 – one)¹³⁴. The books by Wells at the company were usually noted as a translation by Redtenbacher and Reiff, while Mandl was mentioned as an editor.

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130 It appeared to be false.

131 https://www.lyonne.fr/saint-sauveur-en-puisaye-89520/loisirs/le-destin-tragique-d-erna-redtenbacher-traductrice-en-allemand-de-colette_13819067/.

132 Prix de la Société des amis de Colette 2019 (fabula.org).

133 <https://www.unesco.org/xtrans/bsresult.aspx?lg=0&tr=Reiff&fr=20>.

134 To see exact titles, see Appendix I of this work.

III. have found some financial data regarding Reiff in the company's archive. Helene M. Reiff received money from the Zsolnay publishing house in 1934 (1200 schillings for a book, while Mandl received 1600 marks) and in 1937 (250 schillings monthly rates during the year). This means she was in contact with the publisher until at least 1937. This also hints at her networks – with Otto Mandl and Erna Redtenbacher. From the correspondence, it appears that Reiff received money through Mandl's account.

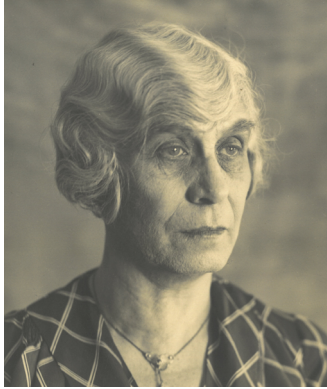
According to the paratext, translations by Reiff are sometimes defined as author's translations, but she never translated books for the company alone. Her name is always mentioned with collaborators. It may mean that this authorising on the paratext referred not to Reiff but to Redtenbacher or Mandl. In this case, Reiff probably couldn't enjoy all the rights that author's translators had.

IV. This case with Helene M. Reiff shows that finding details about the translator's life is sometimes impossible (see more reasons in Haiden, forthcoming). Nevertheless, facts about her life and activity could be established due to her translational activity. In this situation, the data from the publishing house's archive serves as the only (for now) source of information about the translator.

Berta Zuckerkandl (Szeps)

(1864, Vienna, Austria–1945, Paris, France)

Exile: Vienna–Paris–Algeria–Switzerland–Paris



Berta Zuckerkandl,
Literaturhaus Wien / Dokumentationsstelle
für neuere österreichische Literatur

I. Berta Szeps was born in Vienna in 1864 to the family of Moritz Szeps, a Galician Jewish liberal and the *Neue Wiener Tagblatt* director. Her father gave her excellent home education and often took Berta on business trips abroad. During her visits to Paris, Zuckerkandl met famous artists. Her elder sister Sophie was married to Paul Clemenceau, the brother of the French President, therefore, she had good ties to Parisian political and artistic circles. Her mother, Amalie Szeps, led a salon in Vienna; Berta continued the tradition. After Berta married Emil Zuckerkandl (1849–1910), a Hungarian professor of anatomy in 1886, she organized a literary salon in their villa in Döbling. Many famous Viennese artists and personalities, including Klimt, Reinhardt, Schnitzler Zweig, and others, frequented the salon, among them was Paul Zsolnay. The first public reading of *Jedermann* by Hoffmannsthal took place at her salon. After her husband died in 1910, she earned her living by writing and translating. Berta Zuckerkandl was also a journalist and art critic for the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* and later for the *Neue Wiener Journal*. She supported the Vienna Secession and the Viennese Workshops (“*Wiener Werkstätte*”) and

cofounded the Salzburg Music Festival. In 1917 the salon moved to *Palais Lieben-Auspitz*, near the *Burgtheater*. In the 1930s, her salon became less popular; her financial situation worsened because of the newly introduced policies against Jews.

In 1938 Zuckerkandl had to flee. Paul Geraldý helped her emigrate to Paris and later to Algeria, where her son Fritz (born in 1895) lived. Berta's father, Moritz Szeps, was a close advisor of the liberal Austrian Crown Prince Rudolf and a supporter of an alliance between Austria and France through his connections with liberal French politicians. Berta continued her father's political mission, opposing Austria's annexation movement to Germany after WWI and promoting cultural exchange with France. During WWI, she was a peace activist in Switzerland. After WWI, Zuckerkandl arranged informal contacts with French politicians. She returned to Paris in 1945 and died there the same year.

II. Her business correspondence with the company is dated 1924–1929. She translated four works by Geraldý (1927, 1928, 1930) for the publishing house and worked with Clara Katharina Pollaczek and Raul Auernheimer. This collaboration between Zsolnay and Geraldý was due to the friendship of Zuckerkandl and the author, she was his author's translator¹³⁵. Hall calls her “*Besitzerin aller deutschen Rechte von Geraldý*”¹³⁶ and “*Literaturagentin*”¹³⁷. Zuckerkandl was referred to as a “*bevollmächtigte Vertreterin of Geraldý*”¹³⁸ since she possessed rights to all the German works of Geraldý (letter from

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135 „die Besitzerin aller deutschen Rechte von Geraldý insofern bin, als dieser mir *plein pouvoir* gegeben hat, wie immer ich es wünsche zu verfügen und da ich nun Ihrem Verlag diesen General vertrag zubringe, so möchte ich bei Abschluss des Vertrages eine Summe von 2000 an mich zahlbar, erbitten“. (17 May 1927, Zuckerkandl to Zsolnay). / “that I am the holder of all German-language rights to Geraldý insofar as he has granted me *plein pouvoir*; and since I am now bringing this general contract to your publishing house, I would like to request a sum of 2,000 payable to me.”, after the conclusion of the contract (Zuckerkandl to Zsolnay, 17 May 1927).

136 “holder of all German-language rights to Geraldý”.

137 “literary agent”.

138 “authorized representative of Geraldý”.

19 May 1927, Zuckerkandl to Zsolnay). Zuckerkandl convinced Zsolnay to publish works by Gerdely and proposed herself as a mediator.

Paul Gerdely ist auf meine Bitte [...] aus Beauvallon nach Paris gekommen. Ich habe gestern lange mit ihm verhandelt und bin nun in der Lage, Ihnen feststehende Vorschläge, im Namen Gerdely's zu machen. Gerdely ist von der moralischen, oder besser gesagt, von der ideellen Bedeutung, die für ihn ein Generalvertrag mit dem Paul Zsolnay-Verlag hat, überzeugt. (Zuckerkandl → Paul Zsolnay, 4.1.1926).¹³⁹

From another letter (12 July 1927), it was evident that she translated contracts between the Paul Zsolnay Verlag and Paul Gerdely. At the archive, however, I have not seen the name of Zuckerkandl on them or her signature. She also translated correspondences between the author and the publisher. She convinced Gerdely to choose the Paul Zsolnay Verlag as the only publisher for his works in the German-speaking area. Her main argument was financial:

Gerdely würde unter nachstehenden Bedingungen mit dem Zsolnay-Verlag abschliessen. Paul Gerdely verpflichtet sich für die Zukunft, seine sämtlichen Werke, sowohl Stücke als auch Prosaschriften, allein dem Paul Zsolnay-Verlag für deutsche Sprache zu überlassen. [...] ¹⁴⁰

Berta Zuckerkandl was concerned about her financial situation and expected to receive more for the translations than she did. She required more and asked to consider that she was also a mediator between the poet and the publisher. The answer from the publisher was the following:

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139 At my request Paul Gerdely came from Beauvallon to Paris. Yesterday I negotiated with him and I am now in a position to make firm proposals to you on Gerdely's behalf. Gerdely is convinced of the moral, or rather, the ideal, significance that a general contract with the Paul Zsolnay publishing house is the right for him. (Zuckerkandl to Paul Zsolnay, 4 January 1926).

140 Gerdely would sign an agreement with the Zsolnay publishing house under the following conditions. Paul Gerdely undertakes, from now on, to assign all of his works, both plays and prose, exclusively to the Paul Zsolnay publishing house for the German language. [...]

Ich bin in meinem Schreiben so ausführlich geworden, um Ihnen, sehr verehrte Frau Hofrat, zu zeigen, dass wir wirklich bestrebt waren und sind, Ihnen gegenüber das grösste Entgegenkommen zu zeigen und dass wir Ihre Arbeit und Ihre Bemühungen mit den höchsten Sätzen entschädigen möchten, die in unserem Verlag zur Anwendung gelangen. Besonders liegt mir daran, Ihnen zu beweisen, dass dies auch in diesem Fall geschehen ist, zumal ich weiss, dass Sie mit einer höheren Summe gerechnet haben, was sicherlich darauf zurückzuführen ist, dass Sie mit den Berechnungsmassstäben des Verlagswesens natürlich nicht vertraut sein können. Wenn hiemit festgestellt ist, dass unser Verlag Ihnen in dieser an sich gewiss nicht bedeutenden Angelegenheit soweit als möglich entgegengekommen ist, kann man das von Paul Gerdaldy nicht behaupten. ...

Paul Gerdaldy schreibt Ihnen, dass er besonderen Wert darauflegt, dass die Übersetzung eine ausserordentlich gute sei und dass er uns deshalb bittet, Ihnen ein Pauschale einzuräumen. Ich glaube nicht, dass es das Richtige ist, wenn man selbst auf etwas Wert legt, dem anderen nahe zu legen, dafür die Kosten zu tragen und selbst mehr zu erhalten, als andere Autoren, die gleichfalls auf eine ausserordentlich gute Übersetzung Wert legen. Ich möchte Ihnen als Beispiel Galsworthy und H. G. Wells nennen, die das Honorar der Buchausgaben ihrer Werke mit den deutschen Übersetzern teilen (3 June 1930, Zsolnay → Zuckerkindl).¹⁴¹

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141 "I went into such detail in my letter in order to show you, most esteemed Frau Hofrat, that we truly have endeavored, and continue to endeavor, to show you that we absolutely appreciate your effort, and that we wish to compensate your work and efforts to our publishing house at the highest rates. It is particularly important to me to demonstrate that this has also been the case here, especially since I know that you had expected a higher sum, something that can certainly be explained by the fact that you cannot, of course, be familiar with the calculation standards of the publishing business.

If it is thus established that our publishing house has accommodated you as far as possible in this matter, which in itself is certainly not of major significance, the same cannot be said of Paul Gerdaldy. ...

Paul Gerdaldy writes to you that exceptionally high-quality translation is particularly important for him and therefore he asks us to grant you a lump-sum payment. I do not believe it is appropriate for someone as important as he is to suggest that the other party should bear the costs for it, while he himself receives more than other authors who likewise attach great importance to an exceptionally good translation. As an example, I would cite Galsworthy and

It is crucial to note that Zuckerkandl was a part of Paul Zsolnay's network, they had common friends and acquaintances. Due to her active social life, cultural activism and networks, she knew what was happening in the Austrian and French cultural scenes and used her connections. From the correspondences found at the Zsolnay partial archive, there was an impression that the two were well connected and knew each other for a long time. Therefore, I was not sure whether to put her to the group of author's translators or publisher's translators. Nevertheless, her behavioural patterns were closer to the confident and free author's translators due to her being in close contact with the French poet she was translating for Zsolnay as well as the amount of money she received for her works, making her closer to the author's translator's pattern. This convinced me to place her biography to the first group.

III. She translated about 120 plays from French into German. Berta Zuckerkandl also translated German plays into French (e.g., Arthur Schnitzler's) and promoted them in France. In 1929, she was awarded the Order of the Legion of Honor by the French government for cultural mediation. Zuckerkandl translated from French for the company, but she was able to work also with translations from the English language. In March 1930, Berta Zuckerkandl asked the company to publish a translation from the English language of "Tips from a mother to her daughter" as an American answer to Gerald's play, confirming her ability to translate from the English language:

Ich würde die Übersetzung aus dem Englischen ebenso gut machen wie aus dem Französischen. (6 March 1930, Zuckerkandl → Zsolnay).¹⁴²

IV. Finding information about Berta Zuckerkandl was, as expected, relatively easy: She was a famous figure in Vienna and was active in the cultural and literary circles of interwar Vienna. There are several biographies, her personal

H. G. Wells, who share the royalties from the book editions of their works with their German translators." (Zsolnay to Zuckerkandl, 3 June 1930).

142 "I translate from English just as good as from French." (Zuckerkandl to Zsolnay, 6 March 1930).

archive, and an exhibition dedicated to her activism in 2019 in Vienna. This all is untypical for a translator. This data is probably available due to her activism in the cultural sphere. Notably, she had already written an autobiography published in 1939 by the Bermann-Fischer publishing company. There is not much information about her translational activity, however. Most of the material about her translations is taken from the publisher's archive in Vienna.

Eva Rechel-Mertens

(1895, Perleberg, Germany–1981, Heidelberg, Germany)



Eva Rechel-Mertens,
Foto: unbekannt/DLA Marbach

I. Eva Rechel-Mertens was born in Perleberg and grew up in Frankfurt an der Oder. She completed German, Italian, and English studies at the Universities of Berlin and Marburg. She received her PhD in 1925 in Marburg under the supervision of Ernst Robert Curtius (topic: *“Balzac und die bildende Kunst”*¹⁴³). From 1930 to 1955, she worked as Curtius' assistant at the University of Bonn and as a lecturer at the University of Heidelberg. In 1938 she married Georg Rechel, and changed her name to Eva Rechel-Mertens.

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143 Balzac and the Visual Arts.

II. She translated for Paul Zsolnay at the beginning of her career. In 1928, 1929, and 1930 three of her *Die Thibaults 1–6* and *Jean Barois* translations were released under the note “*Autorisierte Übersetzung aus dem Französischen von Eva Mertens*”¹⁴⁴. Hall underlines the influence of her supervisor in Mertens’ getting the first translation offer from the Zsolnay publishing house:

So verdankte der Zsolnay Verlag Heinrich Mann einen seiner vier Nobelpreisträger für Literatur, nämlich Roger Martin du Gard (1881–1958). Mann hat den Verlag Anfang 1928 auf den französischen Autor aufmerksam gemacht ... 29.5.1928, ... und die Übersetzungsarbeiten – die Wahl fiel auf eine Assistentin von Ernst Robert Curtius, Frau Dr. Eva Mertens – begannen sofort. (Hall, 1994)¹⁴⁵

III. Since the late 1920s, Mertens translated numerous works from French (Balzac, Roger Martin du Gard, Julien Green, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Simone de Beauvoir). She translated works by Federico Fellini from the Italian. There are 225 records in *Index Translationum* with her translations. Her most famous translation is Proust’s “*À la recherche du temps perdu*”, published in 1957 by the *Suhrkamp Verlag*. She received the *Deutschen Kritikerpreis*¹⁴⁶ in 1957 and *Johann Heinrich-Voß-Preis für Übersetzung*¹⁴⁷ in 1966.

IV. In this work, I work with information from the Zsolnay partial archive. However, many other archives of the publishing companies provide reliable and valuable information. At the Zsolnay archive, there is almost no correspondence from Mertens and about Mertens. The only hint was that she was the assistant of Ernst Robert Curtius. At the company, she translated

.....
144 Authorized translation from the French by Eva Mertens.

