

**“THE ALIEN WITHIN”:
TRANSLATION INTO GERMAN
DURING THE NAZI REGIME**

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Abstract

The thesis examines the policy and practice of literary translation into German during the Nazi regime. It is shown that translation survived, albeit in a constrained form, throughout the period and that heavy official intervention was itself grounded in contradictory attitudes to translation.

A consideration of the state regulation and reception of translation demonstrates that translated literature was regarded with suspicion as a potentially harmful invasion of the foreign. Terms used - such as the 'alien within' and the danger of miscegenation - clearly participate in the surrounding discourse of anti-Semitism. However, a database of translations published in the period shows that while such views certainly shaped the selection of genre and source language, there was no simple suppression and numbers remained stable or even rose until 1940.

This is accounted for on the one hand by the regime's promotion of certain translations, selected on criteria that draw on notions of literature's cultural specificity as an expression of the *Volk* soul. An approved translation is compared with its source, showing that consonance with this literary ideology has been enhanced by the detail of translation choices; official reviews further position the text within the boundaries of acceptability.

On the other hand, the single largest translated genre of the pre-war period, the Anglo-American detective novel, was not promoted but reviled by the literary bureaucracy. An examination of the source texts and translations of ten detective novels demonstrates that the ideologically marginalised genre adapted itself to the receiving culture by heightening the rule-boundness, strict gender roles and portrayals of authority present in the source texts. The glamorisation of foreign settings remains unaffected, suggesting the persistence of a pre-1933 fascination with Anglo-American culture.

The thesis concludes that while the foreignness of foreign literature was fiercely attacked by literary policymakers, it was also promoted in certain, politically acceptable forms and in other cases persisted on its own commercial trajectory despite official disapproval. The study thus contributes to the understanding both of an under-researched area of literary policy in Nazi Germany and of the ideological, institutional and commercial contexts of translation.

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Table of contents

2	Abstract
4	Acknowledgements
5	Table of contents
7	Introduction
22	1. The literature of the ‘Third Reich’
22	1.1. The book and the ‘ <i>Volk</i> ’
29	1.2. The management of literary production
37	1.3. The management of translations
44	1.4. Translations in the indexes
50	2. Patterns in literary importation
51	2.1. The bibliographical data
51	Sources
56	Parameters
62	2.2. Patterns in the publication of translations
62	Numbers of translations published
65	Trends in source languages
74	Trends in genre
79	The major publishers of translations
87	A note on the translators
91	2.3. Conclusions
93	3. Discourse on translation
94	3.1. Reading the journals
101	3.2. <i>Die Werkbücherei</i> and <i>Großdeutsches</i> <i>Leihbüchereiblatt</i>
113	3.3. <i>Bücherkunde</i>

122	3.4. <i>Die Weltliteratur</i>
136	3.5. <i>Die Neue Literatur</i>
145	3.6. Conclusions
148	4. Case study: an approved translation
148	4.1. The texts
155	4.2. Methodology
157	4.3. Comparison: <i>The Fortress</i> and <i>Die Festung</i>
173	4.4. Conclusions
174	5. Case study: translated detective novels
175	5.1. The detective novel in the Nazi period
183	5.2. The corpus
187	5.3. An initial comparison: <i>The Greek Coffin Mystery</i> and <i>Besuch in der Nacht</i>
203	5.4. Patterns in the remaining comparisons
204	Streamlining shifts
208	The genre skeleton
225	The foreign setting
229	Potentially political references
235	5.5. Conclusions
239	Conclusion
248	Bibliography
262	Appendices
263	Appendix A: Sample year from the database: 1937
280	Appendix B: Sample year from the database: 1942

Introduction

“Wir fordern deshalb von der Zensur: Jüdische Werke erscheinen in hebräischer Sprache. Erscheinen sie in Deutsch, sind sie als Übersetzung zu kennzeichnen.”

(Student demands of 1933, cited in Dahm 1993:17)

This demand was among the twelve anti-Semitic manifesto points of the infamous book-burnings by Nazi students in 1933. What are we to make of such an understanding of ‘translation’? Evidently it depends on a racialised view of language as the property of its supposed *Volk*¹ alone; a writer excluded from the German ‘race’ cannot truly write German, only a mediated or impure form of the language. For the Nazi students, the perceived mismatch between ‘race’ and ‘language’ is anathema, and justifies defensive measures in the form of labelling the so-called “Übersetzung”. The call for labelling indicates a fear that literature not properly ‘German’ is currently moving within German literature in disguise, and must be exposed for the well-being of the ‘real’ Germans. In all, the term “Übersetzung” takes on a pejorative tone, as a mark of racial otherness, a practice in need of increased control.

The concept of *Volk* underlying this view of translation, and indeed Nazi ideas of literature in general, is a nineteenth-century one that gained political currency in Germany in the wake of Versailles and the Depression, becoming the common ideological ground for very different branches of the neoconservative Right (Stark 1981:186f; see also Meier 1983:71). Central to it is the fear that the *Volk* is threatened by decay. This decay is considered at once to have paved the way for and to have been caused by modernisation - the expression of a foreign, ‘western’ way of life which must be eliminated in order for the Germans to survive in their racial specificity (Stark 1981:205)². In terms of literature, membership of the *Volk* is felt to be the prerequisite for writing and reading the true national literature, and the work of other nations will always remain fundamentally alien: “Genußfähig bleibt man durch die Kunstmittel auch der fremden Kunst gegenüber, aber die Empfängnisfähigkeit für das Innere, das Letzte, eben das Völkische ist begrenzt. Da kommt’s auf eine Ver-

¹ The term *Volk* will be used throughout the thesis in the specific sense of the racialised folk community, bound by blood, that was imagined by Nazi ideology. See also below.

² The anti-modern thrust of *völkisch* ideology should not, of course, obscure the implementation by its Nazi proponents of an array of modernising policies; see also 1.1.

wandtschaft an, die einfach nicht zu definieren ist" (Erwin Guido Kolbenheyer, cited in Meier 1983:73). Thus translation into German does not soften the essential otherness of the foreign text. Its foreignness, originating in the 'race' of its author, is immutable and, as we will see, may also be found dangerously contaminating. Kolbenheyer's reference to "Verwandtschaft" should remind us that the otherness of a text is not coterminous with its having been translated from another *language*; it is 'race' which separates the own from the alien literature.

These are some of the ideological assumptions informing official attitudes³ to translation in the Nazi regime, more and more strongly as the period wore on. Translations were referred to as the work of "heimliche Gegner" (*Die Werkbücherei*, Jan 1940:209), a "feindlicher Einfluß" against which Germany must close its "Festungstor" (ibid:210), or symptoms of a "Fremdherrschaft" to be overcome (Payr 1939:91). "Deiche und Dämme" (*Die Weltliteratur*, Apr 1941:110) must be built and literary criteria "die uns fremd sind" kept at bay (*Bücherkunde*, Jun 1940:161). In view, furthermore, of the generalised xenophobia and attempted cultural autarky of the Nazi regime, it can come as no surprise that institutional constraints on translation in the period were even stricter than those affecting non-translated literature. Indeed, the state in many ways did manage to enforce a "Verprovinzialisierung" of its literary production (Hall 1994:277) by sealing literary borders. However, more detailed attention shows that the rejection of translation was by no means a simple matter. Some translations were welcomed and actively promoted by the regime; others managed to survive despite official denigration until the outbreak of war, albeit in a highly constrained form.

This thesis will attempt to trace the internal logic of the Nazi regime's different attitudes to translation and relate these to translating practice, in terms both of the range of texts translated and of the translation strategies applied. Particular attention will be paid to the complex ways that translation was assimilated to or felt to undermine Nazi discourses of xenophobia. The thesis also asks how monolithic the apparently total control of translated literature actually was. It therefore aims to contribute

³ It is clear that such officially-voiced attitudes were not the only ones circulating in German culture of the period; however, the strictness of press and publishing control meant that dominant views had an unusually unencumbered run. The persistence of other attitudes to translation among the population will become evident in the chapters on publishing practice.

on the one hand to the study of Nazi cultural policy, on the other to the question of translation's participation in nationalist ideology. In view of this double thrust, the questions of interest to German Studies, then to Translation Studies will now be addressed in turn.

Compared to other aspects of the history of Nazism, the literary history of the period has been a somewhat neglected topic, and what has been written has tended to focus more on the literature of exile and 'inner emigration' than on that produced under the aegis of state approval⁴. This surely, as Ketelsen suggests (1992:13), has to do with the horror, the unspeakableness of Nazism - how, he asks, can we write about the literature that tacitly or overtly supported such an ideology without ourselves appearing to condone or normalise it? The problem is exacerbated if literature is understood as a vessel of morality: "einer hilflosen Philologie ist Schönheit weiterhin das Symbol der Sittlichkeit: sie muß der 'barbarischen' braunen Literatur alle Qualität absprechen oder das Engagement der Autoren als Ausrutscher bagatellisieren", says Bormann (1976:256). For any approach based on 'great art', too, the tendentious and hollow literary texts promoted by the Nazi regime yield little that can be studied. Faced with such dilemmas, much writing on the subject has either restricted itself to denunciation in moral and aesthetic terms (eg Taylor 1980) or regarded Nazi-approved literature principally in terms of content as if it were an anthology of Propaganda Ministry policy statements (eg Schoeps 1992). Ketelsen, in what is the most detailed study available of the fiction of the 'Third Reich', warns against assuming Nazi literature is no more than pamphleteering: to ignore its literariness is to miss the most significant point, precisely the "Nichtidentität zwischen den fingierten literarischen Welten und der historischen Realität" and the means by which this imaginary world is propagated (Ketelsen 1992:16). Ketelsen also argues that the study of the literature of the 'Third Reich' must avoid the simple relegation of Nazi literature to a universe sealed off from our own; he tries to address continuities backwards and forwards in time, as well as laterally with the neighbouring currents of modernism (ibid:62ff)⁵. Close attention to Nazi literature -

⁴ Among many examples, Williams (1977) and Beutin (1993) comment only briefly on state-approved literature before moving on to oppositional literature and the literature of exile; Dove & Lamb (1992) make no reference to right-wing political writing in their study of "writers and politics" of the period.

⁵ A similar point is made by Rentschler (1996:23) for the case of Nazi film. He argues that this was not a perverse aberration but "traditional through and through" - refusing to look at it means refusing to address the way in which 'our' culture offered or offers itself to fascist goals. Theweleit (1977:561f,

the 'trivial' as well as the canonised - can help show what its position may have been within larger patterns of European writing and how it acted within its social and political context. The study of translations promises to add an important dimension to such a project.

In this undertaking, judgements of aesthetic greatness can bear little fruit and will not be attempted here. The study of popular fiction, normally excluded from analysis⁶ but making up a huge segment of the translated fiction published and distributed in the period, will instead be given detailed attention, my interest being in how literary policy and practice interacted with their ideological and social environment. Approaches to Nazi literature from this kind of perspective have been offered most of all by the collections Denkler & Prümm (1976), Bormann & Glaser (1983) and Thunecke (1987b), which focus on ideological and sociological aspects of content; Ketelsen (1992) and Schnell (1987; 1998) accord more attention to analyses of form.

The policy aspect of translation in the 'Third Reich' requires investigation of the institutions attempting to manage literature in the period. The labyrinthine structures of Nazi literary institutions remained an under-researched area until the 1980s, earlier studies of cultural policy having been mainly rooted in the 'totalitarianism theory' that assumed a consciously, and entirely successfully, 'engineered' cultural space (eg Brenner 1963; Strothmann 1963). Other spheres of research were finding more and more evidence of fracture and chaos within the Nazi state, an approach which Bollmus (1970) brought to the field of cultural policy in his study of Alfred Rosenberg's cultural office and its battles with the Propaganda Ministry⁷. Among others the detailed work of Aigner (1971) on indexation, Dahm (1993) on the Jewish book trade or Boese (1987) on the public libraries, and Ketelsen's (1980) overview, follow this more complex interpretative line, asking whether cultural policy really was all-encompassing and how its lapses are to be explained - as "rationalem Kalkül", creating safety valves, or as an "unfreiwillige Machtbegrenzung" resulting from the lack of alternative models and the disagreements within the literary bureaucracy (Frei

n20) takes a psychological approach, interpreting the claim that fascist aesthetics are totally other than anything else as a mechanism of repression which can only hinder the debate with the past.

⁶ As far as I am aware only the articles by Geyer-Ryan (1978a/b;1987), Hopster (1987), Nutz (1983) and Rix (1978) investigate the popular fiction of the period in any detail.

⁷ Unfortunately, Bollmus' scrupulous study does not cover the Rosenberg office's literary policy branch.

1987:110). The most comprehensive and cautious overview of Nazi literary policy institutions available has proved to be Barbian (1995), reprising the ground covered by Strothmann (1963) with more use of archival sources and a more careful approach to detail⁸. Because this is not primarily a historical study, in my discussion of literary policymaking I have used mainly these secondary sources, along with the memoranda collected in Ihde (1942) and Andrae (1970), the indexes themselves⁹ and the literary journals. The sources used for the bibliographical database will be discussed in section 2.1.

The position of translation within the machinery of Nazi cultural policy has been almost entirely neglected by historical research. Most studies make only glancing reference to translation policy (eg Schäfer 1981 on the material available to the 'inner emigrés'; Barbian 1995 on wartime translation bans). Only Strothmann (1963) and Hall (1994) devote a small section of their work to translation policy¹⁰, Hall contributing much fascinating concrete, if unsystematic, detail in the course of his history of the Viennese publisher Paul Zsolnay. Strothmann's treatment is more wide-ranging, but his lists of authors and publishers of translations are unexplainedly selective, as well as being incomplete even for the authors he does pick¹¹, confirming the frequent criticisms of his reliability. Much confusion on the place of translation in Nazi policy remains, which will perhaps be rather increased than resolved through the detail provided by the present thesis. Without using archival sources it cannot claim to present a definitive overview; instead, close attention will be focused on the thornier areas of translation policy by examining literary and librarians' journals as well as a selection of the translations themselves.

⁸ According to Barbian, Strothmann's study abounds in errors of detail and his reliance on printed sources alone restricts his view (1995:26). Most studies only tangentially addressing Nazi literary policy follow Strothmann unquestioningly, thus reproducing his errors (ibid:27). For example, Taylor (1980) and Schoeps (1992) base their comments largely on Strothmann, augmented by Wulf's anthology of incompletely reproduced policy documents (1963).

⁹ Hopster et al (1994) proved to be an invaluable source of contemporary bibliographies and indexes.

¹⁰ Berglund (1980) summarises Strothmann and adds some detail as part of her study of the journal *Die Neue Literatur*.

¹¹ A sample of the problems would be his listing only two of the five works by Hugh Walpole first published in the period, or the mere four translations listed for the Langen-Müller house, according to my database one of the most prolific publishers of translations (Strothmann 1963:451f). Strothmann names no sources for his lists.

Within the more literary-oriented studies of Nazi culture, translation is at least as invisible as in institutional studies. At most a brief comment may be made¹² which either appears to assume translations fall outside the definition of 'literature' (most scholars make no reference at all to translation) or that it was no longer practised anyway, or else underestimates the constraints upon it (Schäfer's claim that translation was virtually unaffected by censorship is based on the continued presence of a few famous American writers' work, 1981:12). In any case, when reference to translation is restricted to canonised authors alone, the mass of translations simply disappears: Strothmann's unacknowledged exclusion of popular literature from his lists of translations, for example, removes the entire production of the Goldmann house at a stroke (1963:452). Thus the tendency in most sources to play down the relevance of popular fiction automatically obscures an important segment of translation in the period.

From the perspective of German Studies, then, investigating translation may begin to fill out a gap in the landscape of Nazi literary production. Given the close interweaving of Nazi attitudes to translation with discourses of racism and nation-building, the lack of attention to translated literature has obscured not just a quantitatively significant sector of literary production but also an important nexus of ideas about literature, language and 'race'. At the same time translation, and the discourse about it, provides a striking illustration of the disunified, even conflictual character of fascist literature's ideology and practice, further study of which was called for by Ketelsen (1992:38). Finally, careful examination of the shifts by which translators adapted their source texts to the Nazi literary scene promises to reveal some of the ideological and commercial constraints operating on literary production - constraints which affected all writing, not only translation, in the period. Thus the study of Nazi literature has much to gain from examining translations, as a significant segment of the writing circulating in the period and one whose progress into acceptability is capable of relatively concrete reconstruction. At the same time, the case of Nazi Germany has particular insights to offer Translation Studies, to which I will now turn.

¹² The exception is Ahé's (1982) study of Swedish literature in Nazi Germany, though this addresses general reception rather than specifically translation issues.

It has become a truism to complain of the traditionally prescriptive approach to translation studies that asks above all ‘is it a good translation?’ without thematising the terms of such evaluation. The question of ‘good translations’ is not promising in a study such as this one, for various reasons. Most obviously, translation in a context of censorship is subject to constraints other than the ideal of ‘faithfulness’; in examining the workings of a managed culture which underpinned crimes of such proportions, too, a quest for truth and beauty is surely out of place. The choice of popular literature as an object of study also militates against a model of faithfulness to a fetishised ‘Original’ - formulaic popular fiction makes no claims to originality and the individual authors’ genius is not at stake. Translation, just like the first writing of these texts, is a commercial matter. Once the choice of texts outside the canon of greatness is made, the rationale for reverence towards the source author in a translation analysis disappears.

However, the rejection of an evaluative (or ‘source-oriented’) approach is not only specific to the context in question. In any case the history of translation is hardly well-served by an evaluation of past translations’ compliance with present-day models of excellence, even if such studies were to historicise their own models and avoid essentialist claims of a supra-historical good translation practice¹³. After all, seeing that a translated text is different from its ‘original’ is no great feat. The point must be how it is different and, as importantly, why. This is why a descriptive, or ‘target-oriented’, approach has been taken here.

The term ‘target-oriented’ is chiefly associated with the work of Gideon Toury (especially Toury 1995) as well as the collection *The Manipulation of Literature* (Hermans 1985). Their ‘polysystems’ approach to Translation Studies elaborated the work of Itamar Even-Zohar in the 1970s (see Even-Zohar 1990), which focused on the translated text’s life in its new setting rather than on its origin. Translation is investigated as a subsystem among the many that make up the target ‘literary system’.

¹³ Which not all do - see, for example, Kaszynski (1993), whose analysis of translation anthologies depends on a particular model of the ‘true’ way to anthologise. The “skopos theorists” around Katharina Reiß and Hans Vermeer (see Nord 1997:27ff) talk about fidelity without losing sight of the specificity of the translation in time, culture and commissioning context. Their consideration of translation as a product of the effects the translator wants to achieve in the target language shares ground with the target-oriented approach outlined below; however, they are ultimately interested in the extent of translations’ fulfilment of supposedly “correctly identified” goals (Delabastita 1991:143f), an issue of less interest to me here.

'System' here designates "a structured whole, characterized internally by 'organized complexity', made up of further subsystems, and separated from its environment by a boundary" (Hermans 1991:159). De Geest stresses further the boundary-setting aspect: "a system may be said to constitute both its inner and its outer dimension by establishing a kind of conventional borderline, or - to put it in other words - by extracting itself from the undifferentiated environment" (1992:35). Of course, such boundaries are neither immutable nor incontrovertible, and are constantly under (re)construction (see also Robyns 1992). This understanding of literary systems in flux has much to offer the study of Nazi literary culture, a system attempting against some resistance, whether from oppositional political positions or from traditional liberal tastes, to constitute itself by means of vociferous differentiation from the 'other'¹⁴. At the same time, the notion of system - regulated, but also multidimensional and dynamic - allows us to investigate conflicts and divergences within Nazi-dominated culture rather than accepting the Nazis' own presentation of 'German culture' as a natural, homogeneous whole.

The concept of system has been applied in this thesis not as a rigid methodology but as an overall framework to approach the material, and the same is true of the related notion of 'norms'. In the most general terms, these regulate behaviour, backed up by sanctions but not deterministically precluding divergent behaviour nor standing alone and monolithic (see Hermans 1996). Thus, in the context of translation, competing norms are likely to exist, the choice of which to follow depending on the particular stakes associated with each. This will prove important for the study of the present corpus: a search for some pattern and underlying logic, as opposed to complete idiosyncrasy, is necessary if we are to trace any connection between translation practices and wider views of the foreign and the domestic; but at the same time a flexible model is needed to account for the very different agendas apparently at work in the translations studied.

Criticism of the polysystems approach has questioned its apparent assumption of unified and distinct 'source' and 'target' languages (see Lambert 1991). In the case

¹⁴ That the foreignness of this 'other' is not defined by geography alone can be seen from the categorisation, quoted above, of German-Jewish writing as translation. Lambert (1995) makes important points on the non-essentiality of the definition self/other (thus domestic/foreign), which is always functional, never static in time or place.

under investigation here, this separation cannot indeed be assumed¹⁵. But as a *question* it is extremely interesting, since translation in the period was (among other things) assigned the role precisely of helping to constitute both source language and target languages - or rather, the nations they were considered to embody - as coherent entities separated by the sharpest of boundaries. Thus, the non-naturalness of the terms 'source' and 'target language' does not invalidate them for my purposes: my study will address their construction as categories. Instead, the main divergence from polysystem theory here is that, in common with the so-called 'manipulation school', I use its framework rather as a general paradigm than as a theoretical investigation in itself (see Delabastita 1991:141), and do not attempt to isolate or confirm any universals or laws of translation. The latter is the stated goal of Toury (1995:259) and, with less heated empiricism, Even-Zohar (1990:58ff)¹⁶; I intend to use polysystem concepts only as far as they aid the analysis of my material, and to remain firmly within the specificity of the historical situation.

This is not to say that the case of Nazi Germany is so historically specific as to offer nothing to any other context. Not only is it an element of the larger history of translation into German, but it also contributes to the study of translation and censorship and that of translation and nation-building. The study of literary translation in German was the focus of the Göttingen research project from 1985 to 1997. This project began to outline the impact and position of translation into German since the Romantic period, without recourse to prescriptive or pedagogic models and using a generally norms-based approach that does not, however, go along with Toury's stricter systems model (found unrealistically ambitious and totalising by Frank 1987:xiv). The project's "transferorientierter Ansatz" (ibid:xiii) considers translations always in combination with their source texts, as a function of the "grenzüberschreitender Verkehr zwischen zwei Sprachen, Literaturen und Kulturen" (ibid:xiiiif). The project has provided many detailed examinations of specific cases of transfer, particularly relevant for the present purposes having been the studies of

¹⁵ After all, the usual European disputes over state boundaries were taken to extremes by Nazi expansionism; nor were language borders (eg between High and Low German, Flemish) uncontested. More than that, the definition and shape of 'the' German language *within* state borders was hotly disputed (see Ahlzeig 1989; Klemperer 1947).

¹⁶ These theorists' search for universals is attacked most passionately by Gentzler (1996).

American literature's presence in German (eg Bödeker 1991 on the fascination of American settings).

As a contribution to the study of translation and censorship, the present project draws on the work of André Lefevere, whose concept of "rewriting" makes more explicit the political potential of polysystems approaches (see especially Lefevere 1992)¹⁷. For Lefevere, the "rewriters" - translators but also editors, critics, anthologists and others - "adapt, manipulate the originals they work with to some extent, usually to make them fit in with the dominant, or one of the dominant ideological and poetological currents of their time" (ibid:8). Lefevere accounts for the nature of this 'fitting in' by the influence of poetic models on the one hand, "patronage" on the other. 'Patronage' refers to the combination of ideological, economic and status-related constraints and inducements offered translators by the institutions regulating literary production (such as a royal court, mass media monopolies or, as in the present case, the state literary bureaucracy; ibid:15f). For Lefevere, then, translation within formalised censorship is not radically, only gradually distinct from the mass of rewriting contexts. He does, though, distinguish between "differentiated" and "undifferentiated" forms of patronage: in the latter, economic rewards are dispensed from the same source as ideological approval and status, whereas "differentiated" patronage tends to separate out these elements of literary success (ibid:17). Thus the totalitarian, "closed system" (to borrow De Geest's terminology, 1992) reserves both remuneration and artistic approval for those rewritings which support its monopoly on power, relegating other work to the margins.

Of course, a system's 'closedness' is relative: as the study of Nazi Germany will show, even the most extreme of undifferentiated patronage remains riddled with gaps. This is not to understate the special brutality of the literary regime headed by Goebbels. The translations that managed to reach publication were highly constrained, and the pre-emption of those that did not was largely achieved by the persecution and murder of writers and publishers throughout the period - a far cry from

¹⁷ The 'rewriting' approach is also associated with the work of Susan Bassnett (see, for example, Bassnett & Lefevere 1998), though Bassnett often focuses more on issues of professional integrity and aesthetic strategy.

economic marginalisation. Nevertheless, literary regulation was not monolithic¹⁸ and Lefevere's terms must be used cautiously. In particular, the great complexity of the disputes and trade-offs within Nazi sources of power make it difficult to accept any simple assignment of agency to "patronage". Here, the more diffuse dynamic of internalised 'norms' must be added to the consciously followed conditions imposed by patrons - particularly since, as will be shown, these conventionalised notions may well follow their own trajectory, clashing with the demands issuing from and policed by the state.

While it may be impossible to distinguish in a useful way such unintentional rewriting from externally-imposed censorship, both aspects become - relatively, and only indirectly - observable in the shifts from source to target text. As Erika Hulpke points out in her study of the 1819 German translation of *Rip Van Winkle*, the comparison of source text with translation can show, more clearly than the study of a non-translated text, what specific decisions had to be taken by the translator in order to make the text acceptable to a watchful target system (1991:74)¹⁹. The case studies presented here prove the same point, though again with the caveat that many such decisions may have been less consciously ideological in motivation than prompted by only partially conscious models of the suitability or "correctness" of a translation (see Hermans 1991:166). At any rate I will avoid the terminology of deliberate "distortion" (Kamenetsky 1984:85 on Nazi children's books; see also von Ahé's accusation of "Verfälschung", 1982:190). It would be hard to support any claim to determine an essential - 'undistorted' - core of the source text's meaning; besides, even evidently deliberate adaptations to the target literary system are not necessarily

¹⁸ From Pegenaut's (1999) account of translation in Francoist Spain, which applies Lefevere's model of undifferentiated patronage, it appears that control in Germany's longer-lived fascist neighbour was more complete, partly due to the participation of the Church. Not only were the Nazi control mechanisms less thorough but confusion remained on what exactly was 'pernicious' to the regime. The case of fascist Italy, explored briefly by Rundle (1998), shows considerably more leeway than either.

¹⁹ Hulpke's other conclusion, that in cases of censorship "the translator may be regarded as a composite agent rather than as an individual" (1991:17), is important in a setting where no clear borderline can be drawn between individual 'artistic' decisions and the fulfilment of implicit and explicit censorship requirements. This is not to say that no idiosyncrasies can be traced within my corpus, only that the search for some kernel of individuality within the censored whole seems unlikely to prove worthwhile. Practical considerations unfortunately prevent an examination of the training and careers of translators during the Nazi period; their acquisition of a "translator's habitus" might yield interesting results on the application of literary norms (see Simeoni 1998).

more striking in the case of Nazi-tolerated translations than in translations acceptable to other, far less draconian literary regimes²⁰.

From the point of view of Translation Studies, the question of censorship and translation will thus here be taken in its wider definitions, as a paradigm for a range of patterns of translation as “power-play” (Fawcett 1995). No more unique - though against a uniquely horrific backdrop - is Nazi Germany’s interest in translation as a mediator of or threat to national identities. In this respect the present thesis draws partially on the work of Lawrence Venuti (1995; 1998), which examines translations in terms of their potential to disrupt the target culture’s illusion of its own homogeneity. Translations can, he argues throughout, set free the “remainder”, or the minoritised elements, of that culture by confronting it with a “foreignising” translated text.

While Venuti’s interest in the ethics of the translator’s task has not been pursued here, nor in many cases his other conclusions²¹, certain aspects of his argument have proved fertile. Venuti’s general concern with the political and ideological impacts of translation leads to interesting comments on, for example, the fear provoked by translation: translation, for Venuti, is relegated to invisibility “partly because it occasions revelations that question the authority of dominant cultural values and institutions” (1998:1). Venuti elaborates this point mainly as translation’s challenge to prevailing conceptions of authorship (ibid:31), whereas for the present case what translation threatens to expose is the fallacy of an ideology of autochthony and racial/literary purity. Likewise, Venuti’s much-discussed dichotomy of translation practice based on Schleiermacher, “foreignisation” versus “domestication”, is not entirely watertight and yet works well as a tool to analyse debates within Nazi translation commentary. Venuti as a rule praises a “foreignising” practice which brings the source text’s strangeness to the new reader; the fluency of dominant “domesticating” discourse, he says, “is assimilationist, presenting to domestic readers a realistic representation inflected with their own codes and ideologies as if it were an immediate en-

²⁰ For example, the boundary between ‘censorship’ and ‘tastefulness’ is extremely unclear. Fawcett (1995) and Ó Cuilleain (1999) focus on indecency as a trigger of alterations in translation that they label ‘censorship’, but the elasticity of the category is demonstrated among others by Lefevere’s case studies (1992) of adaptation to the receiving culture’s moral universe.

²¹ For example, I would not wish to adopt Venuti’s understanding of translation as a form of “violence” (against the source text, hence the source culture, 1995:18). In the context of Nazism the ‘violence’ of an ethnocentric translation surely pales into insignificance and cannot be subsumed under the term. See Bennett (1999) for this and an overview of other criticisms of Venuti’s work.

counter with a foreign text and culture” (1998:12)²². In the Nazi context, however, the foreignising translation is the dominant mode - and yet its foreignising is precisely the contribution it makes to a domestic agenda which constructs ethnocentric ‘knowledge’ of the foreign culture and asserts the racially-determined nature of cultural production. Thus, a foreignising approach has a highly domesticating function²³. However, despite its blurred boundaries his terminology is useful here, firstly because it is itself a central theme of the journalistic reception of translations in Nazi Germany - concerned, like Venuti and Berman (1992), with interpretations of German Romantic thought. Secondly, while official discourse was struggling to recuperate otherness into a nationalist paradigm, the reading public continued to buy and borrow the foreign with undiminished eagerness. The outrage of literary bureaucrats at this fact, accusing the public of an “*unselige Hang nach dem Fremden*” (*Bücherkunde*, Jun 1940:162) or an unpatriotic “*literarische Ausländerei*” (*Der Buchhändler im neuen Reich*, Nov-Dec 1939:347), gives an inkling of how central, and how explosive, the complex “domestication”-“foreignisation” could be.

Finally, Venuti addresses the uses of translation in the construction of national or cultural identities. Rather than providing an elaborated theoretical model²⁴, Venuti brings the topic onto centre stage with a host of examples. In the present thesis translation’s role in the formation of images of source ‘nations’ (traced by Venuti for the case of Japanese literature in the USA, 1998:71ff) will be an important theme; translation’s contribution to the self-image of the target ‘nation’ is less easy to pin down. It is understood here partly in the terms posited by Goethe, as a narcissistic “mirroring” - a “self-recognition” of the domestic subject through identification with the terms of the translated text (Venuti 1998:77; see also Berman 1992; Strich 1957). More specifically, as the investigation of Nazi journalists’ commentaries on translation will show, translation in the period was required to define the *völkisch* specificity of the Germans by a process of contradistinction to the foreign *Volk* of the source,

²² A slightly different array of arguments along these same lines is set out by Berman (1992).

²³ Venuti admits such a possibility (eg 1995:110; 1998:188) but does not allow it to dissolve the polarity of his categories.

²⁴ Although much of translation history traces individual aspects of translation in conjunction with the formation of national languages and literatures, it has been mainly the theorists of postcolonial translation who have concentrated specifically on issues of national identity and translation (summarised in Robinson 1997; see also Lambert 1995 and Robyns 1992 for similar approaches in a European context). For the German case, studies of Romantic translation theory (eg Huyssen 1969) and of the reception of English literature, especially Shakespeare (eg Ranke 1995), are of particular interest here.

and indeed to demonstrate the truth of the category *Volk* itself as a basis of the Nazi “imagined community” (see Anderson 1991).

To both Translation Studies and German Studies, in short, the present study can contribute an extreme case of translation’s implication in the construction of nationalist literary boundaries, also demonstrating the difficulty of distinguishing ‘censorship’ from broader constraints in (re)writing under restrictive conditions, adding a chapter to the history of literary translation into German and bringing a further dimension to the history of literature in the Nazi regime.

The thesis is laid out as follows. The first chapter presents a brief outline of Nazi literary ideology, introducing the theme of literature and *Volk* which will recur in the study of the literary journals. An examination of the management of literature in general, then of translation in particular, aims to provide an institutional context for viewing the selection, reception and textual strategies of translations in the period. Chapter 2 summarises and analyses a database of the fiction translated into German from all source languages and published between 1933 and 1944. The database, drawn from the German National Bibliography, yields very different results from Strothmann’s overview lists and allows a detailed examination of numbers, source languages, genres, publishers and translators - necessary to relativise the sometimes inflated claims made by literary bureaucracy and journals regarding the efficacy or failure of state intervention in translation. The large picture provided by the bibliographical data also enables an informed choice of texts for detailed analysis.