145 “It was Heinrich Mann who had recommended the Zsolnay publishing house one of the company’s four Nobel laureates in literature, Roger Martin du Gard (1881–1958). Mann drew the publisher’s attention to the French author in early 1928, and already on 29 May 1928 the translation work has begun. The translator was Dr. Eva Mertens, Ernst Robert Curtius’ assistant” (Hall, 1994).

146 The German Critics’ Prize (1957).

147 The Johann Heinrich Voß Prize for Translation.

under her maiden name Mertens, which made it more complicated to find her further biographical details. Her numerous translations and correspondence with several big publishing companies, *Suhrkamp* and *Insel*, can be found in the German literary archive in Marbach. I found hints that material about Mertens is in Marbach in the volume “*Übersetzer als Entdecker*”, (ed.) Kelletat, Tashinskiy (Frank & Timme Berlin 2014).

Siegfried Schmitz

(1886, Nový Jičín, Austria-Hungary–1941, Jerusalem, Palestine)

Exile: Czechoslovakia–Austria–Czechoslovakia–Switzerland–Palestine



Siegfried Schmitz,
Open Jerusalem Archive

I. Siegfried Schmitz was born in 1886 in Nový Jičín, studied at the University of Vienna and in the correspondences, he is addressed as “Herr Doktor”, though his PhD could not be confirmed at the university. Since 1916 he was married to Melitta Eisner. Schmitz worked in Vienna as a journalist for the newspaper “*Unsere Hoffnung*”, editor for “*Wiener Morgenzeitung*” (1919–1927), from 1928 he was editor in chief for “*Die Stimme*”, wrote articles for various Zionist press editions in Austria, Palestine and Czechoslovakia. In 1933 Siegfried Schmitz left Vienna for Czechoslovakia. As of 1934 he lived in Maly-Ostrava and assisted the Palestine organization in Czechoslovakia. Schmitz worked at the Zionist Congresses in Switzerland as an interpreter and journalist (in

1935 and 1937). At the Zionists congress in 1937 in Zurich, he was the leading interpreter for Yiddish-German. Schmitz was the only translator at the Zsolnay Verlag who explicitly positioned himself as a Jew and a Zionist. In 1938, he emigrated to Palestine together with his wife. In August 1939, he travelled to Italy and Switzerland for nearly one month and then returned to Palestine. In 1941 Schmitz and his wife applied for Palestinian citizenship. In the same year, he committed suicide.

II. 1929–1932 the Zsolnay company published eleven books by Shalom Asch translated by Schmitz. Siegfried Schmitz was not only a translator but a mediator between the publishing house and the author; he was a good friend of the author. Schmitz and Asch had a joint bank account, and the author paid the translator directly. Being an author's translator raised the symbolic capital of the translator to a greater extent. Felix Costa and Siegfried Schmitz had a tense relationship, as seen in the correspondences. The letters at the archive show that being an author's translator, accompanied by being a friend of the author, put Siegfried Schmitz into a privileged position: Despite Schmitz' debts, his missing deadlines, and his complicated relationship with Costa, the publishing company was forced to Schmitz continue working with him. Moreover, knowing what kind of capital he possessed, insisted on publishing his translations without any changes and introduced the translator's notes and prefaces to his translations (see Haiden, 2024a).

III. Schmitz' first translations are dated to the year 1910. He translated Shalom Asch, Scholem Alechem, and Jizchak Leib Perez. According to Index Translationum, Schmitz translated from Italian, English, Yiddish and Hebrew. He translated many books from English, incl. scientific literature¹⁴⁸. The role of Schmitz cannot be underestimated in his promotion of Zionist ideas through translating a Yiddish-writing author.

IV. In Hall's work (1994), more attention is dedicated to the publisher's translators, such as Annie Polzer and Richard Hoffman, as well as to Galsworthy's

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148 <https://www.unesco.org/xtrans/bsresult.aspx?lg=0&tr=Schmitz%20Siegfried&fr=120>.

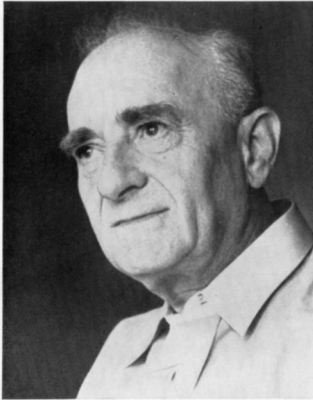
translator Schalit and Zsolnay's friend Zuckerkandl. There is no information about exclusively author's translators Schmitz, Umanskij, Redtenbacher and Reiff. I assume that their agency in the company was less significant than that of the publisher's translators or those connected to Zsolnay and his family. This may also be explained by the fact that it was impossible to find information about these translators 30 years ago. Some data about Schmitz, incl. his notes, correspondence, and immigration documents, are kept in Israel. His correspondence with Stefan Zweig points to his networks in the Austrian literary circles and reveals his Zionist views. This material is kept at Yale library in the USA. The possibility of finding this material was due to the following networks of the translator and looking at the archives of the famous author for letters with him. Not only the translator's networks were helpful in investigating the biography, but also the researcher's ones. While at IFK, where I was offered a scholarship, I met Matt Johnson, whose research is focused on the Yiddish literature of the interwar period and its German translations. He helped me to find more material about Schmitz.

Paul Amann (Amschelberg)

(06.03.1884 Prague, Austria-Hungary–

24.02.1958 Bridgeport, Fairfield, Connecticut, USA)

Exile: Vienna–Paris–Montpellier–New York–Connecticut



Paul Amann,
Copyright: VHS Hietzing

I. Paul Amann was born in Prague to a German-Jewish family and studied German and Romance languages in Vienna and Prague. In 1907 he completed his dissertation "*Leopold Komperts – literarische Anfänge*". After this, he taught in Prague and, from 1910, in Vienna. Simultaneously he wrote for Insel publishing house and worked on German, Jewish and French biographies and identity questions (*Napoléon: Documents / Discours / Lettres*, 1921; Goethe 1932, *Kristall meiner Zeit* 1956). In 1935 National Socialists banned his work "*Tradition und Weltkrise*" written in 1934. Amann took part in WWI and had several injuries. He had networks in the cultural, publishing, and literary fields. It is important to mention his correspondence exchange with Thomas Mann from 1915–1952 and his friendship with Rolland and Bloch, whose author's translator he was at the Zsolnay company. Amann was interested in modern Yiddish literature: in one of his letters to Paul Zsolnay, he asked to send him a new book by Asch. In 1937 he was awarded the title "*Officier de l'Académie Française*" in Paris for a well-received bibliography of Goethe in French.

He was married to Martha Popper and had two sons with her; four years after her death, in 1924, he married a converted protestant, Dora Iranyi, a concert singer. They had two children. In 1939 Paul Amann and his family had to flee to Paris, but after France was occupied in 1941, the family managed to emigrate to New York through Montpellier. Paul Amann's exile stations were the countries of his first and second foreign languages – France and the USA. His colleague at the Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Viktor Polzer, assisted his exile. Paul Amann had a four-month honorary fellowship at the French Department at Yale University. In 1945 he started working at Mohawk College (Utica, New York) and in 1948 he moved to Champlain College, Plattsburg, New York. He died of a heart attack in 1958 in the USA, according to the letter of his wife Dora to Paul Zsolnay from August 1958¹⁴⁹.

II. From 1929 to 1933, he translated seven books for the Paul Zsolnay Verlag and worked with the company from exile. He was Bloch's author's translator and translated Maurice from French for the company. He was not the author's translator of Maurice, but the author was very happy with Amann's translations and left good feedback¹⁵⁰. The books that Amann translated sold well. Paul Amann not only translated for the company but, using his networks, promoted German publications of the company and recommended some American books to be translated by the Paul Zsolnay publishing company. The translator Amann is difficult to categorise at the company: He was author's translator of Bloch, an independent translator, and had a publisher's network. I define him as the author's translator of Bloch because his behaviour was similar to author's translators. Amann often expressed his opinion about the translations to the publisher. As well as Schmitz or Schalit, Amann fought for his idea of a good translation and argued with the publisher. Though in the case of Paul Amann, it happened that he sometimes had to accept corrections of his translations, and title changes, even if he was entirely against it. Costa usually was tolerant of the translations of Bloch's books, whose author's translator Amann was,

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149 286/B570 Martin Maurice 1929–1960.

150 6 6 29 – Maurice → Amman: "Your translation is wonderful", 286/B570 Martin Maurice 1929–1960.

but of other works in cases where Amann was mentioned as an independent translator.

In the discussions with the publisher, Amann was one of the few translators who spoke about personal problems and asked for help. So, in one of the letters, Amann tried to find a job for his son for the summer period or complained about his family's financial difficulties. For 20 years (1933–1953), there were no letters from Amann at the archive, but in 1953 the communication started again, and after the translator's death, his wife, Dora Amann, was in contact with the publisher until at least 1960.

III. Amann translated from English and French; Bloch, Maeterlinck, Montherlant, and Rolland were among the authors. Since 1919 Amann worked with R. Rolland. A total of 25 translations by Paul Amann are mentioned in Hans Fromms' "*Bibliographie deutscher Übersetzungen aus dem Französischen*"¹⁵¹.

His letters at the publisher's archive demonstrate a high dedication to the profession. Essential are Amann's reflections on the translation process and the translator's responsibility, found at Vienna's partial Zsolnay Verlag archive. Amann reflected a lot about "*Rohübersetzungen*"¹⁵². In numerous letters and his autobiography, Amann expressed his thoughts about the role of the translator in society:

Sie wissen, ich bin nicht eigensinnig, vielmehr für Anregungen jeder Art immer dankbar – ‚genug ist nie genug‘ gilt auch für die Kunst des Übersetzens – wenn ich einmal sage: das kann ich nicht schlucken, so müssen sie mir glauben, dass sich wirklich jede Form Instinkt in mir gegen einen Teil empört, der unter meiner Verantwortlichkeit als Übersetzer in die Welt gehen soll. (286/B570 Martin Maurice 1929–1960, Amann to Zsolnay, March, 1930).¹⁵³

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151 Bibliography of German Translations from French.

152 Raw translations.

153 You know that I am not obstinate; on the contrary, I am always grateful for suggestions of any kind. "*Enough is never enough*" applies to the art of translation as well. But when I say, even once, *I cannot swallow this*, you must believe me that every instinct within me rebels against

He always tried to remain loyal to his understanding of being a good translator, to himself, and to the author. His contribution to translation studies – his numerous ideas and reflections on translation – could be a subject for future research.

IV. Paul Amann was a famous translator into German and widely known in literary circles in Vienna, therefore, it was easy to find basic information about him (e.g., in DNB, in Wien Wiki, etc.). There is also information about him in the Jewish archive *Injoest* in Austria, where data about his family, personal life, and his autobiography are presented. It is not rare that exiled translators left their documents to the Jewish community. In the case of Paul Amann, it is essential to note that the publisher's archive could be helpful not only for studying his translational activity but while investigating Amann's life: There are several pages of reflections of the translator about his profession, but there are also some facts about his family (e.g., one of his sons looking for a holidays job or letters from his wife to Paul Zsolnay), which is quite rare in the archive. Finally, places of study, such as the Goethe Gymnasium in Vienna in this case, can be sources of information about their famous alumni.

Publishing house's translators

This group of translators, Annie Polzer, Marianne von Schön, Viktor Polzer, and especially Richard Hoffmann, influenced the company every day and were close to the publisher. It was another way for the translators to apply soft power through their professional activity. They were the first to receive offers for new translations and were recommended to the new authors. These translators' income was stable and did not depend on the author. They influenced translation culture by suggesting what to publish (or not) or being in contact with the authors through translating correspondence and legal documents.

allowing a passage for which I am responsible as translator to be sent out into the world. (286/B570 Martin Maurice 1929–1960, Amman to Zsolnay, March, 1930).

Compared to the author's translators, the disadvantage of this group was that the authors they translated did not trust them and wanted to control their translations. In cases when an author did not have a fixed translator at the company, they asked to send them the translation for evaluation before it was released. For example, the writer Steen had a bad experience with Spanish translations and wanted to see her book's first German version because she could understand German. Not only authors but their relatives were eager to evaluate translations rendered by non-author's translators, e.g., Elisabeth Varè, the wife of Daniele Varè in one of the letters, makes some suggestions of how to translate his books into German. This meant some mistrust between the author and the translator that had to be resolved regularly for this group of translators.

Richard Hoffman

(15.5.1892 Vienna, Austria–10.8.1961 Vienna, Austria)

I. Richard Hoffmann was born in 1892 in Vienna. He received a PhD in law in 1919 at the University of Vienna, performed military service, and worked at the Chancellery. In 1924 he became a literary translator at the Zsolnay Verlag; after 1945, he worked as a journalist and editor for "*Neue Österreich*" and "*Österreichische Zeitung*". In 1955 he started working for "*Sowjetunion heute*". He died in 1961 in Vienna.

II. Richard Hoffman, a translator from the English language must be treated as a particular case at the Zsolnay publishing company. He was the only full-time translator at the Zsolnay Verlag.

Bis auf drei Tschechow-Übersetzungen, die im Wiener Rhombus-Verlag bzw. in der Tagblatt-Bibliothek veröffentlicht wurden, arbeitete Hoffmann seit 1924 (als Maurice Barings Roman „Die Verzauberte“ erschien) ausschließlich für Zsolnay (Hall, 1994).¹⁵⁴

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154 Except for three translations of Chekhov, which were published by the Viennese Rhombus Verlag and in the *Tagblatt-Bibliothek*, Hoffmann worked exclusively for Zsolnay from 1924 onward (when Maurice Barrie's novel *Die Verzauberte/The Enchanted* appeared) (Hall, 1994).

He translated from English (26 books), Russian (six books), and Italian (one book), including Baring, Tschechov, Kataev, Dreiser, Lowell, Abdullah, Leonov, Cowper Powys, Cronin, S. Buck, Masino, Bredon, Roy Evans, Fallas, Crow Henderson, Hodgdon, Bradley, and Meynell. Hoffmann started working for Zsolnay as an independent translator and soon became the leading publishing house translator who not only translated but edited other translations, acted as a mediator and Zsolnay's agent, translated correspondence with the authors, as well as contracts with them.

Eine Beratertätigkeit übten auch manche „Stammübersetzer“ aus. Rein von der Zahl her wäre der promovierte Jurist Dr. Richard Hoffmann an erster Stelle zu nennen (Hall, 1994, p. 252).¹⁵⁵

After Paul Zsolnay emigrated to the UK, Hoffmann remained in a directing position at the publishing house. When in 1940 the company started working again, Hoffmann and Reinhalter represented the newly restructured publishing house.

III. Richard Hoffmann was directly connected to the publisher and was actively praised by him and external critics (see Haiden, 2024a). Hoffman's impact on the development of the publishing house is hard to underestimate: He not only translated letters and legal documents, but he also acted as a publisher's agent and editor, created publisher's networks, and dealt with a new reality after Zsolnay had to emigrate. His symbolic capital and position in the publishing house grew through his professional skills.