The literary and librarians’ journals discussed in Chapter 3 provide insights into state-approved discourse on translation. Such pronouncements cannot be identified with actual practice, whether of state policymakers or of the publishing industry, but their interest lies partly in this very gap, partly in revealing how such meta-discourse embeds translation within a wider ideological landscape dominated by the notion of the alien. The journals’ reception of Hugh Walpole’s Northumberland-set historical novels makes it clear that these are favoured texts, complying with the criteria of ‘good translation’ set out by the meta-discursive statements. Thus Chapter 4’s comparison of Walpole’s *Die Festung* (1938) with its source text, *The Fortress* (1932), can show features of the approved translation in action, complementing the explicit

statements made by the literary commentators. As indicated above, the comparative approach to the text pair allows some conclusions to be drawn about the extent and manner of ideological constraints playing on the translation's final form.

The second case study, set out in Chapter 5, looks at texts holding a very different institutional position. Its corpus, ten detective novels translated from English, was chosen to allow a comparison of approved with non-approved - in Even-Zohar's (1990) terminology more central with more peripheral - genres among translations, and ask how far translation norms in the two cases differed. At the same time, the investigation of a commercially successful but officially denigrated genre can cast light on the vexed question of how far 'unwanted' literature actually managed to survive in the Nazi regime, and making what concessions. To trace the shifts undertaken from source to target text is, indeed, to measure the obligation felt by publishers to accommodate the exigencies of the surrounding literary and political system. In other words, the case studies in Chapters 4 and 5, along with Chapter 2's publishing overview, attempt to position actual translating practice within the framework of the official policy and critical comment traced in Chapters 1 and 3. As will be seen, this position is never a simple one. The shape of censorship, the statistics of publications, translation's official reception and the shape of the norms that appear to drive it are all complex and full of contradictions.

1. The literature of the 'Third Reich'

“Denn das Politische, und erst recht das Wirtschaftliche, sind nur die oberen Schichten des Lebens; der Bereich aber, in dem die Dichtung statthat und gehört wird, ist die tiefere Schicht des völkischen Lebens. Aufgabe der Politiker kann es sein, die Bahn dahin freizumachen; Aufgabe des Dichters muß es sein, durch sein Wort das Volk zu finden und schöpferisch zu formen, indem er ihm bildhaft seine eigene Seele zeigt und seine eigenen Werte gibt.”

(Otto Gmelin, in Kindermann 1933:164f)

The aim of this chapter is to introduce briefly the highly complex surroundings of Nazi literary policy within which translations were published, looking at the roles accorded the bureaucracy and the writer in the fragment quoted above. Section 1.1. outlines the shape of the 'desirable' literature against which imported texts were to be measured, and the role assigned to such literature by the state (the application of criteria of desirability to individual translations will be traced in detail in Chapter 3). Sections 1.2. and 1.3. sketch the institutional setting, thus providing a context for the trends in translation publishing which will be described in Chapter 2. These two sections also raise questions, about the thoroughness of censorship and the survival of longer traditions, which will affect the interpretation of the case studies made in Chapters 4 and 5. Finally, section 1.4. focuses on one element of the control of translations - indexation - as an initial illustration of some ideological and institutional aspects of the preceding discussion.

1.1. The book and the '*Volk*'

Otto Gmelin's words indicate how ambitious a task was assigned to literature in Nazi Germany. Before turning to the practical efforts by Party and state to 'clear the path' for the hoped-for renewal of the race, I will look in this section at the nature of the literary and simultaneously national role to which Gmelin lays claim.

The literature able to 'find' and 'shape' the *Volk* is most frequently defined negatively by Nazi commentators, in terms of the threat posed to it by bad, because alien

and shallow, literature - the so-called 'Jewish' book held to be the enemy of truly German literature but also of the *Volk* itself (Dahm 1993:18). In the reviews of the period the term 'Jewish' literature refers to works considered alien to the German soul and guilty of having weakened it alarmingly. The danger is spelled out in a 1933 commentary which describes the rationale for library blacklisting as a battle

“gegen die Zersetzungserscheinungen unserer artgebundenen Denk- und Lebensform, d.h. gegen die *Asphaltliteratur*, die vorwiegend für den großstädtischen Menschen geschrieben ist, um ihn in seiner Beziehungslosigkeit zur Umwelt, zum Volk und zu jeder Gemeinschaft zu bestärken und völlig zu entwurzeln” (cited in Barbian 1995:142).

Conspicuous here is the claim of a reading community (“unserer”), bound together not just culturally but biologically (“artgebunden”) and subjected to intentional (“um...zu”) attack by a modern, urban literature that preys upon the community's weakest members, the already endangered city-dwellers. The undesirable book is, then, one felt to originate outside the *Volk* community and to threaten it by insidiously propagating modernity in all its forms²⁵. It is often referred to as 'internationalist', 'civilised' or 'democratic', all features held to be at once modern and alien to the German *Volk* soul; among the first to be banned were the works of Irmgard Keun, Heinrich Mann or John Dos Passos, defined as 'Jewish' writers by their supposedly destructive spirit rather than by ethnicity.

The instrumentalised role attributed to “Asphaltliteratur” in the excerpt quoted is not, of course, restricted to the 'other' literature. On the contrary, Nazi promotion of literature was founded on a concept of fiction as education, and specifically education to struggle - the metaphor of the book as a weapon recurs (for example in the index *Das Buch ein Schwert des Geistes*, see 1.4.). If literature and other cultural activities were felt to exercise an important function in the constitution of a new *Volk*, the exact nature of this function is hard to extract from the emotive, often mystical pon-

²⁵ The derogatory label 'Asphaltliteratur' refers to urban-set, worst of all modernist, fiction. Nazi literary comment consistently attacked modernism; however, Ketelsen warns against ignoring the common ground between modernism and Nazi literature: their orientation on alienation (whether foregrounded or anxiously denied), their use of formalised, anti-psychological styles and the material conditions of their production and distribution (Ketelsen 1992:253). Likewise, while Berman's (1983:55) characterisation of Nazi aesthetics in general as a “Kreuzzug der Antimoderne” accurately reflects Nazi *rhetoric*, it must not be confused with actual cultural practice, which to a large extent embraced modernity (see Schäfer 1991).

derings that coexist with straightforward calls to improve the status of writers²⁶. Indeed, Nazi views of literature constituted less a unified theory than a “heterogenes Konglomerat” of ideas marked by the recurrence of certain characteristic “Ideologeme”, as Vondung calls them (1973:13), the most significant of which are heroism (including sacrifice and the anointed leader figure), religiosity (the poet as mystic; art as a sacred, unmediated experience) and *Volkstum* (or membership of a racialised, essentially pre-modern German community)²⁷.

The pervasive presence of this concept of *Volkstum* in literary reviews is striking. German literature's Germanness is their guiding theme and, as will be seen in Chapter 3, also crucial to the Nazi reception of translation. To take just some of the elements of an ideology of literature set out in a 1933 volume of essays by Nazi writers, great literature must emanate organically from the *Volk* rather than being intellectually constructed (“Dichtung ist wie ein Baum, der aus dem mütterlichen und unerschöpflichen Boden des Volkstums emporstrebt”); it can be immediately ‘felt’ by the *Volk* via the intimate blood connection of writer with audience (“denn der Dichter, welcher zu seinem Volk gehört, sagt nichts, als was in seinem Volk, wenn auch schlummernd, lebendig ist”). It lives, like the *Volk*, preeminently in a simple, rugged countryside and is strongly differentiated from the effete literature of the city (“die wurzelloseste hysterische Arrangeurin großstädtischer literarischer Teeabende war ihnen [ie Weimar writers] wertvoller und ihren Zwecken förderlicher als der wurzelechte und wehrhafteste Mann”). It is the province of the *Volk* as a whole, not the individual (“der Dichter [...] will der Volkheit, nicht dem Einzelnen dienen”); and it is nationally specific, never international (because Creation made every nation different, “dienen auch wir ihr, wenn wir das Eigenartige unseres Volkstums, wenn wir das Reine, das Einmalige unseres Wesens pflegen und hervorkehren”; all in Kindermann 1933²⁸). Criteria like these place a supposed national soul at the centre of literature, feeding and being fed by it. They are reflected in the range of genres considered acceptable by the regime: the peasant or *Heimat* novel set in an idealised

²⁶ Kindermann's collection *Des deutschen Dichters Sendung in der Gegenwart* (1933), for example, consists in self-interested elaborations of the claim that the writer's profession is both crucial and shamefully undervalued.

²⁷ These are the three central categories isolated by Vondung (1976:46). Klotz & Spies (1983) identify four similar themes: heroic struggle, will, destiny and race.

²⁸ The individual sources are Detmar Heinrich Sarnetzki (in Kindermann 1933:111); Paul Ernst (ibid:27); Robert Hohlbaum (ibid:168); Josef Magnus Wehner (ibid:233); Hans Friedrich Blunck (ibid:200).

pre-modern countryside, the war novel glorifying sacrifice for the nation, the historical novel constructing a heroic inheritance and beleaguered present, and the inward-looking lyric poem of communion with nature, leader or German 'destiny'²⁹.

The claims made by the writers quoted of an astonishingly new, fresh literature and the rhetoric of new dawns that typified state-sanctioned literary announcements³⁰ should not, however, obscure the fact that 1933 by no means represented a sudden or complete break with all that had gone before. Much more barely tolerated or even positively forbidden literature survived from the past than the regime might have wished. At the same time, it is fair to say that the Nazi period was not one of literary innovation in generic or stylistic terms: the short-lived *Thingspiel*, a ritualised mass theatre, was the only really new literary genre to emerge³¹ and apart from a rather small amount of explicitly Nazi fiction, the mass of approved reading belonged to genres that pre-dated the regime, in particular the hugely popular *völkisch* novel of the turn of the century³². The persecution of the avant-garde was accompanied by a more generally risky, unpredictable publishing climate inevitably discouraging innovation and favouring reprints or safe sellers (see also 2.2.). Schnell further explains the lack of new forms by Nazi-approved literature's consciously conservative claim to formal continuity with the past (1987:38). Such continuity could support an ideology of art - and indeed of the past itself, as Meier (1983:90) points out - as timeless and transcendental. In all, 1933 was hardly a watershed in terms of literature, and the specificity of the writing of the 'Third Reich' should perhaps be sought rather in its selectivity, its foregrounding of certain genres to the exclusion of others, than in inherent novelty of form or content.

²⁹ Not that 'acceptability' was an inherent or timeless quality: it could be altered not only by new discoveries about an author's political reliability or 'race' but also by the exigencies of day-to-day politics. For example, Vallery traces the Nazi historical novel's shifts in the wake of the Röhm putsch of 1934, from a focus on revolution in the years before and immediately after the takeover of power towards the theme of absolute obedience to a powerful authority figure after the destruction of the SA (Vallery 1987:96).

³⁰ Such as Goebbels' invocation of "der Phönix eines neuen Geistes" in a 1933 speech to the book-burning students (cited in Wulf 1963:46).

³¹ See Beutin 1993:492ff, who, drawing on Benjamin, points out that aesthetic innovation in the period was located in other fields, in particular the choreography of mass events.

³² The best-sellers among approved titles had for the most part been published around the first decade of the century (Nutz 1983:201) - for example Waldemar Bonsels' *Die Biene Maja und ihre Abenteuer* (1912), Ludwig Ganghofer's *Das Schweigen im Walde* (1899), Felicitas Rose's *Heideschulmeister Uwe Karsten* (1909), and many more (ibid:203). The popular literature originating in the 1920s flourished as well, but cannot be counted as 'approved'.

Of these foregrounded genres I shall look briefly at the *völkisch* novel of the countryside, chosen here not only for its popularity but because of its significance for imports in the period (see the case study in Chapter 4). The *völkisch* novel is a rural story articulating the *Bildungsbürgertum*'s feeling of crisis (see Vondung 1976:54ff) and grievance against processes of modernisation explained as 'western', hence alien to the German *Volk* (Meier 1983:144). The novels belong to the "amorphous composite" of late nineteenth-century anti-modern, anti-capitalist and nationalist currents that made up the so-called "Konservative Revolution" (Stark 1981:108). Depending on a duality between traditional family life in the country and the alienated, capitalist city (Ketelsen 1992:108), they are marked by irrationalism and a fascination with nature (Heimann 1976:119), as well as insisting on traditional gender roles. It is important to note that the anti-modern *völkisch* novel was by no means a strictly Nazi form, being the product of a more conservative world view. Indeed, many Party voices expressed scorn for its romantically pessimistic, backward-looking stance (Ketelsen 1992:25). In Schnell's analysis the Nazi novel was more positive, utopian and messianic as well as more explicitly political (1987:40). However, these *völkisch* novels are steeped in ideas that conform comfortably to the Nazi ideology of literature discussed above, and there is no doubt that they were easily assimilable into the general frame of approval set up by the censoring authorities.

The political stance of the *völkisch* novel may be illustrated by the example of the highly successful historical novel *Der Wehrwolf. Eine Bauernchronik* by Hermann Löns, first published in 1910. The book remained among the most popular in the public libraries throughout the period (Stieg 1992:157) and sales were high, reaching well over 800,000 by 1945. *Der Wehrwolf*, set in the Thirty Years War³³, paints its blond German villagers as primitive warrior stock who arrived on the heath in a distant past sketched in the opening sequence ("Am Anfang war es wüst und leer in der Haide [...]", Löns 1917:1ff). This creation story gives the rural community a truly Germanic pedigree - they may be outwardly christianised but their hearty pagan roots are underlined by oaths like "Tors Pferd soll den Kerl schlagen!" (ibid:24). Goaded by the intrusions of unscrupulous foreign soldiers, the peasants take the law into their

³³ Vallery points out such that embattled settings were the most favoured by approved historical novels, allowing as they did the allegorical portrayal of a victimised Germany forced to take up arms (1987:91).

own hands. Heroic Harm Wulf weans them from their mounting neglect of duty at home, leads them into a barricaded hideaway and heads their forays out onto the heath to kill anyone who does not belong to the local population, more or less uninterruptedly for 250 pages until peace finally arrives. The novel is striking for its dramatic opposition of the healthy villagers with monsters of depravity in the form of foreigners, gypsies "und was sonst ohne Haus und Herd war" (ibid:231). Villains are generally signalled by physical deformity or darkness of skin; women are idealised, twin-bearing paragons of submission or treacherous "schwarzhaarige Weiber" who can fairly be slaughtered along with their menfolk (ibid:180). Equally noticeable is the text's tireless and detailed attention to the soldiers' atrocities and to the brutal slaughtering expeditions the villagers call their "Hasenjagd". The repetition of violent scenes outside the fortress builds up the image of a besieged community threatened by strangers outside the walls and fighting off decay within - a key image of the cultural pessimism described by Stark (1981:58ff). The idyllic community of *Der Wehrwolf* is created only by withdrawal into the fortress and fearful exclusion, if possible destruction, of those outside. There is no need to stress the parallels with the racist rhetoric of the later regime, yet it should be remembered that this is a pre-war text and in many ways remains within the bounds of the blood-and-guts historical adventure.

Such assimilable texts as *Der Wehrwolf* - what Heimann calls a literature of "convergence" with Nazi views of the world (1976:121) - could range from the positively fascist to an ostensibly apolitical stance that lent itself to integration and thus official permission³⁴. This idea of convergence, as opposed to strict conformism, will help explain the patterns of translation publishing in the period detailed in Chapter 2: both translations and non-translations show a continued flourishing of genres that fall well outside the bounds of agitational literature. Non- or even anti-political genres such as the animal story, adventure or detective novel enjoyed unbroken success (see Nutz 1983), suggesting that the activist literary ideology of Kindermann's 1933 collection did not gain the reading public's undiluted attention. The relatively small

³⁴ Of course, the 'convergence' of such literature could not in itself determine its actually being read strictly within the terms of Nazi ideology. The charm of *Der Wehrwolf*, for example, was no doubt in part its strong current of eroticism that does not quite fit the edifying agenda, and a librarian's journal in 1939 complains that youngsters constantly try to borrow the book despite its evident unsuitability for their tender minds (*Die Bücherei*, April 1939:222).

space occupied by explicitly Party texts within the mass of tolerated literature suggests that the texts which survived censorship cannot be sufficiently defined as 'propaganda' dictated by the regime³⁵. Instead, it seems that a wide range of literature either left official ideology unchallenged (for example nature stories) or articulated vague feelings of crisis and disinheritance that could be absorbed easily into a Nazi project, such as the anti-industrial *Heimatroman*. The debate on the resistant writing of 'inner emigration' exemplifies the difficulty of assessing of non-Party literature's role. Should such writing, with its highly veiled rejection of the regime, be viewed as having spread real subversion among its readers? Possibly it merely provided a comforting individual space of apparent freedom that encouraged retreat into the private sphere, thus consolidating the status quo. Such questions have been explored in detail for the literature of 'inner emigration'³⁶, but they can certainly be asked equally of writing that never claimed to see itself as political.

There is no reliable way of measuring such effects, and it would be hard to tell whether and how readers really read promoted books, or if the survival of non-promoted literature (whether 'inner emigration' or escapism) ultimately subverted the regime or shored it up by helping construct a sense of everyday normality³⁷. At any rate we cannot assume that the literature of the period was simply an instrument of the regime, determined by monolithic interests (see Ketelsen 1980:217): despite the devastation of the literary landscape by the expulsion of 'unwanted' literature, and the mediation of highly convergent ideas by much non-Party work, more continuity with the past and more diversity seems to have remained than the various proclaimers of the 'new dawn' were willing to admit.

³⁵ As Foulkes (1983) argues, boundaries between 'literature' and 'propaganda' are difficult, if not impossible, to set. However, the intentional instrumentalisation normally associated with the term 'propaganda' is to be avoided here, since the production of fiction was certainly less overtly regulated than that.

³⁶ See especially Grimm (1976) and Ritchie (1983).

³⁷ More will be said on 'escapist' literature in Chapter 5 and the Conclusion.

1.2. The management of literary production

While the book-burnings of May 1933 are surely the most dramatic and well-known expression of Nazi literary policy, they formed, according to Aigner, “nur den Auftakt zu einem Prozeß geistiger Gleichschaltung” that hoped to eliminate the ‘Jewish’ book and impose a literature supporting the regime (1971:942). This process of *Gleichschaltung*, or ‘bringing into line’ with Nazi policy, affected all the institutions of cultural, including literary, life. Thus, in the course of 1933 bodies like the Prussian Academy of Arts, the public librarians’ association, the PEN Club, or the association of the German book trade all swore allegiance to the new state. Their status was gradually dismantled as they came under the aegis of Goebbels’ “Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda” via bloc membership of the Ministry’s “Reichskulturkammer” (RKK), the self-styled ‘professional association’ of the culture industries established in late 1933³⁸. By 1935 the RKK had destroyed most vestiges of the autonomy of its associated professional bodies, organised in seven constituent chambers (see Barbian 1995:212ff). The book-related professions were covered by the “Reichsschrifttumskammer” (RSK), membership of which was mandatory in order to publish, so that expulsion or the refusal of an application for membership meant the end of a career. Such refusals were made above all on the grounds of Jewish origins or family connections³⁹ and, to a less consistent extent, of political unreliability⁴⁰.

³⁸ According to the RKK law, the chamber was to organise the cultural professions “im Wege der Selbstverwaltung unter staatlicher Überwachung und Mitwirkung” (cited in Barbian 1995:189f). Thus a gloss of traditional corporatism thinly covered state intervention.

³⁹ Barbian traces the controversy within the RSK on whether ‘non-Aryans’ should be allowed membership. It was resolved on the insistence of Goebbels in 1935, when one writer received the following explanation for expulsion from the RSK: only the artist who “sich aus der rassischen Gemeinschaft heraus seinem Volke verbunden und verpflichtet fühlt, darf es unternehmen, mit einer so tiefgreifenden und folgenschweren Arbeit, wie sie das geistige und kulturelle Schaffen darstellt, einen Einfluß auf das innere Leben der Nation auszuüben. Durch Ihre Eigenschaft als Nichtarier sind Sie außerstande, eine solche Verpflichtung zu empfinden und anzuerkennen” (RSK letter to Dr Paul Landau, March 1935, cited in Barbian 1995:371). It will be noticed that while the aim of the letter is the pragmatic one of trying to justify an anti-Semitic step that as yet had no legal basis, the reasoning draws heavily on the theories of literature discussed in 1.1. Evidently the literary commentators’ emotional flights of fancy were perfectly translatable into the hard ground of *Berufsverbot*, in practice enforcing impoverishment or emigration.

⁴⁰ Although there was no question of granting membership to actively anti-Nazi writers, the rejection of anyone with a politically unacceptable past was not feasible since so many would be refused, thus both narrowing the Chamber’s reach and risking negative publicity abroad (Barbian 1995:256;375). As so often, pragmatic considerations could and did conflict with ideological claims.

The RSK remained the cornerstone of control over writers, publishers, booksellers and commercial librarians, but it was not the only Propaganda Ministry body to hold responsibility for literary policy. The Ministry's literature department ("Abteilung XIII") was set up in late 1934 with responsibility for policy, as opposed to professional, matters and control over the Deutsche Bücherei in Leipzig (see Aigner 1971:965); its weakness within the Ministry was ensured by internal conflicts and boundary disputes with other actors in literary policy, as will be discussed briefly below. The other arms of state-sanctioned intervention in literature were the intelligence-gathering SD (the "Sicherheitsdienst" of the SS), which monitored the Deutsche Bücherei catalogues and collated reports on the political opinions of writers and publishers by means of a huge network of informants (Barbian 1995:386ff), and the Gestapo, responsible for implementing Ministry decisions by means of raids on booksellers, commercial lending libraries and occasionally even private households (ibid:535). Local police forces also took some initiatives in controlling the sale of books (Aigner 1971:954).

The Gestapo confiscations were usually based on state indexes of banned works, yet these indexes were highly problematic in the regime's first years. The original 'blacklists' that formed the basis for the early book-burnings and the associated purges of libraries were incomplete, contested and had no centralised legal status; the first centralised index of banned books did not appear until late 1935. This, the *Liste I des schädlichen und unerwünschten Schrifttums*, was produced by the RSK⁴¹ after mounting complaints from all sides about the confusion of confiscation powers and practices. It was distributed to police, Gestapo and selected librarians as a basis for removing books from public libraries and for confiscations from bookshops or commercial libraries. The *Liste*'s approximately 4000 individual titles and more than 500 bans on complete works (updated edition, 1939) covered writing by exiles and anti-Nazi authors, some Christian writing, pornography, modernist literature, books on contraception and various other categories (analysed by Aigner 1971:983ff). New candidates for the index could be proposed to the RSK, later to the Ministry literature department, by a range of state and Party institutions.

⁴¹ The index was taken over in 1938 by the Propaganda Ministry literature department to be updated in content and, especially, format, correcting the frequent inaccuracies and bibliographical gaps that had flawed the earlier edition (see also Aigner 1971:977ff). The new version appeared in 1939 ("Stand vom 31. Dezember 1938"), updated in 1940 and 1941 with annual addenda in 1942 and 1943.

The official indexes were marked 'strictly confidential' and were not available to the book trade, let alone to the public. Their secrecy was designed to prevent bad publicity abroad as well as increasing the book trade's dependence on the RSK, to whom application for help in doubtful cases could be made (Barbian 1995:525). It may be added that, as Aigner argues, the lack of transparency and predictability in the indexation process allowed the state maximum flexibility while keeping booksellers and publishers constantly on the defensive (Aigner 1971:947). The book trade was thus edged into self-censorship: its decisions had to demonstrate an instinctive "Feingefühl", and needing to ask for official guidance on which book threatened the *Volk* might in itself be taken to suggest "Gesinnungsschwäche" (ibid:946). The cautious attitude of publishers as the period wore on can be read from the rise of reprints (Berman 1983:60)⁴², showing publishers' reluctance to innovate or - perhaps even more to the point - their reluctance to risk investing in a book which could be confiscated by the police, returned by an over-anxious trader, or rejected by the public library buying service. A 1940 letter from the Paul Zsolnay house hints at the commercial importance of official acceptability: doubts surrounding Danish author Thit Jensen's political sympathies had contributed to "eine starke Hemmung des Absatzes beim Verkauf an offizielle Büchereien, Leihbibliotheken usw" and necessitated urgent efforts to rehabilitate her reputation (cited in Hall 1994:205).

Thus, whether via external or internal (that is, self-) censorship, confiscation and the threat of it was a major weapon in the hands of the Ministry. It was, however, by no means the only one. To indexation and the professional restrictions mentioned above must be added restrictions on book exports and imports (see Barbian 1995:545ff), the expropriation of Jewish publishers (see especially Dahm 1993), pressure on surviving publishers to adapt their output (ibid:566ff), control of access to foreign currency (discussed in 1.3.) and manipulation of paper allocation during the war. From 1940, and especially from 1942, paper rationing allowed far sharper control of publishing than before by subjecting every publishing proposal to Ministry scrutiny; the criteria for paper allocation narrowed as raw materials became scarcer (Barbian 1995:557). Nor was it only the production and distribution of books that fell under control:

⁴² Berman cites a rise in the proportion of reissues to new publications from 19% in 1935-1938 to 39.3% in 1941-1944. A similar trend for translations will be described in Chapter 2.

already in 1936 Goebbels imposed strict rules on book reviewing. 'Critical' or negative comment was declared to be reactionary and the National Socialist review was to 'discuss' positively instead, if possible avoiding any comment on texts that could not be applauded (see Geißler 1967). The Ministry also issued confidential lists of books permitted for review, including lists of translations (Strothmann 1963:200), as well as controlling the advertisement of new books by manipulating the information given by the Deutsche Bücherei to the book trade (Barbian 1995:808f).

While Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry formed the core of literary control, numerous other institutions were also involved. Among them, competing for influence in literary policy, were state bodies such as the Education Ministry, which had responsibility for libraries and school textbooks, and the SS, constantly trying to gain footholds in Goebbels' realm (see Barbian 1995:267). The many Party organisations included Alfred Rosenberg's "Amt Schrifttumspflege", an entire rival book-reporting office contesting the adequacy of its Ministry counterparts, and Philipp Bouhler's "Parteiamtliche Prüfungskommission", which managed to gain from Hitler the right to subject all texts concerning National Socialism to pre-publication censorship independently of the Propaganda Ministry (see Barbian 1995:308f). Party bodies produced lists of recommendations and condemnations and pontificated on literary policy in their respective journals. The Propaganda Ministry, itself plagued by internal conflicts between literature department and RSK (Barbian 1995:187), engaged in unrelenting power struggles - sometimes more and sometimes less successfully - with Party organisations as a result of the well-documented "Kompetenzchaos" of the Nazi regime (see, for example, Bollmus 1970). Although these organisations had little direct institutional power their constant attempts at intervention could exercise a real intimidatory effect by bombarding the book trade with exhortations and threats. The duplication of literary policy-making allowed, too, the extension of zealous monitoring into every corner of literary life, so that, for example, lists of recommended titles exist for the smallest ship's library and hospital bookshelf (see Hopster et al 1994).

Taken as a whole, measures to eliminate politically undesirable literature were successful enough to clear huge gaps which approved literature could fill. Thus countless Jewish, social democrat or Marxist authors were murdered or forced into exile;

for those who remained, exclusion from the RSK meant economic destitution. Such an impoverishment of the literary scene profited Party and associated authors, as Kurt Tucholsky pointed out acerbically: “Da kommen sie nun aus allen Löchern gekrochen, [...] nun endlich, endlich ist die jüdische Konkurrenz weg - jetzt aber!” (May 1933, cited in Vondung 1973:95). The economic gains to be had from the persecution of Jewish publishers and distributors were clearer still, and the empire of Franz Eher, the Party publisher, grew large on the forced acquisitions of its Jewish competitors (such as Ullstein, see 5.2.), referred to as the ‘Aryanisation’ of the book trade⁴³. There were also more targeted attempts to promote the ‘new’ writers loyal or potentially loyal to the regime, by means of prizes and promotional activities such as the “Woche des deutschen Buches” or the information-gathering “Deutsche Dichtersfahrten” (Barbian 1995:626;455). Aside from ideological aims of moulding the “tiefere Schicht des völkischen Lebens” (Gmelin), such promotion responded to a desperate need to fill up bookshelves half-emptied by purges. Censorship had cut swathes through the book trade and libraries - one journal estimated that 50-80% of the stock of public libraries in Saxony was lost in 1933 and 1934 alone (*Die Bücherei* 1937, cited in Andrae 1970:41); meanwhile, public demand for fiction was rising apace and accelerated further during the war.

The fact that of all the promotional measures undertaken, only the encouragement of war novels struck any real chord with the public (Barbian 1995:456f) points to a serious failure of the literary bureaucracy’s attempts at control. If, as seems certain, strictly Nazi books appealed less to the so-called *Volk* than had been hoped and the emergence of an ideologically streamlined variant of entertainment literature foundered⁴⁴, then it must be concluded that the creation of a new literature failed to match the success of the old literature’s destruction through censorship. Yet even censorship in its many and often violent forms may not have created quite such a dramatic collapse in the literary scene as it initially appears.

⁴³ The rise of Eher is detailed in Hale 1964. It should be noted that the publisher remained a *Party* undertaking, and while increasingly dominating German publishing (especially the press) it did not constitute a state-monopoly publisher.

⁴⁴ For example, Barbian describes the failure of the 1942 “Preis Ausschreiben für unterhaltendes Schrifttum” to attract any prizewinner (1995:454). See also 5.1.

Firstly, the processes of state censorship did not begin from point zero in 1933. As Breuer notes (1982:230ff), the Weimar Republic, despite its constitutional commitment to freedom of speech, had stretched to the full its interpretation of the anti-pornographic “Schmutz und Schund” legislation which allowed individual acts of censorship, thus preparing the legal foundations for early state action after the Nazi takeover. Closer analyses of the process of *Gleichschaltung*, moreover, do not permit the interpretation of a simple clean sweep by the new government. They show that elements of many central cultural institutions were more than sympathetic to the new regime’s goals and easy to mobilise (for example, the public librarians’ representatives had long supported harsher measures to eliminate books lacking “proper seriousness”, Stieg 1992:82). Thus, the exigencies of the *Gleichschaltung* that was the first stage of Nazi literary policy were by no means simply imposed from above on a unified front of reluctance. On the contrary, many organisations had high hopes from lining themselves up with the state, whether in strengthening their professional status (this certainly applied to some extent to the librarians) or in using their institution’s agreement as a bargaining counter for economic aid, as in the case of the Depression-hit book trade (Barbian 1995:113). And indeed, the RSK in its capacity as the writers’ representative did push through some legal improvements of their situation that had been demanded during the Weimar Republic (ibid:469ff). In other words, *Gleichschaltung* was an overdetermined process marked by the coincidence of various interests within organisations which hoped to make gains, in whatever terms, in return for their loss of autonomy. Furthermore, the affiliated organisations often managed to retain some vestiges of power even beyond the early days - like the victory of conservative pedagogues over the Party in the matter of children’s literature (Jaroslawski & Steinlein 1976:311).

The first steps in literary control were also far more halting and unsuccessful than might be assumed from looking at the array of bureaucracy trying to impose them. The confusion over competencies affecting the book trade, which some have interpreted as having double-sealed all spaces (eg Brenner 1963; Breuer 1982), in the early years actually led to gaps, and indeed it was not until well into the war that the literature department of the Propaganda Ministry finally managed to impose a com-

pletely unified censorship procedure (Barbian 1995:184)⁴⁵. Battles between different bodies created faultlines which were exploited by publishers throughout the period: Hall (1994:268) and Geyer-Ryan (1987:190f) both describe cases where publishers played rival political institutions off against each other to some effect.

Aside from the fact that no amount of filtering and presentation could reliably impose a particular way of *reading* upon an audience, private bookshelves were not as a rule policed⁴⁶, so that pre-1933 tastes could continue to flourish in the home. And even on the level of book distribution, according to Boese a certain room for manoeuvre “für moderne ausländische Literatur, für Literatur der ‘Inneren Emigration’ und selbst für jüdische Autoren” remained (Boese 1987:237). The state bureaucracy’s unabated complaints about the failure of booksellers to remove even unambiguously forbidden titles from their shelves (Thuncke 1987a:142f) demonstrate that right until the end of the regime books were slipping through the net, as do the regularly published lists of commercial libraries subjected to hundred-mark fines for stocking banned titles (eg *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt*, 31 Oct 1941). In general the commercial libraries, highly suspect to the bureaucracy for their non-political focus on entertainment against all pedagogical ideals, succeeded in soaking up readers lost to the public libraries after the first purges (Barbian 1995:146). They continued to depend on and cater to their customers’ traditional reading habits despite all attempts to instrumentalise them (ibid:30f). Admittedly, the same degree of freedom was not available to the public library system, strictly centralised, charged with educating the reading public and far more effectively controlled than the book market as a whole (Boese 1987:237).

If unwanted literature continued to circulate, this may be explained in various ways. Commercial reason prevailed in 1934 when Economics Minister Hjalmar Schacht vetoed the immediate and wholesale elimination of the Jewish publishing industry (Dahm 1993:48), and in Barbian’s view the Propaganda Ministry’s initially cautious line on expropriations was prompted by a need to create the impression of a literary

⁴⁵ Up to 1936 censorship had been carried out piecemeal by more than a dozen different bodies, and even after that the Ministry had to share responsibility for censorship until 1942 with the PPK, the SS and Hitler himself (Barbian 1995:852f).

⁴⁶ The Gestapo was entitled to search private libraries and confiscate certain books, marked by the SS in the *Liste*, if it had grounds for suspicion (Barbian 1995:535), but such actions did not even approach comprehensiveness.

scene that would be marketable abroad in terms both of propaganda and sales (Barbian 1995:576). The tacit permission for commercial libraries to continue lending the officially despised 'trivial' literature is another instance of what Ahé calls the "Marktweg" clashing with the "Ideologieweg" so furiously pursued by Party offices (Ahé 1982:41). This conflict between the commercial need to keep alive important sectors of the economy and the pursuit of the regime's ideological aims will become evident in the case of translation, particularly of popular fiction. Conflicts also existed among policymakers between an insistence on ideological purity, argued by Rosenberg, and Goebbels' more pragmatic calculation that an element of escapism could only strengthen the regime's hold. The promotion of 'trivial' or apolitical literature was the bone of contention, a disagreement which came to a head during the war in the debate on reading matter for the troops; in the end Goebbels won his case and relaxed strictures against entertainment literature (Barbian 1995:559). These cases suggest that the incompleteness of control may have been a calculated allowance of freedom for commercial and political reasons - this is certainly the interpretation of Schäfer (1981). While it seems to have been true of some aspects of censorship, there were undoubtedly others where the remnants of freedom were due simply to a failure, exacerbated by institutional infighting and lack of communication, to cover every angle of a large and highly complex trade. Certainly, the sheer logistics of controlling supply to a book-hungry public made totality unfeasible. Strothmann claims that the Rosenberg office, managing to read 10,000 books a year, still only covered half the average annual book production (Strothmann 1963:217), and the Ministry with its smaller staff was even more stretched (Barbian 1995:173). In particular, the analyses of press censorship made by Hale (1964) and Abel (1968) suggest that this was given high priority, thus probably reducing the resources available for the control of books - control that even so cost the Ministry over ten million marks between 1933 and 1942 (Barbian 1995:185). Given the complexity and expense of the task in hand, the "Planlosigkeit" of Nazi cultural policy identified by Bollmus (1970:250) meant that gaps were bound to remain.

There seems, then, much evidence that despite the plethora of literary policymakers and offices, "herrschaftsfreie Nischen" continued to exist for some readers and seg-

ments of the book trade (Barbian 1995:42; see also Dahm 1993:199). This must not, however, obscure the fact that during the Nazi period thousands of those involved with German book production were persecuted and murdered - and that a very real, and within limits successful, frame of control was implemented. Certainly less successful was the attempt to impose a new reading culture and to foster an innovatively National Socialist literary scene. This complex picture of literary management is typified by the case of translation: a field of German literature that, while severely narrowed by the regime, often defied officially-voiced wishes by following its own, traditional and commercial rationale almost throughout the period.

1.3. The management of translations

Translated fiction, of course, covers almost as wide a range as non-translated fiction and the spectrum that emerges from the bibliography in Chapter 2 includes the actively promoted Nazi-conformist 'Dichtung', the barely tolerated 'Kitsch' and most stages in between. Accordingly, the treatment of translations in the period appears to have been only slightly more unified than the treatment of literature in general. Until the outbreak of war translation into German⁴⁷ was not banned *per se*, and Aigner's analysis of the various editions of the central *Liste* demonstrates that every translation it includes is present on grounds other than simply being translated (1971:1006). However, the following discussion will show that as well as suffering the same constraints as all other fiction - *Berufsverbot*, indexation, paper rationing, attacks on publishers⁴⁸ - translated literature was subject to specific controls, particularly after the outbreak of war.

The 1933 activists' generalised suspicion towards translation has been mentioned in the Introduction. While this was not immediately transformed into practice, transla-

⁴⁷ No further comment will be made here on the regime's attempts to manage translation *out* of German, via a system of customs control (Barbian 1995:545ff) and promotional measures including generous subsidises for translations of approved German literature (ibid:220ff). Chapter 3 will show that translation out of German was a policy area eagerly pursued by literary commentators. For the present it should be noted that the many measures to promote Nazi literature abroad failed to win much ground from the 'un-German', ie exile, literature that made up most translation out of German (see Strothmann 1963:424).

⁴⁸ The harassment and expropriation of publishers specialising in translation such as Goldmann and later Zsolnay is of particular relevance here.

tions were subject to pre-publication censorship by the RSK from early in the period, a stricture shared only by the overtly 'political' texts monitored by the PPK. A Propaganda Ministry memorandum of July 1935 on the purchase of foreign translation rights required publishers to submit for consideration a copy of the proposed source text accompanied by translated excerpts, details of the author's 'Aryan' origins and other information, including an evaluation of the insights the work offered into the life of the source language nation (Strothmann 1963:197; Hall 1994:205). Strothmann supposes that this procedure was little more than a rubber stamp⁴⁹ until Spring 1939, when procedures were tightened and newspapers ordered to stop reviewing translations except those explicitly listed by the Ministry (Strothmann 1963:195)⁵⁰. Certainly the data collected in Chapter 2 show that translations were being published in the pre-war years which do not appear compatible with a strict line by the censors. This may partly have been the result of defiance by individual publishers. For example, Wilhelm Goldmann of Berlin was ordered in 1935 to present all prospective reissues of entertainment literature, many of them translations, for pre-publication approval, a ruling which he managed to sidestep at least in part till late 1937 (Barbian 1995:568f). On the other hand, Goldmann's output was undoubtedly very much constrained by the special attention paid him by SD and Propaganda Ministry - including the refusal in 1935 of permission to buy translation rights to Anglo-American detective novels (ibid:568) - and the existence of such pressure on publishers must relativise Strothmann's claim that pre-publication censorship was purely a formality before the war.

The refusal of permission to reprint was an instrument particularly heavily used later in the period to control high-selling translations. For the Ministry the refusal of reprints had the added advantage of discretion, since the translation came onto the market, avoiding the appearance of censorship, and could then be quietly suppressed after the early print-runs as if for lack of public interest (this was the fate of Nobel prizewinner Pearl S Buck's bestselling novels after she spoke out against the Nazis, Hall 1994:277). But Ministry decisions on permission to reissue or confiscate were

⁴⁹ According to Dahm, the exception to this was translated books by Jewish authors. He finds that the pre-publication permission procedure in fact worked as a very specifically anti-Jewish filter (Dahm 1993:186).

⁵⁰ In mid-1939, Strothmann says, the RSK became stricter, turning down 60-70% of applications (1963:198); from Autumn 1939 the blanket bans described below came into force.

highly unpredictable. When Zsolnay's translation of Jean Anet's *Ariane* was confiscated, no reason was given and the publisher had to conclude that the difficulty lay with the Jewish origins of the film star who happened to be illustrating the cover (ibid:67). This case demonstrates the extreme difficulty of predicting secretive and inconsistent official judgements. Extra caution was necessary, and the threat of confiscation could thus encourage self-censorship⁵¹ in the publication of translation as much as in that of other literature or, bearing in mind the special attention paid to translations, even more so.

According to Hall, the pre-war requirement for permission to publish and reissue translations was accompanied by a further means of control, what he calls the "Brechtstange" of foreign currency restrictions (ibid:262). Because the allocation of foreign currency was at the disposal of the Propaganda Ministry, publishers could be prevented from paying debts abroad. For Zsolnay at least, the failure to pay royalty debts led to considerable friction with translated authors and occasionally to the complete collapse of cooperation (Theodore Dreiser and Pearl S Buck both withdrew from Zsolnay on these grounds⁵²). The situation was exacerbated by the requirement that the reason for delayed payment be kept secret from foreign publishers and authors, in line with the regime's general wish to conceal censorship measures from observers abroad (ibid:278).

On the outbreak of war, the position of translation became simpler and far harsher. The blanket ban on translation from 'enemy states' imposed on translations from Britain in December 1939 was soon updated to include work from Poland, France and in 1941 the USA. Such translations were forbidden on principle, with a number of special exceptions (see 1.4.). The rationale of the wartime bans was, to be sure, partly an ideological one, but the economic aspect took pride of place: a secret RSK memo to publishers in 1939 reminds them that French and English belles lettres were

⁵¹ Based in Austria, until annexation the Zsolnay house was not formally bound by pre-publication procedures, but the threat of confiscation within the important German market led it to exercise extreme caution in accepting new translation rights (Hall 1994:249). In Hall's opinion Zsolnay's self-restriction went over and above the necessary, amounting at times to "vorausseilende Gehorsamkeit" (ibid:286).

⁵² By 1939 the Zsolnay house already owed Pearl S Buck over 15,000 marks in outstanding royalties (Hall 1994:279). As Hall points out, the more successful a translated author, the more disastrously royalty debts could build up, undermining the whole basis of commercial success for publishers of translations (ibid:249).

not to be published or sold⁵³ on the grounds that “insbesondere muß verhindert werden, daß aus dem weiteren Vertrieb dieser Übersetzungen Devisenforderungen zugunsten von Ländern anwachsen, die mit allen Methoden des Wirtschaftskrieges versuchen, das deutsche Volk auszuhungern” (reproduced in Ihde 1942:199). The financial point is underlined by the fact that works whose copyright had lapsed were in principle exempt from the bans (ibid). Because the definition of ‘enemy literature’ was by nationality not language, confusion could occur on which English-sounding authors were translatable, which banned; the ‘enemy’ itself was changeable too, so that frequent policy shifts were bound to occur. For example, the selling of Russian literature became a topic of much confusion. While anti-Bolshevik translations from Russian had been banned during the Hitler-Stalin pact, a flurry of RSK memos in 1941 restricts, then reallows, sales of new anti-Bolshevik translations and clarifies a new ban on the previously permitted Russian classics (in Ihde 1942:202-204).

Aside from the blanket bans on enemy nations, other anti-translation measures became active during the war. The public libraries, for example, had always been warned that although translations could be a valuable resource, they were to be selected carefully to avoid reintroducing ideas now “überwunden” in Germany (*Die Bücherei* May 1939:281f) and the lists of recommended books show a wary attitude to translated fiction (see 1.4.). Once the war began the tone became sharper: naturally, banned titles would not be on the shelves, but in some cases even permitted titles (here Russian classics) were to be lent only “wenn ein begründeter Leserwunsch vorliegt” and must not be newly bought, catalogued or in any way advertised (Education Ministry memo to public libraries, February 1942, in Andrae 1970:189). Wartime conditions severely restricted communication with publishers abroad (Strothmann 1963:199); finally, paper rationing later in the war, based on the publication of ‘essentials only’ (Barbian 1995:557), allowed the most stringent treatment of translation on the grounds that it was an inessential extra to domestic literature.

However, this picture of suspicious control does not tell the whole story. In the period up to the outbreak of war, translation activity remained strong and if anything

⁵³ They were not, however, to be considered “Verbotsliteratur” but only secreted until the end of the war, when they could safely be sold again. This gives the bans under the wartime arrangements a different character from the disrecommendations of Party offices and outright bans in the *Liste*.

rose, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 2. Despite the fine-meshed regulation by the state bureaucracy, in other words, niches for translation certainly remained. To an extent this was the result of state promotion. Like the two-pronged approach to literary policy in general, translations held to be useful were promoted as well as ‘harmful’ ones suppressed. The criteria for acceptability are not easy to reconstruct⁵⁴ but, judging by reviewers’ comments and the titles published, seem to have been either that the source author was a known apologist for Nazi Germany (such as Knut Hamsun⁵⁵), that the text was capable of use as a propaganda weapon against the source nation (such as A J Cronin’s anticapitalist novels), or - most diffusely - that the source and/or target text was consonant with Nazi ideology and thus provided enrichment or support for the approved target literature⁵⁶.

Up to the war it appears that such consonance was defined widely enough to include general harmlessness, such as animal stories or ‘classics’, with a real range of translations officially affirmed; after that the terms of acceptability narrowed extremely. In this wartime period some translations were, however, still positively encouraged, with special exceptions being made even to the bans on translations from the ‘enemy states’. The literature of allied and occupied nations was specially promoted via the short-lived “Europäische Schriftstellervereinigung”, a writers’ organisation initiated and funded by the Propaganda Ministry in 1941 and 1942 under the guise of ‘spontaneous’ cooperation. Its promotion of acceptable European writers in translation formed part of ambitious preparations for the new German-governed Europe after the war as well as hoping to compensate for wartime boycotts of German writing abroad (Barbian 1995:445). The association’s programme aimed to encourage the sales of existing translations from friendly authors and the publication of new ones while strongly discouraging distribution of those authors who had not joined the association (ibid:445f). Librarians were also requested in general to encourage the borrowing of translations from friendly nations: “In dem uns aufgezwungenen Kampfe werden die Volksbüchereien die kulturellen Beziehungen zu den uns

⁵⁴ I have found no material that explicitly sets such criteria out, and it is very possible that none exists, since the method of the Ministry censors depended on maximum flexibility, minimum transparency.

⁵⁵ Once a previously welcomed writer made any anti-Nazi comment all tolerance was withdrawn. This was the fate of Sigrid Undset: “Die norwegische Schriftstellerin Sigrid Undset hat sich in einem besonders gehässigen Aufruf gegen die deutsche Wehrmacht gewandt. - Die Ausleihe ihrer Bücher in Deutschland ist daher nicht mehr tragbar und ab sofort einzustellen” (RSK memorandum to the commercial libraries, June 1940, in Ihde 1942:132).

⁵⁶ All these issues will be explored in more detail in Chapter 3.

befreundeten und den neutralen Ländern durch Beschaffung geeigneten Schrifttums, Herausstellung in Verzeichnissen und Auslagen sowie in der Ausleihe selbst besonders zu pflegen haben” (public libraries office memorandum, September 1939, in Andrae 1970:184). As will be seen in Chapter 2, the publication of translations in the early war years, in particular the pattern of source languages, shows some impact of these and similar promotion measures.

The willingness of the state and/or Party to promote certain translations seems to have been fully exploited by publishers and translators. If a certain translation was chosen for promotion by the regime, phenomenal sales could be expected (see Hall 1994:263ff for the case of Cronin’s *Die Sterne blicken herab*), a strong motivation in a climate of constraint on previously successful translation programmes. Hall describes the case of translator Walter Kotas, a keen Party member who was so intent on translating the Swedish supposed Nazi Vilhelm Moberg that he spent months knocking on RSK doors insisting on the political reliability of his chosen author. He finally succeeded in overcoming RSK reluctance and Moberg became a Zsolnay author until he spoke out against the regime in 1938 and was promptly dropped (Hall 1994:191ff). The case of Moberg interestingly illustrates the way the terms of state bureaucracy were integrated into commercial battles within the publishing industry: Kotas lured the anti-Semite Moberg away from rival publisher Piper by telling him that Piper’s translator was Jewish and would thus endanger his sales in Germany (ibid:192f). It seems clear that every means possible, from possibly disingenuous book descriptions to lavish name-dropping, was employed in publishers’ negotiations with the censors to achieve permission to publish translations⁵⁷. Neither did the industry lack ingenuity in the presentation of texts so as to fulfil the demand for congruence with Nazi norms. The description of content could be presented in a way likely to meet with approval or the affiliation of the author cosmeticised, and skilful marketing played its part too. Ahé’s claim of manipulation and “verfälschende Rezeption” (1983:133) may wrongly posit the potential existence of a *non*-manipulative translation practice but the point he makes about the marketing of Swedish writing is probably typical. Zsolnay used brochure design, carefully chosen dustjacket

⁵⁷ For the parallel case of fascist Italy, Rundle (1998) has traced in detail the very ingenious arguments in ever different guises that the proposed publisher of an anthology of American literature put before the censors.

illustrations and titles to cast the slightly ambivalent Vilhelm Moberg in a more clearly Nazi-consonant mode, for example adding to the source title *Raskens. En soldatfamiljs historia* further military and peasant tags as well as an explicit source-culture marker: *Kamerad Wacker. Roman eines schwedischen Bauernsoldaten* (Ahé 1983:93f; cf the correspondence on titles cited in Hall 1994:195f). Translations could also be embedded in a context that claimed their identity with German literature, for example the inclusion of Scandinavian tales and, more surprisingly, excerpts from the *Arabian Nights* within a children's anthology of 'German' folktales (Kamenetsky 1984:74). The detail of translation, too, could influence the extent to which a text became acceptable. Examples of subtle shifts will be seen in later chapters, but changes might be more drastic: Nora Waln's *The House of Exile*, a novel recommended by Rosenberg's office about an American woman in China, once translated boasts a whole new chapter praising the efficiency and culture of the Germans⁵⁸. Hall cites correspondence on alterations to a 1936 newspaper pre-print of a Daniele Varè excerpt at the insistence of the newspaper's worried editor: "Überhaupt bedarf das Buch unseres Erachtens noch verschiedener Streichungen bzw. Retuschen, wenn es in Deutschland nicht berechtigte Kritik hervorrufen soll, die unter Umständen zu einem Verbot führen kann"; Zsolnay readily obliged (Hall 1994:288). Alterations to the 1942 reprint of another Varè text were ordered directly by the RSK because it was felt that the English and French characters were presented too positively (ibid:297). The two latter cases exemplify the mixture of self- and external censorship that presumably affected not only the selection but also the stylistic detail of translated fiction in the period, a matter that will be more closely examined in Chapters 4 and 5.

Apart from actually promoted translations, the survival of tolerated or even banned ones seems evident from the success of the commercial lending libraries mentioned in 1.2. These libraries depended heavily on translations, especially of popular fiction, and continued to cater to older patterns of demand among the reading public by providing access to disapproved translations forced out of the public library system (Barbian 1995:620f). The survival of the officially denigrated translation, if in an

⁵⁸ Translated by Josephine Ewers-Bumiller and L Günther as *Süße Frucht, bittre Frucht: China*, Berlin: Wolfgang Krüger 1935, inserted chapter pp 265-268. Such efforts were in vain once Waln's anti-Nazi *Reaching for the Stars* was published in 1939, making her an enemy of Germany (Berglund 1980:172).

adapted form, until right up to the outbreak of war will be discussed further in Chapter 5, which shows that slight textual changes, probably self-imposed by translator and publisher, moves these texts somewhat nearer the requirements of the regime. It is the pervasive presence, even in non-promoted translation, of such self-censorship measures that demonstrates how restricted translation practice really was in the period - and yet, as will be illustrated below, this restriction by no means amounted to complete suppression.

1.4. Translations in the indexes

It will have become clear that indexation was only one part of a whole edifice of “Buchunterdrückung” (Aigner 1971:935). However, an investigation of a selection of the indexes may begin to make visible the position of translations within the processes of control. The indexes dealt with below have been chosen to illustrate the regime’s application of a combination of ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ strategies, the diversity of organisations making recommendations and of their agendas, and the complexity of criteria determining such recommendations. The indications in 1.3. that the acceptability of translations depended on their authors, their publishers, their portrayal of foreign cultures and the degree of their ‘triviality’ is also supported by this brief examination of the lists.

‘Positive’ indexes recommended core holdings for various types of library and, as will be seen, differ widely in scope and tenor. The short *Von Kämpfen und Abenteuern*, published in 1935 for Rosenberg’s office, is subtitled “Hundert Bücher für Urlaub, Reise und Unterhaltung” and contains war and colonial adventure stories, all naming male authors. The list’s strongly militaristic and nationalistic tone makes it unsurprising that no translations at all are included. Such pursuits as battles and exploration were apparently considered particularly German by the Rosenberg office - despite the fact that the adventure genre was, as the librarians’ and education journals complain, one dominated by imports or imitations of them. By excluding translations the list is taking a clear, though not explicit, stand against the translated genre, concealing the popular adventure story’s foreign origins and attempting to foster a home-grown version in its place. This index thus exemplifies a mixed strategy of

censorship (absence of translations among the recommendations) and promotion (presence of the genre's ideologically acceptable variants).

The *Grundliste - 350 Bände - für Werkbüchereien* outlines an acceptable core collection for works libraries and was published by the RSK works libraries committee as a supplement to *Die Werkbücherei* in May 1937. Of 129 titles in the section "Erzählgut", 21 are translations. Unlike Rosenberg's adventure list, the range of translations is wide, including titles which do not appear in, for example, the longer *Reichsliste für Dorfbüchereien* (Education Ministry, 1936). Hervey Allen, R L Stevenson, Thomas Hardy (*Teß von d'Urbervilles. Eine reine Frau*), Stendhal and others make their appearance alongside the more familiar Scandinavian favourites of the regime - the rationale appears to be rather pragmatic, accounting for an urban taste for entertainment in literature that can accommodate translation with far less purism than is demonstrated by Rosenberg's office.

Published much later, *Das Buch ein Schwert des Geistes* of 1940 (Propaganda Ministry literature department), with its programmatic title, is directed at the commercial libraries in their supposed capacity as spiritual arsenals and aims to be "eine Waffensammlung" (Preface). An entire section of 105 entries is devoted to translations (fiction and non-fiction), divided into the approved source language sections American [English], Danish, Estonian, Finnish, Flemish, Dutch, "Jugoslawisch", Irish [English], Italian, Norwegian and Swedish. In contrast to the works library list, the entertainment focus has disappeared. The wartime context determines the choice and presentation of source languages - French, for example, is no longer permissible and English is carefully defined in terms of state rather than language. Of the American choices, seven titles were later to fall under the blanket ban on American imports but five survived. This list presents a complex picture in that translations are both carefully selected (with some source languages removed altogether) and claimed to be themselves 'weapons' in the alleged literary battle rather than necessarily the enemy to be fought.

The Propaganda Ministry's *Verzeichnis englischer und nordamerikanischer Schriftsteller* (1942) is only indirectly a positive index, since it was designed to pinpoint which authors belonged to the category 'enemy states', in other words primarily

which were British, which American and which acceptable since citizens of neutral nations. The index also informed librarians which English-language writers were of Jewish descent or otherwise unsuitable regardless of nationality, and which had died long enough ago for copyright to have lapsed. The index consists in a general ban with special exceptions, the presence of which makes the *Verzeichnis* partially a 'positive' list. Seventy-five authors are given special dispensations, in most cases for one work only. The majority of the excepted works are not fiction but political, biographical or war books; of the fiction, books considered useful for propaganda purposes are permitted, for example *Jack London in den Slums*, presumably held to demonstrate the failures of American society, or Wyndham Lewis' *Der mysteriöse John Bull*, which criticises the British 'race'. Only A J Cronin with *Die Sterne blicken herab*, Eric Linklater with *Juan in Amerika*, Esther Meynell with *Die kleine Chronik der Anna Magdalena Bach*, Grey Owl's American animal stories and P G Wodehouse's comic novels appear to have been successful sellers, though T E Lawrence (*Die sieben Säulen der Weisheit*), Sinclair Lewis (*Babbitt* and *Elmer Gantry*) and Robert Graves (*Ich, Claudius, Kaiser und Gott* and *Belisar von Byzanz*) are also well-known names. In all, however, this final and most carefully screened of the indexes is designed on the basis that translation from English, the language of the enemy, is inherently in need of control and, in particular, that translation is a source of economic contact that cannot be countenanced - hence the permission accorded to out-of-copyright translated authors.

The role of the major 'negative' index, *Liste des schädlichen und unerwünschten Schrifttums* in editions from 1935 to 1943, has been described in 1.2. The index is complemented by the 1949 Supplement I to the *Deutsche Nationalbibliographie*, which lists the publications blocked from entering the national bibliography in 1933-1945 and contains more translations - the *Liste* only includes books actually in circulation, the Supplement all those published in German (see also 2.1.).

Although it cannot be ascertained here precisely why any one translation was banned or restricted, the range of the approximately 250 translations of fiction appearing in the Supplement indicates the following grounds. Firstly, some of the works listed are by authors whose entire output was banned, on the same rationales as non-translated authors. Such authors appear in the 1939 *Liste* with the note that the ban applies "für

sämtliche Schriften”⁵⁹; for others the individual banned titles may well have covered their entire translated output. Secondly, a large number of titles by the ‘enemy’ authors who fell under the wartime blanket bans are listed: published abroad⁶⁰ after the bans were passed, they were submitted to the Deutsche Bücherei for archival purposes like all German-language publications and immediately secreted (see Aigner 1971:1012ff). Previously acceptable authors like Hugh Walpole or Agatha Christie also belong to this category. Thirdly, in some cases it appears to be the publisher that draws down the ban, with all books published by, for example, the exiled Bermann-Fischer of Stockholm or Malik in Prague (later London) banned. John Steinbeck’s *Die Früchte des Zornes* is banned when published in 1940 by Humanitas of Zurich, a house under a general ban, whereas in a new translation for Vorwerk of Darmstadt it is honoured with a place on the 1942 list of special exceptions; similarly, titles not otherwise affected are banned when they appear with Soviet publishers (eg Chekhov or Molière, both Deutscher Staatsverlag in Engels). Three entries in the Supplement are not translations at all but “getarnte Emigrantenschriften”, harmless-looking covers - Plato, Aristotle, Maupassant - disguising anti-fascist texts.

This leaves only a dozen translated titles, which must have been picked out individually for their unsuitability by the Deutsche Bücherei staff, presumably on the orders of the SD. Overall, it is notable that only few of the Supplement’s translations are subjected to such individual scrutiny; the majority are automatically excluded under the blanket-style criteria described above. Likewise, the central state index itself includes relatively few translations. These points could be read in two ways: either translation was felt to be less of a threat than home-produced writing, or the preventive apparatus was successful enough in the case of translations to remove the need for post-publication censorship - more so than in the case of non-translations. Of these interpretations, the latter seems more likely in view of the lengthy formalities to be observed by the publishers of translations and the strong concern

⁵⁹ Foreign authors of fiction under a “sämtliche Schriften” ban in the 1939 index (many more are listed for individual works) are Martin Andersen-Nexö, Pietro Aretino, Schalom Asch, Henri Barbusse, Nikolai Bogdanov, John Dos Passos, Theodore Dreiser, Ilya Erenburg, André Gide, Louis Golding, Maxim Gorki, Jaroslav Hasek, Karin Michaelis, Romain Rolland, René Schickele (writing in French), Mikhail Sholochov, Ignazio Silone, Upton Sinclair, Agnes Smedley, Sergei Tretyakov, and H G Wells. Later additions are Sigrid Undset (1940), Eve Curie and E Phillips Oppenheim (both 1941).

⁶⁰ There was rarely any need to index a German-produced translation on these grounds since the wartime bans functioned pre-emptively, controlling the acquisition of translation rights and paper.

about translation as a political force shown in the official and semi-official journals (see Chapter 3).

Apart from the *Liste* and its associated exclusions from the *Deutsche Nationalbibliographie*, the other main negative index affecting translations was the *Liste der für Jugendliche und Büchereien ungeeigneten Druckschriften* of 1943⁶¹ (hereafter LJB). The LJB is almost entirely dedicated to popular fiction, covering mainly detective and adventure novels - in other words traditionally imported genres with a heavy presence of translation. In terms of censorship practice it was secondary to the main *Liste* and carried a weaker constraint: the titles it listed were not to be displayed publicly or sold or lent to young people under 18. The list was also more accessible. It was available to the book trade and particularly directed at the commercial lending libraries, which were supposed to comb their holdings for listed items, then hand them in, destroy them or secrete them in a locked room (Barbian 1995:618; the ruling appears to have been widely disobeyed, as has been noted).

Of the LJB's 946 individual entries (2552 more titles are listed as part of the brochure-format or "Heftchen" series), 335 - more than one third - are translations from English, four are translations from French and one from Italian, so that the centrality of English as a source language is clear. Further, of the non-translations 320 have Anglo-American proper names in the title or are written under Anglo-American pseudonyms⁶². For example, Hermann Hilgendorff's numerous detective novels make their London setting explicit in titles such as *Percy Brooks. Whitechapels bester Mann* or *Der Maskenmacher von Piccadilly* (both Lipsia 1938). Of the brochure-type series, the majority have Wild West, American detective or other American themes, along the lines of *Schieß, Ranger, oder stirb!* by A H Lester (pseudonym of the more prosaic-sounding Arthur Heinz Lehmann; Kulturelle Verlagsgesellschaft 1938) or the *Tom Shark, König der Detektive* novels by Elisabeth von Aspern writing as Pitt Strong. Von Aspern is not the only female German author to take a male or neutral American pseudonym: Lisa Barthel-Winkler as F L Barwin, Janna Bernitt-Dryer as Jo Bert or Lena Escher as Ferry Rocker are other examples. In general, it appears that

⁶¹ Second, cumulative edition (first edition 1940).

⁶² Naturally an Anglo-American setting is not always indicated by the title. Neutral titles are likely to hide many more such settings, almost certainly raising the figure significantly.

the use of an Anglo-American sounding pseudonym and/or title was a clear policy in this branch of publishing, indicating a domination of the genre by translations to the extent that domestic production imitated translation, though naturally the prevalence of translations and imitative texts in this index may also be explained by the special opprobrium attached by the authorities to such settings (these issues will be explored further in 5.1.). Of the LJB's translations, the bulk is accounted for by the very prolific authors of the Weimar period, led by Edgar Wallace with his 152, mostly pre-1933, entries. Although Wallace translations were dipping by the early 1930s, other indexed translations appeared later in the period, well after the publishing climate became difficult. Whatever mechanism was steering the translation of popular fiction up to the end of the 1930s, it certainly did not consist in a successful elimination of the field and nor, evidently, were the restrictions it imposed considered to have been sufficiently strict as the period wore on.

To conclude this chapter, it can be said that in terms both of the promotion of approved literature and the discouragement of its competitors, the Nazi goal of literary management was only a partial success. Censorship in its many forms caused devastating damage to the literary scene, affecting translations if anything even more than non-translations and isolating German literature to a large extent from its neighbours. Many translations were indeed entirely banned - but not, it appears, simply on the grounds of being translated. As the investigation of the indexes has shown, the position of translations within the machinery of literary control was ambivalent. Viewed officially with suspicion and subject to careful selection, some of them were actively (if inconsistently) promoted as congruent with the norms of Nazi literature - and particularly, as Chapter 3 will show, with the idea of literature as the expression of the '*Volk* soul' of its source culture. Other translations, officially denigrated, survived in the gaps inevitably left by the ambitious project of total literary control, as will be demonstrated by the data collected in Chapter 2 and the case studies in Chapter 5. Finally, between these extremes, a practice of tolerated translation continued that indicates the capacity of some translation publishers to survive by balancing the demands of their market with new ideological and institutional requirements from above.

2. Patterns in literary importation

Falk, Herman, *Madame nimmt Gift. Dick Mortons heimliche Ehe*, Berlin: Eden (Der 50-Pf-Kriminal-Roman), 127 S., -,50
Fischer, Hans, *Deutschlands Morgenrot entflammt! Ein nationales Drama*, Bonn: Heidelbergmann, 24 S., 1,50

(Consecutive entries from the *Deutsche Nationalbibliographie* 1933, Week 42)

In Chapter 1 it was seen that a range of restrictions aimed to narrow the market for translated literature in both quantitative and qualitative terms. At the same time, the conclusion was drawn of Nazi cultural regulation in general that ambitious policy statements were not always reflected in everyday practice. The ambivalence is illustrated by a glance at the records of publication in the period, showing such curious juxtapositions as the one quoted above. By examining these records in some detail, I hope in this chapter to provide a more accurate picture of the shape and extent of Nazi control of translations. Rather than taking up the task of analysing content and translation strategies of the texts⁶³, this chapter will investigate their “external history” (Frank 1989). Leaving aside the official policy examined in Chapter 1, in other words, what kind of translations did publishers actually consider viable in political, aesthetic and commercial terms, and how perceptible is the impact of Nazi regulation on the choices they made? While the history of newly-published translations allows some insight into the results of permission procedures, the record of reprint figures will also bring in the commercial aspect by providing a glimpse, if an indirect one, into the buying and borrowing practices of the reading public.

The first section will describe the sources and parameters used to draw up the database of translations; section 2.2. will analyse the database in terms of volume of translation, source languages, trends in genre, publishers and translators; and 2.3. will draw some preliminary conclusions.

⁶³ An investigation of all - even of a widely representative sample - of the translations published in the period would be impossible for practical reasons, but Chapters 4 and 5 will look in detail at a small selection of the texts behind the titles.

2.1. The bibliographical data

Sources

In his study of English literature in Germany from 1895 to 1934, Anselm Schlösser (1937) describes the difficulties he encountered in drawing up a detailed bibliography of literature published in English or in German translation. Schlösser's work is detailed, sober in tone and for the most part remarkably free of the fierce xenophobia of the articles and reviews he published in, for example, the *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt* (eg 30 Jan 1941:31). Certainly, Schlösser's bibliography is not comprehensive, as Pym complains (1998:43), nor is it value-free⁶⁴, but his description of the problems of data collection prompted useful searches⁶⁵. While the impressive pedantry with which he follows up each entry could not, for practical reasons, be replicated here, Schlösser's decision to use the *Deutsche Nationalbibliographie* as his main source proved appropriate in the present case (see below).

Gisela Berglund, in *Der Kampf um den Leser im Dritten Reich* (1980), refers to translation statistics for 1935-1938 (1980:156). These are taken Charlotte Bauschinger's articles in the late 1930s (Bauschinger 1936ff) and do not tally with the figures I collected. For example, Bauschinger counts 751 translations from English and American English for 1935-1938 whereas I found 852; for French 180 where I found 234. Bauschinger's figures are always lower than mine and do not cover a full range of source languages. The sources and limitations of her statistics are not made explicit by Berglund, and Bauschinger herself accords them little attention, her work focusing primarily on translation out of German. On the other hand, Berglund's comments on the dominance of certain source languages and on the types of work translated, again based on Bauschinger's analysis, certainly accord with my findings. Dietrich Strothmann (1963) also draws on Bauschinger's statistics, but his analysis of

⁶⁴ Schlösser's evaluations of the authors he traces clearly belong to Nazi-approved taste; however, he still includes in his bibliography the despised popular fiction alongside canonised literature.