IV. Hoffmann is one of the few translators described in the work of Murray Hall, which proves his importance in developing the publishing company. Data about him is limited and much about his translational activity and activism can be concluded from the publisher's archive.

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¹⁵⁵ Some of the "regular translators" also acted as advisors. By sheer numbers, the doctorate-holder in law, Dr. Richard Hoffmann, would be mentioned first (Hall, 1994, p. 252).

Annie Polzer/Pölzer (Bindermann)

(1908, Vienna, Austria-Hungary–2000, New York, USA)

Exile: Vienna–New York

I. Annie Polzer (Bindermann) was born to the family of dermatologist Ignaz Bindermann and was home-schooled. Her father was born in Chernivtsi (Ukraine). He died in Vienna in 1928, and her mother, Emma/Emmy Ruzicka (Bindermann), was deported to Riga in 1942. According to the biography of Viktor Polzer, Annie and Viktor met while working for the Zsolnay company. They married in 1931. She was in Vienna until August/September 1938 and then left for the USA. According to the archive of Viktor Polzer, they carefully prepared all the documents for the American visas in Vienna: criminal records, bank accounts, approval from the Jewish department, etc. In New York, she was a secretary for the German-speaking journal “*Aufbau*”. In Bruno Walter’s book “A World Elsewhere”, Annie Polzer is defined as a reporter for the *Aufbau* journal¹⁵⁶. After the war, she worked for the “*Süddeutsche Zeitung*”, writing travel reports, translating into English, and publishing essays about Arthur Schnitzler. Her book “How good is your English?”¹⁵⁷ (39 pages, New York: New World Club, Inc., 1949) allows us to conclude that she partially connected her professional activities with teaching. Indeed, *Biographia Sabiada* defines her as an author, translator and lecturer.

II. For the Paul Zsolnay company, she translated Pearl S. Buck, J.G. Cozzens, M. Steen, and D. Varè and remained in contact with the publisher after her exile to the USA. Her translations at the company appeared starting from 1933 and were defined differently: her first translations as “*Deutsch von Annie Polzer*”¹⁵⁸,

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156 https://books.google.at/books?id=eFwzgxoi30C&pg=PA374&lpg=PA374&dq=polzer+anne+aufbau+new+york&source=bl&ots=8HnVqR0yoh&sig=ACfU3U3bYtRUSAnIM55dpoyoQvHPn0Guig&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjsvb6S3bfyAhUF_qQKHe6uDQsQ6AF6BAgREA M#v=onepage&q=polzer%20anne%20aufbau%20new%20york&f=false (Last access: 18.08.2023).

157 <https://discover.hsp.org/Record/marc-27668/Details> (Last access: 18.08.2023).

158 German by Annie Polzer.

while her last translation as “*Berechtigte Übersetzung von Annie Polzer*”¹⁵⁹, meaning that she elevated her status at the company. However, according to Hall, she started working at the company in 1927¹⁶⁰, meaning that her first tasks at the Paul Zsolnay were not connected to translating.

Though her translation was only once defined as “*berechtigte*”, I categorise Annie Polzer as a publisher’s translator. According to Hall, she started working at the company at the age of 21. He did not mention what her tasks were. Polzer’s first translation is dated 1933. I suppose that the definition “*Deutsch von*”¹⁶¹ in her translation of Cozzens was the publisher’s careful introduction of Annie Polzer as a translator. It might have been her first translated book. Moreover, she was home-schooled, i.e., she had no formal education (no institutionalised capital). Her second translation of Buck is defined as “*Berechtigte Übersetzung von*”, which means she gained the publisher’s trust and started being considered formally as the publisher’s translator. Indeed, her salaries confirm this: she constantly received 5% for her work. It was a typical salary for the publisher’s translators.

It is essential to note that Polzer’s network with Pearl S. Buck, whose books she translated for Zsolnay, helped her in exile when applying for American citizenship. According to Hall (1994), Polzer’s name had to be eliminated from all the translations¹⁶² published after 1938. Moreover, Hall expresses doubts about her receiving money for the last translations (Hall, p. 295).

III. In speaking about the “quality” of her translations, her works were being republished until at least 2009 (according to Index Translationum), therefore, I conclude that her translations might be considered as proven by time (see more about quality of her translations in Haiden, 2024a).

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159 Justified translation by Annie Polzer.

160 Anne Polzer trat Anfang Dezember 1927 in den Verlag ein und war dort noch bis Ende Juni 1938 tätig (Hall, 1994, p. 253).

161 German by.

162 Nach 1938 mußte ihr Name in Neuauflagen aus dem Impressum verschwinden (Hall, 1994).

IV. It happened several times during this research that it was easier to find information about male translators. This is especially obvious if a couple translated for the publishing company. There is a vast collection of Viktor Polzer at the Jewish archive in New York, while there is little information about Annie Polzer. Furthermore, it seems that it was Annie Polzer who gave all the material of Viktor Polzer to the archive, but she did not leave anything about herself. Almost all the information I rely on is from the publisher's archive, the history of the company written by Hall (1994), and Viktor Polzer's archive.

Marianne von Schön (1889–at least 1950s)

Exile: Vienna–Switzerland (?)

I. Marianne von Schön is a pseudonym. The translator's name is Marianne Schön von Kreuzenau. She was the daughter of Richard Schön von Kreuzenau and Marie Schön von Kreuzenau (Rath). Her brother Richard Schön von Kreuzenau graduated from Stubenbastei Gymnasium in the first district of Vienna¹⁶³ in 1912. It is known that Marianne was in Vienna until at least 1932. From the publisher's archive correspondence in the early 1930s, it seems that Schön would have been happy to translate more, but the publisher had no more offers for her.

There is no information on what happened to Marianne Schön von Kreuzenau after 1932, but two of her translations are dated between 1937¹⁶⁴ and 1938 and published by Swiss publishing companies. Atlantis Verlag is a company specialising in children's literature, which had to flee to Zürich from Germany in the 1930s. This indicates that Marianne Schön von Kreuzenau moved to Switzerland. She translated Dorothy L. Sayers from English for

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163 http://www.stubenbastei.at/?page_id=2559.

164 Old Jules. Aus dem Englischen von Marianne von Schön. Sandoz, Mari, Published by Atlantis Verlag, Zürich, 1937.

Scientia AG in 1938¹⁶⁵. The publishing company appeared to publish in Zurich from 1938 to at least 1955. Schön translated both books¹⁶⁶ from English in Switzerland, which implies that she emigrated to Switzerland before 1937.

After the war, she continued translating children's literature, e.g., *“Unsere kleinen chinesischen Freunde. Und andere Erzählungen”* by Pearl S. Buck in 1955. She translated at least one school book by Dawson *“Gestaltungskräfte der Weltgeschichte: Studien zur Soziologie, Theologie u. Philosophie d. Geschichte”* (ed. by John J. Mulloy) by München publisher Oldenbourg, released in 1959.

II. Marianne von Schön started her career as a translator from the English language at the company with the translations of Theodor Dreiser in 1927 and was working for the publisher until 1932. Her translations are mostly defined as *“Berchtigte Übersetzung aus dem Englischen”*¹⁶⁷, but her last Dreiser translation – as *Autorisierte Übertragung*¹⁶⁸. Another Dreiser book *“Das Buch über mich selbst”*, published in 1932, was translated by Ernst Weiss.

She became an author's translator of Theodor Dreiser and his agent in German-speaking countries through her translations for the Zsolnay publishing company. She edited translations and expressed her opinion of what and when it was better to publish. From the archival correspondence (286/B935, Mary Webb, 1929–1935), it results that Paul Zsolnay in 1929 gave Webb's books to Schön to translate, refusing to give the job to Hans Schwarz, who had already translated the author. Even though the agency Curtis Brown insisted on providing a translation offer to Schwarz, Zsolnay preferred Schön, whom he knew from work with Dreiser. They agreed that Schwarz's translation was a draft, which Schön would edit, and that the name of Schwarz would appear on the copyright page of the translation, with the note edited by Schön. On 26 October 1929, Schwarz wrote to Schön that he was happy his name would

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165 “Sayers, Dorothy L.: Aufruhr in Oxford” (1937), “Lord Peters abenteuerliche Hochzeitsfahrt” (1938), Buck, Pearl S. “Unsere kleinen chinesischen Freunde” (1955), Dawson, Christopher “Gestaltungskräfte der Weltgeschichte. Studien zur Soziologie, Theologie und Philosophie der Geschichte” (1959).

166 <https://www.antikvarium.hu/konyv/lord-peters-abenteuerliche-hochzeitsfahrt-884486-0>.

167 Justified translation from English.

168 Authorised translation.

also be on the cover. Indeed, this is not the first case when the translator at the Zsolnay Verlag corrected existing translations of already existing works. Viktor Polzer mentioned it as one of his tasks at the company. It is also not the first case when the author's translator fought for the translational rights of his colleagues, such as putting the translator's name on the copyright page.

III. Marianne von Schön translated six volumes by Theodore Dreiser: "*Eine amerikanische Tragödie*" (1927) – three volumes, "*Der Titan – Trilogie der Begierde*" (in collaboration with Wilhem Cremer) (1928), "*Das Genie*" (1929), "*Die Frau*" (1930), "*Das Buch über mich selbst*" (1932). The Paul Zsolnay publishing company published all these translations.

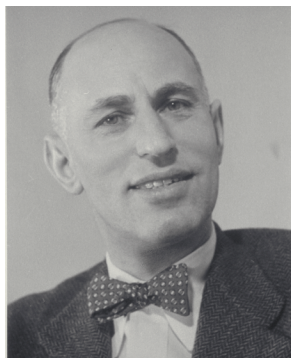
According to Biographia Sabiada, she translated from English (American) and French.

IV. Finding information about Marianne von Schön was challenging, and the picture is still incomplete. Further search points could be looking at her family's destiny (her parents and grandparents died before the 1930s, and there is little information about her brother). It might be interesting to look at the archives of the publishing companies in Switzerland where her translations were published. The years and the places of her translations give more information about her life.

Viktor (Victor) Polzer (Pölzer)

(1892, Vienna, Austria–1966/5? New York, USA)

Exile: Vienna–New York



Viktor Polzer,
Courtesy of The Leo Baeck Institute

I. Viktor Polzer (also Victor/Pölzer/Pollitzer) was born in Vienna in 1892. His school certificates from Prague, Lviv and Trieste can be found at the Jewish archive in New York. He often changed schools because of his father's relocations. He was a military general. Viktor Polzer performed military service from 1917 to 1923 and had lung complications after the war. In his military certificate, German is mentioned as the only language he spoke. In 1921 (in the archive – 1922), after concluding his PhD in German studies¹⁶⁹, Viktor worked as an editor at the publishing house *Herz* in Vienna. He worked as a journalist and an interviewer. He interviewed famous Viennese literary figures such as Werfel, Asch and Amann. Polzer met Annie Bindermann (later – Polzer) as a colleague at the Paul Zsolnay publishing company. They married in 1931.

In 1938 he had to flee to the USA together with his wife. The preparation of documents and receiving an American visa took several months. They left Vienna by the end of the summer of 1938. His first emigration stamps and

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¹⁶⁹ The title of the dissertation was “Die Charakterzeichnung des Genie-Dramas in Theorie und dichterischer Praxis“.

papers in the USA are dated October 1938. It was extremely challenging for him to find a job in exile in the first years. From his biography at the Jewish Museum (New York), it is clear that he connected this problem with the lacking networks in the USA. At the archive, there are several incoming letters where Polzer receives rejections of his job applications (formal and informal). In 1940 he met his Viennese acquaintance Hermann Brosh. With Brosh, Polzer helped writers who were in France to flee to the USA during the next three years. One of the saved was Paul Amann, Polzer's colleague from the Zsolnay publishing company. From the archive, it is clear that Amann was in contact with the Polzers in the USA, meaning that people brought their networks from Vienna to exile places. Later in New York, Polzer worked for the Alliance Book Club Corporation. From 1946 Polzer was the director of Stechert-Hafner, Inc. catalogues. Then he started publishing in German-speaking journals, among which was the *Aufbau*.

II. From Polzer's archival material follows that he started working for the Zsolnay Verlag in 1928 as an editor. Among his tasks, the following are mentioned:

Polzer überwachte die Drucklegung zahlreicher Werke erster Autoren, was unter anderem jahrelange engste Zusammenarbeit mit Franz Werfel etc. bedeutete oder die Korrektur, besser gesagt, Neuübersetzung so mancher Übersetzung berühmter Bestseller¹⁷⁰¹⁷¹.

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170 "Polzer supervised the publication of numerous works by major authors. One of them was a many years' close collaboration with Franz Werfel and others. His tasks included revising, or more accurately, re-translating, of existing translations of well-known bestsellers."

171 In fact, retranslation or editing of existing versions was an important matter for the company. There is evidence that some of the company's published translations were edited versions of already existing translations. Among the publisher's archival information there are documents that prove that there were external companies or agents who asked to use the German version to translate into other languages. It might be interesting to check all the translations from the list of translated books into retranslations into other languages or to the later versions in German and if and how the name of the translator was communicated in the peritext.

Polzer became the company's agent in 1932. It is mentioned in Polzer's biography that the year 1934 brought massive changes for the company, and Paul Zsolnay had to rebuild his staff, including translators:

1934 geriet der Paul Zsolnay Verlag wie die meisten deutschen Verlage über Nacht in große Schwierigkeiten und musste einen Teil seines Stabes abbauen. Dr. Polzer wurde mit Übersetzungsarbeiten betraut und übertrug bis März 1938 sieben Werke aus dem Englischen und Französischen.¹⁷²

His first translation for Zsolany was published in 1936. He translated from English into German Calder Marshall, Flynn, Longworth, Major, Marshall, and Daniele Varè. Polzer did not belong to a specific category according to the classification proposed in this volume: His translation of Longworth(1936) was defined as "*Deutsch von Viktor Polzer*", his translation of Flynn (1937) – as "*Übersetzt von ...*", Major's book – as "*Autorisierte Übersetzung aus dem Amerikanischen*" (1938), and of Varè (1938) – as "*berechtigte Übersetzung*". The fact that Polzer worked for the company since 1928 as an editor and was promoted¹⁷³ by the publisher as his publisher's translator, must also be considered, therefore, I define him as a publisher's translator.

III. From the postcard¹⁷⁴ Thomas Mann sent to Viktor Polzer, we see that Mann praises Polzer's translation of Calder-Marshall's book (probably it was the book "*Wir haben geheiratet*", published by Zsolnay Verlag in 1936):

I still owe you thanks for the unusual novel of Calder Marshall. An important, attractive book on which I spent pleasant hours—not least on account of the apparently excellent translation. In the spring I hope

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172 "In 1934, like most German publishers, the Paul Zsolnay publishing house experienced serious problems and had to reduce the number of the employees. Dr. Polzer was assigned translation work and, by March 1938, had translated seven works from English and French."