⁶⁵ For example, having originally hoped to work with the *Index Translationum*, which drew its data from the Deutsche Bücherei catalogues in Leipzig, I followed Schlösser's prompt and double-checked its data against that of the *Deutsche Nationalbibliographie* (DNB). Like Schlösser I found many discrepancies: comparing the belles lettres sections in the first quarter of 1933, the DNB contains 18 titles not listed in the *Index* while the *Index* includes several (mostly opera libretti) not in the DNB for reasons of categorisation. Part, but not all, of the discrepancy is accounted for by the *Index*'s policy of including only new translations, no reissues.

them helps little since it applies different parameters at different points with no comment.

Various bibliographies of translations from particular source languages exist, but all the secondary sources available at present are partial in their scope⁶⁶. Because the other primary sources proved to be either incomplete or impracticable to search⁶⁷, I have relied on the less incomplete and more user-friendly *Deutsche Nationalbibliographie* (hereafter “DNB”). Before 1931 the DNB was published in a briefer form as the *Wöchentliches Verzeichnis der erschienenen und vorbereiteten Neuigkeiten des deutschen Buchhandels*, originally by J C Hinrichs and from 1911 by the booksellers’ association Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler, with revisions by the Deutsche Bücherei. The post-1931 format is more complete and consists of two series: Series A covering titles distributed by the book trade and Series B with those distributed in other ways, for example drama scripts or book club editions. I have restricted my search to Series A, since the unclear extent to which Series B titles reached the public would add a new dimension to the main figures⁶⁸. The weekly DNB editions 1933 to 1944 inclusive have been analysed: the 1945 edition reaches only Week 1/2, January 1945 (listing titles published in late 1944), then ceases publication until August 1946.

During the twelve years in question the DNB was drawn up daily on information received from publishers, by the *gleichgeschalteter* Börsenverein and the Deutsche Bücherei in Leipzig under the watchful eye of Gestapo and SD (Barbian 1995:807). It appeared in weekly editions, each divided into sections such as philosophy, history, technology and so on. Of these, I have investigated the section “Schöne Literatur” only. Two other sections, “Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft” and “Jugendschriften”

⁶⁶ For example Quandt (7 vols, 1987-88) and Ahé (1982) for Swedish. A bibliography covering a wider SL range, Wolfgang Rössig’s *Weltliteratur in deutscher Übersetzung: Eine chronologische Bibliographie* (Stuttgart: Metzler 1997), was not available in London or Berlin and could unfortunately not be consulted, but the fact that it is only 640 pages long suggests it must be severely selective in scope. The list of translations collated in *Prisma* 1948 is suggestive but does not even claim comprehensiveness, being instead an attempt to demonstrate that some German publishers resisted the regime and brought out ‘good’ foreign works (1948, issue 17:37-41).

⁶⁷ Prime among these is the *Gesamtverzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Schrifttums*, a collation of DNB and earlier bibliographical data 1911-1965. This has proved reliable, but is arranged purely by author over the entire timespan, making it impossible to search systematically.

⁶⁸ The examination of areas like book-club publications could, however, yield interesting results in a future study. Certainly translations are reasonably well-represented in Series B (a sample two-week issue from 1939 included seven translations of fiction), and the existence of these additional translations should be borne in mind when considering the figures.

often contain literary translations, but for the sake of consistency I decided to follow the DNB's own categorisation of 'general literature' rather than searching the neighbouring sections. It should be noted, though, that the section allocation of translated authors often varies. For example, Greek or Latin classics are sometimes classed as belles lettres, sometimes as philology; thus Greek and Latin are unrepresentatively small SL (source language) groups in my database⁶⁹. Children's literature, too, presents categorisation problems. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Onkel Toms Hütte* (*Uncle Tom's Cabin*), for example, is sometimes counted as children's, sometimes as general literature by the DNB - and indeed while the second edition of Hendrik Conscience's *Der Löwe von Flandern* (*De Leeuw van Vlaanderen*) is listed under belles lettres, the first edition appeared under children's literature.

Issues of classification thus blur the boundaries of the data. Another difficulty is the DNB's occasional failure to note whether a text is translated. In fact, generally speaking the use of translation labels is consistent, usually phrased as "aus dem Englischen [etc] übertragen von...", or sometimes "ins Deutsche übertragen von..." / "Deutsch von...", the latter cases leaving the SL unclear. Because DNB data are provided by the publishers concerned (the DNB editors occasionally add information, such as pseudonyms, in square brackets), the quality of information varies. For example, one publisher of popular fiction, Auffenberg, excels in providing scrappy publication data: in contrast to the other publishers, Auffenberg titles are full of misspellings, unnamed translators, and unacknowledged translations. There may, though, also be real uncertainty as to what constitutes a translation. For example, the Low German writings of Fritz Reuter appear both with and without a translation label in different imprints, in both cases with the same titles but perhaps with different languages in the text, perhaps simply with disagreement as to whether Low German is a separate language from standard German. One translated author is frequently noted without a translation label, Swedish crime novelist Frank Heller (the pseudonym of Gunnar Serner, translated in the late 1930s and early 1940s). Only one text of Heller's consistently receives a translation label, *Drei Mörder treten ein* (*Tre mör-dare inträda*, Deutscher Verlag 1941), which appeared in a soldiers' edition throughout the war. The Norwegian writer Knut Hamsun receives his translation label throughout the bibliography except in every reprint of one pair of novellas under the

⁶⁹ This problem is less significant in that the main focus of my work will be translation from English.

title *Die Liebe ist hart* (Benoni and Rosa, Langen-Müller 1938). Inevitably some titles entered without a translation label will have escaped my attention, reducing completeness⁷⁰.

There are certainly other gaps in the DNB. Quite apart from accidental omissions, the advertising aspect of the bibliography, which was the definitive source of information for the book trade, meant it could play an important part in literary control. The existence of 'undesirable' titles could be silenced directly at the source, in Leipzig, thus minimising their presence in book distribution without the need for elaborate confiscation measures. Barbian (1995:808) notes that after 1941 translations from enemy states were not to appear in the DNB, and similar injunctions against listing undesirable titles in general had existed since the beginning of the regime. To address these politically imposed silences, after the war the Deutsche Bücherei published two Supplements to the DNB (1949). Of these, Supplement I is of some interest and has already been mentioned in Chapter 1: it lists the titles deleted from the bibliography by the Nazi authorities⁷¹. The Introduction to the DNB Supplements explains the need for the retrospective list in terms of the Deutsche Bücherei's almost sacred duty of comprehensiveness, limited only by the need to exclude pornography and works confiscated by the police (I, 1949), and the writers of the Introduction hasten to assure us that it was only under strong protest by the Deutsche Bücherei that the elimination of any title from the bibliography took place. The Supplements are designed to fill all remaining gaps in the DNB; the success of this may, however, be doubted⁷², particularly as regards the relatively underdocumented area of popular fiction.

The decision to exclude the Supplements' data from my figures was taken with the aim of improving the coherence of the database. In particular, the entries in Supplement I are almost all from foreign publishers rather than being part of domestic

⁷⁰ 'Invisible' translations form just one aspect of the question of what will be taken to count as a translation (see Pym 1998, chapter 4). This issue will be discussed under 'Parameters' below.

⁷¹ Supplement II covers titles where bibliographical data and/or the texts themselves were destroyed by chance in bombing. Few of the 7232 titles are translations - around 60 were counted, of which the largest group was French, then English and Scandinavian SLs (no exact figures are given here because the titles are labelled neither as fiction/non-fiction nor as translation/non-translation, so that a reliable count was not possible). No political conclusions can be drawn from the entries in Supplement II, but their absence from the main database should be noted.

⁷² For example, the fascist and militaristic texts indexed by the Allies in the 1946 *Liste der auszusondernden Literatur* are not included, perhaps ironically in view of the rationale expressed by the Supplement compilers.

production - and the fact that they did not succeed in overcoming German import controls suggests that we should not include them as accepted or even tolerated translations within the German/Austrian system. In this respect they might better be categorised with those prospective translations which never had a chance to enter the DNB in any shape, having been banned before publication. To include them in the account of the translations that could, at least temporarily, be bought and borrowed would, I think, skew the data. For this reason⁷³, my bibliography includes only the titles listed in the twelve relevant volumes of the DNB.

However, the information from the Supplements is worth bearing in mind. Of the 5485 entries in Supplement I, the translations are dominated by non-fiction, and indeed overall the author with the second highest number of entries (translations or not) is Stalin - only Swiss anthroposophist Rudolf Steiner appears more often. Apart from banned fiction, the main areas covered by the Supplement are communism, publications by the Jewish publisher Schocken, sex education and contraception. The great majority of publishers in Supplement I are based outside German borders, especially in Switzerland and the USSR, secondarily New York, London, Stockholm or Amsterdam. Of the approximately 250 literary translations I found in the Supplement, the largest SL group is English with around 100 entries, dominated by left-wing writers and detective novels; Russian (50), French (50) and American English (40) follow (all figures approximate). It will be seen below that apart from the absence of Scandinavian SLs these proportions do not diverge strongly from the make-up of the main bibliography.

The various difficulties with the DNB data must be seen as limits on the present statistics. Additionally, I may have overlooked titles during my search, and it can certainly be assumed that more was published than was advertised in the official national bibliography, so that in principle all figures must be taken as revisable upwards. The limitations are multiple and I make no claim to comprehensiveness; however, I believe the substantial size of my database means that general trends can still be determined and discussed.

⁷³ There are additional, practical problems: the Supplements do not use sections, so that distinctions were difficult between fiction and non-fiction, and translation labelling is less consistent than in the main DNB.

Parameters

I have included in my bibliography translations of fiction⁷⁴ from any language which were published in German between January 1933 and December 1944 and advertised in the DNB, Series A. The latter restrictions have already been discussed; the other parameters now require some further comment.

The choice of the label 'in German' means including books published in Austria, a division of little meaning to the book trade since even before annexation Austrian firms, though not legally subject to Nazi regulation and thus in some respects freer (Dahm 1993:116ff) were in practice highly dependent on Nazi sensibilities if they wished to enter the lucrative German market (Hall 1994:249). After 1938 the division disappeared entirely as far as Nazi regulation was concerned. The DNB also includes titles published in Switzerland and other countries, claiming for itself the role of collector of all German-language publications (in reality limited, of course, by the political interference already mentioned). Almost all the Swiss publishers listed in the DNB are either based in more than one country (such as Atlantis, based in Zurich, Berlin and Leipzig) or have a German outlet (the note "Auslieferung: C Fr Fleischer, Leipzig" is typical). The few purely foreign-produced titles were subject to even stricter regulation than domestic publishers before reaching the DNB and hence the German distribution system, via the ever closer control of book imports (see Barbian 1995:545-552); they are likely to conform particularly closely to official domestic translating norms, so that there is no reason to exclude them from the database.

My bibliography includes both first editions and reprints, with first editions marked as such. The division into new translations and reprints can disclose on the one hand the breadth of what was being translated and on the other the degree of the translations' popularity, their 'survival' in commercial terms (see also Schlösser 1937:24ff). While the number and size of reprints may not be an entirely reliable indicator of actual popularity (libraries and schools bought recommended titles under pressure⁷⁵),

⁷⁴ In the wider sense, including both prose and poetry.

⁷⁵ Additionally, in a climate of restricted availability and the loss of previous favourites, one must question the concept of 'choice' for book-buyers (see Stieg 1992:157 on library books). However, Pym's scathing comments on Schlösser's equation of 'most printed' with 'most read' may apply less clearly to the present case. Where permission had to be sought for every reprint and, without the security of old bestsellers, commercial miscalculations were more likely than usual to cause ruin, it is

in practice it brings to light many successful texts barely mentioned in the secondary literature and can, if nothing else, give the lie to assumptions such as that of Donald R Richards in his *The German Bestseller in the Twentieth Century, 1915-1940* (1968). This study lists books selling more than 50,000 copies but makes no reference at all to translated authors such as the Norwegian Trygve Gulbrandsen, the sales of just one of whose books neared the half-million mark during the Nazi period⁷⁶. Richards appears to be discounting translations as part of the category 'German bestsellers'. On what grounds he does this is not clear since he makes no comment on translations in his introduction, but it appears that for Richards a translation simply does not belong to the category 'German'. If, in contrast, we view translations into German as 'German books', an indication of the large sales many of them achieved helps counter any idea that translations in the period were a small-scale, minority interest affair⁷⁷. Conversely, the number of small, one-off editions may indicate the level of publishers' willingness to experiment with translated titles unlikely to meet with commercial success.

The allocation of the labels 'first edition' and 'reprint' is, however, by no means clear-cut. The DNB entries are not consistently labelled, so that some translations I counted as first editions may have been unlabelled reprints, thus giving a falsely high number of first editions. Far more often, the number of reprints of a title is understated by the DNB data. While the usual number of copies per edition seems to be around 5000, especially in later years editions of 10,000 are not uncommon; also, the entry for a later edition often shows that further reprints have been made since the first edition without a separate entry in the DNB. Thus, overall the unreliability of reprint figures is more liable to lead to an underestimation than to an overestimation, just as the categorisation problem did by underrepresenting classics and children's literature.

fair to assume that publishers reprinted only what they knew they could sell - and if possible sell fast, before policy changed (see Pym 1998:43).

⁷⁶ The 1944 army edition brought Gulbrandsen's *Und ewig singen die Wälder (Och bakom synger skogene*, Langen-Müller 1935) up to its 565 thousandth copy, but even in 1940, the last year of Richards' timespan, the book is listed as being in its 470th thousand.

⁷⁷ The compilers of the incomplete *Prisma* (1948) list of translations calculate that an absolute minimum of 3.25 million copies of translations were printed in the period. As they point out, the actual figure must have been much higher.

Obviously, many translations listed in the DNB in 1933-1944 are older than their first appearance in a particular edition (this applies, for example, to the nineteenth-century translations of Old Norse texts which appear in various different publishing guises in the bibliography, and to much Shakespeare translation). For these pre-1933 translations it could be argued that their form is not a product of the Nazi period. However, the fact of their being permitted for reissue means they fell under the same system of censorship and measures of acceptability, quite apart from any updating alterations which may well have been undertaken. In fact, as pointed out in Chapter 1, it is anyway unwise to assume a clean break with past literature in 1933. On the contrary, translations just as much as other literature saw the continued flourishing of pre-1933 favourites - Scandinavian classics of the late nineteenth century like Selma Lagerlöf, or 1920s English detective bestsellers such as Edgar Wallace. The success of these authors appears to have been unbroken by the change of regime and thus the fact that they were translated before the Nazi period should not bar them from the bibliography⁷⁸.

Texts explicitly labelled 'adaptations' have not been included. Julia Hartmann's *Ein Weihnachtslegendspiel* (A Strauch 1936), for example, is noted as "Unter Anlehnung an Selma Lagerlöfs *Christuslegende*" but I have followed the publisher's decision not to count this as a translation; likewise, the *Nibelungenlied* is counted when published with a translation label, but not when advertised as a tale inspired by the legend and lavishly illustrated with stills from the UfA film in 1935. Admittedly, the area is a difficult one, since the boundary between 'translation' and 'adaptation' is, in principle, not just blurred but probably non-existent. Even Gideon Toury's advice to take as an object of study "all utterances which are presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on no matter what grounds" (1995:32) does not help entirely. The target readers' assumptions about these texts are now inaccessible: it would be hard to prove or disprove that 'the' target culture read, for example, the Danish Svend Fleuron in his unlabelled guises as a German author. In fact, the question may be more appropriate whether Fleuron was constructed as German *at the same time* as being labelled Danish - the allocation of 'foreignness' is by no means

⁷⁸ The translated authors among Vogt-Praclik's list of Weimar bestsellers are Sigrid Undset, Knut Hamsun, Gunnar Gunnarsson, John Galsworthy, Edgar Wallace, Jack London and Upton Sinclair (1987:99-117). All but the last of these continued to flourish under the new conditions of 1933-1939.

clear-cut in the period (see Chapter 3) and cannot serve as the practical basis of a definition of translatedness. Using publishers' labels alone would have meant excluding, for example, Knut Hamsun, Mark Twain or Plato on those occasions where they lack a label, while other work by the same authors is labelled so that it seems unlikely that readers would fail to notice the texts' translated provenance. Finally, rigid definitions leave little space for a range of different understandings of the same work. In the case of an author like Frank Heller literary regulation made his works translations: the book trade favoured a non-translation label for Heller until the war, when his work began to receive consistent labelling. As the DNB hardly features either hidden translations or pseudo-translations⁷⁹, only small numbers of entries are affected by blurred boundaries and a pragmatic approach has been taken here, including every entry carrying a translation label⁸⁰ as well as those which lack a translation label but which can reasonably be expected to have been received as translations due to the presence in the DNB of other works by the same author *with* labels (for example Stendhal's *Italienische Novellen*, published by Rothbarth in 1938, or certain editions of the *Edda*).

Apart from the target-language title, my database includes SL author; publisher with year and place of publication; any series membership; first versus subsequent edition; SL and SL title; genre; translator; and the week of the entry. The SL author was not difficult to establish, since hardly any entry is listed anonymously in the DNB. In the few cases where the publisher's information does not include an author, such as Esther Meynell's *Die kleine Chronik der Anna Magdalena Bach* (*The Little Chronicle of Magdalena Bach*, Koehler & Amelang, 7th edition 1933), the compilers of the DNB insert the missing information. Neither do they overlook pseudonyms. The *nom de plume* of author or translator is noted with careful, even pedantic attention to detail, and applied in the alphabetical arrangement of authors.

⁷⁹ While pseudo-translations proper are extremely rare, the foreign (especially Anglo-American) pseudonym and title - signalling an imitation rather than an actual pseudo-translation - is not. It is found mainly in the pulp adventure and detective novel, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, but to a lesser extent in more up-market domains as well, with one Otto Goldbach writing as 'Gunnar Sigarsen' presumably in a bid to exploit the huge popularity of translated Scandinavian literature (*Nordlands rauschende Wälder. Roman*, Leipzig: Godwin 1940).

⁸⁰ This means the inclusion of one title almost certainly a pseudo-translation, Karl Vivian's *Waffen aus Insulinde. Detektivroman* (*Girl in the Dark*), Berlin: Kulturelle Verlagsgesellschaft 1935. None of Vivian's many other titles is listed as a translation and no record of a ST was found.

The edition is marked as ‘first’ if the DNB gives no label such as “Zweite Auflage”, “Neuaufgabe”, “Neuausgabe” or “37. Tsd” (the DNB does not usually label first editions as such). This information depends on the accuracy of the DNB entry, as I have not followed up the publishing history of each translation to double-check. As was suggested above, the number of reprints is certainly on the low side; however, the general trend of new translations proportional to reprints will still prove to be of interest.

Source languages are also somewhat problematic. The DNB - or rather the publisher submitting information to it - is usually meticulous in its naming of a translation’s source language, but sometimes the text is labelled a translation without the SL being specified. This applies above all to translations from the English or French, where perhaps the assumption is that the SL title given will look English or French enough to be identifiable, and from Scandinavian languages, where the general Scandinavian origin of the SL title is clear and perhaps further specification deemed unnecessary (see also Chapter 3). Less ‘obvious’ SLs are almost always noted in the entry. While in other respects I have allowed the bibliography’s gaps to stand, in the matter of missing SLs my focus on patterns of importation from different languages made completeness important. I inserted SLs where none was given, making use of other entries in the DNB and other bibliographies in order to obtain as complete a possible a view of SL trends. Where the DNB gave a SL that seemed to clash with the SL title I followed it up, but in the end, short of actually obtaining the source text, I decided to take the DNB’s word in cases where the SL given may well refer to an intermediary translation (eg where Aeschylus is given as SL Latin in 1936).

The terminology of languages is not always entirely clear. Translations from American English are sometimes labelled as such (“aus dem Amerikanischen”), particularly for a short period after British translations fell under a blanket ban in 1939 and before American translations joined them in 1941. At this point publishers briefly took special care to note non-British origin, or else omitted to note any SL - as in the case of Somerset Maugham and Arthur Conan Doyle in 1940, presumably less in the hope that nobody would notice they were British than as a claim for classic, supra-national status. In general, throughout the DNB the specification ‘American’ is reserved mainly for translated Wild West novels, very likely as a means of lending them a seal

of American authenticity. In most cases even American classics such as Mark Twain are simply 'English'. I have only marked the SL as American English if the DNB does so: if no SL is named or if the SL of a patently American author is given as "aus dem Englischen", I have noted 'English'. In contrast, if no SL is named for a translation from Dutch, I have noted either Flemish or Dutch, since where a SL is named at all the DNB does consistently differentiate between the two.

As regards English-language works, a particular case is presented by two publishers who specialised in literature in English for the German market. Tauchnitz and The Albatross (both Leipzig) flourished in the early 1930s and lost ground only from 1937, to collapse in late 1939. The Albatross re-emerged briefly at the end of 1940 with *The Book of English Humour* (edited by Warwick Deeping), while Tauchnitz came up with a rash of classics such as Shaw, Stevenson and, last but not least, the perennial P G Wodehouse (Wodehouse's *Money in the Bank* was published by Tauchnitz in late 1943). Earlier in the period The Albatross and Tauchnitz had got away with the publication of many works that would almost certainly not have passed the translation censors: Radclyffe Hall's infamous lesbian novel *The Well of Loneliness* appeared with The Albatross in November 1938 when reprints of the 1929 translated version⁸¹ had long disappeared, and Oscar Wilde's work continued to appear in Tauchnitz into the 1940s, even if with the proviso "vorläufig nur für den Unterrichtsgebrauch". The publication of foreign literature in the original appears to have been less strictly regulated than that of translations - presumably because its accessibility was limited to a particular, educated readership rather than reaching a mass market. Most Tauchnitz and Albatross titles, however, are not particularly radical but either classics, harmlessly old-fashioned (1941 sees a biography of Queen Victoria and the poems of Robert Browning), or favourites such as Galsworthy, A J Cronin and many more who had also appeared in translation. English-language publications certainly belong to the history of the German reception of English literature in the period; however, they have been excluded here for the sake of corpus coherence.

⁸¹ Radclyffe Hall, *Quell der Einsamkeit*, trans Eva Schumann, Leipzig: Paul List 1929.

The titles listed in the DNB tend to be given such genre labels as “Liebesroman” or “Wild-West-Roman” by the publisher, allowing me a limited inclusion of genre labels in the database - limited in that labelling is by no means consistent, and the large number of entries made it impracticable to research the genre of all unlabelled titles. The genre labels I included were adventure novel (largely Wild West); animal story; classic (covering mainly nineteenth-century ‘classics’ and the Greek and Latin ancients); detective novel (“Kriminal-” or “Detektivroman”); ‘Germanic’ classic (in other words, the Middle High German, Old Norse and similar texts that buttressed Nazi constructions of a golden Germanic past); historical novel; and romance (“Frauenroman”, “Liebesroman”). Purely formal labels, such as novella or short story, were not noted. Despite the patchiness of genre labelling, patterns do emerge, which will be discussed in 2.2. below.

2.2. Patterns in the publication of translations

Numbers of translations published

My database of translations taken from the DNB contains 4315 entries, which are distributed over the twelve years as shown in Figure 1 overleaf (first editions only, then first and subsequent editions). Figure 2 shows the proportion of translations to non-translations within the DNB belles lettres sections.

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of these figures is their relative stability over the twelve-year period, particularly as regards the presence of translations as a proportion of belletristic titles overall (Figure 2). Translating activity is unlikely to have been seriously disrupted as early as 1933, before the state censorship machinery had begun to roll in earnest (in fact, the *Index Translationum* notes exactly the same number of translations in the two years 1932 and 1933), so it seems fair to take 1933 as a relatively ‘neutral’ or typical starting-point, from which deviation is only gradual until 1943. Apart from a sharp dip in 1934, possibly occasioned by an over-anxious reaction to the onset of literary control, the number of translations actually rose for much of the pre-war period, peaking in 1937-1939. In these boom years for fiction, Nazi-

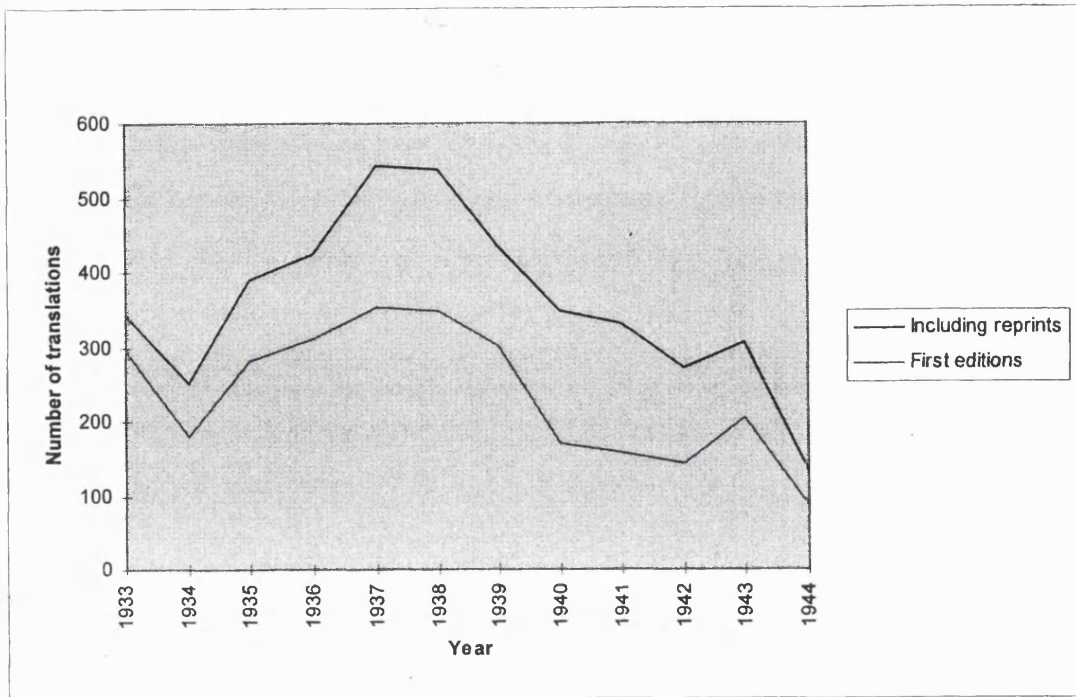


Figure 1. Numbers of translations

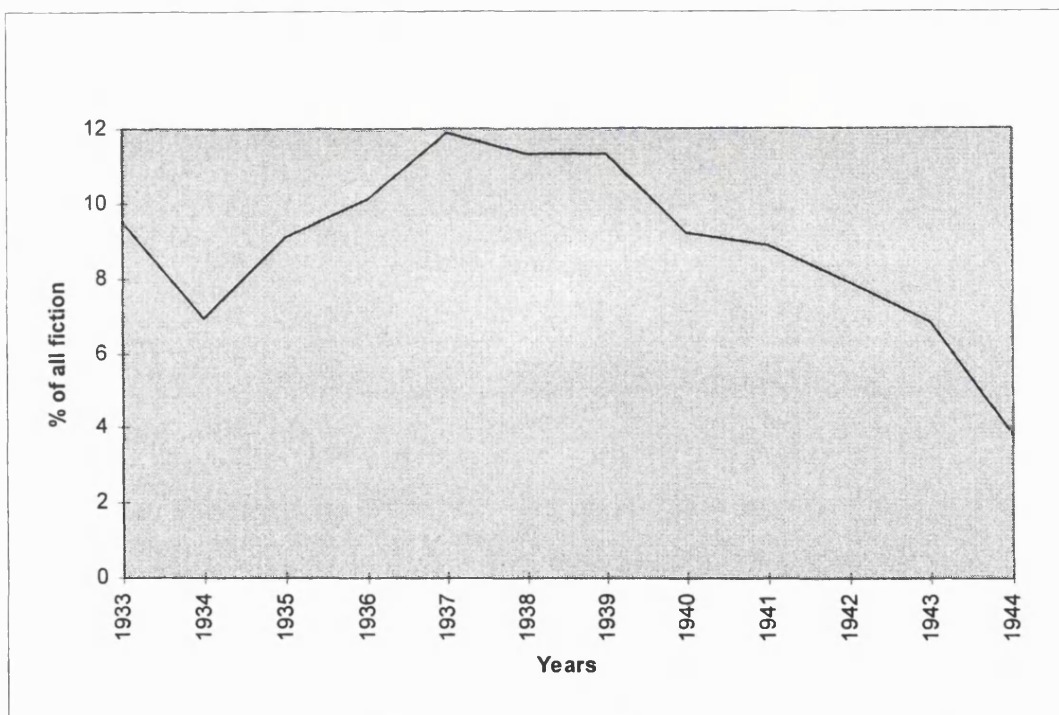


Figure 2. Translated fiction as a proportion of all fiction

loyal titles like *Ewig lebt die SA*⁸² make a relatively weak showing among the mass of westerns, detective stories and romances, whether translated or not, and translations themselves feature strongly. The rise in translations in the late 1930s - and, in

⁸² Herybert Menzel, *Ewig lebt die SA*, Munich: Eher 1938.

particular, the rise in the proportion of translations to non-translations⁸³ - contrasts markedly with the overall tenor of regulation (see Chapter 1) and of state-sanctioned comment on the undesirability of translations (see Chapter 3). Even after 1939, the wide-ranging bans on works from 'enemy states' do not reduce the proportion of translations to non-translations as much as might have been expected. It is only in 1944 that translations drop dramatically both in absolute terms and relative to other fiction.

On the other hand, the wartime bans do affect the balance of source languages within these figures. Most strikingly, English and French lose ground rapidly while translations from Scandinavian SLs increase (this will be discussed below). The combination of relatively steady overall figures with large losses for particular SLs suggests that a market for translations *per se* existed which could be filled by new SLs as the previous favourites became unavailable.

It will also be noticed (Figure 1) that the amount of translation accounted for by first editions as opposed to reprints fluctuates quite considerably. There is a rise in reprints in 1937 and 1938, probably feeding the high demand for books already noted. The proportion of reprints rises again in 1940-1942, suggesting an increased caution on the part of publishers, who perhaps favoured titles which, having so far eluded bans, could be expected to remain saleable, thus reducing the risks of pre- and postpublication censorship procedures. Certainly, as has been said, many of the big sellers among translations date back well before the Nazi period, echoing a pattern within non-translated literature, where the biggest commercial and ideological successes of the era were first published decades earlier and consistently reprinted. Again, it was not just translation which saw an increase in reprints as the Nazi period wore on: reissues accounted for an ever greater proportion of publishing in general too (Strothmann 1963:357). But for translated literature a preponderance of reprints also implies a weakening of cultural exchange, since less new literature is imported and more prominence given to already established, partially 'domesticated' or canonised works. The final year of the database sees the gap between first edition and reprint closing

⁸³ While Strothmann notes that the increase in publishing activity in 1937 affected all branches and resulted from the 1936/1937 economic upturn which increased consumer demand for books (1963:359), this only accounts for the rise in *numbers* of translations, not for their strength vis-à-vis non-translations.

again, as tightened paper rationing made all translation publication subject to equally strict scrutiny.

Figures 1 and 2 show that the importance of permitted translations to the book trade did not recede immediately on the outbreak of war. Indeed, the DNB entries reflect a hunger for fiction, whether translated or not, in the war years: the number of fiction titles overall increases, accounting for an ever larger share of the thinning weekly editions, and in late 1942 most fiction entries are marked as sold out before having even reached the catalogue. Many titles, as well, are noted as available only to the front-line or the SS, not for the retail trade⁸⁴. Reprints are speedy and large, with, for example, Eric Linklater's *Juan in Amerika* (*Juan in America*) seeing its eleventh to 30th thousand copies in 1942 almost immediately followed by the 31st-72nd. As one of the authors exceptionally permitted under the wartime blanket bans, Linklater's work could help feed the excellent market for the limited fiction available. The more popular of the Scandinavian writers, such as Trygve Gulbrandsen, show similarly flourishing sales in the war years. The houses owning the rights to such permitted authors not only reprinted their cash-cows with alacrity but also unearthed memoirs or put together 'selections' (for example, Barbra Ring's *Die junge Barbra. Erinnerungen*, Langen-Müller in late 1939, or *Das Streuvels-Buch. Zum 70. Geburtstag*, Engelhorn in 1941). In all, the unexpectedly high number of translations published after 1939 may partly reflect the commercial necessities felt by the book trade: within the narrow bounds set by the censorship processes, anything saleable was exploited. Apparently the German reading public's traditional interest in translated fiction offered the trade a welcome complement to domestic production in the struggle to tide itself over the lean years of paper rationing and official interference.

Trends in source languages

Figure 3 summarises the four most significant SL groups in the database⁸⁵. 'English' and 'American English' have been conflated for the terminological reasons explained

⁸⁴ Including several translations, for example James F Cooper's *Der Wildtöter* (*The Deerslayer*), Berlin: Oberkommando der Wehrmacht 1944; Mika Waltari's *Ein Fremder kam auf den Hof* (*Vieras mies tuli taloon*), Munich: Bruckmann 1943 and others. The only category of translation officially promoted for frontline editions was "Übersetzungen aus dem Nordischen" (Bühler & Kirbach 1998:255).

⁸⁵ Note that all the following figures are based on first plus subsequent editions, not first editions alone.

in 2.1., and 'Scandinavian' languages grouped together to show their joint strength - these languages were for the most part marketed and received as a group, often under the umbrella term 'nordisch'⁸⁶. The full breakdown of SLs, listed in order of frequency, is given in Table 1.