173 „Der Übersetzer ist erstklassig“ 6.2.1935.

174 <http://corsair.themorgan.org/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=193586>.

to spend a few days in Vienna and would be glad to see you. Sincerely yours, Thomas Mann.¹⁷⁵

IV. Material about exiled translator Polzer can be found in one of the Jewish collections in New York. Annie and Victor Polzer are listed as its creators in 1965. It was common for exiled translators to leave their material to the Jewish archives (see also Amann, Umanskij, and Schmitz). There are over 1000 pages, among which half are newspaper or journal articles, and another half are his documents with all school notes and his practice and colloquium certificates from the university. He might have taken all these documents with him when he left Vienna, meaning he had time to prepare for exile. From his identity documents, we can learn such parameters as his appearance (height, eyes, hair colour, etc.) and his family (he had no children), but also that he did not have any arrests from the criminal record that needed for his American visa. This archival material points to the destiny of other people: there is an answer to his request about the destiny of his sister Gertrude, which states that she was murdered in the concentration camp. From the archival material we see that the Polzers lived in Operngasse, 6, 1010, i.e., in the Viennese central district. This information allows us to conclude that these people belonged to the well-off Viennese intelligentsia.

Independent translators

While in the first period, there were mainly author's translators and publisher's translators working at the company, many independent translators – Käthe Gaspar, Andreas Gaspar, Fritz Lehner, and Walter Kotas – came to the publishing house in the late 1930s. These were mainly people defined as Jewish who lost their principal jobs and had to find a place to earn their living immediately. This group of translators was less privileged: they had no contacts with the author or the publishing company, which led to less income and less professional freedom. Though this group showed more initiative in proposing

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175 The text of the letter is translated from German on the web page of the archive.

what to translate, the publisher often declined these proposals. Independent translators tended to become author's translators or publisher's translators within about two years. Still, the translators defined as Jewish who came to work for the company in 1936 did not manage to do so because they all had to flee in 1938. Furthermore, in early 1938 the Zsolnay Verlag received explicit recommendations to stop working with the Jewish translators. This is a sign of transforming into an autocratic translation culture.

Among all the Jewish translators who started to work for the company in the late 1930s, there was one exception: a non-Jewish translator from Scandinavian languages and NS-supporter Walter Kotas. Inviting translator Kotas in 1935 to work for the company demonstrates that the translation culture was transforming from initiators- and partially readers-oriented to autocratic. It was a compromise with the new reality for Paul Zsolnay – needing to prove not being Jew himself and surrounded by those (self-)defined as Jews, the publisher started collaborating with a NS-supporting translator. Kotas put the company in contact with National Socialist authors from Scandinavian countries, such as, e.g. Alice Lyttkens.

Nach Moberg hatte Kotas Alice Lyttkens empfohlen, mit der der Verlag einen etwas größeren Erfolg verbuchen konnte. Zwischen Oktober 1935 und Oktober 1937 kamen fünf Titel, vorwiegend „Frauenromane“ heraus. Auch hier spielten bei Kotas politisch-ideologische Überlegungen eine Rolle. Um Lyttkens, die „zwei sehr starke Frauenbücher geschrieben“ habe, dem Verlag schmackhaft zu machen, teilte er Zsolnay und Costa in holprigem Deutsch folgendes mit: Es ist nicht uninteressant, daß Frau Lüttkens [sie] mir mitteilt, daß sie mit dem Führer der schwedischen nationalsozialistischen Partei, Birger Furugard, sehr befreundet ist. Auch Moberg schreibt mir, als er mir die Dame empfiehlt (sie), daß sie sowohl wie ihr Mann als große Deutschenfreunde bekannt sind (Hall, 1994, p. 201).¹⁷⁶

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176 “After Moberg, Kotas recommended Alice Lyttkens, who brought the publishing house a great success. Between October 1935 and October 1937, five titles, predominantly ‘women’s novels’, were published. Also here, Kotas’ political and ideological considerations played a role. In

In this, we see two controversial tendencies in the company's human resources policy: On the one hand, many Jewish translators received work at the company in the late 1930s, but on the other, the publisher also invited NS-supporting translators (and socialist authors) to show to the ideological controllers that the company was loyal to the growing National Socialist movement. However, combining this all was possible only until 1938. Paul Zsolnay had to stop collaborating with all the Jewish translators in 1938. Walter Kotas was also no longer translating for the company from 1939, explaining this with his wish to dedicate his time to writing. This shows that independent translators either upgraded to another category and continued working for the company as publisher's or independent translators, or they changed their activity or left the company for other reasons.

Andreas Gaspar / Endre Gáspár (until 1935 Gottlieb)
(1897, Debrecen, Austria-Hungary–1955, Budapest, Hungary)

Exile: Budapest–Bratislava–Vienna–Budapest

I. Endre Gaspar was born in 1897 in Debrecen to a Jewish family. He studied humanities and law at the University of Debrecen; later, he worked for the newspaper *Hírlap* and was the editor of the *Népakarát* journal. In 1919, he had to flee to Bratislava and then to Vienna, like many other Hungarian communists because of the white terror. In 1921 he married Katalin (Käthe) Dick. They had a daughter Judit Veronika Gaspar (1923–1945)¹⁷⁷. He worked as a translator at one of the Viennese theatres and as a journalist for Hungarian journals (*2x2* or *Ma*) in Vienna. The Fischer publishing house published his book about Lajos Kassák in 1924. From 1923 Andreas Gaspar worked in Vienna for a Hungarian

order to make Lyttkens, who 'had written two very strong women books,' more attractive to the publishing house, he informed Zsolnay and Costa about the following: 'It is not uninteresting that Mrs. Lyttkens shared that she is a good friend with the leader of the Swedish National Socialist Party, Birger Furugård. Moberg also wrote to me, when recommending the lady, that both she and her husband are known as great friends of Germany'" (Hall, 1994, p. 201).

177 <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9PBF-9DCD?i=59&lang=en>.

journal *Diogenis* as author and translator.¹⁷⁸ For *Diogenes*, he translated the Hungarian author Endre Ady into English and French (eleven books), John Milton and Friedrich Nietzsche into Hungarian.¹⁷⁹ He translated more than 500 Hungarian works (Ferenc Móra, József Nyirő, Frigyes Karinthy, etc.), mostly modern authors, into other languages such as German, English and Spanish. Moreover, he translated into Hungarian from 14 languages (among which are German, English, Spanish, French, Danish, Russian, and Latin¹⁸⁰) works by Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Walt Whitman, Ovid, Heinrich Heine, James Joyce, Thomas Mann, Lope de Vega, Guillén, Calderón, Schiller and Shakespeare.

In 1938, after the Austrian *Anschluss*, Gaspar was arrested but was soon freed as a Hungarian citizen. He had to flee to Budapest and in 1944 he was deported to the labour camp. In 1944 his wife committed suicide and he tried to poison himself but survived. After he was freed, he worked mainly as a literary translator. He received a Pro Arte medal (1949) and was a József Attila Prize winner (1953).¹⁸¹ He died in 1955 in Budapest.

II. Gaspar joined the company in 1933, translating Mario Verdaguer from Spanish. The translation was defined as *Autorisierte Übersetzung aus dem Spanischen von Andreas Gaspar*. Andreas Gaspar received a scholarship to translate this book and spent some months in Spain. Gaspar's later translations from Hungarian (four books) and Danish (one book) appeared in 1937 and 1938. His first translations are defined as *Aus dem Ungarischen von Andreas Gaspar*, while his later works as *Autorisierte Übersetzung aus dem Ungarischen von Andreas Gaspar*, meaning he transformed from independent translator to the author's translator due to his networks in Hungary. Andreas Gaspar and his wife Käthe introduced the Hungarian language to the publisher's programme.

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178 There is a dedication to Endre Gáspár in the journal with the poem *Ülni, állni, ölni, halni* (dt.: Sitzen, stehen, töten, sterben) by Attila József (1905–1937) (Illés, 1977: 110ff.).

179 Illés (1977).

180 <https://www.unesco.org/xtrans/bsresult.aspx?lg=0&tr=gaspar&fr=20>.

181 Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon, 2019.

Hall notes that “*Neue Wiener Tagblatt*” acknowledged the Paul Zsolnay Verlag in May 1939 for

sich um die Übersetzung ungarischer Dichtung als fast einziger deutscher Verlag wirklich verdient gemacht.¹⁸²

This mainly happened due to help of the translators Andreas and Käthe Gaspar and can be seen as a clear sign of application of soft power, both by the translators and the publisher. They were promoting Hungarian culture in the German-speaking countries and covering the niche that was free at the moment.

III. Family networks were a frequent occurrence at the company – the Gaspars and the Polzers working at the company was not the only example of different family members working for the Paul Zsolnay publishing company. For example, the wife and the daughter of Keller, an editor of English books, Anna Kellner and Dora Sophie Kellner, translated some works for the publishing company from the English language (Hall, 1994, p. 9).

IV. Language is another challenge for a researcher who works on the biographies of translators (following the lack of information). It is an advantage if the researcher speaks the languages of the translator. Andreas Gaspar appeared to be famous in Hungary and was an important translator, author, and journalist. There is much information about him in the Hungarian segment of the internet and in the famous Hungarian archives. I was lucky to talk about my project to Izabella Nyari from Hungary, who wrote a seminar paper about this translator. She was kind enough to dedicate some time and share information about the translator with me.

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182 “has truly distinguished itself as almost the only German publisher in the translation of Hungarian poetry.”

Walther Hjalmar Kotas

(1900, Graz, Austria-Hungary–1955/6, Spittal an der Drau, Austria)

I. Walther Kotas (pseud. W.H. Kotsch, Karl Kotas) was born in Graz, where he attended high school. He studied Oriental and Nordic languages at the University of Vienna. He had extraordinary language skills: he spoke almost all European languages and some oriental. From the mid-1920s he published essays (*Orient und Okzident*, 1927) and novels (*Der Mann, der nicht wiederkamm*, 1930, *Vogel Roch*, 1931). His essay “*Die skandinavische Literatur der Gegenwart seit 1870*” appeared in 1925 in Dioskuren publishing house, Wiesbaden. In 1932 Kotas expressed the intent to create an art union in Austria to promote NS¹⁸³-ideas. In 1933 he became a member of NSDAP. From 1933–1934 he wrote for illegal anti-Semitic newspapers *Der Sturmer* and *Ilkorr* (*Illegale Korrespondenz*). He translated NS-friendly newspaper articles into German and German articles into other languages. He married Maria Kotas in 1933 in Vienna. Kotas was a member of a forbidden NSKB organisation; therefore, he was arrested in 1936 and spent about one month in prison. Kotas was freed because of the amnesty initiated by NS supporters, whose power rapidly grew. In 1938, he was awarded *Ostmark* and *Sudeten* medals¹⁸⁴. In 1939, he became a press secretary in RPA in the Lower Danube district and then a head officer in the *Gaupressamt* of the Lower Danube district. In 1944, he joined the Weimar army. After captivity, he stayed in Carinthia, where he worked on some translations of Jölsen and Coolen. He had never dared return

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183 Nach Ansicht Kotas', dem die „deutsche Volksgemeinschaft“ nach eigener Aussage über alles Persönliche hinaus „heilig“ war, waren die Juden bzw. die jüdischen Verleger dafür verantwortlich, daß in Deutschland bzw. in Österreich bisher die „guten“ nationalen Autoren nicht zum Zug gekommen waren (Hall, 1994, p. 192). / In Kotas's view, for whom the “German national community” was, in his own words, “sacred” above all, Jews, or Jewish publishers, were responsible for the fact that, in Germany and Austria, the “good” national authors were not successful (Hall, 1994, p. 192).

184 „für die vorbildlich geleistete Arbeit bei der Volksabstimmung“ (Hall, 1994). / “for the exemplary work during the referendum” (Hall, 1994).

to Vienna because he feared the criminal cases against regime supporters¹⁸⁵. He died in 1955.

II. Kotas entered the Zsolnay publishing house through his NS networks. He worked at the publishing house from 1934 to 1938 and was responsible for changing the company's policies. Kotas was one of those who initiated the aryanization of the Zsolnay company¹⁸⁶. The publisher's interest was working with NS supporters, such as Kotas, to adapt to the changing ideology and to save his company.

Kotas not only translated Scandinavian authors but could decide which authors and books to translate. Under his translation appeared works by Vilhelm Moberg, Karl Gunnarson, Alice Lyttkens and Thit Jensen. He translated 13 books from Swedish and one from Danish in four years. At the same time, he translated a colonial novel, "Gummi" by Madelon Lulofs, from Dutch for the German publisher Holle. He also translated Annik Saxegsegaard and Ella Bystroem.

According to Hall (1994, p. 198), Kotas translated many Scandinavian books into German. Applying translation as soft power (promoting Scandinavian culture in the German-speaking area), he expected that his Scandinavian

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185 „traute er sich bis zu seinem Tod nicht mehr nach Wien zurück“ (Hall, 1994). / “he did not dare to return to Vienna until his death” (Hall, 1994).

186 Bloß zehn Tage nach der Vertragsunterzeichnung in Lausanne und noch vor der parlamentarischen Abstimmung schlossen sich eine Reihe von Sympathisanten der NS-Bewegung zusammen und verfaßten einen „Aufruf“ als energischen Protest gegen die Verpflichtungspolitik „Deutschösterreichs“. Unterzeichnet wurde dieser Aufruf zunächst von den Schriftstellern Bruno Brehm, Mirko Jelusich, Otto Emmerich Groh, Walther Hjalmar Kotas (die uns z.T. bei der Eroberung des Zsolnay Verlags und dem österreichischen Ableger der N.S. Kulturgemeinde begegnen), den akademischen Malern Carry Hauser und Franz Howanietz sowie dem Generalmusikdirektor Leopold Reichwein (Hall, 1994, p. 401). / Just ten days after the signing of the contract in Lausanne, and even before the parliamentary vote, a number of sympathizers of the NS movement came together and drafted a “call” as a protest against the obligation policies of “German-Austria”. This call was initially signed by the writers Bruno Brehm, Mirko Jelusich, Otto Emmerich Groh, and Walther Hjalmar Kotas (who appear in connection with the takeover of the Zsolnay publishing house and the Austrian branch of the N.S. Cultural Community), the academic painters Carry Hauser and Franz Howanietz, as well as the General Music Director Leopold Reichwein (Hall, 1994, p. 401).

partners would, in their turn, publish or promote translations of the German NS-ideology books:

Insgesamt gesehen hatte Walther Hjalmar Kotas innerhalb weniger Jahre eine beachtliche Arbeitsleistung erbracht. Allein für Zsolnay übertrug er 14 Bücher mit fast 6000 Druckseiten ins Deutsche, arbeitete aber aus einem irregeleiteten Idealismus. Indem er schwedische Autoren im deutschen Sprachraum plazierte, erwartete er als Gegenleistung, daß Moberg und sein Stockholmer Verleger für die Unterbringung seiner national gesinnten Kollegen (z. B. Groh, Scheibelreiter, Hohlbaum, Schreyvogel usw.) sorgten.¹⁸⁷

In the following years, he translated several documents and essays for the NSDAP and advocated for the German annexation of Austria. After 1938, Kotas avoided contact with the author Morberg, who publicly criticized NS ideology. Kotas stopped collaborating with the Zsolnay Verlag and stopped translating. He dedicated his efforts to the political field. In the correspondence, he refused to work with the publishing company explaining it with the decision to devote himself to writing.