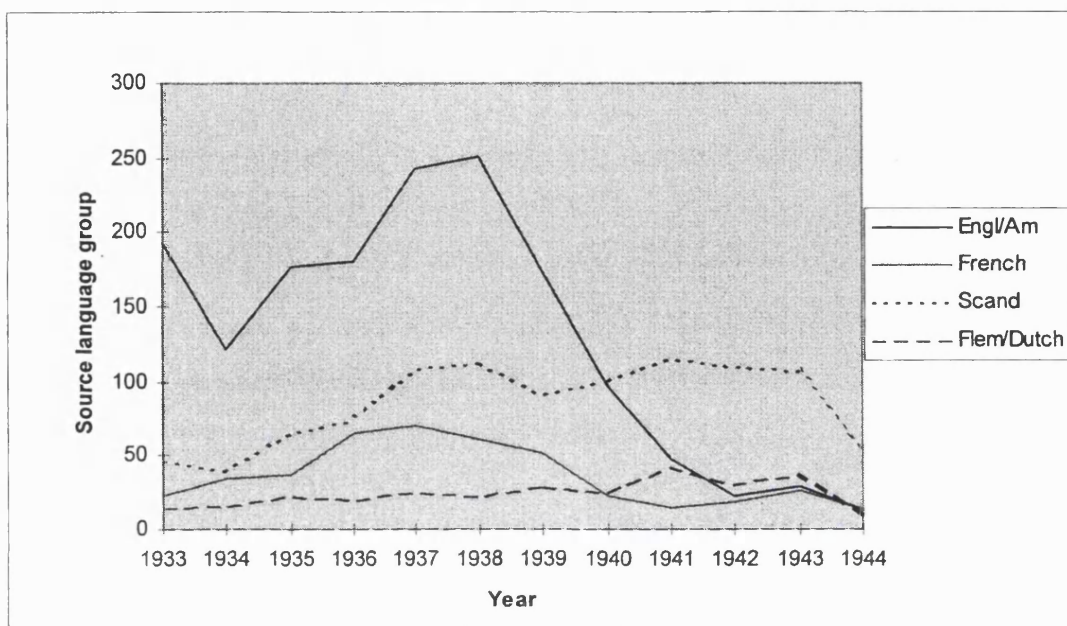


Figure 3. Trends in source languages

From Table 1 it will be seen that the ten most frequently represented SLs are first English by a large margin, then French, Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, Russian, Italian, American English, Flemish and Dutch. Figure 3 shows that only the Scandinavian languages taken as a group could rival the dominance of English/American English. They also, like translations from Dutch/Flemish but on a far larger scale, managed to increase their share when the traditionally important SLs French and English were dropping in response to the wartime bans, though it would be difficult to judge whether this was due to actual popularity or to the unavailability of other

⁸⁶ The 'nordisch' usually included Finnish as well - demonstrating the category's political, not linguistic, basis (see also Chapter 3) - and I have thus included in the 'Scandinavian' group Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, Old Icelandic and Old Norse (terminology as in the DNB). Of these, Norwegian was by far the largest source, as will be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Source languages in order of frequency

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	Total
English	162	114	169	168	212	237	154	72	29	23	25	13	1378
French	23	35	37	65	71	61	52	22	15	18	26	13	438
Norwegian	17	15	22	31	47	53	43	54	43	45	32	16	418
Danish	17	10	16	11	25	23	21	21	37	27	23	13	244
Swedish	11	7	18	24	27	21	17	16	29	21	33	10	234
Russian	17	9	27	17	37	26	24	24	11	6	11	11	220
Italian	9	6	10	8	6	17	13	22	29	38	35	7	200
American	31	8	8	13	31	14	20	25	19	0	4	0	173
Flemish	9	8	11	7	12	14	13	13	16	18	24	7	152
Dutch	5	8	11	13	13	9	16	12	27	13	13	2	142
Hungarian	4	0	7	10	14	11	3	8	13	5	10	3	88
Finnish	1	1	2	4	8	8	7	7	4	12	16	14	84
Greek	0	3	2	9	2	6	9	12	10	4	8	1	66
Spanish	5	2	6	4	4	4	1	7	19	4	3	3	62
MHG	4	4	2	3	4	2	3	5	1	2	4	3	37
Latin	4	0	4	1	2	3	9	3	0	3	4	2	35
Chinese	3	2	4	3	4	3	2	4	5	1	0	1	32
Romanian	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	4	6	12	7	31
Old Norse	1	4	6	2	1	5	2	1	2	4	2	0	30
Czech	6	4	3	7	3	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	28
Polish	1	1	5	6	5	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	25
Japanese	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	3	2	4	5	1	20
Various	2	0	3	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	0	2	17
Bulgarian	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	2	4	2	2	15
Croatian	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	4	4	1	14

Low German	1	0	0	0	1	0	9	0	0	0	2	0	13
Old Icelandic	0	2	1	1	1	3	1	2	0	1	1	0	13
Estonian	0	0	1	1	0	2	4	2	1	1	0	0	12
NHG	0	1	5	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	9
Turkish	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	3	0	9
Serbian	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	8
Arabic	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	7
Hebrew	2	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Latvian	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	1	0	1	7
Slovakian	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	7
Old Saxon	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	5
Portuguese	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Georgian	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	4
Sanskrit	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	4
Slovenian	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	4
Yiddish	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Icelandic	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Lithuanian	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Afrikaans	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Anglo-Saxon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Esperanto	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Münsterland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Persian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Rh-Romance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Ukrainian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	342	251	389	425	543	539	435	348	331	271	307	134	4315

fare - the very question, perhaps, to be asked of reading habits as a whole in the Nazi period. There are other cases where a SL's fortunes are obviously influenced by political events. For example, Romanian moves from almost no translations early in the period to a rush of interest after the start of the war (or more pertinently, after the occupation of Romania). In November 1942 two volumes of Romanian novellas were published within one week⁸⁷. Finnish, Bulgarian, Croatian, Japanese and especially Italian (the latter with a stronger starting-point) present similar cases. For these languages, the fervour of the reviewers of the new translations is disproportionate even to their rather steep rise to prominence (see Chapter 3), although the lack of reprints suggests that the bookbuying public's enthusiasm may have been less pronounced. Certainly the development of these relatively minor SLs bears witness to the attempts at state management of translation discussed in Chapter 1. In fact, Bauschinger refers to a 1936 agreement with the Italian government specifically to promote translation into German, partly in order to encourage general cultural exchange, partly to redress the existing imbalance where far more was being translated into Italian than vice versa (Bauschinger 1937:497); for whatever reason, translations from Italian rose from only nine in 1933 to a peak of 38 in 1942⁸⁸.

Unsurprisingly, the converse situation applies for Yiddish and Hebrew, where an existing tradition was quickly reduced to nothing⁸⁹, or to Polish, hit heavily by bans after 1939. Unlike English, Polish as a SL appears not to have had the commercial weight to generate exceptions and rule-bending after its products were banned. No translations from Polish are listed after 1940, in line with official decrees.

In general, the presence of a wide range of less frequent SLs throughout the period suggests a strong market for translation inasmuch as reader interest does not appear to have been limited to a few familiar SLs - publishers must have found it worth their while to cater to a taste for the more unusual or 'exotic' source language. Thus

⁸⁷ *Ewiger Acker. Rumänische Novellen*, ed Ernst Wallner, Leipzig: Harrassowitz 1942; *Blütenlese rumänischer Novellen*, ed Prof Max Richter, Jena: Gronau 1942.

⁸⁸ In contrast, any efforts which may have been made to promote translation from Spanish did not perceptibly pay off. The numbers remain low throughout the period, with the only steep rise accounted for by a matching set of twelve dramas by Lope de Vega brought out by Widukind in 1941.

⁸⁹ The few translations from Yiddish and Hebrew between 1933 and 1937 all appear with the 'ghettoised' houses allowed by the regime to publish exclusively Jewish authors for exclusively Jewish purchase (see Dahm 1993). Most of the translations are published by Schocken, one each by Brandus and Hechaluz.

Chinese and Turkish retain their presence throughout the period, and the Baltic and Balkan languages contribute small but persistent numbers of translations.

Turning to the larger SLs, Russian takes the sixth place in the table. It should be noted, though, that 70 of the entries for Russian (first and subsequent editions) are accounted for by just one author, Alexandra Rachmanowa. Her diary-based novels set in and after the Russian Revolution, especially the trilogy *Symphonie des Lebens* published by Pustet (later by Otto Müller), had been reissued 30 times by Autumn 1939. Rachmanowa's titles are normally listed "translated from the Russian manuscript", suggesting that she was writing for a translation market. Her anti-Bolshevik stance will have made her acceptable after 1933 (*Symphonie des Lebens* was first translated into German in 1931). Apart from Rachmanowa, historical novels with polemical titles like P N Krasnow's *Der Zarenmörder* (1938) or Iwan Solenewitsch's *Die Verlorenen. Chronik namenlosen Leidens* (1938) show healthy sales in the late 1930s. Russian classics also figure strongly, especially later in the period. Translations of Pushkin, Tolstoy, Turgenev, Dostoyevsky grow in importance until in the lean years of the war they come to predominate among Russian translations. Interestingly, the same Russian-SL titles appear as banned works in Supplement I (especially in 1934 and 1938), but published in the USSR: either a significantly different translation made the difference between acceptability and unacceptability, or the ban on the USSR-produced versions was a matter of foreign exchange more than of translation norms. The series of memoranda on translations from Russian in 1940/1941 shows considerable confusion in the official line (see Chapter 1) and this is reflected in the bumpy progress of the SL over the period, where the perceived harmlessness, even value, of the translated classic vies with fluctuating attitudes to the Soviet Union within the literary bureaucracy.

The SL group Flemish and Dutch makes steady headway through the period: Flemish, at least, was an officially favoured, because 'kindred', source language⁹⁰. It is accordingly dominated by the reviewers' rural and peasant favourites, especially Felix Timmermans (with nearly a quarter of the Flemish entries) and Stijn Streuvels

⁹⁰ Once again, the argument of 'kinship' was made on political, not linguistic grounds, thus allowing separate 'kinship' judgements to be made on Flemish and the Dutch of the Netherlands.

(with one seventh). Both of these are regularly reprinted, often in special, illustrated editions, throughout the period, although never in spectacular numbers. Unlike Flemish, translations from Dutch specialise in light fiction (Jo van Ammers-Küller's family histories⁹¹, Ben van Eysselsteijn's travel adventures) with little in the way of overt politics, and are rarely mentioned in reviews (see Chapter 3).

French is a SL with a strong pre-1933 tradition⁹², and this survives until the war with a similar pattern to that of English, though on a much smaller scale. The titles listed are very varied, showing perhaps a more 'normal' range and less moulding by official policy than the case of Flemish. Classics do not feature strongly apart from Dumas (*père* and *fils*), reappearing at regular intervals even after the wartime bans, and Balzac with a whole series, some works abridged and newly translated, published by Rowohlt in 1936. This may have been a safety-first measure by the politically suspect Rowohlt, who found himself at this point in a delicate position with his most important authors banned (see Mayer 1967). Stendhal and Voltaire make rare appearances in the bibliography. The majority of the French entries belong to contemporary 'acceptable' fiction like the rural-set, if not *Blut und Boden* novels of Jean Giono (later to be banned) or the Napoleonic historical romances of Octave Aubry, as well as popular fiction (Marcel Allain and Pierre Souvestre's *Fantomas* series in 1933, for example, along with a Georges Simenon series in 1935 and various other detective and romantic novels). The political acceptability of some francophone Belgian authors is intensified by their publishers' highlighting their proximity to Flemish culture: tags are added as in Marie Gevers' *Frau Orpha. Ein flämischer Roman* (*Madame Orpha, ou la sérénade de mai. Roman*, Hamburg: Goverts 1935), and Charles de Coster, with his Flemish-sounding titles, is one of the most regularly published of the French-SL authors throughout the period (Charlotte Bauschinger counts him as Flemish-SL; Bauschinger 1936:485)⁹³.

⁹¹ Van Ammers-Küller was, unusually for a Netherlands author, feted by the Nazi authorities (see Barbian 1995:85).

⁹² This despite the strand of public resistance to translation from French after Versailles: in the 1920s the publisher Paul Zsolnay, in particular, was attacked for his focus on translated French literature (Hall 1994:64; 249).

⁹³ The title of the de Coster story most often translated into German contains a Flemish-provenance tag in the SL: *La Légende et les aventures héroïques, joyeuses et glorieuses d'Ulenspiegel et de lamme Goedzak au pays de Flandres et ailleurs*. Among the various translations circulating throughout the Nazi period, more or less literal versions of this title coexist with a de-flemicising one from Insel (*Ulenspiegel und Lamme Goedzak. Ein fröhliches Buch trotz Tod und Tränen*) and one from

The politicisation of source languages seen in these cases is equally important for the Scandinavian languages. The grouping of Finnish within the 'Scandinavian' SLs in Figure 3, noted above, indicates the official reception of the literatures of the region in a geopolitical, racialised framework which will be further explored in Chapter 3. In fact, the extraordinary success of translations from Scandinavian languages, and particularly from Norwegian, must be the most striking area where Nazi literary promotion actually coincided with popular taste in translation. In contrast to the other SL considered 'kindred', Flemish, Scandinavian languages in the DNB do not merely receive official acceptance: they make up the biggest translated sellers of the period, with the possible exception of Edgar Wallace⁹⁴. There is no doubt that translations from Scandinavian languages were a public 'craze' (see Berglund 1980:158), and indeed the literary journal *Bücherkunde* bemoans this at length. While praising the truly valuable Scandinavian writers such as Knut Hamsun or Barbra Ring, *Bücherkunde* attacks publishers for jumping on the bandwagon and translating large numbers of inferior works by lesser authors (June 1940:159-162). Of course, the laments of the Nazi literary journals cannot be taken at face value, but the bibliography does indeed show a hard core of extremely successful, and well-reviewed, works being joined more and more by large numbers of lesser-known authors, many of whom were later suppressed after making anti-Nazi remarks. It would be interesting to investigate further the detail of these translations to see whether they were smuggling in a less officially acceptable, more commercially acceptable face of Scandinavian literature - this, certainly, appears to be a feature of the SL English/American English with its high proportion of non-canonical genres. However, the Scandinavian novels do show a clear trend towards rural, family and neoromantic themes, with ample recourse to myth and legend, that can fit snugly to Nazi-approved

Diederichs that makes the reference explicitly political (*Tyll Ulenspiegel und Lamm Goedzak. Ein Kampf um Flanderns Freiheit*). This may be seen as an example of political respectability being drawn directly from official views of the translation's source nation.

⁹⁴ In particular, Norwegian Trygve Gulbrandsen with two translations, *Und ewig singen die Wälder* (*Och bakom synger skogene*), first published 1935, and its sequel *Das Erbe von Björndal* (*Det blåser fra Dauingfjell*), first published 1936. The nearly half-million copies of each of these books make them the highest-selling titles in the database, though Edgar Wallace, with his numerous titles, may have been more successful as a whole even after his late 1920s peak had passed. Wallace entries do not name reprint figures, but Schlösser estimates that by 1934 four million copies of his novels had been sold in German (Schlösser 1937:89) and the frequency of reprints in the pre-war years of the database suggest this success remained more or less unbroken.

literature of the *Blut und Boden* type⁹⁵. The most frequently reprinted authors are Trygve Gulbrandsen, Knut Hamsun, Selma Lagerlöf, Sigrid Undset, Svend Fleuron and Gunnar Gunnarsson, but they are accompanied by a host of other, less successful names.

If Scandinavian SLs profited from a combination of political and popular acceptability, the SL group English/American English led a more clearly commercial existence. The group is far and away the largest source of translations in the period examined. Its numbers remain steady and even rise until 1938 and the earlier part of 1939, before the tightening of regulation in May, then the outright bans in the autumn, took effect. After that, English concedes its position to the Scandinavian SLs. Among the translations from English, it is above all popular fiction - detective and adventure novels - that produce the high numbers, accounting for nearly half the entries. As will be discussed in 5.1., these translations are supplemented by large numbers of Anglo-American-set non-translations which increase their visibility on the market even further. However, alongside formula fiction a wide spectrum of other texts is represented, showing, as I have argued for French, a translation practice that retained some of its own momentum despite attempts at literary management. For example, the 'middlebrow' novels of A J Cronin, Hugh Walpole or Charles Morgan feature throughout the period, as do light classics like John Galsworthy, whose works are repeatedly reprinted, including a special edition of his collected works by Zsolnay in 1933 on the occasion of his receiving the Nobel Prize. Less commercial American authors such as Theodore Dreiser, Stephen Crane or Ernest Hemingway are represented in small numbers early in the period, showing that the Nazis' removal of potentially undesirable highbrow foreign literature was not a thorough - at least not a swift - affair. These authors do, however, disappear in later years and the database does not support Schäfer's (1981:12) and Frei's (1987:113) rather rosy assumptions that modern American literature was unaffected by official policy. Likewise, Joseph Conrad, D H Lawrence, even Oscar Wilde, survive at first but disappear around the outbreak of war⁹⁶. As for the classics of English-language *Weltliteratur*, only Shake-

⁹⁵ Novels like Gunnar Gunnarsson's *Die Eidbrüder* (*Edbroedere*, Langen-Müller 1935) go further, their mythic treatment of violently colonising Norse heroes amply fulfilling official domestic literary requirements for the edification of the 'Nordic' German *Volk*.

⁹⁶ The last entry for Conrad is *Spiegel der See* (*The Mirror of the Sea*), Berlin: S Fischer 1939; for D H Lawrence *Das verlorene Mädchen* (*The Lost Girl*), Vienna: Ibach 1939; for Wilde the late, one-off

speare is represented to any degree, apart from reissues of Twain translations later in the period.

Placing my conclusions in the context of Schlösser's (1937) for the period 1895-1934, the overall orientation of translations from English - on entertaining narrative fiction with a strong interest in detective novels - seems to have remained largely continuous with the past. Schlösser's most-translated author, Oscar Wilde, is quickly reduced and almost entirely lost by 1939; his fourth, fifth and sixth - Shaw, Stevenson and Kipling - are demoted to rare appearances in the bibliography, but his second and third most frequently translated authors, Conan Doyle and Wallace, remain strong⁹⁷. I would suggest that this indicates a narrowing of the field and the intensification of an existing focus on the lighter end of the market. In other words, the effect of official management of translations from English appears to have been to stimulate further the central 'specialities' of the SL, while filing away more canonised texts from the edges⁹⁸.

Trends in genre

German-language publishers today attach genre labels to the titles of fiction, and the entries in the DNB show the same practice, with an explicit allocation of genre as novel or, more specifically, as detective novel, romance or adventure story. Additionally, the DNB abounds in series, which often position their constituent titles in a generic context for readers. As a marketing strategy, the usefulness of series is demonstrated by certain peculiarities later in the period: the series *Bücher der Spannung* (Dietsch) concentrates on Wild West pulp but during the war, when permissible translations were at their low point, uses the label to draw in out-of-copyright war-horse Edgar Allan Poe's *Narrative of Gordon Pym* to its adventure novel niche. Also in 1940, R L Stevenson's *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* is rejuvenated as a "Krimi" in the bargain paperback series *Der Dreißig-Pfennig-Roman* (Aufwärts), redeploying the

appearance of *Das Bildnis von Dorian Gray* (*The Picture of Dorian Gray*), Zurich: Terra 1943 (most Wilde translations had long since ceased).

⁹⁷ Schlösser's twenty most-translated modern British and Irish authors (he excludes American authors) are, in this order: Wilde, Wallace, Conan Doyle, Shaw, Stevenson, Kipling, Galsworthy, Oppenheim, HG Wells, Fletcher, WC Russell, Conrad, Alcock, Croker, Jerome, Chesterton, Stretton, Appleton, Bennett and DH Lawrence (1937:173).

⁹⁸ The Appendices give the database results for two sample years, 1937 and 1942, allowing some comparison of the earlier and later trends.

'classic' as popular fiction by a sleight of genre. This suggests that genre allocation is flexible, and that labels reflect publishers' needs more consistently than they do any intrinsic features of the texts. In a climate of political and commercial uncertainty, careful use of genre labelling might be a profitable decision.

Because genre marking is inconsistent in the database, only general statements can be made, but some patterns do emerge strongly and will be dealt with now. By far the largest, and probably the most reliably, labelled genre group⁹⁹ in the database is the detective novel, accounting for around 600, or 14%, of the total number of entries. Translations from English and American English form the heartland of the genre, with only French (Pierre Boileau, Stanislas Steeman, Georges Simenon) even approaching them in significance. Individual Scandinavian detective writers appear (Frank Heller translated from Swedish, Sven Elvéstad and Jens Anker from Norwegian) as do some Italians (Ezio d'Errico, Augusto de Angelis) especially later in the period. These SLs cannot, though, compare with English/American English - detective stories made up between a quarter and a half of annual translation from these languages until 1940, when the translated genre finally met with more or less complete suppression. Edgar Wallace, the mainstay of the 1920s boom in detective fiction, remains the most-reprinted of the authors, and other pre-1933 writers recur as well (such as E Phillips Oppenheim or Arthur Conan Doyle), but a very wide range of contemporary writers is represented, including newcomer Agatha Christie, just beginning her career in German translation in 1933. The detective novel genre and the place of translations within it will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5; for now, it is worth noticing the huge contribution this genre makes to the dominance of English as a translated language in the period.

The adventure or Wild West novel is another bastion of translation. The home-produced series *Tropenlut und Leidenschaft* of 1935 may have reckoned correctly to cash in on a dual market of explorers and romantics, but it includes no translated titles. Where translations do flourish is in the adventure, mostly on a Wild West theme and almost exclusively from English/American English, with around 250, or

⁹⁹ The middlebrow novel of manners or of rural life would probably make up the largest group but is not labelled specifically, only as 'Roman'.

6%, of the entries in the database. These are concentrated in the years up to 1937, and early 1938 sees a sudden collapse, a whole year before regulation began to attack translated detective fiction in earnest. Possibly adventure novels were easier to replace with domestic production; at any rate large numbers of non-translated travel and adventure stories begin to appear in the late 1930s, such as Friedrich Gerstäcker's 1920s tales of tropical adventure, reprinted and retold in numerous versions. Among the most prolific translated adventure authors are Max Brand (published by Knaur), George Baxter (Goldmann), Gregory Jackson (G Schulz) and Bret Harte (Aufwärts). In general, the success of the translated adventure stories wanes as the period progresses and ever more negative official attention is paid them - they feature strongly in the *Liste der für Jugendliche und Büchereien ungeeigneten Druckschriften* of 1940/1943.

In contrast to the adventure genre, the abundant romances, or "Frauenromane", listed in the DNB are practically all home-produced, with minimal imports. It seems that the domestic genre was rather self-sufficient, well fed by prolific authors such as Hedwig Courths-Mahler¹⁰⁰. On the other hand, historical and biographical novels are often romantic in theme and the category line is probably blurred - as in the case of Octave Aubry's story of Napoleon's mistress, *Marie Walewska* (Franckh 1937), a topic so enticing it could support another treatment in the same year, Lucile Decaux' *Madame Walewska* (Goldmann). The database shows around 150 explicitly historical or biographical translated novels, concentrated on the boom years 1937 and 1938. However, this figure is based only on publishers' labels, which are not consistent for the genre. Additionally, much of the Scandinavian literature so prominent in the database is both generally historical and generally romantic in character. A novel such as the high-selling *Die Eidbrüder. Roman der ersten Islandsiedler* (Edbroedere, Langen-Müller 1934) by Gunnar Gunnarsson, for example, or Trygve Gulbrandsen's *Und ewig singen die Wälder* (*Och bakom synger skogene*, Langen-Müller 1935), depend on their more or less vague historical setting and their strong love interest. This echoes the popularity of the domestic rural romance as well as more explicitly historical novels (see Vallery 1983); the Scandinavian semi-monopoly on the

¹⁰⁰ The authorities' difficulties in removing Courths-Mahler's 'trashy' novels from circulation are mentioned by Stieg (1992:81).

translated branch of the genre may have been supported by popular images of Scandinavian life as a communion with nature far removed from urban modernity. This, at least, is the argument of Ahé in his study of the reception of Swedish literature in Nazi Germany. He claims that its main German market, already firmly established in the Wilhelmine period, was the middle-class, *völkisch*-oriented seeker of escapist idylls (Ahé 1982:75). These novels' success may thus be attributed either to their foreign setting's exoticism or to its very conformity with domestic precepts and familiarity within a stereotyped tradition (related questions will arise in Chapter 3).

The category of "classic" is not labelled by publishers except by dint of series labels (such as A Juncker's *Berühmte Romane der Weltliteratur*), but has been used here to cover canonised authors like Shakespeare, Tolstoy or Homer. These 'classics', conservatively estimated, make up around 10% of the translated titles over the period and are concentrated in the SLs French, Spanish, Russian, English, Latin and Greek. Regarding the ancient texts, the caveats regarding categorisation should be borne in mind; figures are certainly lower than the actual output because the DNB lists many such translations in its philology section rather than as part of belles lettres.

We may speculate that translated classics were seen by publishers as a relatively safe bet in a difficult climate, and indeed the historical account of one publisher, Insel, names "häufiges Ausweichen auf die Klassik" as one of the major strategies it took to escape the strictures of regulation (Kästner 1987:x). Thus, Insel published Dante's *Neues Leben* (*Vita nuova*) in 1942; Fischer-Suhrkamp, a publisher under constant political pressure, brought out Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in 1940 and Rowohlt his 1936 edition of Balzac's works¹⁰¹. In ideological terms, such classic texts could presumably offer the illusion of harmlessness. They were long-established and partially domesticated texts, likely to be restricted to an educated readership and apparently far away from the hurly-burly of contemporary politics; at the same time they could be considered as *Weltliteratur* rather than specifically foreign products¹⁰². In

¹⁰¹ In fact, Rowohlt's colleague and biographer claims that the first version of the collection, brought out in 1923 and naturally free of copyright expense, had already rescued the publisher once - from bankruptcy in the Great Inflation (Mayer 1967:76).

¹⁰² The discussion of an essay by Nazi commentator Bernhard Payr in 3.1. will show that for many Nazi thinkers, the literature of ancient Greece, for example, was anyway the product of an early *German* spirit.

practical terms, translations from out-of-copyright authors avoided the foreign exchange restrictions associated with royalty and copyright payments abroad. The blanket bans of 1939 specifically allowed publication of authors now out of copyright, but in fact the surge in classic translations occurred as early as 1936¹⁰³, suggesting a nervous reaction to the 1935 onset of translation regulation with its financial and ideological components. Because the translated classics listed in the period very often appeared in pre-1933 translations, the costs of translation were avoided at the same time as political ructions. Thus, when Reclam reissued a clutch of Tieck-Schlegel Shakespeare translations in 1941, it was saving money on copyright fees and translation costs as well as sidestepping ideological or regulatory obstacles.

In analysing the database, I counted separately those classic or ancient texts which, like the *Edda* or the *Nibelungenlied*, were deployed by Nazi literary studies and policymakers as proof of the existence of a glorious Germanic past. These 'Germanic' classics are translated from Middle High German, New High German, Old Saxon (*Der Heliand*), Old Norse (most Old Norse entries being translations of the *Edda*) and Old Icelandic (especially *Laxdoela-saga*, *Gunnlaugs-saga*)¹⁰⁴. The group forms a small but steady presence in the records, with an average of nine entries per year and no single pattern of change throughout the period. These core texts of nationalist mythology tend to be reissues of respected existing translations, such as Felix Genzmer's *Edda*, which were reworked repeatedly as well as being reissued in their original form, with strong sales¹⁰⁵. The publisher Eugen Diederichs of Jena specialised in these 'Germanic' texts, as will be detailed below, but other publishers also exploited the genre, creating series like Reclam's *Deutsches für Deutsche*¹⁰⁶. This is the translated genre most closely associated with a political agenda supporting the regime. The ancient text was held to demonstrate the continuity and beauty of the Germanic soul: "Das Hildebrandslied, der Heliand, die Edda, sie sind zeitlich und räumlich etwas für sich, aber es durchwaltet jede die gleiche naturgegebene Kraft,

¹⁰³ 1934: 17 entries; 1935: 26 entries; 1936: 46 entries, then remaining high and stable until 1940. Of course, these figures can only be very approximate, but they do indicate a general trend.

¹⁰⁴ The terminology of SLs follows the DNB's.

¹⁰⁵ Genzmer's translation of the *Edda* reached 127 thousand copies by 1944 (Diederichs) while other versions were on the market as well.

¹⁰⁶ The fact that the translations in this patriotically-named series (Tacitus and Walther von der Vogelweide) had previously been sold within Reclam's less tendentious *Universalbibliothek* suggests a degree of opportunism on the part of the publisher.

das gleiche germanische Grundgefühl in seiner geschichtlichen Weiterentwicklung” (Ludwig Büttner 1938, cited in Gilman 1971:61¹⁰⁷). In stark contrast to the success of genres like the adventure novel, the presence of the ‘ancient German’ translation may be at least partially explained by the efforts of a strong reviewing and educational lobby; in view of such powerful support, perhaps more interesting than its steady presence is actually its failure to sky-rocket. Apparently the genre’s ideological worthiness did not suffice to gain it the same prominence as established translated genres like the nineteenth-century classic.

Of the other categories counted only the animal story shows any notable presence, with around 2.5% of the entries, mainly translations from Scandinavian languages. Animal stories often reached high reprint figures, like the 137 thousand copies that Fleuron’s story of a dachshund, *Schnipp Fidelius Adelzahn (Ib Fidelius Adeltand, Diederichs)*, reached by 1944. The perhaps unexpectedly strong presence of the animal story in the database once again suggests that genres approximating official requirements, such as the rural family novel, were accompanied on the market by the most harmless-looking of escapist genres¹⁰⁸. The market for texts directly propagating the ruling ideology, in contrast, appears to have been catered for mainly by domestic production. After all, no translation could compete in ideological purity with titles like *Adolf Hitler, von Gott gesandt. Gedichte* (Friedel Schlitzberger, Buresch 1933) or the similar ones that populate the DNB. Judging by the database, translations tended to fill other niches of approval and toleration, and these niches were exploited differently by different publishers.

The major publishers of translations

Within the database, over 500 publishers are represented, the vast majority of them with very few or even only one translated title. Here, translations are peripheral to the publishing programme, but there are houses which recur frequently, usually specialis-

¹⁰⁷ The issue of the ‘Germanness’ of some translations, the foreignness of others and the role of certain translations in national identity-building will be further explored in Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁸ Naturally, the term ‘harmless’ is debatable. Not only are stories of nature and animal heroism perfectly consonant with more explicitly fascist literary norms, but escapism itself in such a political context may certainly be considered system-stabilising (see especially Schäfer 1981). See also the debate on detective novels, Chapter 5.

ing in particular SL groups or genres to create a clear-cut market profile. Table 2 shows the twenty most frequently represented of these publishers.

Table 2. Publishers of translations

	Publisher	No of translation entries in belles lettres section of DNB (first and subse- quent editions)
1	Albert Langen & Georg Müller (Munich)	397
2	Goldmann (Leipzig)	235
3	Insel (Leipzig)	185
4	Franckh (Stuttgart)	149
5	Zsolnay (later Karl H Bischoff) (Vienna)	137
6	Aufwärts (Berlin)	128
7	Eugen Diederichs (Jena)	115
8	S Fischer (later Suhrkamp) (Berlin)	74
9	Holle & Co (Berlin)	64
10	Pustet (Salzburg & Leipzig)	64
11	Knaur (Berlin)	58
12	A Müller (Zurich & Leipzig)	53
13	Rowohlt (Berlin)	53
14	Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt (Stuttgart)	51
15	Kulturelle Verlagsgesellschaft (Berlin)	51
16	Paul List (Leipzig)	50
17	Universitas (Berlin)	49
18	Schünemann (Bremen)	48
19	Reclam (Leipzig)	46
20	Payne (Leipzig)	43

These twenty houses do not account for the bulk of translated fiction published, only around half. It will be seen from the table that there is a group of publishers carrying similar, rather low numbers of translations, and indeed many others fall within the same order of magnitude, with 20 to 40 translations published. However, the top seven publishers do stand out clearly. Of them two (Langen-Müller and Diederichs) were neoconservative houses, two (Goldmann and Aufwärts) published mainly popular fiction and one (Franckh) kept to the uncontroversial. Insel and Zsolnay were

publishers with a solid pre-1933 reputation as respected middle-class houses. These larger publishers of translations are dealt with below.

As for the remaining publishers on the list, Reclam and Paul List both had a heavy-weight reputation (Reclam's famous, and still extant, *Universalbibliothek* labelled its translations universally valuable simply by virtue of belonging to the series), and S Fischer was one of the leading publishers of new highbrow translations, managing to retain this role in a restricted form even after being 'Aryanised' in 1936 (Barbian 1995:574ff). The Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt had been a troublesome liberal house and was taken over by the Party publisher Franz Eher in the late 1930s (ibid:515; 696); Ernst Rowohlt's famous programme of translating American modernism¹⁰⁹ was stopped almost in its tracks and the publisher eventually also swallowed up by the Eher empire (ibid:515). Pustet's prominence in the database is due mainly to the popularity of one author, Alexandra Rachmanowa. Knaur and the Kulturelle Verlagsgesellschaft, especially the latter, published popular fiction almost exclusively from English.

The most prolific publisher of translations listed in the database is Albert Langen & Georg Müller, an important member of the pre-1933 neoconservative milieu which encompassed a wide range of *völkisch* and nationalist ideals. Langen-Müller was made up of two bankrupt firms taken over in 1928 and 1931 by another of the publishers loosely attached to this milieu, the huge Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt (Stark 1981:28). The new Langen-Müller was one of the most important of the HVA's many subsidiaries in the 1930s - a commercially successful, nationalist "counter-weight" in Munich to the big, Jewish-owned liberal houses of Berlin like Ullstein and Fischer (ibid:29). Because the HVA itself came under the control of the Party's Deutsche Arbeitsfront from 1933 (Barbian 1995:334), it is possible to consider Langen-Müller the most closely associated with the regime of the publishers discussed here, and its translation programme in many ways confirms this view.

¹⁰⁹ According to Mayer, "die besten amerikanischen Autoren der zwanziger Jahre waren Autoren des Rowohlt Verlages: Sinclair Lewis, Ernest Hemingway und William Faulkner [...] auch Thomas Wolfe" (Mayer 1967:102).

Langen-Müller specialised in belles lettres, leaving political and other non-fiction titles to the parent company HVA (Stark 1981:29), and its sales were fuelled by a few state-approved bestsellers (in particular Hans Grimm and Erwin Guido Kolbenheyer). The importance of translations for the house seems to have lain as much as anything in the extraordinary success of a selection of Scandinavian works which were reprinted regularly - reprints appear in the DNB sometimes as often as once a week. The bulk of Langen-Müller translation is accounted for by just four authors, Trygve Gulbrandsen, Gunnar Gunnarsson, Knut Hamsun and Selma Lagerlöf. Further Scandinavian and Finnish authors are joined by a very few other SLs, mainly one-off approved titles from Romanian, Bulgarian and English (Neil Gunn) with a somewhat more durable presence of Flemish (especially Stijn Streuvels). Langen-Müller's reliance on Scandinavian SLs in its translation programme was thus almost complete. Such translations were, as will be seen in Chapter 3, the object of strong and dissenting opinion in the official press, but they still carried a relative political acceptability which, combined with their high sales, evidently provided Langen-Müller with safe and lasting income in an uncertain publishing climate.

Like Langen-Müller but on a very different basis, Wilhelm Goldmann made a commercial success of translation. Its unprecedented marketing of Edgar Wallace, the big name in imported detective fiction since the 1920s, also made a translated author the heart of book-marketing innovation, using American advertising techniques, standardised book covers, publicity competitions and film tie-ins (Goldmann 1962:19ff). Goldmann was established in 1922 and targeted the popular market right from the start, beginning with adventure novels just when they were becoming the object of anxious attention from pedagogues (ibid:15) and pioneering the cheap dust-jacketed paperback in 1924 (ibid:14). Real success began with the discovery of Wallace's early colonial novels; when they ran out, Goldmann bought the sole translation rights to the detective novels, starting with *Die Bande des Schreckens* (*The Terrible People*) of 1927. The publisher flourished until Nazi pressure finally came to bear - Goldmann dates this as 1933 (ibid:28), though the bibliography shows numerous Goldmann reprints of Wallace and similar authors throughout the early 1930s, making up, in fact, nearly a fifth of the year's translations in 1933. Goldmann's translation activ-

ity weakened from 1936 and collapsed in 1939 once the company had submitted to Ministry pressure to abandon its entertainment focus (see Barbian 1995:568f).

Alongside Edgar Wallace, Goldmann published many translated authors, nearly all detective and adventure or Wild West novelists but with a scattering of historical romances in 1937, including Barbara Cartland's early *Der Zauberer vom Sikkim-Paß* (*Desperate Defiance*) and an edition of Margaret Mitchell's *Vom Winde verweht* (*Gone with the Wind*)¹¹⁰. Practically all these translations are from English/American English, with a few from French and individual appearances of other SLs. In Goldmann's prolific period most of its translations are marketed within series that allow easy categorisation by the buyer or borrower: the *1-Mark Goldmann-Buch*, *Goldmanns Kriminal-Romane*, *Goldmanns Detektiv-Romane*, *Goldmanns Abenteuer-Romane*, *Goldmanns Roman-Bibliothek*, *Die neuen blauen Goldmann-Bücher*. A reader choosing from any of these series formats could rely on their content including a high proportion of translations from English and Anglo-American-set non-translations. The series device is used by all the publishers of translated popular fiction in the database, for example Buchwarte's *Der Buchwarte-Abenteuer-Roman* or the Kulturelle Verlagsgesellschaft's *Iris-Kriminal-Roman*.

There is no doubt that the Wallace stories and other translated detective fiction provided the commercial bedrock for Goldmann's other ventures, as well as a financial buffer which must have contributed to its survival right through the war as one of the approximately 200 publishers left working by 1945 (Goldmann 1962:35). Goldmann's niche happened to be the most English of a genre anyway dominated by translation; its prominence in the database of translations exemplifies translated fiction's profitability and its durability in the face of officially-voiced denigration.

With the long-running *Inselbücherei* series of small, artistically bound volumes, Insel's profile in the bibliography is very much as a champion of low-selling, special-interest translations¹¹¹. Losing ground after 1938, Insel draws on the widest range of SLs of any of the publishers dealt with here. For example, it is the main source of

¹¹⁰ *Vom Winde verweht* was primarily published by Goverts of Hamburg.

¹¹¹ The other Insel series featuring translations are *Zeitgenössische Erzähler* and *Die Bibliothek der Romane*.

translations from Chinese and to a lesser extent Japanese and Arabic, with Spanish, French, Italian, Old Saxon and many others represented. Out of English mainly highbrow and classic works appear (D H Lawrence in 1934-1937, Swift in 1937, Emily Brontë in 1938, Dickens in 1939), very few of them achieving high reprint figures. Of Insel's few commercial successes, Sally Salminen's *Katrina* is still on Insel's lists and in its 101st thousand in 1943, well after the author had made herself undesirable to the regime by her antifascist comments (see *Die Werkbücherei*, Dec 1938). This suggests that Insel's translations managed in certain cases to defy the voices of official literary opinion.

The Franckh house shows high reprint figures of light fiction, specialising in animal and adventure novels with such authors as Ernest Thompson Seton or Ben van Eysselsteijn. The majority of translations are from English, fewer from French, including the goldmine Octave Aubry (the historical romance *Marie Walewska* is reprinted eight times in 1937 alone). Franckh's other main money-spinner was Arthur Conan Doyle, with large reprints especially in early 1939 and an entire series, *Sherlock-Homes-Romane*, making the most of the character's popularity. From 1940 onwards Franckh also published the successful, because officially promoted, translations *Selbstbildnis eines Gentleman* (*Autobiography of a Cad*) by A G Macdonell and Eric Linklater's *Juan in Amerika*. To judge by the bibliography, Franckh's translation programme carefully targeted particular, ideologically innocuous niches, relying especially on the sales potential of selected old favourites.

Equally undemanding is the translation output of Aufwärts, represented in the database mainly by its bargain popular fiction series *Der Dreißig-Pfennig-Roman*, with a set format of around 95 pages, as well as the full-length novels of *Der Aufwärts Kriminal-Roman* and *Aufwärts-Abenteuer-Romane*, series which all feature numerous translations. Together with Goldmann Aufwärts accounts for the lion's share of the translated detective novels listed in the DNB, and westerns make up its remaining titles, except for the uncharacteristic appearance in 1942 of Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt* - an unusually highbrow author for the detective-based house but not a risky one, since *Babbitt* (originally published by Klieber, Berlin) is among the titles listed in the index of exceptional permissions to publish books from enemy nations (see 1.4.).

While sharing a market with Goldmann, Aufwärts differs from the pioneer of mass fiction: it emerges relatively late in the database¹¹² and publishes many titles labelled as having appeared originally in other imprints. Aufwärts' thirty-pfennig series, particularly, abounds in these bought-in, presumably significantly abridged versions of existing translations. Furthermore, even for its own translations Aufwärts employs translators the bulk of whose work appears with Goldmann, especially Karl Döhring in all his guises (see below). In all, Aufwärts seems to have been a minor imitator, if not parasite of its liberal competitor, and its opportunist star rises as Goldmann becomes increasingly restricted by official persecution.

The Paul Zsolnay Verlag of Vienna presents a very different picture. From its establishment in 1923 it specialised in translation, leading to accusations of "Ausländerei" (Hall 1994:43)¹¹³. Zsolnay was not only a prolific publisher of translations but also made some risky choices, so that Strothmann's table of the publishers of translated authors marked 'undesirable' places the heavyweight, Jewish-owned house second¹¹⁴, with 17 titles over the period including, for example, Theodore Dreiser (Strothmann 1963:374)¹¹⁵. Certainly, Zsolnay's continued survival and the breadth of its translation activity was due in part to its base in Vienna, initially outside the legal reach of the Nazis although severely affected in commercial terms by the new restrictions on the German-language market. After annexation, Zsolnay became even more vulnerable. Paul Zsolnay himself was driven into exile and in 1941 the company was taken over by the RSK censor Karl H Bischoff as an 'Aryanisation' measure (Barbian 1995:217). Zsolnay's presence in the translation database throughout the period shows a noticeably wider range of titles and fewer reprints than most of the other publishers discussed. John Galsworthy, Pearl S Buck and A J Cronin are high-selling authors (see Hall 1994:87;254), but they are accompanied by a steady stream of lesser-known translated authors such as Storm Jameson, Alice Lyttkens, Eduard

¹¹² The Aufwärts entries do not begin in earnest until 1936; all the other major publishers were well established in translation before the Nazi takeover.

¹¹³ According to Hall, up to the outbreak of war Zsolnay garnered 45% of its turnover from translations from English and French (Hall 1994:248). Schlösser counts Zsolnay as the fourth most prolific publisher of translations in his period, the first three being Goldmann, Engelhorn and S Fischer (1937:139).

¹¹⁴ First on Strothmann's list, based on the Liste 1 index, is Fischer-Suhrkamp (Strothmann 1963:374).

¹¹⁵ This is not to say that Zsolnay was a clearly liberal house; in fact, it consciously fostered nationalist and *völkisch* authors and voluntarily sacked Jewish employees early in the period (Hall 1994:195).

Estaunié or Hungarians Josef Nyirö and Lajos Zilahy. Particularly later in the period, when restrictions on French and English begin to bite, Zsolnay/Bischoff shows a specialisation in minor SLs, in 1943 covering Croatian, Turkish, Hungarian and Romanian as well as its surviving pre-war titles.

Finally, Eugen Diederichs was a publisher with a very specific agenda for translation. It had been an influential neoconservative house since the turn of the century, publishing political essays and monographs associated with its founder's many crazes (Stark 1981:17). Eugen Diederichs himself was dead before the Nazis came to power, but the trace of his antimodern and *völkisch* concerns, and particularly those relating to Nordic folklore, remains visible in the DNB entries. Diederichs had, programmatically, published a new 24-volume translation of the Icelandic sagas in 1911-1930 in the hope of founding a new, vigorous literature and, according to Stark, thus practically single-handedly established the upsurge of interest in 'Nordic' mythology during the Weimar period (ibid:237).

The groundwork laid by its founder is evident in Diederichs' later selection of translated authors, where Scandinavian SLs predominate. Stark reports a complaint by a representative of Langen-Müller in 1932 that Diederichs was unfairly monopolising the lucrative market for Scandinavian authors (ibid:191), but Table 2 shows this fear was unfounded in the long term, once Langen-Müller struck gold with its Swedes and, especially, Norwegians. Where Diederichs does appear to have retained a semi-monopoly is on the translated 'Germanic classic': the *Edda* and most of the other Old Norse entries are published by Diederichs, often drawn together by the series *Thule*. Diederichs' *Deutsche Reihe* subsumes some translations under the rubric of German classics - while these are mainly translations from Middle High German, the ancient Scandinavian languages are counted as 'German' too. Even the Danish writer of animal stories Svend Fleuron can be brought into the German fold, appearing as he does without a translation label in the *Deutsche Reihe* in 1937. Other Diederichs series, too, politicise their constituent works by placing them within particular perspectives, whether national-historical (*Die epischen Dichtungen des deutschen Mitte-*

lalters), religious (*Religiöse Stimmen der Völker*) or anthropological (*Flämische Schriften*)¹¹⁶.

Apart from Scandinavian languages and the 'Germanic classic', Diederichs' production also includes a range of traditional classics (Homer, Hesiod, Sophocles in 1938; Shakespeare and Virgil in 1943) and spiritual themes (*Bhagavadgita* in 1937). The only other SL with any steady presence is Flemish, represented by Walschap and De Pillecijn. In all, Diederichs specialises not in a particular SL but in a theme: translations that can be read to support an ideology of Indo-Germanic roots.

A note on the translators

No attempt will be made here to investigate the lives, working conditions and individual aesthetics of the translators listed in the database. Such information is hard to come by, and the context of self- and external censorship by publishers means that translators can only have been one part of a complex of creative and pragmatic decision-making, of which only the results, not the processes themselves, are available to us today. However, the information from the database does raise certain interesting points.

The DNB tends to name translators, and on average under 10% of entries are anonymous¹¹⁷. Of the large number of translators named, most made only the occasional or even only one translation. Schlösser finds a similar pattern in his earlier period, relating this to the high proportion of female translators (40%)¹¹⁸. He says he finds this proportion unsurprising since "das Übersetzen eine vorwiegend reproduktive Tätigkeit ist, die zudem keine berufliche Bindung fordert" (Schlösser 1937:146). Leaving aside Schlösser's evaluation of the female writer's meagre capacity for originality, the point about professionalisation is backed up by the predominance of translators

¹¹⁶ A similarly anthropological approach, asking for works to be read in their capacity as Flemish, not as literature alone, is taken by many other series in the database, such as Bruckmann's *Italienische Meisterromane* or Krüger's *Estnische Reihe* (the latter includes both translations from Estonian and German books about Estonia).

¹¹⁷ The proportion of anonymous translators rises over the period, doubling between 1933 and 1944. It would be possible to speculate that this reflects an attempt to sidestep the regulatory pressures on the writing professions.

¹¹⁸ In the period 1933-1944 the presence of women seems to have been lower, at an average 33% of those translators where gender is clear from the DNB entries (rising steeply over the period from 20% to 50%).

who surely could not have made a living from the small number of texts they translate. These amateur translators pose an interesting case in that as part-timers they would not have been obliged to join the Reichsschrifttumskammer (see Barbian 1995:194), thus being freer from political regulation than the full-time translators. Conversely, professional status may have given the full-timers more say with their publishers in the complex process of preparing applications, alterations and finally publication. One thing is certain: whether professional or amateurs, many of the translators in the database were persecuted or murdered, not because of their translating activity but because of their Jewishness¹¹⁹.

Not all the translators listed in the bibliography were working on a small scale. Certain names appear regularly in the DNB, whether as the translator of one high-selling author (for example Ellen de Boor, translating Trygve Gulbrandsen), the leading translator for one SL (Rita Öhquist for translations from Finnish), or the main or only translator employed by a certain publisher in the period (almost all translations from English for Zsolnay are made by Richard Hoffmann). The translation of novels from Norwegian and Swedish is dominated by Pauline Klaiber Gottschau and Julius Sandmeier, the latter often in collaboration with Sophie Angermann; Diederichs' animal stories are all translated by Thyra Dohrenburg. Such specialisms appear clearly through the database, though there are some translators who seem to be generalists, such as Herbert Herlitschka translating from English.

Judging by the number of different one-off translators named in the database, the detective and adventure story attracted a large number of amateurs. Yet even within that segment there are some big names. The specialists are Fritz von Bothmer (adventure stories for Goldmann and Buchwarte), Dr van Bebber (detective novels, exclusively for Goldmann), Fritz Pütsch (Goldmann - Pütsch was the company's chief editor; see Goldmann 1962:22), Elise von Kraatz (almost all for the Aufwärts series *Der Dreißig-Pfennig-Roman*, for which she also wrote her own novels), Dr Franz Eckstein, Dr Otto Frommer and, most strikingly, the fantastically prolific Karl Siegfried Döhring. Döhring's success was well-established by 1933, aided by his

¹¹⁹ Just one example is Leon Schalit, translator of Galsworthy for Zsolnay, who was forced to emigrate to London in 1939 (Hall 1994:90). Other translators must have profited from the gaps in the market opened by such losses.

near-monopoly on the translation of Edgar Wallace, and Schlösser counts him the most prolific translator of the period 1895-1934, adding scathing comments on Döhring's skills (Schlösser 1937:147). Whatever his literary prowess, Döhring's practical acumen is suggested by the way he manipulates his pseudonyms: he is Ravi Ravendro for Edgar Wallace and the other better-known detective novels early in the period, gradually building up the persona Hans Herdegen in 1934 to 1935¹²⁰; for the Aufwärts series *Der Dreißig-Pfennig-Roman* in 1936 to 1939 he writes as Hans Barbeck and from 1939 until his virtual disappearance from the list in 1940 his real name (albeit with varying spellings) seems to give a less frivolous impression - particularly when the title 'Professor' is added. The number of translations attributed to Karl Döhring falls from around 30-40 per year in 1933-35 to an average of little more than 20 per year in 1936-1939. Later in his career Döhring put the expertise gained by translating detective novels to use in producing his own work, such as *34, Bruton Street. Detektivroman* (as Hans Herdegen; Kulturelle Verlagsgesellschaft 1936), *Tanzpalast Granada* (as Karl S Döhring; Oestergaard 1937) and many others.

Karl Döhring was not the only translator to publish non-translated work, and there are translators in the list who were well-known and permitted by the regime as authors in their own right. Among these are Mirko Jelusisch translating Martha Ostenso (for Speidl, 1940), successful historical novelist Else von Hollander-Lossow as a translator from Scandinavian languages for Piper, poet Lulu von Strauß und Torney translating for Diederichs, or Hans Reisiger translating from English for Rowohlt and Bermann-Fischer. The appearance of the revered *völkisch* author Erwin Guido Kolbenheyer as the translator of Johannes von Saaz (1943) demonstrates the possibility of translation as a high-status activity in some circumstances; when promoted author Paul Alverdes translates Cooper's *The Deerslayer* for the *Soldatenbücherei* series published by the army (1944) he may be lending the political respectability of his name to neutralise the inclusion of a foreign book in the inner sanctum of German writing, books suitable for front-line soldiers. Martin Beheim-Schwarzbach, a respected author in his own right, leads a perhaps less highbrow life as the translator of Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*, hugely successful and banned only at the

¹²⁰ This pseudonym was not known to the DNB but is listed as one of Döhring's pseudonyms in the *Liste der für Jugendliche und Büchereien ungeeigneten Druckschriften* (1943).

onset of war. Even Hans Fallada, of dubious Nazi credentials and sometimes counted as part of the 'inner emigration'¹²¹, earns a safer penny as the translator of Clarence Day's *Life with Mother* (Rowohlt 1938).

In these cases the appearance of a translation requires no shyness on the part of a writer. However, at least one author decided that a pseudonym might be wiser for translation and for the writing of popular fiction: permitted author Hans Luckenwald appears under the name Deez Anders as an adventure story translator and a contributor to the romance series *Roman-Perlen* (such as *Verzeih' mir, Doris!*, Neues Verlagshaus für Volksliteratur 1938). Translations - frequently labelled "frei bearbeitet" - of Alexandre Dumas, Herman Melville and Charles de Coster, among others (all for Antäus, 1936-1941), belong to more respected genres and appear under Luckenwald's own name.

Interestingly, the title 'Dr' is popular among the translators, especially for classics, where a philological seal of approval is no doubt demanded, but even in less high-status fiction (the doctors abound among the professional translators of detective and adventure fiction). Aristocratic titles, too, are scrupulously named, and the translator of a marine adventure novel by Commander R D Graham (1937) is credited in full as "Kap Lt E v Beulwitz". Here the translator is anything but an anonymous or even shadowy figure: his expertise is expressly put on an equal footing with that of the SL author. Of course, the emphasis on the military standing of the translator of a naval adventure may be serving to relativise a potential enemy writer in the readers' eyes. Either way, publishers' decisions on the form of translators' names appear overall to position the translator as an active mediator rather than a transparent or invisible medium, an impression confirmed by the relatively consistent naming of translators and the generally scrupulous approach to translation labelling.

¹²¹ For example, though with reservations, by Thoenelt 1987.

2.3. Conclusions

The analysis of the database of translations published between 1933 and 1944 demonstrates that, as suggested in Chapter 1, publishing practice in the period was by no means wholly consistent with the policy statements of the Nazi literary bureaucracy. Whether due to the authorities' failure or their unspoken plan, readers had access (at least temporarily) to translations across a wide spectrum, from the promoted to the disapproved with a large body of tolerated texts in between.

In terms of volume, the records show a steady increase in the number of translations published, apart from the dip in 1934, until well into the period. In other words, the cumbersome permission procedures were not preventing publishers from retaining translation as part of their overall fiction programme. More than that, though, the years 1937-1939 saw a rise in the proportion of fiction made up by translations. While the proportion still remains unspectacular, the tendency contradicts the thrust of Nazi policy more strongly than absolute numbers alone, since it means translations were increasing their market share at the expense of domestic production - hardly a boost for state-sponsored Nazi literature or, indeed, for the financial situation of RSK members. The popularity of translations in these years may have been the result of a hunger for entertainment not satisfied by domestic production¹²²; the journalists who will be discussed in the next chapter fear that it must be explained by the Germans' lust for the alien, their "unseliger Hang nach dem Fremden" (*Bücherkunde* June 1940:162).

However it is explained, the viability of publishing translations even in a financially and politically risky context is shown by the slowness of translation's demise even after the wartime bans cut back the traditionally high-selling source languages. Once English and French are virtually excised, other SLs step in to take their place, and it is only in the last year of the war, paper rationing at its height, that translation actually collapses. This suggests that a generalised market for translation existed which

¹²² The make-up of the translations - the bulk of them formula or light fiction - supports this explanation.

could survive the loss of individual SLs. The shift in SLs does, though, bear witness to the real impact of state intervention on translation. It means that behind the relatively stable overall figures, the actual shape of translated fiction changed dramatically at the end of 1939, as the most commercially successful SL of the previous decades was increasingly replaced by state-tolerated or actively sponsored language groups.

Shifts in genre over the period are also telling. Once again, the data seem to show that it was the outbreak of war, not 1933, which formed the real caesura in translation practice. In the pre-war period large segments of the translation market were accounted for by genres (and their associated SLs) not favoured - indeed barely tolerated - by the regime. In the middle of the spectrum social comedies, historical romances, animal stories, classics and rural idylls also held their ground from previous decades. Between 1933 and the end of 1939, thus, on the one hand state-promoted translations certainly made their presence felt and individual bans limited the horizons of imported fiction. On the other, the continued existence of a commercially-driven translation market created an illusion of literary normality and the publishing industry, in its stunted form as more and more houses were destroyed by Nazi persecution, found ways to feed it. The range of strategies represented by the big translation publishers shows that various positions could be taken up within the new regime, from Langen-Müller's exploitation of official preferences to Goldmann's exploitation of popular ones. Aufwärts profited from the persecution of its larger, politically undesirable rival Goldmann; Insel and Zsolnay contributed intellectual respectability to the period's translation activity, and Franckh found a middle way with its safe themes and steady though unspectacular sales.

The outward shape of translation publishing, then, appears to have remained barely affected in terms of numbers, SLs or genre until the start of the war. Even then, existing bestsellers and their satellites (associated memoirs, imitations) continued to flourish wherever strict regulation left an opening. Despite all official rhetoric, the reading population's interest in foreign literature continued unabated and provided income for a beleaguered publishing industry. Behind the figures, however, and especially later in the period, shifts are apparent as the impact of state promotion

made itself felt, SL profiles changed and the sharp edge of imported literature - American modernism, for example - was blunted. Translation was not simply suppressed, but it was certainly restricted.

Against the background of these patterns of translation practice, I will in the next chapter return to the question of policy, this time looking in more detail at the rationales for accepting, promoting or rejecting translation that circulated within various branches of the literary bureaucracy.

3. Discourse on translation

“Wir haben gelernt, daß Worte und Ideen für ein Volk ebenso tödlich [*sic*] sein können wie Kokain und Morphinum und daß man darum die Einfuhr solcher Wortgifte ebenso verhindern muß.”

(*Die Neue Literatur*, May 1939:265)

It is unusual for the Nazi literary journals to make so explicitly negative an evaluation of imported literature as that quoted above, from an anti-Semitic literary monthly - but neither do they treat translation as a neutral or peripheral matter. In contrast to the literary regulators themselves, the journalists have much to say on the topic. This chapter will trace the terms in which they articulate a complex understanding of translation's risks and benefits. Those terms, it will be shown, are closely bound up with Nazi theories of literature as an expression of the national soul, thus inextricable from the discourse of *Volk* and its attendant anti-Semitism¹²³.

The journals rarely discuss *how* texts should be translated, focusing instead on *what* and more generally *whether* to translate. But even their rare, and usually implicit, recommendations about the textual level cannot be taken as identical with actual practices of translating, any more than their favoured selection criteria were the only

¹²³ Chapter 1 dealt in more general terms with Nazi literary theory.

ones followed by publishers in the period. As Toury warns, formulations of norms reflect “a desire to *control* behaviour” rather than simply articulating the norms actually applied by translators and publishers (1995:55), and indeed the journals’ attempts to instrumentalise translation for the purposes of the regime were certainly only partially successful. However, as Chapters 4 and 5 will show, if the practices of selecting and translating texts for import were not entirely determined by the climate of opinion presented in the journals, neither were they entirely divorced from it. The analysis of the journals provides a basis for examining the interaction of theory (evaluation) and practice, at the same time helping illuminate some of the issues raised in the Introduction: what understandings of translation, its uses and dangers, circulated within the various institutions of the Nazi literary bureaucracy, and how did they participate in the xenophobia so central to Nazi ideology?

3.1. Reading the journals

The five journals dealt with in this chapter are as follows. *Die Werkbücherei* and the *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt* were organs of the Propaganda Ministry sections regulating works libraries¹²⁴ and commercial lending libraries respectively. Neither makes extensive comment on translation except to decry its bad influence, particularly as a major source of ‘trivial’ fiction. *Bücherkunde* belonged to Alfred Rosenberg’s office for the promotion of German literature; it voices a range of complex and contradictory attitudes to translation that will here serve to introduce the more detailed treatment of translation in *Die Weltliteratur*, controlled by the SS. Finally, the semi-private *Die Neue Literatur*, with close connections to the Deutsche Akademie der Dichtung, is the only one of the five consistently to employ an explicitly anti-Semitic line in its arguments on translation policy.

The large number of literary journals published in the period¹²⁵ means that such a small selection can hardly be representative. Publications like *Die Bücherei* (the Ministry-controlled public librarians’ journal) were undoubtedly at least as influential, but here considerations of space meant not all spheres of policy could be cov-

¹²⁴ The works libraries were situated within companies to supply employees with both technical literature and fiction. See also 3.2.

¹²⁵ Hopster & Josting’s 1993 selection alone includes over 80 titles.

ered. Others, such as *Buch und Volk* or *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde*, would have widened further the range of different approaches but contain little direct comment on translation. Thus a selection was made which, while admittedly narrow, does attempt to illustrate the diversity of controlling bodies, each with its own agenda in terms of power politics¹²⁶, as well as a range of emphases within the comment they make on translation. At the same time it will be seen that the journals investigated draw on a shared language of metaphor to discuss translation and circle about a set of similar issues.

Of course, the comments of literary journalists must be viewed in the context in which they were written - they are not policy documents comparable with RSK memoranda but most likely the product of a combination of wishful thinking and attempts to gain political capital within the various organisations by demonstrating a 'correct' grasp of Nazi literary thinking. The relationship of journalists' comments to book distribution praxis certainly varies. The journals of Ministry offices regulating particular professional groups occupied, as Hopster and Josting remark, "eine quasi-amtliche Stellung" within the sector concerned (1993:27). This would apply, for example, to the *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt*, which publishes details of relevant decrees and names librarians who have been fined or otherwise penalised for infringing them. The 'suggestions' made by this type of journal are thus binding for their readers and the type of compliance demanded is rather a practical than an intellectual or ideological one. In this respect, they can be counted as an integral part of the state's articulation and enforcement of translation policy.

A journal like *Bücherkunde*, in contrast, attached to Party not state, has no simple channel of command to enforce its recommendations, and attempts instead to fulfil what Hopster and Josting call an "Ideologisierungsfunktion" (ibid). Its comments are indeed extremely directional, but still remain within the sphere of outlining a desirable reception, a desirable way of thinking about books as opposed to a set of dictates with attached justification. This should not be taken to mean there is no element of force involved, since the desirable reception does not, as in an 'open' system (see

¹²⁶ The journals not only differ in tone but - despite the severity of press censorship - occasionally make more or less veiled attacks on each other (*Die Neue Literatur* criticises Rosenberg's *Bücherkunde*; the *Bücherkunde* implicitly reproaches the Propaganda Ministry with laxity, etcetera).

Lefevere 1992), remain subject to only indirect and relatively intangible controls: in this context political acceptability can have the immediate correlate of continued employment within the book distribution system (in practice, via the giving and withdrawing of membership of RSK bodies). For low-level decision-makers, with access neither to the actual sources of state power nor to a clearly laid-out, explicit policy, the literary journals undoubtedly offered guidelines on making the decisions apparently of 'instinctive taste' that the regime required. Book reviews were one among the many, often contradictory, sources of information available to librarians, publishers and the book trade in their task of deciding on the political and commercial viability of texts - translators and their publishers, like all the other levels of book production and distribution, were in need of guidance to pick their way through the complexities of the regime's somewhat unpredictable responses to translation. To this extent even the non-Ministry journals' attitudes to the selection of translations, while by no means actually imposing a translation practice, must be seen as a significant part of the web of management of translation in the Nazi regime.

Given the multiple and often contradictory images of translation constructed by the texts under investigation, it is not easy to know how to set about interpreting the attitudes they indicate. Because I am interested in their relationship to attitudes to the 'alien', I will in the following make use of the framework outlined by Clem Robyns (1992, see also 1994; 1995). Assuming that attitudes to translation are part of the continuing work of a discourse as it "(re)produces its own borderlines and thus defines its own specificity with respect to other discourses" (1994:405), Robyns proposes four ways of "meeting the alien":

"An attitude in which otherness is denied and transformed may be called *imperialist*, while one in which otherness is acknowledged but still transformed may be called *defensive*. A *trans-discursive* discourse neither radically opposes itself to other discourses nor refuses their intrusion, while a *defective* discourse stimulates the intrusion of alien elements that are explicitly acknowledged as such" (ibid:408f).

These attitudes are not mutually exclusive but, on the contrary, can overlap and coexist within a particular cultural situation.

Robyns' categories are, to be sure, based closely upon specific corpora. His "imperialist" stance is elaborated for French policies on francophony, the "defensive" stance for the cases of French in Quebec and, most convincingly, of the debate on 'Franglais'. The "defective" stance is exemplified by the entry of the American detective novel genre to the post-war French literary system. The case of progressive linguistic policy in the Low Countries is explained by the "trans-discursive" stance, though in a (rightly) more hesitant form. These latter two stances, and especially the last, are argued with less enthusiasm than the former pair and appear pale in comparison, which should perhaps raise doubts about the comprehensiveness of the frame - what becomes of elements that cannot be fitted in elsewhere? The differentiation between an imperialist stance and defensive attempts to recuperate it holds up well for the specific cases Robyns cites, but once transferred to another apparently imperialist context, Nazi Germany, the division falters - the French imperialist stance "takes the integrity and superiority of its own identity for granted" (1995:181), whereas blustering Nazi rhetoric in fact does everything but that. On the contrary, it appears to be plagued by a feeling of a *lack* of the national literature in the pure sense that it itself demands, constantly struggling to assert itself and to account for its own failures¹²⁷. The existence of a long and crucial tradition of literary importation cannot be denied by the official discourse and must somehow be integrated into the project of identity formation. In this sense, the emphasis of Robyns' assumption that "for any target discourse, translation, as a confrontation with the nonidentical, is a potential threat to its own identity" (1994:405) could obscure the undoubted way that in Nazi discourse, the confrontation with the nonidentical is also positively deployed to help form a new national/literary identity (see, especially, section 3.4. below).

However, Robyns does not claim to offer a universal scheme: the framework should be seen as "neither a taxonomy nor even a methodological scheme", he notes (1994:409). Its application has indeed proved fruitful as a set of "points of orientation for research" (1995:181) if only because its focus, translation and national identity, is

¹²⁷ Beil (1996) argues that this 'inferiority complex' in German cultural thought, centuries older than Nazism, can be explained by the late and difficult self-constitution of Germany as a nation-state. In fact, I would suggest that the 'imperialist' stance described by Robyns is perhaps more specifically a 'colonialist' one, fitting better the French or British than the German context.

the constant refrain of the journals, articulated in a variety of obscure and metaphorical terms.

In fact, this heavy use of metaphor is one of the most striking aspects of the comments on translation made by the five journals. Before turning to the texts themselves I would like to introduce briefly the complexity - perhaps confusion - of ideas that their metaphorical language implies by investigating the metaphors of translation in a 1939 Nazi essay on literary exchange, *Dichtung als Brücke zwischen den Völkern Europas* by Bernhard Payr. The subsequent sections on individual journals will show not only that metaphor is the central method used to discuss translation policy but also that certain images, found also in the surrounding Nazi ideology, recur consistently throughout the corpus.

Payr's essay starts from the premise that a 'European' culture does exist and that now (shortly after the Munich Agreement) is the time to look at the connections between European nations - although this will always, Payr stresses, mean focusing first of all on each one's *völkisch* specificity. A brisk summary of pre-Romantic European literature highlights the influence of ancient Greece (which exemplified the Nordic or Germanic character, as did its Renaissance descendants like Dante; the claim is that the best of literature is ultimately German, not foreign at all). Romanticism is presented as the pinnacle of European art, freeing Europe from rigid French dominion, exemplifying cross-national creative impulses, and inspired and driven by Germany. From this high point, the tone of the essay changes: Heine is accused of having single-handedly destroyed Romanticism and the bridges it had built between Germany and France, ushering in a period of literary weakness in Germany that culminated in the First World War. The beginning of Nazi rule is described as a return to *Volk*-specific values, which has now allowed a renewed, though admirably selective, turn to foreign literature; the final pages of the essay are devoted to the "Verständigungsroman", which deals with the relationship between Germany and Britain or France, particularly in a First World War context. Again Payr applies nationalist criteria in his judgements: does the novel express correctly the racial differences between the *Völker* portrayed? The racialised, conflict-based "Verständigungsroman" is for Payr the ultimate form of the 'bridge' between nations.

In the course of his deposition, Payr makes use of a variety of metaphors to describe translation and literary exchange in general. Overall the positively coloured metaphors predominate, led by the image of the bridge between the *Völker*, found of course in the title and subsequently on most pages of the essay. The bridge image allows the retention of two distinct entities, separated by a highly visible line across which a mediating link, translation, allows limited travel. A less clean-cut, and perhaps less comfortable, metaphor used by Payr is that of cross-fertilisation, including a 'fertilising flood' that entirely contradicts the bridge notion (1939:88) and a set of agricultural or physical metaphors in the highlighted position of the closing paragraph: literary exchange between the Western nations is a "geistige Geben und Nehmen, Säen und Ernten, Befruchten und Gebären" (ibid:101). Such reference to fertility (also seen in "erhellende Strahlen [...] über die Saatfelder", 87, and the references to "Befruchtung" on 86, 87 and 89) is not, however, taken up by the journals investigated in the following sections, which tend to use bodily metaphors for translation in an extremely negative way.

Payr's lengthy discussion of Shakespeare gives rise to images of translation awakening culture to life ("erwecken", 90) and translated literature as a gift ("Geschenk", 92). More aggressive touches are the discovery by Germany ("Entdeckung", 93) of Shakespeare and the victory of his writing ("Siegeszug", 93) borne along by Germany. It should be noted that the references to translation's positive contributions to European culture are for the most part attributed to German efforts: Germany is the fertilising force.

For an essay so positively entitled, however, there are plenty of negatively weighted metaphors of translation. Early on the suggestion is made that national languages represent "natürliche Mauern" (87), a separating image which perhaps relates most closely to the central 'bridge' metaphor mentioned above. The idea of translation's victimisation of the target culture is articulated in the metaphor of domination, "Fremdherrschaft" (91) or "Zwingherrschaft" (90), where the unrightful rule is exercised by French classicism (a similar idea is also presented more prosaically as a "schwere Bedrohung", 97). In a figure that recurs in the journals, the tempting, even hypnotising power of translated literature is evoked: German literature gazes

“gebannt” (96) at foreign literature and succumbs to its “verführerischen Glanze” (90). The phrase “den übermächtig anschwellenden Chor ausländischer Autoren” (95) uses a metaphor of the (deafening or cacophonous) chorus which was employed earlier in the piece to exactly opposite effect - European literature as a (harmonious) “Chore” of “volltönende Stimmen” (86). Lastly, the essay, having drawn on the notion of a fertilising flood and a river to be bridged, also refers to a flow that is anything but beneficial: “der Strom der Dichtung, der aus dem übrigen Europa zu uns hereinfließt, ist beträchtlich getrübt durch eine Reihe von höchst fragwürdigen Erscheinungen” (96). Here we are presented with a contaminated stream, a more threatening use of the notion of flood or swamping that will appear with great regularity in the journals. There, the image of ‘flood’ is used always with a negative charge. It denotes a quantitative excess but also, in a figure familiar from so many racisms, evokes a fear of drowning or fatal contamination¹²⁸. Returning to Payr’s essay, the same segment employs a related image of translation, as an “unheilvolle Überfremdung” which causes the “Zersetzung” (96) of the host literature. These terms are drawn from the bank of metaphors used in Nazi racism to interpret Jewish influence on German culture¹²⁹, and again will recur in the journals studied.

Payr’s essay illustrates the heavy use of metaphor characteristic of the journals’ comments on translation. While appearing to ‘explain’, it allows him to evade explicit theorisation - important within a self-declaredly anti-intellectual theory of literature that, according to Klaus Vondung, must be seen less as a coherent whole than as a “heterogenes Konglomerat” of ideological elements (1973:13). His metaphors, additionally, work by association, thus rapidly plugging discourse on translation into other, stronger currents present in the ideological environment. As a means of approaching the rather disparate texts investigated in the following sections, an examination of the journals’ use of metaphor brings to the surface underlying atti-

¹²⁸ Theweleit (1977) argues that the ‘flood’ image frequently found in 1920s Freikorps writing expresses a fear of dissolution associated with sex. This association will be found in the coexistence of sexualised images and references to flooding in the journals discussed.

¹²⁹ See Poliakov (1985) and Katz (1980) for comprehensive studies of the structures of German anti-Semitism; Klemperer (1947) gives examples of their articulation in everyday life.

tudes and provides some degree of unity in a complex and confusing corpus. Particular recurrent images, like the metaphor of flood/swamping in its various guises, will allow parallels to be drawn to terms from other discourses, notably that of 'race', and help position attitudes to translation within a wider Nazi ideological frame.

3.2. *Die Werkbücherei* and *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt*

These two journals both belonged to the RSK, under the control of the Propaganda Ministry and ultimately of Goebbels. *Die Werkbücherei* (hereafter "WB") appeared bi-monthly from 1936 to 1942 inclusive. In 1943 it was merged with the commercial librarians' *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt* (hereafter "GdL") to form the *Großdeutsches Büchereiblatt*. Only the volumes before the merger were available and will be examined here. In its capacity as the "Mitteilungsblatt" of the works libraries' section, the WB was a Ministry tool and compulsory reading for the works librarians, who fell under the jurisdiction of the RSK (see Barbian 1995:818). The RSK saw its task as bringing the existing works libraries into line, expanding them and opening new ones. By 1938 5000 works libraries were in operation, lending to 8 million readers (ibid:821). However, according to Barbian, Robert Ley's Deutsche Arbeitsfront struggled with the RSK for cultural policy control of the factories to such an extent that the complete streamlining of works libraries remained unsuccessful throughout the period (ibid:823f).

The works libraries were to be, in the words of a 1938 *Börsenblatt* article, an "Instrument geistiger und d.h. immer auch politischer Wirkung" (cited in Barbian 1995:822). This clearly political role is reflected in the WB, which stresses that the works library's selection should focus on employees' moral, political and technical edification. The selection process - closely monitored by the RSK - involved not merely removing officially banned books from library stock but also more severe sifting by means of a special, restricted works libraries list (ibid:820). Within this process the WB's practical role would be hard to quantify, but it evidently contributed to the justification of the limited canon laid down by the authorities. The RSK's view of the works library as a sanctum of highly approved texts informs the WB's

commentaries on all books, including translations. Because the libraries' aim was to offer a broad enough range of books to attract and educate more than just the existing party faithful, the WB had, if grudgingly, to concern itself with light fiction, and in this capacity with translations, though to a far lesser extent than its sister paper the *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt*.

Each WB issue begins with several pages of general news and explanations of decrees, including official answers to librarians' practical and ideological questions, followed by a list of suggested books for acquisition. These lists are furnished with brief commentaries on the plot and sometimes style of the text, and marked with the code "m", "w" or "j" to indicate suitability for male, female or young readers respectively. Alongside the mere fact of inclusion in the list, this information is apparently considered sufficient to guide librarians' choices. More specific lists are often carried, for example an initial list of which English and American books could still be lent in January 1940 or a list of recommended translations from Italian in February/March 1942. The later issues are longer and contain more detailed reviews¹³⁰, but the overall tone remains brisk and practical, making less use than the other journals of Payr's allusive style of language. As in all the journals investigated, little or no comment is made on the style of translation adopted - it is the selection of texts to be translated (often enough, the reduction in their number) which is of interest.

A programmatic statement in a WB leader article may serve to introduce the question of translation within the journal. The WB reader is reminded of the significance of the works library as follows:

"Das deutsche Buch ist nicht nur ein Mittel der Unterhaltung und Entspannung für den einzelnen, sondern auch ein Faktor der politischen Willensbildung. In ihm ist unser revolutionäres Zeitgeschehen lebendig, in ihm ruhen die schönsten Werte der deutschen Seele, und in ihm ist die Geschichte unseres Volkes festgehalten" (May 1938¹³¹).

In this definition of the usefulness of books, only the truly 'German' book can fea-

¹³⁰ Only from 1940 is any review or article signed. Here and in the following sections, I have not named the authors of commentaries (except in the rare cases where particular commentators recur and take a characteristic line): many are anonymous and all the journals show such a strict editorial line that the individual journalists normally appear more or less interchangeable.

¹³¹ The citation refers to issue and year; before 1941 the WB has no page numbers.

ture, and translations can hardly fulfil the roles assigned importance. A delicate manoeuvre would be needed to include translations under the category ‘German’ book - this is attempted by other journals, in particular *Die Weltliteratur* (see 3.4.), but not by the WB. For the latter, translations exist mainly as a necessary evil or one to be warded off, exemplifying, in other words, Robyns’ “defensive” stance.

The defensive standpoint informs all the WB’s sparse references to translation. Translations sometimes appear among other texts in the “Vorschlagsliste” and general reviews, but in far smaller numbers than in any of the other journals investigated. Reviews of translation from English and French are relatively frequent, always within a highly politicised context focusing on the promoted, because self-defamatory, text (see below). Other SLs reviewed are Scandinavian languages and to a lesser extent Flemish, with some very brief references to south-eastern European languages and Italian. In the general articles, translations mainly feature in the context of a fear of Americanising influences, particularly in the case of the domestic detective novel’s imitation of its Anglo-American cousin. A 1941 article typically complains of the consistently Anglo-American settings and pseudonyms to be found within the German genre, which have led to a glorification of England and especially of the British police: “Wir wissen, daß kein anderer Roman Scotland-Yard populärer machte im Reich als diese Kriminalromane und Spannungsbücher” (Aug 1941:115). As for the settings, “je weiter sie von Deutschland entfernt waren, desto lieber wurden sie verwandt” (ibid), so that the influence of the translated genre has been to lure readers away from loyalty to their homeland. Similar sentiments had appeared in 1940, where the British-set detective novel, translated or not, is decried as “ein Reklamearsenal für Scotland Yard und seine ‘Inspektoren’, eine Propagandamaschinerie für England schlechthin, wie es sich Großbritannien nicht besser wünschen kann” (Jan 1940:1). For the WB, the foreign-set detective novel is a case where translation - interpreted as propaganda for the SL nation - has succeeded in contaminating the domestic literature, thus justifying drastic defensive measures by the state¹³².

The WB insists on the separation of translation from domestic literature. For exam-

¹³² More will be said in Chapter 5 about the journals’ treatment of the translated and anglicising detective novel.

ple, librarians are requested to shelve literature “der fremden Völker” separately from German literature for reasons of “Einheit und Ordnung” (Mar 1939). If extensive enough, foreign literature may then be further sub-divided into “das nordische, das romanische, das slawische, das asiatische, das angelsächsische, das angloamerikanische und das lateinamerikanische Schrifttum” (ibid). Some terms here are linguistic, but others are clearly based on nation/race considerations, hence the differentiation between Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-American¹³³. The note continues that Flemish and Dutch, because they do not fit well into any of the categories listed, should be classified as German - again evidently a political choice. Possible objections to the system of separation are then addressed in a way that places it very much in a context of defensiveness. One potential concern, says the WB, is the alleged kinship of ‘Nordic’ literature with German literature, a claim dismissed by the journal¹³⁴, which cites the lack of *völkisch* fellow feeling shown by many Scandinavian authors. The other objection is said to be that separating off foreign writing might deter the reader from choosing such books - however, if true this would be all to the good: “soll der Leser nicht zufällig zu den Büchern, die er liest, ver-führt [*sic*] werden, sondern von ihnen eine klare Vorstellung erhalten”. Although it is right to get to know foreign worlds, this must be done with special care, particularly by young people. “Es ist also im Sinne der Endziele der Werkbucharbeit besser, der Leser meidet das Fremde, oder er geht heran in der klaren Einsicht, daß hier besondere Anforderungen und neue Maßstäbe von ihm erarbeitet werden müssen” (ibid; the librarian is also reminded that foreign books should never be actually suggested to readers). The overall approach is one of suspicion, the reader needing careful preparation for a potentially harmful encounter with the foreign text - forewarned is forearmed, runs the argument. Specifically, the notion of seduction highlighted by the syllable separation “ver-führt” sexualises the issue within the frame of young people’s moral wellbeing.

The WB’s few recommendations of translations are mainly oriented on the political status of the translated authors, as friends or foes of the TL nation. Sven Hedin and

¹³³ A similar mixture of linguistic and geopolitical categories was found in the index *Das Buch ein Schwert des Geistes* (1.4.). There can be no doubt that in the Nazi context, ‘source language’ is an elastic term.

¹³⁴ Ministry organs like the WB could be expected to take a sceptical stand on the question of ‘Nordic’ identity, in line with their ultimate authority Goebbels; the pro-‘Nordic’ line was defended above all by Rosenberg and the SS against Goebbels’ more suspicious view.

Verner von Heidenstam are recommended as friends of Germany (Feb and Aug 1940 respectively). Obviously, our enemy's enemies are our friends, and the anti-British translation is honoured, whether it is actively polemical literature such as Maud Gonne Macbride's Irish perspective on British colonialism (*Im Dienste einer Königin/A Servant of the Queen*, reviewed Nov 1939) and A J Macdonell's satirical *Selbstbildnis eines Gentleman (Autobiography of a Cad*, reviewed Jun 1941:103) or works which half-unwillingly indict the corruption of the SL society. Of the latter, Eric Linklater's *Juan in Amerika* (Nov-Dec 1942) exemplifies the defamatory translation which, coming straight from the SL itself, is held to be both "lehrreich" and "unvoreingenommen" in its critique of a SL nation. In a 1940 issue, three translated books¹³⁵ about England are reviewed under the title "Dreimal England ohne Maske" (Oct 1940:13f), again suggesting the value of translation in exposing the hidden facets of its SL culture. At the same time there is an implicit reference to translation's potential deceitfulness - the "Maske" otherwise present - which is not unique. For example, popular but anti-fascist Scandinavian authors Sally Salminen and Frans Sillanpää are criticised in terms similar to the 'mask', as the apparently harmless turns out to be an enemy disguised in our midst. These authors were invited in with open arms, the WB complains, only to reveal themselves as enemies to their hosts (Dec 1938 and Jun 1939 respectively).

Translation is sometimes covered in the WB as a balance of trade issue. Even before the wartime bans based on foreign currency considerations (see Chapter 1), a lengthy note in Summer 1939 cites the publication statistics for translation into and out of German as a reason to demand "daß ausländisches Schrifttum in deutscher Übersetzung nur in dem Verhältnis einzusetzen ist, wie deutsches Schrifttum fremder Übersetzung im Auslande aufgenommen und gewürdigt wird" (Jun 1939). Not only does translation figure here militaristically as something to be deployed - "eingesetzt" - abroad, but it is the representative of the German nation and must thus be accorded 'dignity'. These are ideological issues but the matter of payments to foreign publishers, the balance of trade in material terms, is present between the lines. There follows a long breakdown based on Charlotte Bauschinger's statistics of how much is trans-

¹³⁵ They are, at least, presented as translations; one may well be a pseudotranslation (*Der achte Kreuzzug. Unverhüllte Enthüllungen eines britischen Stabsoffiziers*, anon, Berlin: Internationaler Verlag 1940).

lated from German in different countries, bewailing, especially, the fact that Jewish and emigrant (that is, ‘not-German’) authors continue to dominate translation abroad. The conclusion is that official initiatives and librarians’ own judgement should join to reduce the works libraries’ stock of translated literature, “die - allgemein erkannt - in den letzten Jahren zu hohe Einschätzung erfuhr” (ibid). Once again the importation of foreign writing is viewed in terms of threat, this time both ideological and financial, and the assumption made that the translated stock of the libraries is self-evidently too much, in need of reduction.

The WB’s defensive stance emerges most clearly in the leader article of January 1940, “Klare Haltung!”, by RSK functionary Sebastian Losch¹³⁶. This article, written à propos of the wartime ban on British literature, frames its attack on translated and anglicising fiction in terms of a TL nation in danger of being even physically destroyed. It begins with a call to draw ever tighter boundaries and exercise “größter Wachsamkeit und Entschlossenheit gegenüber den heimlichen Gegnern, die hier und da versuchen mögen, durch die geschlossenen Luken in unser Inneres einzudringen und dort zu wirken” (Jan 1940:209). The “heimliche Gegner” image along with the metaphor of the body invaded by sickness form a connection to currents of Nazi anti-Semitism and position the translated text as an intruder carrying dangerous material into the TL organism. The rest of the article depends upon this sense of threat. Losch employs a theme that recurs in all the journals investigated: the weakness of the German culture and its dangerous susceptibility to foreign influence. His claim is “daß gerade wir Deutschen damals [before the First World War, when English culture dominated Europe] allzu empfänglich für englisches Wesen und englische Lebensart waren” (ibid); for him, this receptivity is reason enough to insist on the necessity of battenning down the hatches. Here, German librarians and readers at home are assigned a role as guards against the enemy’s evil intent: the military arena is complemented by the ideological, and “hier wird jeder einzelne in der Heimat zum Wachtposten, Beobachter und Schützen” (ibid). Like the previously mentioned image of the treacherous guest, Losch’s location of the danger to Germany as hidden “in der Heimat” again recalls the rhetoric of Nazi racism with its notion of the disguised

¹³⁶ The same article was published shortly beforehand in the *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt* (Nov 1939:209f), demonstrating the shared Ministry attention received by works librarians and commercial librarians.

antagonist - in short, the ‘alien within’.

Later in the article more material considerations come to the fore: “Jede ausgeliehene und verkaufte Übersetzung bedeutet Honorar für den englischen Autor und den englischen Verleger, bedeutet Steuern für das Empire, bedeutet Waffen und Munition gegen Deutschland!” (ibid:210). Here the perspective has shifted once again from an ideological to a clearly practical, financial and military one that reflects most closely the Propaganda Ministry’s approach to the management of translation. However, it is given specifically emotional impact by a reference earlier in the piece to the way that “deutsche Seeleute vor der Heimtücke englischer U-Boot-Fallen auf Wacht liegen”, thus creating a link between copyright fees and the real danger to German lives. The article concludes on another note of endangerment and defence:

“Wir hoffen auf eine Zeit, in der die europäischen Völker wieder in einen gesunden und fruchtbaren Kulturaustausch untereinander treten können. Solange wir jedoch im Kriege sind, lassen wir das Fallgatter herunter und verschließen unser Festungstor gegen jeden feindlichen Einfluß. Durch die Mauern kommt ohnehin keiner durch!” (ibid).

Even outside the wartime context the WB has never supported a “Kulturaustausch”, so that this comment seems little more than an empty phrase. More striking is the conclusion that at present a siege is called for with regard to cultural importation. Of course, this must certainly be read as an elaboration on the Propaganda Ministry’s decree banning translations from enemy nations; it is a public justification addressed to a fairly central cultural institution, the works library. But the strength of the tone, the repetition of images of defensive structures (“Fallgatter”, “Festungstor”, “Mauern”), the anxiety shimmering through the contradictory claim that Germany is “ohnehin” impregnable and yet needs better defence - all of these make this text not simply an official posting but a commentary that channels the fear of the ‘enemy in our midst’ into the reception of translated texts.

I shall turn now to the *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt* (“GdL”), the organ of the RSK’s commercial libraries section. It is subtitled “Mitteilungsblatt der Reichsschrifttumskammer für den Deutschen Leihbuchhandel” and appeared from 1939 to 1942, at first monthly, then from 1941 fortnightly, before being merged with the WB

at the start of 1943. The commercial lending libraries were taken under the RSK wing early on and finally closed down in the wake of wartime paper rationing (Stieg 1992:171). However, commercial librarians were inherently difficult to control because of their non-professional status¹³⁷ and a dependence on public demand which made them reluctant to countenance the extensive purges of popular titles more or less willingly undergone by the public libraries. Marginal to the ideological debates among the traditionally national-conservative public librarians (see Stieg 1992), the commercial librarians were allocated to the book trade section of the RSK rather than the libraries section. Their different situation becomes evident in the GdL, which despite its generally strict RSK line takes a more flexible view of literature-as-entertainment than does the pedagogically-oriented WB or indeed any of the other journals examined. Because of the strong position that translation occupied in the field of light and popular fiction, many of the GdL's comments thus refer either directly to translation or to the anglicising texts that mimicked it.

Again and again the GdL debates 'good' versus 'bad' entertainment fiction, with the premise stressed that the working man needs entertainment and that light fiction is thus valuable in itself (Aug 1939:157-160, et passim). Rather than simply decrying popular fiction, then, the GdL attempts to regulate it by encouraging a more discerning and professional approach on the part of the librarian. In line with its relatively commercial orientation, the GdL carries as a supplement not the general, political list of banned books but the translation-dominated index of popular fiction *Liste der für Jugendliche und Büchereien ungeeigneten Druckschriften* discussed in 1.4., along with regular updates, practical details and lists of librarians who have been fined for flouting the index. Such explicit reminders of state power to enforce policy differentiate the Ministry journals from the other journals' fiction of 'taste'. They also indicate the state's understanding of the commercial libraries as a potentially unruly force, outside the tight political control of the works and public libraries. The frequent complaints in the GdL about commercial librarians' disobedience come to a head in late 1942, when a long leader article attacks the bulk of commercial libraries

¹³⁷ Commercial libraries were often run as a sideline, and often by women. This lack of professional integration was decried by the GdL, which finds a regrettable lack of moral fervour for the book exemplified by an advertisement it cites: "Suche Existenz! Übernehme Buchverleih, Brotniederlage, Stehbierhalle oder ähnliches" (Apr 1940:52).

for failing to purge their stock fully: even at this late stage ‘dozens’ of libraries in just one city were still carrying books long banned by the *Liste*, and even blanket-banned translations from English and American English were still being lent out (“Von der inneren und äußeren Sauberkeit unseres Standes”, 15 Nov 1942:301-304). The need expressed in this and other articles for the Propaganda Ministry to issue such open threats supports Barbian’s claim that the commercial libraries represented to some extent an enclave of relative freedom from state control (Barbian 1995:621) and suggests that they were an important source of translations for the reading public in the period.

Despite the threatening tone of the occasional Ministry articles, often the GdL is rather pragmatic in its treatment of literature, and this extends to translations too. It carries reviews of a wide range of translations, with an emphasis on fiction and in particular on ‘quality’ light fiction - the “guter Unterhaltungsroman” that is the GdL’s refrain. Translations are often, but not always, reviewed in separate sections, entitled “...und einige Übersetzungen” (Apr 1939:35) or similar; translation labels are consistently applied. In the review itself an introductory sentence almost always marks the provenance of the text: “der dänische Dichter” (ibid) or “gesungen zwischen Norwegens Bergen und Fjorden” (reviews supplement Sep 1940:xxiv), both in opening sentences, for example. However, in many cases this is the extent of the reference, with few reviews dwelling on the fact of translatedness. Instead, translations are treated rather like other books simply available as part of the TL literature and to be welcomed as far as they fulfil the general criteria for an acceptable and entertaining text. In this respect the GdL comes closer than any of the other journals to an unworried stance that might be classified “trans-discursive” in Robyns’ terms.

However, one of the GdL’s most striking features is the inconsistency of its editorial stance, with an unpredictable mixture of commercially reasoned judgement, somewhat unconvincing stabs at ideological correctness and straightforward Ministry diktats. This is reflected in the comments on translation. While for most reviews the issue of translatedness remains peripheral, there are several other types of response, to which I will now turn. The first of these is a tendency to evaluate translations in terms of their contribution to the reader’s understanding of the SL landscape and

nation, always within the parameters of Nazi geography. This is an attitude explored in more detail below for the case of *Die Weltliteratur*, which takes a more extreme version of the same standpoint. The GdL's tone is usually rather mild in comparison, referring often to a picture ("Bild", "Gemälde") of the foreign culture as opposed to the more active insight into and coming to know ("Einsicht", "Erkenntnis") typical of *Die Weltliteratur* (though see the GdL's reference to "Erfassung" below). For the GdL, the praise for a translation's educational benefits belongs more to the framework of the text's interest (ie saleability) for the reader than to a clearly political agenda; still, the underlying assumption is that translations are read in order to find out about the foreign culture, not as honorary German texts. This attitude manages to remain within the commercial tradition of interest in translations without disturbing official lines on foreign literature.

It is on the question of detective fiction that more strident comments about translation appear. Popular fiction's domination of the commercial libraries makes it a natural focus for the GdL and at the same time a repository for comment on the translations that fed it. In this context, translation is frequently referred to as a form of propaganda for the SL nation (for example the glorification of the British police in detective translations and imitations, criticised in Apr 1940:41). Translation can propagandise for Germany too: the approved translation out of German is credited with being "einer der bedeutendsten Mittler im zwischenvölkischen Geistesaus-tausch" (15 Oct 1942:284f). Translation as an "Instrument" is particularly important "für die richtige Einschätzung, Erfassung und Bewertung eines Volkes", hence the role of translation in spreading (Nazi) German culture through Europe, as well as the need to filter it successfully in order to avoid the "verzerrtes, unwahres Bild" (ibid) presently given by anti-Nazi literature abroad. However, the GdL has relatively little to say about translation out of German and spends more time worrying about the effects of translation into German, particularly via the detective and adventure genres.

This concern is expressed in a programmatic article in the GdL's first issue, "Der Übersetzungsroman in der Leihbücherei" (Apr 1940:13-16). The article allows that translation in itself is an acceptable, even valuable practice. However, its opening

sentence has sounded the alarm:

“Die Übersetzungshochflut, die nun seit über einem Jahr auf dem deutschen Buchmarkt herrscht¹³⁸, hat auch die deutschen Leihbüchereien überschwemmt. Der Übersetzungsroman beherrscht zur Zeit die Schaufensterauslagen; sein Anteil, der in gar keinem Verhältnis zu seiner Bedeutung und seinem künstlerischen Wert steht, beträgt in vielen Fällen bis zu 70%” (ibid:13).

The ‘flood’ image that orients this article has been mentioned in regard to Payr’s essay; it is a metaphor central to the discourse of threat by translation, the overwhelming of domestic culture by foreign influx. There is additionally a reference to domination - Payr’s “Fremdherrschaft” here appears in the form of the “beherrschen” of shop windows and frightening statistics are cited to back up the point. It should be noted that while translations may possibly have made up 70% of the libraries’ displays, they certainly did not make up 70% of publishers’ output (not even of detective fiction, see 5.1.). The article’s subsequent claim that publishers are responsible for the high numbers thus deflects attention from the more plausible explanation, that librarians saw profit in emphasising the translations among their stock. The commercial library’s mission should, the article concludes, be to reduce the amount of translation to an absolute minimum and always encourage readers to turn to non-translated works.

While this article ostensibly cites as the main problem a lack of quality in translations due to the heavy demand for them overstressing translators’ time and competence, the underlying argument appears to be one simply of numbers, of a superfluity of translation which must be remedied. Other articles in the GdL, though, take the argument down far more emotive paths. On two occasions the prose style of translated and anglicising detective novels is criticised in terms of sexual violence: “unsere Muttersprache wird [...] vergewaltigt” (Jan 1939:24), “ihre [the German language’s] ehrfurchtslose Vergewaltigung” (Apr 1940:42). This sexualised theme can also be seen in an article on the translated detective novel and its imitations by Sebastian Losch, author of the rabidly defensive “Klare Haltung!” editorial discussed above.

¹³⁸ The statistics in Chapter 2 showed that in fact the high point of translation was in 1937; in the years up to 1940 it had remained high as a proportion of publications but was dropping in absolute terms, especially after the wartime blanket bans.

Losch positions the detective novel in a frame of sex and breeding, referring to it with laboured humour as an illegitimate child whose father is the “Herr Roman” but whose mother is unknown (15 Mar 1941:76; it will be noted that the suspect element of the detective novel, presumably foreign, is the maternal one). The genre’s “unglückliche Abstammung” has weakened it, leading to an unfortunate openness to “fremdländischen Welten und Sitten” and especially to the influence of England and English settings. The new, German detective novel, in contrast, illustrates purity and clear-cut values: “die Sauberkeit der Haltung und eine klare Stellung zwischen Gut und Böse” (ibid). The references to purity versus genetic contamination and illegitimacy (the “Makel seiner lückenhaften Abstammung”, ibid) recall the problematic facing translation within Nazi views of literature in general: translation is a site of miscegenation between the foreign text and the German one and purity is not possible. This may help explain the anxiety with which the more theoretically-inclined journals (especially *Die Weltliteratur*) insist upon the organic, untouched unity of a ‘good’ translated text.

In this article, then, the defensive stance is articulated in biologicistic, racialised terms, translation and its influences seen as a threat to purity. Interestingly, Losch admits that the impure product has “die Würze der Pikanterie”; it is “interessant, aber nicht salonfähig”. This at once describes rather well the place of translated popular fiction in popular reading habits and expresses a fear within the Ministry journals: translation is unclean but much too tempting.

The GdL’s line on translation is an often confusing mixture of extremely fierce justifications of Ministry decrees within the general articles and pragmatic commentary within the reviews. This contrasts with the WB’s more consistently defensive stance. The difference between the two Ministry-controlled organs can perhaps be explained by their different constituencies: whereas the WB deals with a centrally-positioned cultural institution, the commercial libraries addressed by the GdL constitute a marginal one that never became fully integrated into the regime and remained governed to a significant extent by commercial considerations of reader taste. For both, the

official, defensive line is presented by means of metaphors of invasion and infiltration that tend to set up a unified - and victimised - 'Germany' in contradistinction to the translated text.

3.3. *Bücherkunde*

The next journal to be discussed is the *Bücherkunde* (hereafter "BK"), published monthly between 1934 and 1944 by the literature branch of the Party's office for political education headed by Alfred Rosenberg. This Party institution laid claim (unsuccessfully, according to Bollmus, 1970) to responsibilities similar to those of its state counterparts. The Propaganda Ministry had power over permissions and promotion, but Rosenberg's office reported on more books than any other body - around 50% of the average 20,000 works published every year (Strothmann 1963:217). The office published in the BK a monthly list of 'recommended' and 'not recommended' works from among those permitted, implicitly defying the official (secret) indexes drawn up by the Propaganda Ministry. The BK's much-vaunted monthly lists had no legal status, but as suggested in 3.1. above, it seems likely that its opinions would have influenced the book-buying policy of libraries and booksellers, and thus to some extent the strategies of publishers.

The eleven volumes of the BK cover various aspects of fiction and non-fiction, including debates on literary and political issues, panegyrics to approved authors, advertisements, reviews and, especially in later volumes, propaganda articles with only the flimsiest connection to a literary topic. Among the articles are some on translated literature in general and some on translations from particular language groups; translations also appear in the book review sections, most of them concentrated in the years 1936-1938. Translations from English are the most frequently reviewed, followed by translations from French, then from Flemish. Various Scandinavian source languages come next; if we were to take them as one language group, as the BK undoubtedly did (for example, some books are labelled simply as translations from 'Nordic'), they would match reviews on translations from English in numbers. Unsurprisingly, the predominance of English and French dies out in later issues, to be replaced by the languages of the 'friendly' nations, with the solitary review of Japa-

nese literature to be found in one of the very last issues (May-Jun 1944:78). BK reviews appear in groups under headings like “Kriegsbücher” or “Das britische Weltreich”, and translations usually appear in a separate section, entitled, for example, “Von jenseits der Grenze” (Dec 1938), “Literatur unserer Nachbarn” (Aug 1938) or “Übersetzungen, die des Lesens wert sind” (Feb 1938). Thus the translated status of the works is highlighted and they are not absorbed into the generality of books in German.

The BK does not take one clear line on translations - the attitudes visible in the articles and reviews are various and often enough contradictory. Drawing on Robyns’ categories, I will in the following organise them along three trajectories: one stressing threat and maximising difference, one stressing usefulness and highly ambivalent on difference, one based on lack in the target language culture. These positions are neither clearly separable nor internally coherent, but may serve as a means of looking at the multiplicity of possible translation norms articulated in the BK and their close relationship with the surrounding Nazi ideology of the ‘alien’. The investigation of *Die Weltliteratur* in 3.4. will add further dimensions to these issues.

If we begin with the theme of threat, epitomising Robyns’ “defensive” stance, the key term in the BK is one discussed in the context of the Payr essay, the ‘flood’ of translations onto the German market. For example, the BK, like *Die Werkbücherei*, complains of a steep increase in translations into German during early 1939 (Jun 1939:309). The problem is felt to be the fact that more is being translated into than out of German, in other words that the commercial and ideological trade balance of translations is negative. In particular, among translations out of German, anti-fascist authors rather than the state-backed literature are proving most popular. Thus, translation is failing to promote the new regime abroad; at home the effect of “die jahrelange Überschwemmung Deutschlands mit nordländischem Schrifttum” - indeed the “Invasion des nordländischen Schrifttums” - is held to be that “der junge emporstrebende deutsche Verfasser wird vom Ausland-Schlager zurückgedrängt” (Jun 1940:161). The reader is reminded that by cutting down on Scandinavian imports, Germany will “nicht ärmer werden, sondern noch einen beträchtlichen Devisenanteil sparen”. The piece ends with an appeal that echoes other wartime calls to buy home-

grown goods: “Erst kommt die deutsche Literatur, dann die ausländische!” (ibid:162).