III. Walter Kotas was one of the few in Vienna who could translate from Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian¹⁸⁸. Kotas was a controversial figure. Complex was his relationship with the Paul Zsolnay company. Despite Kotas' apparent pro-Hitler position, participation in illegal anti-Semitic organisations, and legal problems, Zsolnay continued working with him: Kotas' language skills were more important than his political position. This is an example of the

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¹⁸⁷ "Overall, Walther Hjalmar Kotas made an impressive amount of work within just a few years. For Zsolnay alone, he translated 14 books, almost 6,000 printed pages, into German, yet he worked out of a irrational idealism. By promoting Swedish authors in the German-speaking world, he expected in return that Moberg and his Stockholm publisher would help publishing his nationalism supporting colleagues (e.g., Groh, Scheibelreiter, Hohlbaum, Schreyvogel, and others)".

¹⁸⁸ According to UeLex, there were translators from Scandinavian languages into German, but some of them lived far from Vienna or were too old or too young in the period when Zsolnay started his publishing activity.

prevalent economic interest over the ideological ideas of the publisher in the late 1930s. From the point of view of translation studies, the explanation might be that the Scandinavian languages were relatively rare in Vienna, and it was challenging to find a good translator from these languages. Zsolnay understood that in the coming situation, the source languages for his translations would remain Scandinavian, Italian and Spanish. For this reason, he wanted to keep people who worked with these languages near him. Another point of working with Kotas could be his networks in Scandinavia and his agency concerning new volumes that could be interesting to translate in Austria. Moreover, Kotas brought an important author to the publishing company, Morberg, who first worked with another company, Pipas Verlag. And the third reason is provided above: Zsolnay's wish to show his loyalty and collaboration with NS supporters, trying to save the company in this way. According to Hall, NS-supporting authors¹⁸⁹ started to work with the Paul Zsolnay Verlag in this period.

IV. It was typical for an independent translator to recommend more new authors and act as an initiator of translations. However, Kotas had a more privileged position at the company for the above-mentioned reasons (rare languages, NS-supporting position, and networks with Scandinavian authors). Even being an independent translator, Kotas realised that his mission in the company was not only translations. However, he expressed his attitude to translating as an activity, which was untypical for independent translators:

Es ist ein Vergnügen, etwas zu übersetzen¹⁹⁰ (Letter Kotas to Zsolnay, 17 Feb. 1937)

Kotas was one of the few translators described in the company's history written by Hall. The scientific interests of Hall may explain this: He wanted to show the company's development and Kotas' role, and his political activism contributed

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189 Zsolnay sollte also als Kontrastfigur gesehen werden, die antrat, alle Übel- und Mißstände in Verleger-Autor-Beziehungen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart zu beseitigen. / Zsolnay was therefore to be seen as a figure of contrast, the one who was supposed to eliminate all the problems in publisher-author relations, both past and present.

190 Translating something is a pleasure.

to it to a great extent. Moreover, much information about Kotas is presented in the publisher's and author's archive.

Fritz (Frederick) Lehner

(1893, Vienna, Austria–1961, Charleston, West Virginia, USA)

Exile: Vienna–USA



Fritz Lehner, Picture from Grete L.
(Grete Lehner) Bibring Papers,
1882–1977. H MS c159. Box 1, folder 23¹⁹¹

I. Fritz Lehner was born in 1893 in Vienna to a wealthy Jewish family. His father was the profitable manufacturer/factory owner Moritz Lehner and his mother Victoria (Dengel¹⁹²) Lehner was the “perfect hostess”¹⁹³. He had three siblings Ernst, Rosi and Grete. His younger sister Grete (since 1921 Bibring, as wife of Edward Bibring) was a well-known psychoanalyst in Vienna. After the Anschluss, she fled to the US, where she became the first female full professor at Harvard Medical School in 1961. At the age of 18, Lehner started his studies

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191 Center for history of medicine, Harvard countway library <https://collections.countway.harvard.edu/onview/index.php/items/show/12507>.

192 <https://collections.countway.harvard.edu/onview/files/original/283f5e3d26525c41c3d6d69180dd0357.jpg>.

193 <https://collections.countway.harvard.edu/onview/index.php/items/show/12495>.

at the University of Vienna¹⁹⁴, but in 1914 he was drafted into the Imperial Austrian Army¹⁹⁵. In 1915, he was imprisoned by the Russian army and sent to Siberia¹⁹⁶. In 1917 he was freed by Bolsheviks, together with other prisoners of war. In 1918, he returned to Vienna, where he was diagnosed with nephritis, as a consequence of the imprisonment years. He continued his studies and in 1919 received a PhD in German and Romance studies at the University of Vienna. He used to teach at Vienna State College and at the People's College for Adult Education (Vienna Volks Heim)¹⁹⁷ between 1919 and 1936. He gave lectures, and organised art events at adult education centre Urania. He was an author and literary and theatrical critic with a broad network. He wrote articles for *Wiener Zeitung*. Furthermore, Lehner worked for the Austrian radio (RAVAG¹⁹⁸), where he gave lectures on French literature. Lehner was married to Stella Badio Lehner.

In 1939 he had to flee to the UK¹⁹⁹, and then to the USA. In 1944 he became an American citizen. According to the Zsolnay partial archive, one of Lehner's first addresses in the USA was 713 Washington st, Brooklyn, MA. After receiving funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, he started a job at West Virginia State College first as a visiting professor and then as a permanent faculty member. He worked there as a professor of comparative literature (German and French) until 1961 (or 1956).

According to the English Wikipedia page about zoologist Collins, "she²⁰⁰ eventually received mentorship from Toye Davis and Frederick Lehner, West Virginia State University professors." Together Davis and Lehner helped Collins

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194 Info from Lehner's memorial service brochure.

195 <https://glmanny.wordpress.com/tag/dr-frederick-lehner/>.

196 https://minorityaffairs.wv.gov/Documents/HumanRights_Program.pdf.

197 Book about cookies recipes by Lehner's Wife Stella Lehner <https://library.wvstateu.edu/archives/GeneralUnivPubs/Viennese-Cookings-Stella-Lehner-1963.pdf>.

198 Info from Lehner's memorial service brochure.

199 Info from Lehner's memorial service brochure.

200 Collins.

find opportunities in the field of biology²⁰¹. This information may indicate his feminist activism.

Lehner is the author of several French learning books, together with his co-author and PhD comrade Richard Korn, e.g., “*Französisch für Jedermann*”, Leipzig, 1931, “*Französisch für Erwachsene*”, Leipzig, 1936²⁰². Lehner was declared an Officer of the Academy with the “*Palmes Academique*” award.

II. In 1936, Lehner suggested to Paul Zsolnay to translate Edouard Estaunie for the publishing house, i.e., the translator acted as an initiator for translation. He translated five books from French during 1936–1938. In 1936, two translations by Lehner were defined as “*Deutsch von*”. Later, in 1937 and 1938, Lehner was defined as author’s translator as well as publisher’s translator (*Einzigberechtigte Übersetzer aus dem Franz. Fritz Lehner, Autorisierte Übersetzung*) of Édouard Estaunié. Though on the copyright page of the book by the same author in 1937, his translation was defined as “*Deutsch von ...*” It means that he upgraded his status at the company by setting personal contact with both the author and the publisher. Lehner continued correspondence with the Zsolnay Verlag from exile.

III. It is important to note that Lehner translated Martin du Gard and other French authors into English, which means he worked with both languages that were non-native to him.

IV. Information from the publishing company archive allows us to follow Lehner’s life in Vienna in the mid-1930s, his exile, and his life in the USA. Material about Lehner, whose main activity was teaching, is possible to find in the volumes about Austrian Authors of Jewish background or Austrians who emigrated to the USA, as well as German-speaking philologists who emigrated to the USA. Furthermore, his picture and some letters are found at the archive of his sister Grete Bibring (Lehner), who was a prominent psychoanalyst in

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201 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Margaret_S._Collins.

202 <https://zflprojekte.de/sprachforscher-im-exil/index.php/catalog/1/305-lehner-fritz-frederick-friedrich-j>.

Austria and the USA. More information about his biography has been extracted from the culinary book of his wife Stella. This indicates the importance of following family networks of the translators.

In the case of Fritz Lehner, it is interesting to note that when I started working on my PhD project in 2018, I found almost no information about this translator, whereas while writing a book in 2025, I suddenly came across digitalised information about his sister and found a contact from Harvard Library of History of Medicine, where more information about him could be found. Within only eight years, and especially after the pandemic, more information became available online or it became easier to receive digitally from other countries/continents.

Käthe Gaspar / Katalin Dick / Katò Gaspar / Kata Gáspár (1897 (?²⁰³), Austria-Hungary–1944, Hungary)

Exile: Vienna–Budapest

I. Katalin Dick was born into a Jewish family in Vienna. Her father was Ignac Dick. In 1921 she married Andreas (Endre) Gaspar in Vienna. Their daughter Judit Veronika was born in 1923 and died in 1945. In 1936, the family had to move to Hungary because of the persecution of the Jewish population in Austria. In the late 1930s, Gaspar travelled between Austria and Hungary without having a constant address. Sometimes she did not answer the publisher's letters for weeks and did not meet the deadlines, but she explained it with difficult personal circumstances. In 1944 Käthe Gaspar committed suicide.

II. The Gaspars started working for Zsolnay at the beginning of the 1930es as independent translators. Katalin and her husband were well-connected in Hungarian literary circles and acted as mediators between the publisher and Hungarian authors. They gradually became the company's agents in Hungary, mediators between some Hungarian authors and the publishing company, and

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203 [https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/G%C3%A1sp%C3%A1r_Katalin_\(egy%C3%A9rtelm%C5%B1s%C3%ADt%C5%91_lap\)](https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/G%C3%A1sp%C3%A1r_Katalin_(egy%C3%A9rtelm%C5%B1s%C3%ADt%C5%91_lap)).

later their author's translators at the Paul Zsolnay publishing company. Käthe Gaspar often appeared as the initiator of translating Hungarian literature. Katalin's first translation for the Zsolnay Verlag is dated 1936. She translated nine books from Hungarian for the company in two years and proposed many more to translate. From the correspondence of the Zsolnay archive, it is clear that she was in a challenging financial situation and wanted to receive more translation offers. During the first years, the publisher was satisfied with translations completed by the Gaspars²⁰⁴. In 1938 as the social pressure and anti-Semitic ideas spread more and more, the translations by Käthe Gaspar were suddenly considered "stylistically poor". The company avoided any kind of contact with Käthe and her husband. This happened precisely after Paul Zsolnay received a letter from the literature chamber²⁰⁵ saying that the Gaspars were Jews and Zsolnay had to find other translators from the Hungarian. The answer to the letter of the chamber of literature came from Leber, who noted that the company would stop working with these translators as soon as they have found new translators from Hungarian and the Gaspars last Hungarian translations had been published. Furthermore, the paratext of the books translated by the Gaspars proves this tension: After 1938, the name of Käthe Gaspar was mentioned only once on the copyright page of the translated book, while the names of other translators were mentioned several times and/or placed on the cover page. The Gaspars took money for mediation between the publisher and the Hungarian authors, while other translators such as Kotas, Zuckerkandl or Hoffmann did not. This is another feature of the independent translators: in contrast to author's or publisher's translators they were paid for any extra work they did.

III. Worth mentioning is that the decision to publish Hungarian books proposed by the Gaspars was a turning point in the publishing house's history and influenced its future: Nowadays the Zsolnay Verlag positions itself as a publishing house specialized in translating literature from Central Europe and

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204 26 Feb 1936 Moricz writes to Zsolnay that he knows from the sources that the Gaspars are good translators.

205 286/05 2.1 286/B598 Virgg Moricz.

the Balkans (from the interview with Herbert Ohrlinger, Zsolnay director, 2019). It is also of note that the Hungarian books translated in this period have never been published again or retranslated by the Zsolnay publishing house or its translators – it was a tendency of the translation culture of the first half of the 20th century.

IV. I have received most of the information about Käthe Gaspar from the publisher's archive from her correspondence exchange with the publisher and the publisher's correspondence with Hungarian authors. I also used *Index Translationum* as a source of information. In the example of Käthe/Katalin Gaspar, I have one hypothesis to prove or reject. *Index Translationum* mentions a person called Katalin Gasparik as a translator of the book translated from German by Lenzen H., released in 1994. The author was active in the period when Gaspar was translating from Hungarian and German. It might be that she also translated under the name Katalin Gaspar(ik) or not:

Lenzen, Heinrich: *Down gyermekeink jövője: szülők, nevelők könyve* [Hungarian] / Gasparik, Katalin / Debrecen: Pedellus [Hungary], 1994. 164 p. ill. [German]

Vandeman, George E.: *A depresszió lefegyverzése* [Hungarian] / Gáspár, Katalin / Budapest: Advent [Hungary], 1995. 47 p. Disarming depression [English]

This means that such databases as *Index Translationum* or data from the library catalogues may also indicate to the information about the translators.

Overview Chapter III

Speaking about sources for this research, it is essential to note that at least three translators left autobiographies, many translators left information at the Jewish archives in exile or Austria, and there were those whose children or other relatives shared information about translators with different archives

(Umanskij, Amann, Polzer). Moreover, some of the translators were relatives or friends of some famous figures of the epoch. This makes it possible to find some information about the translators in the archives of these people (Lehner, Polzer). The same refers to the connection between author and translator (e.g. Schalit and Galsworthy): the information about the translator can be found in the papers of their translated author. Migration, identity documents, and baptising certificates are helpful and can be found in specialized registers. Some biographies were already partially investigated, but many lacked information about the person's translational activity (e.g., Zuckerkandl) or were dedicated only to one translation (e.g., Mertens). Despite the creation of numerous databases, it remains challenging to find data about translators, and information about some of them is impossible (yet) to find (e.g., I have found very little information about Helene M. Reiff). The publisher's archive is a great starting point for revealing the networks of the translator. Furthermore, it gives a great deal of information about professional and habitualised behaviour (for some researchers – *telos* or *habitus*). Moreover, the publisher's archives provide the researchers with information about people's places of living and relocations²⁰⁶.

This chapter presents a classification of translators at the company, which was discovered during the research and is a step forward in studying the institutionalisation of the translator's profession. This classification reveals the politics of the Zsolnay company towards translators and translations – an essential component of its translation culture. Furthermore, it helps to establish the ways soft power was applied both by translators and the publisher. I define three groups of translators who worked for the Paul Zsolnay Verlag: author's translators, publisher's translators, and independent translators. Author's translators were able to express their identity in the company: Umanskij translated authors from the communist Soviet Union, Schmitz a Jewish author who wrote in Yiddish, Zuckerkandl theatre plays from French, Redtenbacher bi-or homosexual French writers, Kotas socialist Scandinavian authors. These translators freely expressed their ideas about translating and translations and

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 206 See more of my reflections on the source genres for translation history in my article Haiden, forthcoming.

were heard by the publisher, e.g., Schalit, Schmitz, and Amann. Almost all of the author's translators were active journalists. They were the most powerful group at the company in line with the publisher's translators. Publisher's translators had a connection to the publishing company, formally (Richard Hoffmann) or informally (Marianne von Schön). They were those who received the orders for the new translations first. They were not only mediators between author and publisher but led correspondence with other partners and agencies, translated contracts and correspondence from abroad, edited other translations, and much more. These translators built their networks with the company's help and in the company. For example, Pearl S. Buck, whose works were translated by Annie Polzer for the Zsolnay Verlag, helped Annie and Viktor Polzer to receive American citizenship. Other jobs of these translators were usually connected with the text: They translated for other companies or edited works. Independent translators started working for the company in the late 1930s. Many of them, appearing as initiators of translators, brought new source languages and authors to the company (e.g., Käthe and Andreas Gaspar – Hungarian authors, and Walter Kotas – Scandinavian). Some of the translators from this group were teachers, professors, or scientists, e.g. Lehner, Amann, while others worked mainly as translators, such as Andreas and Käthe Gaspar, Walter Kotas. There are differences between the three groups, but what was common for all these translators is that every single translator contributed to the construction of the translation culture of the publishing company. Chronological analysis of these three groups of translators clearly shows the transformation of the Paul Zsolnay company's translation culture from the initiators- and readers-oriented to the autocratic.

Conclusions

This interdisciplinary and multi-perspective volume applies several theoretical approaches, tests new ones and closes some empirical gaps. Furthermore, this book allows some conclusions to be drawn, both for a concrete case study and for the theoretical framework within translation studies. On the meta-level, the following contributions can be enumerated: first, this case study proves that a publishing company can build a separate component of a larger translation culture and translators are its principal creators; second, this work suggests a publishing company as a space for the historical investigation of translators' agency and shows the effectiveness of networks analyses as the way of studying translator's agency within an organisation; third, I demonstrate how translators and the publisher can use translation as soft power; fourth, this is another example of using paratext (more concretely – peritext) as a source, in combination with archival data; fifth, the productivity of the *histoire croisée* method on multiple levels has been demonstrated within this case study in translation history. Furthermore, this work suggests a new approach to analysing a selected translation culture: introducing a meso level as a middle stage between macro and micro into research design and combining the three levels to demonstrate and approach the voluminous and profound nature of the translation culture as a concept.

A publishing house can be seen as a separate translation culture, a particular case of a bigger regional translation culture. A publishing company is a field with clearly defined borders in time and space, where translators act as social agents with their aims and interests, exchanging their cultural or social capital for other forms of capital; it is dynamic and self-oriented. Moreover, the concept provides a fertile background for studying the socio-historical aspect of translations, including translators' networks. Though Bedson and Schulz (2015) define a publishing company as a separate translation culture, they provide analyses of its chronological development. In contrast to this, I zoom in on the dimensions of analyses, in this way deepening an understanding of translators' agency and their role in the construction of the publisher's

translation culture. My investigation confirms Schögler's (2023) idea about the agents being the main constructing element of a translation culture. In this work, I suggest a model of analysing a publishing company's translation culture considering first outer circumstances (Chapter I), then specifying policies of a publisher (Chapter II) and finally proceeding to the central constituting element of a translation culture – translators as agents (Chapter III). Considering a publishing company as (part of) a translation culture allows us not only to look at a specific case but gives impetus for constructing an analysis structure that can be applied to other case studies. For example, several publishing companies can be taken into consideration; or instead of the publishing house, another organisation connected to translation can be considered – translators' unions, translating agencies, etc. Furthermore, seeing a publishing company or another organisation as a part of a larger translation culture²⁰⁷ might be helpful in two ways: On one hand, it may allow transmitting of some of the company's main characteristics to the whole translation culture (e.g., companies publishing translations mainly from English, French and Russian before the 1930s, and change of source languages to the languages of the "friendly" countries such as Italian or Spanish in the 1930s, or companies collaborating with NS-supporters after 1933), which might be risky, but on the other hand, even without generalising, it helps to better understand trends in the region contributing to the partial reconstruction of the translation culture of the region (e.g., a company's role in spreading translations into German from Central- and East-European languages which started in the first half of the last century thanks to the initiatives of some translators and continues until today).

Within a discourse about a historical investigation at the micro- or macro-levels, I suggest introducing the meso-level²⁰⁸, a medium stage between micro and macro, to investigate translators' agency and unite all three dimensions

207 I describe several elements of the Austrian translation culture when e.g. I speak about the publishing industry in Austria in the third chapter or when I comment on case studies around Europe, e.g. of Rundle and Paloposki as a part of a European translation culture.

208 When I speak about the meso-level, I mean the middle stage of the research design. I do not argue that the meso-level is a translation culture of the company. I use this stage as one of the three to be able to go deeper into the profound and voluminous concept of translation culture

to better understand the translation culture that the publisher created in the interwar period. In the first chapter, I focused on the relevant macro factors for the study: Jewish difference and the development of the Austrian publishing industry in the interwar period, which are essential elements that must be considered while working on the translation culture of this particular company in the chosen period. Afterwards came the investigation of a publishing company and its policies towards translations and translators, which allows setting of the connection between the collective and the individual and lays the background for reconstructing a translation culture on a micro level. The last part proves that the translation culture created by the publisher was strongly influenced by the translators, showing them as the principal creators of this culture. Moreover, I reconstruct situations, in which translation was used as a soft power by the publisher and the translators. This work applies such classical ways of analysing publisher's translation policies as source language and number of translations analyses, but it experiments with measuring the transformation of the symbolic capital of the publisher through the sociological parameters of the translators such as age, gender, Jewish difference, exile, education, professional activity and foreign language skills.

Analysing networks as a part of a historical study is an effective way of reconstructing the motives of (non-)translating, the relationship between the actors of the translational process and the final result, as well as the consequences of publishing translations. Translation studies, like many other disciplines, demonstrates this within its numerous case studies. This work has not been an exception: it confirms the networks' crucial role in the company's functioning and structuring a century ago. Furthermore, this work sets a direct connection between the translator's networks and their being named on the copyright page of the translated books. The company put the name of every translator on the copyright page with a special note before the translator's name. Reconstructing networks at the company's archive, following translator's communication with the publisher and connecting them to the translator's name in the peritext allowed us to discover an implicit hierarchy of translators at the company,

and figure out its basic characteristics. All three stages are essential in this work to analyse the translation culture transformation of this particular publishing house.

which points to translators' status at the publishing house and the level of professional freedom and income rates. The hierarchy of translators presented in this work (see Chapters II and III) is a step forward in investigating the institutionalisation of the profession and in measuring the instruments of power of translators and publishers in interwar Austria.

The question of sources and types of archives is central to translation history. Translators usually do not leave their items in archives, which makes a historical investigation of their biographies a complex detective story. Even if the translator's items were put into the archives (translators' archives or those of other agents), it was either due to the other activities of the translators or to translators' networks with the authors or other agents. A unique feature of the inter- and post-war period in Europe is that many translators were attributed by the idea of the Jewish difference and left their items in various Jewish or exile collections. Finding and extracting information about the translators from all the archives mentioned above is challenging. One has to make sure that the translator attributed him- or herself with the idea of the Jewish difference or was connected to this or that author and their documents thus can be found in a certain collection. Considering this, translators' workplaces, such as a publishing company and its archive, turned out to be a fruitful source of information for translation history, even being organised by the author's correspondence with the publisher²⁰⁹. Similar to some other recent case studies within the discipline (see Paloposki, Jeanrenaud, Schögler, etc.), this work takes a publisher's collection as a basis. This work uses a publishing company's archive as a starting point for searching for the material for reconstructing the biographies of the translators. The publisher's collection provides hints of other places of possible material about translators, such as authors, exile, Jewish archives or other private collections or registers.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the *histoire croisée* method has been applied in translation studies as well as in other disciplines. It is widely used in this work on different levels and showed its effectiveness as a research method for a socio-historical case study within translation studies:

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209 Publishers' archives are often organised by authors, thus in order to find information about the translators, the researcher needs to investigate the whole collection of the translated author.

- (a) Macro-, meso-, and micro-dimensions. I tell the story three times, zooming in on it from the general socio-historical context of interwar Vienna influenced by the idea of Jewish difference through the history of the development of the book market in this period (Chapter I) to the single publisher, applying classical analyses from the publishing field about the number of translated books and source languages, gradually switching focus to translators' statistical data (Chapter II), and then I accurately analyse agency and life circumstances of each of the translators and project them to the development of the company in the historical period (Chapter III). This multi-level analysis provides a deeper understanding of the translation culture built by the Paul Zsolnay publishing company in this period.
- (b) Historical level. As a classical interpretation of the *histoire croisée* method, I look at the history of the development of a publishing house from the points of view of different periods: In the correspondence, I find the emic view²¹⁰ of the 1920s to the 1930s; in the work by Murray G. Hall (1994), I see an etic book-historian perspective from the 1980s–1990s; while my work offers an early 21st-century translation studies perspective.
- (c) Agency level. This book focuses on the translator and investigates how translators contributed to the development of the publishing company in contrast to the classical approaches in the publishing field. A publishing house's history is traditionally and reasonably written from the perspective of the publisher, their biography, tastes and opinions, status and connections, and professional and personal background. Assuming a famous author prefers one publishing company, a history of connections with the author is presented, i.e. by making the author a protagonist. This volume suggests a new interdisciplinary way of analysing the development of a publishing company from a translator-centred perspective.

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 210 In Pike's (1954) understanding.

- (d) Interdisciplinary level. Interdisciplinarity is a promising area within modern humanities and social sciences: it allows us to test methods from other disciplines, combine them with proper methods and receive promising results. Interdisciplinarity creates this scientific “third space²¹¹” where new fields are formed. Though this work is written within translation studies, it offers book history with a new perspective: based on new information about translators, I provide a better understanding of the company’s development, aims and motivation of the publisher. However, I have also used empirical material from book history and sociological methods to prove that the company created a separate translation culture in the interwar period and studied it. I established the interconnection between Paul Zsolnay’s unique development strategy in the interwar period and the company’s translation policies and human resources management, especially regarding translators.

Apart from the theoretical output, this work provides concrete empirical conclusions and material about the Zsolnay publishing company, its translators, and Austria’s interwar period. The translation culture of the company can be described in the following way within three areas: 1) formal translation policy parameters, such as the number of translated books and source languages for translations; 2) publisher’s intervening in the process of translation and the text; 3) human resources management with both authors (whose books were translated) and translators.

Initially, the company opted for a field-newcomer strategy (Bourdieu, Sapiro): They published a high number of translated books, which was criticised by their contemporaries and defined as publishing *Ausländerei*. Moreover, they decided to try new source languages, such as Chinese, Hungarian, Danish and Swedish, which is also a typical feature for a newcomer strategy. Paul Zsolnay tried to publish foreign authors who potentially could become famous (e.g. receive a Nobel Prize) and bring long-term symbolic capital to the company (e.g. John Galsworthy). I argue that for Zsolnay, the choice of the source

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211 I mean third space in the definition of Homi Bhabha (1994).

languages and foreign authors can be interpreted both as a way to benefit economically immediately by fitting into a new challenging social situation and to gain symbolic and social capital, which led the publisher to long-term success in the field.

The publisher has never interfered in the translation process, giving the translators complete freedom regarding the text. The only priority was translating the title, which was seen as a marketing instrument. In some cases, Zsolnay or Costa changed the title to influence the book's attractiveness for Austrian readers.

The publisher had a clearly defined system of working with translators and editors. There was an implicit but clearly defined hierarchy of translators at the company. Moreover, there was a fixed rate guaranteed to the translators and editors (see more above about the classification of the translators and in chapters II and III). On the one hand, translators could be considered a significant part of a publisher's social capital, on the other hand, the aims, personal interests and life circumstances of translators defined the development of the publishing house in the interwar period. Furthermore, and most importantly, the Paul Zsolnay Verlag had a well-established and organised system of work with translators and translations. This can be proved by the paratext and the correspondence and leads to the classification of translators at the publishing company proposed in this work (Chapters II and III). According to this classification, networks defined the translator's income and professional freedom. The publishing company had author's translators, whose main network was the author, publisher-translators who were connected to the publisher, and independent translators who had to build new networks either with the author or with the publisher. Studying translators' sociological parameters, such as age, education, work experience and foreign language skills, allows us to follow the company's symbolic capital growth in the field (see Chapter II). While during the first seven years, mainly young people with no formal education (e.g. home-schooled) or freshly graduated, with no work experience in translating collaborated with the company, since 1930, the situation changed significantly: experienced professionals in translating, journalism, and writing with university degrees (predominantly PhDs) collaborated with the company as translators. This observation proves

the rapid growth of the publisher's attractiveness to new employees and, consequently, the increase of its symbolic capital in the field. I also state that translators were active actors in this process and broadly acted as mediators between author and publisher, as publisher's agents abroad and as internal decision-makers. Translators could be considered a significant part of the publisher's social capital. The aims, personal interests and life circumstances of publisher and translators defined the development of the publishing house in the interwar period. Both translators and publisher used translation as an instrument of power in different ways: from promoting the source culture to reaching their personal aims. The company's unique strategy in balancing between collaborating with Jewish translators and inviting NS-supporting translators to the company is another argument for defining the publishing company as a separate translation culture (see more in Chapters I and II). I argue that what the Paul Zsolnay company constructed in the interwar period was a separate translation culture which was a particular case for a Viennese/Austrian translation culture in 1920–1930. However, I do not state that any publishing company may be defined as a separate translation culture (more on strategies of other Austrian and German companies in this period see chapter I). The publishing company started its transformation from an initiators-and readers-centred translation culture to an autocratic one (defined by Prunč). This transformation and the role of translators and external circumstances in its modification are followed in detail at different levels in this work.

Beyond investigating new approaches to a translator's agency, this work provides various disciplines with empirical data not published before, e.g., the reconstructed biographies of 16 translators and the classification of translators at the Paul Zsolnay Verlag based on translators' networks. Recalling the translators' names from the past is challenging but essential for the discipline. This work enriches Austrian translation history with newly discovered biographical facts of the translators who worked for the Paul Zsolnay Verlag in interwar Vienna. Moreover, it complements already existing biographies with new facts. However, reconstructing translators' biographies appeared to be useful not only for translation studies but also for the publishing field, considering that it provides a considerable amount of information about the translations or non-translations, of a publishing house development and

complements studies within the Austrian book industry and helps to set the translator's place there.