The emotive terminology of swamping suggests that it is not just the volume of translations into German which worries the BK, but also their potential insidiousness: the metaphor depends on an opposition between the tide of foreign books and ‘us’, the German readers, its victims. In the article on Scandinavian literature quoted above, the author further complains that the publishers of such translations apply “literarische Kriterien, die uns fremd sind” when choosing books for translation (Jun 1940:161). If publishers are irresponsible, then the literary critics must “die Kampagne gegen diese Flut eröffnen” (ibid:162) by applying truly German criteria. This would be necessary to protect the German writer, but by implication also to protect the innocent German reader, who in another review is characterised as about to be tricked into buying the wrong book (Dec 1939:691). It is common for the BK to allude to the reader’s need for protection and guidance: hardly surprising, since a helpless readership is necessary to the construction of a benevolent guiding hand in the shape of the various state and Party offices. At the same time, the paranoid language of the reader as a victim of translation, found in an even stronger form in the “Klare Haltung!” article examined in 3.2., parallels the central Nazi theme of the German *Volk* as a victim of an alien conspiracy, in this case one mediated by the book trade.

The following extract from a 1938 review article on a collection of religiously-tinged Flemish stories edited and translated by Carl Heinz Erkelenz, *Unsere liebe Frau aus Flandern*, illustrates some of these points. It is not our business, the reviewer admits, to interfere in foreign literatures’ affairs;

“Dafür stellen wir für alle deutschen Übersetzer und Verleger die eindeutige und eigentlich selbstverständliche Forderung auf: Wenn wir unser reichsdeutsches Schrifttum durch Werke aus artverwandten Literaturen vermehren wollen, dann müssen diese auch *erstens* wirklich den klaren Stempel tragen, d.h. u.a.: alle konfessionelle Winkelliteratur hat als Gefährdung und getarnter Angriff auf unsere deutsche Volksgemeinschaft außerhalb der deutschen Reichsgrenzen zu verbleiben. Und *zweitens* verbitten wir es uns, den deutschen Büchermarkt als Rumpelkammer für Abfälle der in ihren Ursprungsländern abgesetzten (oder nicht mehr abzusetzenden!) Autoren zu betrachten” (Dec 1938:690).

The emphasis on the first person plural in this extract asserts the community of German bookreaders as distinct from the foreign products (as usual conflating the 'we' of the journal with that of the nation as a whole). As has been said, these readers are presented as passive consumers, dependent on the good faith of the real agents, namely translators and, above all, publishers - in other words, those links in the translating process which can, unlike the readers' tastes, be policed by the state. At the same time translators and their publishers are allocated a highly suspect position within, yet antagonistic to, the *Volk*, as mediators of a foreign culture's 'veiled attack'. A similar claim is made in a review of a translation from French, Julien Green's *Mitternacht* (*Minuit*). The reviewer complains that the translation's Viennese Jewish publisher (Bermann-Fischer) has, by choosing to translate an overblown and nihilistic work, "diese Sprache, die wir lieben als einen Teil unserer selbst, auf das kläglichste herabgewürdigt" (Feb 1937:90). Again the translator and the publisher of translations are cast as the enemy of domestic culture. The reference to the importer as Jewish further introduces an association of the 'Jewish alien' of anti-Semitic discourse with the threatening importer of foreign material, the translator/publisher of translations, in a move discussed further with regard to *Die Neue Literatur* in 3.5.

To return to the Flemish case, the reference to the German book market as a repository for other literatures' cast-offs again stresses the relationship of opposition felt to exist between source and target literatures, the assumption of a closed system into which imports may be allowed to enter only after discriminating screening. BK reviews do make reference to the 'quality' of the translation, though this is seldom elaborated further than with "unsorgfältig", "meisterhaft" or similar labels. Far more often, it is defined by the choice of text itself, as the consonance of plot and characters with Nazi ideology. In the passage quoted, the emphasis on the source language's relatedness to German suggests that when translations are praised it will be for their success in reducing the foreignness of the foreign. Thus, of Flemish culture, texts expressing those aspects felt to be alien (religion) should be excluded and those felt to be kindred (race) admitted; a translating norm is constituted that demands a highly selective approach to the content and tenor of the source text by the initiator of

translations¹³⁹. Other BK references to translations from Flemish likewise tend to evaluate the texts in terms of their adherence to an ideology matching the Nazi literary surroundings, for example by picking or highlighting subjects like the peasant soul considered not really ‘different’, a point I will return to below.

So translations are reviewed in separate sections, almost always clearly labelled as imports and given special attention regarding the foreignness of the content - the thrust of the BK’s defensive stance is that translations need to be carefully herded, kept sealed off from target language literature, their cultural differentness and potential danger pointed out, echoing the terms of Nazi racist discourse. But alongside the strand of fear of the import there runs another motif: translations as potentially useful expressions of the relationship between SL and TL *Völker*. Considerable emphasis is placed on the distance of most SL cultures from ‘us Germans’, but this is not necessarily seen in a negative light, especially in the pre-1939 volumes. The value of translations in educating the readers about otherwise mysterious *Völker* is a point frequently mentioned in their favour by BK reviewers. For example, the reviewer of a collection of Yugoslav novellas (Dec 1938:689) praises the insight into the ‘true’ (i.e. pre-modern) culture of this “literarisches Neuland” - new literary territory that is soon, one might add, to be more than just literary. A foreign policy agenda evidently feeds into such judgements. Similarly, the reviews which praise Finnish and Japanese texts for their anthropological value (May-Jun 1944:79f) can be seen as part of a policy of education on the ways of new subjects and allies, assuming as they do that translation’s task is to mediate knowledge of the SL *Volk*.

Of course, the knowledge of SL nations that translation supposedly provide is not neutral. In the BK, translations from French and English literature are usually considered informative inasmuch as they indicate the inferiority of the source language culture. As in the other journals, A G Macdonell’s *Selbstbildnis eines Gentleman* is found to be useful in confirming the BK’s worst suspicions about the English national character (May-Jun 1942:179): the protagonist is “ein Musterexemplar jener

¹³⁹ It is harder to judge how the translator and publisher were to select *within* texts, in other words playing particular aspects up or down (see Chapters 4 and 5). The BK could not publicly endorse such practices, since this would constitute too obvious a call for manipulation, as opposed to innocent ‘tasteful choice’.

Art Menschen [...], die alle Eigenschaften englischer Heuchelei, Arroganz, Dummheit, Skrupellosigkeit, Unmoral, Ehrlosigkeit und Selbstbetrug zusammenfassen". Julien Green's *Mitternacht* (Feb 1937:90) proves the decadence of the French (though in this case the proof is not praised as useful). When translations furnish understanding of the foreign culture, this comes with the proviso that the image received by German readers must be 'accurate' in Nazi terms; thus, the English must be accurately portrayed as degenerate snobs¹⁴⁰, the French as morbid and nihilistic, the Americans as stricken by social collapse, the Norwegians as really rather German. This is the accuracy criterion that the BK's reviews demand of translators, rather than one based on 'faithfulness' to the source text. Indeed, the source text is assumed to *be* the source culture, the translated text an educational excursion, and the task of publisher and translator to select carefully so as to reflect the known realities of the other culture. More will be said on this aspect in 3.4.

For the BK the usefulness of translations may, though, equally be to confirm the relatedness, the *lack* of difference, between source and target cultures. The amount of space given to those source languages considered related (i.e. Scandinavian languages and Flemish) even before the war is disproportionate to their presence among published translations. Of the literature of the 'kindred' cultures, those authors are praised who can be presented as *völkisch* - and pro-German - in their approach. In other words, the virtue of 'kindred' authors lies precisely in their closeness to German culture, in the case of Flemish authors their roots in "die gemeinsame völkisch-niederdeutsche Wirklichkeit" (Jan 1942:6). In this way, the source texts of some translations are not really foreign but merely a "Zweig unserer Literatur" (Feb 1937:95, on 'Nordic' literature) - in this case, being barely translations in the first place is what makes them acceptable.

The idea that the translation from Flemish or Danish is hardly a translation at all is reminiscent of what Robyns calls the "imperialist" stance, which seeks to swallow the foreign text and deny its otherness. As in the cases he cites, this stance is probably not unrelated to an aim of swallowing the foreign nation and territory too. However, here no typically imperialist claim is made for the universality of the 'superior'

¹⁴⁰ Though see also below on the diverse constructions of Englishness in the BK.

nation's values, as only a select few nations are regarded as having access to the 'Germanic'; others are held to have their own incurably specific moral universe. Nor is membership of a superior 'race' immutable: even while it refers to the "blut- und rassenverwandte Völker" (Jun 1937:322), the BK is always careful to point out that much literature of these nations may only be masquerading as Germanic. The Finland-Swedish writer Sally Salminen, for example, is still highly Nordic (and thus 'Germanic') in 1938, but by 1940, after an anti-fascist speech, she has joined the ranks of the racially alien (Aug 1938:438; Jun 1940:161). Typically of Nazi ideology, the notion of 'race' here is paradoxical. On the one hand, the members of a *Volk* are held to be born into it; on the other they have to *become* members by consciously conforming to values elsewhere posited as 'innate'.

Aside from clearly pan-Germanist claims, other aspects of BK reviews also appear to minimise the 'good' foreign text's difference from home-produced literature. For example, plot is almost always judged in terms of its closeness to acceptable 'German' storylines covering themes considered suitable by Nazi literary theory: plenty of peasants; men who are men and women who are women (or who are destroyed by their attempts at emancipation); race and "Schicksal" as prime movers. 'Irrelevant' themes would be society or manners (a common complaint against British literature, eg Feb 1937:94 on Evelyn Waugh). Like the judgements of plot, comments on the style of the translations share much of the ground of reviews of domestic texts, so that 'artificiality' is criticised, 'simplicity', 'immediacy' and 'truthfulness' praised. If the translator remains within these parameters, imported texts may be designated as "eine willkommene Bereicherung unseres Schrifttums" (ibid, on John Masefield's novels). The term "Bereicherung" recalls the imperialist quest for new acquisitions from abroad, and one reviewer even recommends that although "ein Übermaß von fremdem Kulturgut, besonders wenn es mittelmäßig ist, dem eigenen geistigen Leben schädlich wird", "es ist von großem Nutzen für ein Volk, die Kulturschätze anderer Völker zu besitzen" (Jun 1940:159). In the context of the BK reviews, it appears that the "Schätze" to be acquired from imported texts consist in the confirmation of the categories of Nazi ideology¹⁴¹.

¹⁴¹ Similarly, *Die Weltliteratur* sometimes praises translation in almost avaricious tones: "Wir Deutschen würden außerdem ungern uns den Zutritt zu irgendeinem Reichtum dieser Art unerschlossen sehen" (Nov 1941:277). The same article explains Germans' interest in translation by

Thus translations are taken to be useful as a didactic tool as long as they conform to Nazi 'knowledge' of the foreign culture. In the terms of this knowledge, the otherness of the source language may be reduced to a matter of local colour if, as in the case of Flemish literature, this concurs with foreign policy aims. Yet even then at the core of each review is the anxious question: how foreign or not foreign is the text? This ambivalence is well illustrated by the case of reviews of translations from English. Here, while one book may 'prove' the English are fundamentally Germanic, another will prove they are fundamentally alien and corrupt, antithetical to the German nation. These judgements of translations, both made in terms of the supposed English *Volk* but drawing opposite conclusions, can be found coexisting before the outbreak of war. Charles Morgan's *Der Quell* demonstrates "wie eng deutsches und britisches Wesen verwandt sind, da beide aus dem gleichen Blute ihren Ursprung haben" (Dec 1935:393); Evelyn Waugh's *Eine Handvoll Staub* is a very accurate "Bild einer dekadenten, verrotteten bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, voller Lüge, innerer Unwahrheit und Gesetzlosigkeit" (Feb 1937:94). In both cases, the translations are seen as expressions of an Englishness either more or less alien to the German, and the justification for translating is measured by the usefulness of these expressions for the Nazi context.

Finally, there is an absence in the BK's comments that suggests another position, albeit only implicitly. This is what Robyns calls the "defective" stance, where gaps in the home system are felt which need to be filled by imports. In the BK, a defective stance is present in an inverted, or denied, form, notably in the case of popular literature. There is almost no mention of this stronghold of translation - not even in the shape of the vehement attacks to be found in the Propaganda Ministry journals. The latters' aggressive tone carries a covert acknowledgement of the success of an imported genre and the failure of the German system to fill the gap except with imitations. But while the vices of popular literature are attacked frequently by library and youth work journals, the BK steers clear of the topic. What we do find, though rarely, are rather anxious *denials* of inadequacies in German literature. For example, a review praising T E Lawrence's so-called colonial novels adds "Wir Deutschen haben

their Viking hearts - in other words, translation becomes the booty brought back by pillaging heroes (ibid:275).

es hier aber ebenso wenig wie bei wirklich guten und erlebten ‘Abenteuerromanen’ etwa aus eigenem Mangel nötig, bei fremden Nationen Anleihen zu machen” (Oct 1937:571). Precisely because translation is suspected to be caused by “eigenem Mangel”, to be the sign of a weak culture - so the BK argument appears to run - Germany cannot need translations because it is not a weak culture. The fear of weakness hinted at here is backed up by repeated assertions of Germany’s need to pick only the very best of foreign literature and reject anything not reaching the high standards of indigenous work. The claim is that imports are only extras, not essentials, in the home system. Yet given the continued success of translation and imitation in popular genres, at least up to 1939, such claims ring hollow. Instead, the BK’s denial appears unwillingly to admit a weakness in the regulated book market, and a failure to eliminate what another BK article calls the Germans’ “unselige Hang nach dem Fremden” (Jun 1940:162). At the same time, a typical uncertainty shines through that is caused by the Germans’ failure to conform to the demands of community - as usual in Nazi writings, glorification of the asserted German ‘we’ contrasts with fears that it is not yet truly in existence or, indeed, has already been destroyed.

Thus, while the comments on translations as threatening or useful participate in some confusion within Nazi constructions of the foreign, the evidence of translations as filling a lack suggests another problem: despite all the (probably not unsuccessful) attempts to ‘educate public taste’¹⁴² and disparage imports, the existence and popularity of literature which glorified the foreign confronted the BK with a difficulty which could apparently be resolved only by an uncharacteristically discreet silence. The next journal avoids the vexed question of popular fiction, although the commercial success of translations is also taken as problematic; it focuses instead on the matter of what makes a foreign text foreign and how this foreignness can or cannot be put to use for Nazi ideological projects.

¹⁴² The phrase is Goebbels’: “Man braucht sich dem Geschmack nicht zu beugen, er ist auch erziehbar” (*Börsenblatt* 112/1933:335).

3.4. Die Weltliteratur

This journal had appeared from October 1935 to September 1939 as *Weltliteratur: Romane, Erzählungen und Gedichte aller Zeiten und Völker*,¹⁴³ consisting mainly of excerpts and short literary texts, both translated into and written originally in German, along with book reviews. Non-translated texts outweigh translated ones by around three to one in the anthology section and even more strongly in the review sections. Publication of *Weltliteratur* ceased in autumn 1939 without comment - though one might speculate that its strong orientation on foreign literature made it vulnerable to speedy wartime restriction. While the journal at this stage certainly appears to belong to the circle around Rosenberg and the SS, it is only in the new series, from February 1940, that according to Strothmann (1963:196; 335) it came under direct SS control. This is nowhere made explicit in the journal, though as before the change, a keen interest in the 'Nordic' idea and anti-Christian thought is to be found which matches that of the main SS journal *Der Schwarze Korps* (see Combs 1986)¹⁴⁴. With the start of the new series, both name and content change: *Die Weltliteratur: Berichte, Leseproben und Wertung* of 1940-1943 (hereafter "WL") still includes literary texts but the emphasis is very much on evaluation, via articles about literatures of the world and reviews of domestic and translated literature. For the sake of consistency, I shall deal here mainly with the new series: its detailed and explicit comments in reviews and articles on foreign literature yield the most interesting material¹⁴⁵.

As its name implies, the WL accords an important place to foreign literature, although German writing, as the centre of the scheme of 'world' literature, is well represented. Excerpts from novels or plays, short stories and, most frequently, poems by approved authors appear, including some translated texts such as stories by Fin-

¹⁴³ The journal first appeared in 1915, but ceased publication between January 1925 and October 1935.

¹⁴⁴ Unfortunately, Strothmann gives no references for his comments on the control of *Die Weltliteratur*. However, the general line of the paper accords closely with SS projects, and there are other clues: for example, almost the entire August-September issue in 1943 is devoted to the death in battle of SS favourite and *Untersturmführer* Kurt Eggers, reprinting a selection of the reviews he had written for the journal, and praise for the SS as the highest example of Nazi manhood recurs throughout the post-1940 volumes.

¹⁴⁵ A study of the pre-1940 volumes, with their greater emphasis on excerpts, could prove very interesting as an instance of translation anthologisation (see the project delineated by Kittel 1995).

nish writer Mika Waltari (Aug 1942) or the Bulgarian Angel Karalijcev (Jan 1942). More space is taken up, however, especially in the later issues, by long articles of general literary or cultural interest, mainly treating either the relationship of German to other cultures or trends in various European literatures. Late in the war, polemical cultural histories coexist with long, bellicose articles of dubious coherence as the specifically literary interest fades. Thirdly, the WL gives detailed reviews of books, including translated fiction and German books about the geographical areas in question. On the last page or endpaper the WL carries short news items, mostly regarding the progress of translation from German into the languages of the allied or occupied nations. The journal is copiously illustrated with woodcut illustrations of the books reviewed, portraits of *völkisch* types and landscapes.

The WL's wartime context means that only a limited range of SLs is dealt with, translations from English, French, Polish and Russian all having been banned at some point after 1939. The literatures of the 'friendly nations' are discussed and reviewed, issues often carrying a particular regional focus such as the Low Countries (Nov 1940) or south-eastern Europe (Jun-Jul 1943). The interest in Flemish literature persists through all volumes, while Scandinavian literature falls back after an intensive start, to be replaced by a new interest in the Balkan literatures from 1943 on. Comparatively few references are made to Spanish or Italian writers, and of literatures outside Europe only scarce comments on Turkey, China and Japan are included.

This narrow definition of 'world literature', certainly in part a function of wartime censorship, produces a strictly limited canon of acceptability, within which the WL reviews judge translated works on the same strict terms as domestic production. Many of the terms of praise for translations are those used for non-translations, featuring the recurrent concepts "Natur", "Leben", "Schicksal", "ohne Sentimentalität", "realistisch", "groß", "stark", "männlich", "fraulich" and - most often and approvingly of all - "hart" or "Härte". The concept of authenticity is frequently invoked for translations just as for domestic works: for example, Anne de Vries' *Hilde* is praised as a book "das *aus* dem Volk stammt und für das Volk geschrieben ist, weil es wahr ist, rein und sauber" (Feb-Mar 1943:51); Albin Widén's work demonstrates that a real peasant is the only one capable of writing a real peasant book (Apr 1941:123).

The ultimate terms of disapproval are unreality in representations of life and a style that is “ausgeklügelt und konstruiert” (Aug-Sep 1943:126) as opposed to organic and straightforward. Such disapproval is, though, expressed mainly as contrast in the WL since, following Goebbels’ ban on critical comment¹⁴⁶, it almost consistently avoids reviewing any book not considered worthy of praise.

When these terms are used to evaluate translations, it could be argued that the latter are being treated ‘neutrally’, in that no special yardsticks are applied. This might even correspond to Robyns’ “trans-discursive” attitude towards translation - were it not for the context of such evaluations. Reviews without a comment on the criteria for importation are very rare in the WL, and the surrounding attitudes provide the reader with an overarching viewpoint that highlights the translatedness of foreign literature. These attitudes, which echo the defensive and the ethnographic strands of the other journals’ comments, will be examined next.

The WL, like its Propaganda Ministry cousins dealt with in 3.2., begins from the assumption that translation is potentially dangerous. The programme of the new WL is set out in the opening editorial “Die Waffen des Geistes”, which stresses the risk posed to German literature by translation, especially in view of the “unseligen deutschen Hang” to run to foreign literature purely on the grounds of its foreignness (Jan-Feb 1940:2)¹⁴⁷. “Man wird daran merken”, continues the editorial, “daß uns nichts ferner liegt, als zu ‘ausländern’. Andererseits darf und braucht der geistige Austausch zwischen den Völkern weder dem Zufall, noch allein kaufmännischer Spekulation überlassen zu bleiben” (ibid). It will be noted that the WL assiduously denies the overly outward-looking standpoint its title could be felt to imply; it strangely twists the Goethean terms of its title to claim the role of strictly policing translation’s entry into the receiving culture. The suggestion is made that this gatekeeping function is, indeed, the rationale for having refocused the WL to include evaluations and contextualisation of foreign literature, thus helping prevent commercially-motivated misin-

¹⁴⁶ The 1936 ordinance on reviews required ‘criticism’ to be replaced by ‘discussion’, thus in practice edging out disapproving comment, though in the journals studied by no means all reviews are positive. On the regulation of book reviewing, see especially Geißler 1967.

¹⁴⁷ It will be remembered that the *Bücherkunde* used almost exactly the same phrase (see 3.3.); *Der Buchhändler im neuen Reich* complains in similar terms of a “Manie der ‘literarischen Ausländerei’” (Nov-Dec 1939:347) and the *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt* of “Fremdtümelei” (Apr 1940:41).

formation and damage.

In terms of Robyns' framework, then, the explicit basis of the WL's approach to translation belongs to the defensive stance. This is underlined by references to the "Flut" of translations (mainly in the context of unsuitable Scandinavian literature, as will be detailed below). The instances of the flood metaphor are accompanied by calls for the building of "die nötigen Deiche und Dämme" (Apr 1941:110) or similar to protect the domestic culture. In other words, as in the editorial quoted above, the metaphor serves to legitimate censorship measures¹⁴⁸. For example, the distribution of works by anti-fascist Scandinavians can hardly be countenanced since "man würde es wohl nicht verstehen, wenn ein Überfallener seinen Räuber zum Abendessen einlädt, und so wollen auch wir keine Feste für unsere Feinde" (ibid:109). The admission of a translation is interpreted here as a means of inviting a malevolent force into the target culture, and thus as quite unjustifiable. More outspokenly, an article on popular fiction translated from English argues for bans on the grounds that the genre has constituted a "geistige Fremdherrschaft" within Germany (May-Jun 1941:145). The institutor of this domination, it is implied, is World Jewry, in that "diese ganze Literaturgattung ihren anglo-amerikanisch-jüdischen Ursprung niemals verleugnen kann" (ibid:142). Here, the threat of deforming the TL literature has materialised and it is only by strict measures that the damage has been reversed: "Der PK-Mann hat den Literaten besiegt¹⁴⁹, und das ist gut so" (ibid:145). The agent of translation is a danger mastered at the last minute.

A pair of lengthy articles about the Scandinavian literary scene illustrate the defensive stance even more clearly, in the context of translation from English and French into the Scandinavian languages. The WL accuses the British Council, as the British government's agent, of waging propaganda war in Scandinavia (implicitly: against the rightful influence of Germany) by dominating the literary market with transla-

¹⁴⁸ The use of metaphor here aids compliance with RSK exhortations to avoid revealing the extent of censorship in any public arena (see, for example, Ihde 1942). In fact the WL is more explicit than, for example, the *Bücherkunde* on the issue of control measures against literature, though less explicit than the *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt* since it is not a professional paper but directed at the general reading public.

¹⁴⁹ The PK was the propaganda division of the SS. The term 'Literat' is one used pejoratively throughout the journals to differentiate the artificial, cosmopolitan - 'not-German' - writer from his truly German counterpart, the 'Dichter'. See also Geißler 1964.

tions to the extent “daß man ohne allzu große Übertreibung die drei nordischen Länder geradezu als ein kulturelles Dominium Englands und der Vereinigten Staaten bezeichnen kann” (May 1940:70). France, similarly, has taken up “den lange vernachlässigten Kampf um die kulturelle Eroberung des europäischen Nordens” by means of the newly-opened Institut Français in Stockholm as a channel for the introduction of translations (ibid:74). The two articles are entitled, militaristically enough, “Die englisch-amerikanische Invasion” and “Der französische Vorstoß in Nordeuropa”. In them, the foreign governments are repeatedly said to be the active promulgators of translation as a force of destruction. As in the *Bücherkunde*, the readers are passive recipients, even victims, of translation: in the example of translations of Mauriac it is felt self-evident “daß der nordische Leser kaum *aus eigener Initiative* zu dem Buch eines Mannes greifen würde, der alle Sinnenfreudigkeit kompromißlos verurteilt. Frankreich selbst trifft hier die Auswahl” (ibid:75, original emphasis). Accordingly, in the WL the relative lack of translation from German into the Scandinavian languages is seen less as an economic matter of copyright and royalties than an ideological one, a failure to join the translation battle successfully.

Translation is, then, a weapon - and when used against Germany it must be combated or at least contained for the safety of the receiving discourse. However, this attitude does not dominate the WL's response to translation as it does the *Werkbücherei*'s. The WL, after all, takes ‘world literature’ as its focus and can thus hardly dismiss translation as a purely damaging phenomenon. Indeed, translation (strictly speaking foreign literature) is at the centre of its vision. This is a potential problem for the WL, since complaints could easily be raised that any extensive treatment of foreign literature might encourage readers to turn to it at the expense of home production, and the journal addresses this issue head on. The opening statement of the new series appeals to Hitler's dictum that “die gemeinsame Ordnung der Völker nur auf der Ordnung des Einzelvolkes nach seiner Eigenart beruhen kann” (Jan-Feb 1940:3). The WL's interest in the foreign is thus justified in a double move: on the one hand as a way of bolstering essentialised notions of national literatures, whether German or not (the “Einzelvolk nach seiner Eigenart”) and on the other as a contribution to the German claim to rule (by helping create a “gemeinsame Ordnung” in Europe under German leadership). The irreducible “Eigenart” of each *Volk*'s cultural production is crucial

to Nazi ideologies of nationhood and of literature, as was seen in Chapter 1, but among the many, irreducibly national entities of Europe Germany becomes the linchpin.

The appeal that the WL's title implicitly makes to Romantic conceptions of national literatures is central to the journal's understanding of translation. But the conversation, the mutual alteration offered by "Weltliteratur" in Goethe's sense (see Strich 1957:17) falls by the wayside. Instead, the WL argues that Goethe's 'world literature' prioritised the "nationalen Grundgehalt" of its constituent elements (Mar 1941:26) and legitimises its focus on the essential and impermeable national specificity of translated texts by citing Herder, "der uns gelehrt hat, den höchsten Wert auch der fremden Dichtung in ihrem nationalen Gehalt zu suchen" (Nov 1941:275). Accordingly, praise is reserved for texts considered representative of their originating *Völker*; traditions within, for example, Russian or American literature which are too international, not specifically rooted in the *Volk*, are condemned and considered unworthy of translation¹⁵⁰. According to the WL, there is little point, for example, in translating Dutch authors unless, as is unfortunately too seldom the case, they are "typisch niederländisch" (Nov 1940:208). And within Hungarian literature, we have to look hard to find a true Hungarian tradition freeing itself from the Jewish "Allerweltsliteratur" that has hitherto dominated Hungarian translations into German (Nov 1941:281). The authenticity of the 'real' source cultures is defined in the reviews as one or another variation on the theme of nature-bound, peasant ways of life, thus associating nationhood with pre-modernity and inauthentic, rootless cosmopolitanism with modern urban life - and, not least, with Jewishness.

For the WL, then, good literature, and correctly selected translation from it, should foreground the timeless specificity of the *Volk* it represents and so demonstrate the Nazi concept of true culture as determined by 'blood'. Interaction between cultural entities is, it is implied, the enemy of good translation, the key to good translation is

¹⁵⁰ For Russian, Pushkin, whose work is said to be "innerlich wurzel- und heimatlos, letztlich ohne Volk und Kosmos, wahrhaft 'europäisch'" - the reviewer reminds us that Pushkin is racially dubious and overall atypical of the Russian *Volk* (May 1940:89); for American English Upton Sinclair, who produces "nicht eigene national-amerikanische, nein, typisch zivilisatorisch-internationale Literatur" (Jun 1940:108). Of American writers, James Fenimore Cooper, Mark Twain and Walt Whitman, in contrast, do express the soul of the continent (ibid:107).

difference. However, the WL also wages a whole campaign that claims translation's value consists in proving the *relatedness* (the repeated term is "Verwandtschaft") of certain cultures, as in the *Bücherkunde* - the existence of the 'Germanic' soul over and above narrower versions of nationhood. Firstly, undesirable literatures are claimed to be so because of their lack of kinship with the German: English and French fall into this category¹⁵¹. A text which expresses a radically different reality to that of the German *Volk* is seen as intrinsically worthless: "Zwischen uns und den 'Helden' dieser Dichtung liegen Welten" is a damning conclusion assumed to speak for itself (Apr 1941:102, on the Christian tendencies of Swedish writer Jeanna Oterdahl).

In contrast, approved Flemish and Scandinavian writers demonstrate the kinship of their originating *Völker* with the Germans. Flemish literature, in particular, is the WL favourite, with positive reviews for Streuvels, Timmermans, Buysse, Demedts, Eekhout and many others stressing the closeness of Flemish culture to a 'Low German' ideal. The review of Emile Buysse's *Miele kehrt heim* (Sep 1940:176) argues that the value of translation from Flemish is to remind readers of their shared Germanic nature: "Was uns Heutige in einem flandrischen Buche wesentlich sein kann: Vergegenwärtigung der germanischen Natur, Wertschätzung der ursprünglichen (dietschen) Sprache" in contradistinction to the inroads made by French civilisation. In such cases the importation of Flemish literature allows the WL to assert a Flemishness that concurs with pan-Germanist agendas and indeed with a foreign policy finding legitimation in the supposedly inextricably linked fates of Germany and Flanders (the literature of the Netherlands is irrelevant in this respect and accorded little space in the WL). Any - rare - disapproval of a Flemish author is correspondingly expressed in terms of his failure to illustrate the truly Flemish, that is, the related, soul. One article, for example, regrets that Valere Depauw's *Tavi. Lebensgeschichte eines flämischen Taugenichts* has been translated since it gives a falsely frivolous view of the Flemish *Volk* character (Aug 1942:171); even Timmermans is accused of a temporary aberration with his overly lighthearted and thus inauthentic Flemish character Pallieter (ibid:163).

¹⁵¹ In the case of English, a more conciliatory line might have been taken outside the wartime context, since the *Bücherkunde*, for example, finds ambiguous evidence on the Germanic character of the English (see 3.3.).

While Flemish authors are almost consistently praised in the WL, in other words unacceptable Flemish writers simply ignored, Scandinavian writing receives a far more bumpy ride. The WL begins from an assumption of the “Schicksals-gemeinschaft” of Scandinavia and Germany (eg Apr 1941:99, et passim) and names many highly acceptable, because ‘Nordic’, authors. Although they are not explicitly defined, the attributes of this ‘Nordicity’ can be built up from numerous references throughout the WL’s articles and reviews. They include a rugged, anti-modern attachment to nature, physical strength and endurance, dogged belief in fate, and a complete rejection of industrialised class society or ‘civilisation’. The ‘Nordic’ inheritance is held sacred and the reading of a good Scandinavian book said to appeal to the German reader’s “germanischer Instinkt” (Scandinavian theme issue, Apr 1941:123). Such an Althusserian interpellation effect of translated Scandinavian literature accords well with the SS political project of calling into being a pure Germanic race and a religion of Nordic myth to counter the decadence of effete Christianity (cf Combs 1986). Translations which express the authentically ‘Nordic’ can contribute to this project by helping awaken German readers’ awareness of their true racial identity. Thus the reviewer of a collection of ancient Icelandic tales, the pinnacle of the translated canon in SS terms, finds that, reading them, the German “spürt über die Jahrhunderte hinweg die Gleichheit germanischen Blutes” (ibid:122).

Chief among the true ‘Nordic’ authors is Knut Hamsun, fulfilling both artistic and political criteria for praise¹⁵²; other approved writers include Heidenstam, Fleuron, Duun, Björnson and Gunnarsson. The grounds for the popularity of such authors in Germany, says the WL, is the readers’ understanding of the “Stammverwandtschaft” and historical links between the nations (ibid:102) as well as a ‘natural’ taste for the Nordic virtues outlined above - again the reception is framed in terms of *Volk* identity and sets aside the taste for adventure and romance which might equally well explain the popularity of many Scandinavian imports. Translation from these ‘kindred’ languages is desirable for the WL because of the relationship it affirms, the identity of

¹⁵² See Naess (1980). Many popular Scandinavian writers had spoken out against the Nazi regime, most notably Sigrid Undset, Sally Salminen and Halldor Laxness, causing considerable embarrassment; Knut Hamsun provided a shining example of an artistically suitable author who also gave public support to the ‘new Germany’.

SL and TL cultures via a shared ‘German’ soul, and Scandinavian SLs are central favourites of the WL reviewers.

However, while Flemish literature’s Germanness is accompanied by political reliability of the chosen authors and a singular lack of mass popularity, the status of translation from Scandinavian languages as a popular craze poses a problem for the WL. As was seen in Chapter 2, translation from these SLs increased steeply until 1937, remaining high and more or less steady until 1943. Overall numbers for the period are well below those of English/American English, but translation from English is no longer an issue worth arguing about by the beginning of the new series of the journal and when the WL turns to the theme of ‘floods’, it directs itself at translation from Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and Icelandic (Finnish frequently counted alongside them in the category Scandinavian). In the WL’s view, publishers’ overenthusiastic commercial exploitation of Scandinavian literature has resulted in authors being translated who in no way fulfil the criteria of ‘Nordicity’. The 1941 piece “Über nordländische