Apart from the obvious translation history importance, the theoretical framework presented in this work may be applied to different case studies within the discipline also related to the contemporary challenges, e.g., studying contemporary publishing companies and their relationships with the translators, or researching the institutional crystallisation and establishment of the profession of the translator, or investigating a professional group of translators in terms of migration. Additionally, the results of this volume – namely the demonstration of the translator's role in constructing publisher's translation culture – can be applied to the preparation of professional translators and interpreters in their university courses and strengthening future cultural mediators' professional confidence and consciousness.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1

Published translations, 1924–1938

	Year	Source language ²¹²	Author	Book	Translator
1	1924	EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Menschenfischer</i>	Leon Schalit
2		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Der kleine Jon</i>	Leon Schalit
3		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Urwald</i>	Leon Schalit
4		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Gesellschaft</i>	Leon Schalit
5		EN	M. Baring	<i>Verzauberte</i>	Richard Hoffmann
6		FR	C. Anet	<i>Ariane</i>	Georg Schwarz
7		FR	P. Dominique	<i>Liebe Frau</i>	Hans Jacob
8		FR	P. G�r�ldy	<i>Helene</i>	Raoul Auernheimer
9	1925	EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Fenster</i>	Leon Schalit
10		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Der Patrizier</i>	Leon Schalit
11		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Die Forsyte Saga</i>	Luise Wolf, Leon Schalit
12		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Sensation</i>	Leon Schalit
13		EN	M. Baring	<i>Triangel</i>	Irene Kafka
14		FR	F. B�rence	<i>Gerichtstag</i>	Rosa Breuer-Lucka
15		RU	A. Tschechow	<i>Die Trag�die auf der Jagd</i>	Richard Hoffmann
16		RU	L. Tolstoi	<i>Briefe an seine Frau</i>	Dmitriy Umanskii
17	1926	EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Die Dunkle Blume</i>	Leon Schalit
18		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Der wei�e Affe</i>	Leon Schalit
19		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Der Familienvater</i>	Leon Schalit
20		EN	H. G. Wells	<i>Die Geschichte unserer Welt</i>	Erna Redtenbacher, Helene M. Reiff
21		RU	A. Tschechow	<i>Der schwarze M�nch</i>	Richard Hoffmann
22		RU	L. Leonow	<i>Die Bauern von Wory</i>	Bruno Prashaska, Dmitrij Umanskij
23		IT	G. Verdi	<i>Briefen</i>	Paul Stefan

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212 Languages abbreviations according to Codes for the Representation of Names of Languages (https://www.loc.gov/standards/iso639-2/php/English_list.php Last access: 05.06.2023).

	Year	Source lan- guage ²¹²	Author	Book	Translator
24	1927	EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Flucht</i>	Leon Schalit
25		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Der silberne Löffel</i>	Leon Schalit
26		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Aneinander vorbei</i>	Leon Schalit
27		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Das Herrenhaus</i>	Lise Landau
28		EN	H. G. Wells	<i>Der Traum</i>	Otto Mandl, Erna redtenbacher, Helene M. Reiff
29		EN	H. G. Wells	<i>Menschen, Göttern gleich</i>	Otto Mandl, Paul von Sonnthal
30		EN	H. G. Wells	<i>Die Welt des William Clissold</i>	Otto Mandl, Erna redtenbacher, Helene M. Reiff
31		EN	F. Hurst	<i>Mannequin</i>	Andor Braun
32		EN	T. Dreiser	<i>Eine amerikanische Tragödie</i>	Marianne von Schön
33		FR	P. Géraudy	<i>Ihr Mann</i>	Berta Zuckerkandl
34		FR	P. Géraudy	<i>Du und ich</i>	Berta Zuckerkandl
35		FR	H. Poulaille	<i>Die Geburtsstunde des Friedens</i>	Lina Friedlaender- Frender
36		FR	S.-G. Colette	<i>Mitsou</i>	Erna Redtenbacher
37		FR	S.-G. Colette	<i>Renée Néré</i>	Rosa Breuer-Lucka
38		HU	F. Molnár	<i>Die Dampfsäule</i>	
39	1928	EN	H. G. Wells	<i>Die Geschichte eines großen Schulmeisters</i>	Otto Mandl, Richard Mark
40		EN	H. G. Wells	<i>Bealby</i>	Erna Redtenbacher, Otto Mandl
41		EN	H. G. Wells	<i>Die Weltgeschichte I–III</i>	Otto Mandl, Erna Redtenbacher, Helene M. Reiff
42		EN	H. G. Wells	<i>Die offene Verschwörung</i>	Otto Mandl, Blanche Mahlberg
43		EN	T. Dreiser	<i>Der Titan</i>	Marianne von Schön, Wilhelm Cremer
44		EN	T. Dreiser	<i>Jennie Gerhardt</i>	A.M. Nuese

	Year	Source lan- guage ²¹²	Author	Book	Translator
45	1928	EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Ein Kommentar</i>	Leon Schalit
46		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Schwanengesang</i>	Leon Schalit
47		EN	R. Hichens	<i>Bacchantin und Nonne</i>	Irene Kafka
48		RU	A. Tschechow	<i>Anjuta</i>	Richard Hoffmann
49		RU	L. Leonow	<i>Der Dieb</i>	Dmitrij Umanskij, Bruno Prashaska
50		RU	V. Katajew	<i>Die Defraudanten</i>	Richard Hoffmann
51		FR	F. Bérence	<i>Eine alltägliche Geschichte</i>	Rosa Breuer-Lucka
52		FR	R. M. du Gard	<i>Die Thibaults I–III</i>	Eva Mertens
53		FR	H.-René Lenor- mand	<i>Dissonanz</i>	Rosa Breuer-Lucka
54		FR	S.-G. Colette	<i>Die Fessel</i>	Erna Redtenbacher
55		FR	S.-G. Colette	<i>Tagesanbruch</i>	Erna Redtenbacher, Helene M. Reiff
56		FR	P. Géraudy	<i>Theater</i>	Berta Zuckerkandl
57	1929	EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Ein Heiliger</i>	Leon Schalit
58		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Ein Lebenskünstler</i>	Leon Schalit
59		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Moderne Komödie</i>	Leon Schalit
60		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Neue und alte Verse</i>	Kurt Schrey
61		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Die letzte Karte</i>	Leon Schalit
62		EN	T. Dreiser	<i>Sowjet-Russland</i>	Richard Hoffmann
63		EN	T. Dreiser	<i>Schwester Carrie</i>	Anna Nussbaum
64		EN	T. Dreiser	<i>Das „Genie“</i>	Marianne von Schön
65		EN	H.G. Wells	<i>Christina Albertas Vater- haus</i>	Otto Mandl
66		EN	H.G. Wells	<i>Mister Blettsworthy auf der Insel Rampole</i>	Otto Mandl, Helene M. Reiff
67		EN	J. Bloch	<i>Auf einem Frachtdampfer nach Afrika</i>	Paul Amann
68		EN	R. Hichens	<i>Der Garten Allahs</i>	Jacques Sgalitzer
69		EN	J. Lowell	<i>Ich spucke gegen den Wind</i>	Richard Hoffmann
70		FR	M. Maurice	<i>Liebe</i>	Paul Amann
71		EN	J. Owen	<i>Der Glückspilz</i>	Paula Arnolds

	Year	Source language ²¹²	Author	Book	Translator
72	1929	YID	S. Asch	<i>Chaim Lederers Rückkehr</i>	Siegfried Schmitz
73		YI	S. Asch	<i>Der elektrische Stuhl</i>	Georg Richter
74		YI	S. Asch	<i>Die Zauberin von Kastilien</i>	Elias Hurwicz
75		YI	S. Asch	<i>Onkel Moses</i>	Siegfried Schmitz
76		YI	S. Asch	<i>Die Mutter</i>	Siegfried Schmitz
77		YI	S. Asch	<i>Petersburg</i>	Siegfried Schmitz
78		FR	M. du Gard	<i>Thibaults VI–V</i>	Eva Mertens
79		FR	M. du Gard	<i>Thibaults VI</i>	Eva Mertens
80		FR	S.-G. Colette	<i>Mein Elternhaus</i>	Erna Redtenbacher
81	1930	EN	H.G. Wells	<i>Der Apfel vom Baum der Erkenntnis</i>	No translators' name in 1930; 1980 Otto Mandl
82		EN	H.G. Wells	<i>Die Weltgeschichte in 580 Bildern</i>	No translator's name, ed, Ernst Nepomucky
83		EN	H. G. Wells	<i>Einstweilen</i>	Elisabeth Peters, Otto Mandl (ed.)
84		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Weltbrüder</i>	Lise Landau, Leon Schalit
85		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Auf der Forsyte Börse</i>	Leon Schalit
86		FR	P. G�r�ldy	<i>So ist die Liebe</i>	Berta Zuckerkandl
87		EN	J. Bloch	<i>und Co.</i>	Paul Amann
88		EN	T. Dreiser	<i>Die Frau</i>	Marianne von Sch�n
89		EN	E. Glasgow	<i>Rette mich nicht</i>	Susanne Schalit
90		EN	A. Abdullah	<i>Broadway Sensation</i>	Richard Hoffmann
91		EN	J. Welsh Carlyle	<i>Briefe an ihre Familie</i>	Adele Benedickt
92		EN	W. H. Hudson	<i>Roman in Uruguay</i>	Ellinor Drieser
93		EN	F. P. Crozier	<i>Im Sturm ums Niemand-land</i>	Ingrid Wolf
94		EN	M. Webb	<i>Die Geschichte von der Liebe der Prudence Sarn</i>	Marianne Schoen, Hanns Schwarz
95		FR	M. Maurice	<i>Nacht und Tag</i>	Paul Amann
96		EN	J. Owen	<i>Sein Freund der Sch�fer</i>	Paula Arnolds
97		EN	J. C. Powys	<i>Wolf Solent</i>	Richard Hoffmann
98		EN	S. Benson	<i>Fremd wie mein Geliebter</i>	Stephanie Frischauer

	Year	Source language ²¹²	Author	Book	Translator
99	1930	FR	S.-G. Colette	<i>Die Andere</i>	Erna Redtenbacher
100		FR	M. du Gard	<i>Jean Barois</i>	Eva Mertens
101		FR	H. Barbusse	<i>Erhebung</i>	Lyonel Dunin
102		FR	A. Boissier	<i>Franz Liszt als Lehrer</i>	Hrsg. Daniela Thode von Bülow
103		FR	H.-R. Lenormand	<i>Theater</i>	Bertha Zuckerkandl
104		YI	S. Asch	<i>Warschau</i>	Siegfried Schmitz
105		YI	S. Asch	<i>Moskau</i>	Siegfried Schmitz
106		YI	S. Asch	<i>Die Sintflut</i>	Siegfried Schmitz
107		RU	L. Leonow	<i>Aufbau</i>	Richard Hoffmann
108		RU	I. Ilf, Y. Petrov	<i>Zwölf Stühle</i>	Elsa Brod, Mary von Pruss Glowatzky
109		RU	R. Gul	<i>Boris Sawinkow</i>	Fega Frisch
110		IT	G. Papini	<i>Der heilige Augustinus</i>	Paul Stefan
111	1931	EN	H.G. Wells	<i>Der Diktator oder Mr. Parham wird allmächtig</i>	Helene M. Reiff
112		EN	J. Bloch	<i>Kurdische Nacht</i>	Paul Amann
113		EN	E. Wharton	<i>Die oberen Zehntausend</i>	Marie Franzos
114		FR	S.-G. Colette	<i>Komödianten</i>	Erna Redtenbacher
115		FR	S.-G. Colette	<i>Friede bei den Tieren</i>	Erna Redtenbacher, Helene M. Reiff
116		YI	S. Asch	<i>Von den Vätern</i>	Siegfried Schmitz
117		YI	S. Asch	<i>Die Kinder Abrahams</i>	Siegfried Schmitz
118		CH	H. Shangs	<i>Fräulein Tschang</i>	Franz Kuhn
119		PL	F. Goetel	<i>Von Tag zu Tag</i>	
120	1932	EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Die Fehde. Vier Erzählungen</i>	Leon Schalit
121		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Der reiche Mann</i>	Luise Wolf
122		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Blühende Wildnis</i>	Leon Schalit
123		EN	T. Dreiser	<i>Das Buch über mich selbst. Jugend</i>	Marianne von Schön
124		EN	T. Dreiser	<i>Die Tragik Amerikas</i>	Marianne von Schön
125		EN	T. Dreiser	<i>Jahre des Kampfes</i>	Ernst Weiss

	Year	Source lan- guage ²¹²	Author	Book	Translator
126	1932	EN	A. J. Cronin	<i>Der Tyrann</i>	Richard Hoffmann
127		FR	M. Maurice	<i>Die Revolution der Reichen</i>	Paul Amann
128		EN	H.G. Wells	<i>Arbeit, Wohlstand und das Glück der Menschheit</i>	Helen M. Reiff
129		EN	J. Bloch	<i>Vom Sinn unseres Jahrhunderts</i>	Paul Amann
130		FR	É. Chartier (Alain)	<i>Lebensalter und Anschauung</i>	Lonja and Jacques Stehelin-Holzling
131		FR	H. Barbusse	<i>Zola</i>	Lyonel Dunin
132		YI	S. Asch	<i>Woran ich glaube</i>	Siegfried Schmitz
133		YI	S. Asch	<i>Die Gefangene Gottes</i>	Siegfried Schmitz
134		RU	I. Ilf, Y. Petrow	<i>Ein Millionärin Sowjetrußland</i>	Richard Hoffmann, Elsa Brod, Mary von Pruss Glowatzky
135	1933	EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Die Ersten und die Letzten</i>	Leon Schalit
136		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Feuer</i>	Leon Schalit
137		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Villa Rubein</i>	Leon Schalit
138		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Ein Mädchen wartet</i>	Leon Schalit
139		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Über den Strom</i>	Leon Schalit
140		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Pharisäer</i>	Leon Schalit
141		EN	A. J. Cronin	<i>Lucy Moore</i>	Richard Hoffmann
142		EN	J. Bloch	<i>Sybilla</i>	Paul Amann
143		EN	P. S. Buck	<i>Söhne</i>	Richard Hoffmann
144		EN	H. G. Wells	<i>Die Geschichte einer Ehe</i>	Antonina Vallentin
145		EN	J. G. Cozzens	<i>Ein Schiff geht unter</i>	Annie Polzer
146		IT	B. Mussolini	<i>Hundert Tage</i>	Geza Herczeg
147		IT	P. Masino	<i>Monte Ignoso</i>	Dora Mitzky
148		SP	M. Verdaguer	<i>Die goldene Insel</i>	Andreas Gaspar
149		HU	F. Molnár	<i>Der musizierende Engel</i>	Lili Bier, Jenö Mohacsi
150	1934	EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Bis aufs Messer</i>	Leon Schalit
151		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Denkwürdige Tage</i>	Leon Schalit
152		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Die Freelands</i>	Leon Schalit
153		EN	P. S. Bucks	<i>Ostwind – Westwind</i>	Richard Hoffmann

	Year	Source lan- guage ²¹²	Author	Book	Translator
154	1934	EN	P. S. Bucks	<i>Die Mutter</i>	Richard Hoffmann
155		EN	M. Storm Jamesons	<i>Triumph der Zeit</i>	Dora Sophie Kellner
156		EN	J. Cronin	<i>Das Haus der Schwäne</i>	Richard Hoffmann
157	1935	EN	P. S. Buck	<i>Die erste Frau</i>	Annie Polzer
158		EN	P. S. Buck	<i>Das geteilte Haus</i>	Richard Hoffmann
159		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Die Cherrell Chronik</i>	Leon Schalit
160		EN	J. Cronin	<i>Die Sterne blicken herab</i>	Richard Hoffmann
161		EN	M. Steen	<i>Auf in den Kampf</i>	Annie Polzer
162		SV	V. Moberg	<i>Kamerad Wacker</i>	Walter H. Kotas
163		SV	V. Moberg	<i>Die harten Hände</i>	Walter H. Kotas
164		SV	K. Gunnarson	<i>Ich zog als Bauernbursch durchs Land</i>	Walter H. Kotas
165		SV	A. Lyttkens	<i>Ich komme nicht zum Abendessen</i>	Walter H. Kotas
166		IT	P. Masino	<i>Spiele am Abgrund</i>	Richard Hoffmann
167	1936	EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Ein Mann aus Devon</i>	Leon Schalit
168		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>In Fesseln</i>	Luise Wolf, Leon Schalit
169		EN	P. S. Buck	<i>Die Frau des Missionars</i>	Richard Hoffmann
170		EN	A. Calder-Mar- shall	<i>Wir haben gestern ge- heiratet</i>	Viktor Polzer
171		EN	J. Bredon	<i>Hundert Altäre</i>	Richard Hoffmann
172		EN	C. Fallas	<i>Das hölzerne Kissen</i>	Richard Hoffmann
173		EN	A. Galsworthy	<i>Die lieben Hunde</i>	Leon Schalit
174		EN	D. Varè	<i>Der Schneider himmlischer Hosen</i>	Annie Polzer
175		EN	D. Varè	<i>Die letzte Kaiserin</i>	Annie Polzer
176		EN	D. G. Mukerji	<i>Meine indische Heimat</i>	Sidonie von Foerst- er-Streffleur
177		EN	A. R. Evans	<i>Der Zug der Renntiere</i>	Richard Hoffmann
178		EN	C. Longworth de Chambrun	<i>Mein großer Kollege Shakespeare</i>	Viktor Polzer
179		NO	Ö. Frich	<i>Vitamin der Seele</i>	Marie Franzos

	Year	Source lan- guage ²¹²	Author	Book	Translator
180	1936	SV	G. Fröding	<i>Ausgewählte Gedichte</i>	Hans Nuechtern
181		SV	A. Lyttkens	<i>Es ist nicht wahr</i>	Walter H. Kotas
182		SV	A. Lyttkens	<i>Du mußt dir selbst helfen</i>	Walter H. Kotas
183		SV	V. Moberg	<i>Knut Torings Verwandlung</i>	Walter H. Kotas
184		SV	V. Moberg	<i>Weib eines Mannes</i>	Walter H. Kotas
185		HU	Zs. Móricz	<i>Siebenbürgen</i>	Käthe Gaspar
186		HU	L. Zilahy	<i>Tödlicher Frühling</i>	Käthe Gaspar
187		IT	F. Ciampitti	<i>Die fünf Ringe</i>	Trude Gyss-Nastrini
188		IT	F. Ciampitti	<i>Die 90. Minute</i>	Erwin Rieger
189		FR	É. Estaunié	<i>Segen der Liebe</i>	Fritz Lehner
190		FR	É. Estaunié	<i>Das Testament der Frau von Castérac</i>	Fritz Lehner
191		PL	Z. Krasinski	<i>Die ungöttliche Komödie</i>	Franz Theodor Csokor
192	1937	EN	P. S. Buck	<i>Gottesstreiter in fernem Land</i>	Richard Hoffmann
193		EN	J. Galsworthy	<i>Forsytes, Pendyces und Andere</i>	Leon Schalit
194		EN	M. Steen	<i>Land der Liebe – Land der Leidenschaft: Spanien</i>	Annie Polzer
195		SV	A. Lyttkens	<i>Man muß so viel in dieser Welt</i>	Walter H. Kotas
196		SV	A. Lyttkens	<i>Wonach wir alle uns sehnen</i>	Walter H. Kotas
197		HU	L. Zilahy	<i>Zwei Gefangene</i>	Eta Neumann-Veith
198		HU	L. Zilahy	<i>Etwas treibt im Wasser</i>	Käthe Gaspar
199		FR	É. Estaunié	<i>Die Dinge erzählen</i>	Fritz Lehner
200		FR	É. Estaunié	<i>Schwester Therese</i>	Fritz Lehner
201		EN	J. Bredon	<i>Das Mondjahr</i>	Richard Hoffmann
202		SV	V. Moberg	<i>Fern von der Landstraße</i>	Walter H. Kotas
203		HU	Zs. Móricz	<i>Eines Kindes Herz</i>	Käthe Gaspar
204		EN	R. H. Major	<i>Ein Arzt erzählt Kulturges- chichte</i>	Viktor Polzer

	Year	Source lan- guage ²¹²	Author	Book	Translator
205	1937	EN	C. Crow	<i>Vierhundert Millionen Kunden</i>	Richard Hoffmann
206		EN	J. T. Flynn	<i>Gold von Gott</i>	Viktor Polzer
207		EN	D. Henderson	<i>Maria Tudor, die blutige Königin</i>	Richard Hoffmann
208		EN	W. Shakespeare	<i>Perikles</i>	Hermann Roebbeling
209		HU	J. Nyirő	<i>Der Zu</i>	Andreas Gaspar
210		HU	F. Herczeg	<i>Rákóczi, der Rebell</i>	Andreas Gaspar
211		HU	M. Surányi	<i>Ein Volk allein</i>	Käthe Gaspar
212		DA	J. Jacobsen	<i>Der Tümmeljäger</i>	Andreas Gaspar
213		DA	T. Jensen	<i>Jörgen Lykke</i>	Walter H. Kotas
214	1938	EN	A. J. Cronin	<i>Die Zitadelle</i>	Richard Hoffmann
215		EN	D. Varè	<i>Das Tor der glücklichen Sperlinge</i>	Viktor Polzer
216		EN	D. Varè	<i>Der lachende Diplomat</i>	Annie Polzer
217		HU	L. Zilahy	<i>Die Seele erlischt</i>	Käthe Gaspar
218		HU	L. Zilahy	<i>Die Liebe meines Urahnen</i>	Käthe Gaspar
219		SV	V. Moberg	<i>Schlaflos</i>	Walter H. Kotas
220		EN	D. Henderson	<i>Die goldenen Bienen</i>	Richard Hoffmann
221		EN	R. H. Major	<i>Medizin keine Geheimwissenschaft</i>	Viktor Polzer
222		EN	R. Eton/L.W. Meynell	<i>Der Autobus fährt ins Dorf</i>	Richard Hoffmann
223		EN	P. S. Buck	<i>Stolzes Herz</i>	Richard Hoffmann
224		FR	M. Vioux	<i>Anna Boleyn</i>	Lotte Leber
225		FR	É. Estaunié	<i>Das geheime Leben</i>	Fritz Lehner
226		SV	T. Jensen	<i>Der Bischof von Börglum</i>	Walter H. Kotas
227		EN	L. G. Marshall	<i>Frau im Spiegel</i>	Viktor Polzer
228		HU	F. Herczeg	<i>Die Heiden</i>	Andreas Gaspar
229		HU	I. von Gulácsy	<i>Die schwarzen Freier</i>	Käthe Gaspar
230		HU	Zs. Móricz	<i>Löwe im Käfig</i>	Käthe Gaspar
231		EN	J. H. Bradley	<i>Autobiographie der Erde</i>	Richard Hoffmann

Appendix 2

Number of translated books

Year	Published books	Translations
1924	18	8 (44,4%)
1925	30	8 (26,7%)
1926	20	7 (35%)
1927	28	16 (57,1%)
1928	36	18 (50%)
1929	50	24 (48%)
1930	53	30 (56,6%)
1931	44	13 (29,5%)
1932	54	15 (27,8%)
1933	41	11 (26,8%)
1934	31	7 (22,6%)
1935	44	10 (22,7%)
1936	61	25 (41%)
1937	51	22 (43%)
1938	52	18 (34,6%)
TOTAL	613	231 (37,7%)

Appendix 3

All translators

All translators who worked for the publishing company between 1924 and 1938, source languages they worked with, number of books translated for the company in this period.

1. Amann Paul – EN – 4; FR – 3
2. Arnolds Paula – EN – 2
3. Auernheimer Raul – FR – 1
4. Benedikt Adele – EN – 1
5. Braun Andor – EN – 1
6. Breuer-Lucka Rosa – FR – 3
7. Brod Elsa – RU – 2
8. Cremer Wilhelm – EN – 1
9. Csokor Franz Theodor – PL – 1
10. Droeser Ellinor – EN – 1
11. Dunin Lyinel – FR – 2
12. Foerster-Streffleur, von Sidonie – EN – 1
13. Franzos Marie – EN – 1; NO – 1
14. Friedlaender-Freuder Lina – FR – 1
15. Frisch Fega – RU – 1
16. Frischauer Stephanie – EN – 1
17. Gaspar Andreas – SP – 1; HU – 3; DA – 1
18. Gaspar Kaethe – HU – 9
19. Gyss-Nastrini Trude – IT – 1
20. Herczeg Geza – 1933 – IT – 1
21. Hoffmann Richard – EN – 26; RU – 3; IT – 1
22. Hurwicz Elias – YI – 1
23. Jacob Hans – FR – 1
24. Jenö Mohacsi – HU – 1
25. Kafka Irene – EN – 2
26. Kellner Dora Sophie – EN – 1
27. Kotas Walter Hjalmar – SV – 13; DA – 1
28. Kuhn Franz – CH – 1
29. Leber Lotte – FR – 1
30. Lehner Fritz – FR – 5
31. Lili Bier – HU – 1
32. Lindau Luise – EN – 2
33. Mandl Otto – EN – 13
34. Mertens Eva – FR – 4
35. Mitzky Dora – IT – 1
36. Neumann-Veith Eta – HU – 1
37. Nuechtern Hans – SV – 1
38. Nuese A.M. – EN – 1
39. Nussbaum Anna – EN – 1
40. Polzer Annie – EN – 6

41. Polzer Viktor – EN – 7
42. Prashaska Bruno – RU – 2
43. Pruss von Glowatzky Mary – RU – 2
44. Redtenbacher Erna – EN – 5, FR – 7
45. Reiff M. Helene – FR – 2, EN – 5
46. Richter Georg – YID – 1
47. Rieger Erwin – IT – 1
48. Roebbeling Hermann – EN – 1
49. Rosa Breuer-Lucka – FR – 1
50. Schalit Leon – EN – 38
51. Schalit Susanne – EN – 1
52. Schmitz Siegfried – YI – 11
53. Schön von Marianne – EN – 5
54. Schrey Kurt – EN – 1
55. Schwarz Hanns – EN – 1
56. Sgalitzer Jacques – EN – 1
57. Stefan Paul – IT – 2
58. Stehelin-Holzing Jacques – FR – 1
59. Stehelin-Holzing, Lonia – FR – 1
60. Thode von Buelow Daniela (ed.) – FR – 1
61. Umanskii Dmitriy – RU – 4
62. Vallentin Antonina – EN – 1
63. Weiss Ernst – EN – 1
64. Wolf Ingrid – EN – 1
65. Wolf Luise – EN – 3
66. Zuckerandl Berta – FR – 5

Appendix 4

The Translators

Translators considered in this case study

1. Amann Paul – EN – 4; FR – 3
2. Gaspar Andreas –SP – 1; HU – 3; DA – 1
3. Gaspar Käthe –HU – 9
4. Hoffmann Richard – EN – 26; RU – 3; IT – 1
5. Kotas Walter Hjalmar – SV – 13; DA – 1
6. Lehner Fritz – FR – 5
7. Mertens Eva – FR – 4
8. Polzer Annie – EN – 6
9. Polzer Viktor – EN – 7
10. Redtenbacher Erna – FR – 8
11. Reiff M. Helene – FR – 2, EN – 2
12. Schalit Leon – EN – 38
13. Schmitz Siegfried – YI – 11
14. Schön von Marianne – EN – 5
15. Umanskij Dmitriy – RU – 4
16. Zuckerkandl Berta – FR – 5

Appendix 5

Source languages at the publishing company by year

	English	French	Russian	Hungarian	Yiddish	Italian	Chinese	Spanish	Swedish	Norw.	Polish	Danish
1924	5	3										
1925	5	1	2									
1926	4	0	2			1						
1927	9	5	0	1								
1928	9	6	3									
1929	14	4			6							
1930	16	6	3		3	1						
1931	3	2			2		1				1	
1932	9	3	1		2							
1933	11			1		2		1				
1934	7											
1935	5					1			4			
1936	12	2		2		2			5	1	1	
1937	9	2		6					3			2
1938	9			5					2			

Appendix 6

Number of books translated by female and male translators by year

	Number of books translated by men/Number of men translated this year	Number of books translated by women/Number of women translated this year
1924	8/5	0/0
1925	6/3	3/3
1926	8/6	0/0
1927	7/3	7/6
1928	12/7	10/7
1929	17/9	6/5
1930	16/10	16/15
1931	4/3	5/3
1932	11/7	7/6
1933	11/5	5/5
1934	6/2	1/1
1935	8/3	2/1
1936	18/8	8/6
1937	17/7	5/3
1938	12/5	6/3
TOTAL	161 books	81 books

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Tatsiana Haiden examines the Jewish Viennese publishing house Paul Zsolnay Verlag between 1924 and 1938 showing how translation became a tool of soft power in resisting against rising National Socialism. The study reconstructs the company's translation culture, translators' networks, and habitualised behaviours, employing the multi-level approach based on the *histoire croisée* method. The author zooms from the broader context of Jewish difference and the publishing field in interwar Austria (macrohistory) to the company's translation policies (meso-history). Finally, she studies the professional biographies of the publisher Paul von Zsolnay, the director Felix Costa, and numerous translators (microhistory). These biographies highlight the role of translators as active cultural actors equally with authors and publishers. Drawing on the paratext of the published books, Haiden suggests a classification of the translators, demonstrating their various degrees of influence on the company based on their networks.

Tatsiana Haiden holds a PhD in Transcultural Communication from the University of Vienna (2024), Master's Degrees in Translation from University of Turin and Belarusian State University. She was previously Postdoc-Track Fellow (Austrian Academy of Sciences and University of Copenhagen), IFK Junior Fellow (University of Arts, Linz and Oxford University), and Literar Mechana Fellow. Since 2008, she has been a foreign language trainer, translator and interpreter with working languages Belarusian, Danish, English, German, Hebrew, Italian, Russian and Ukrainian.

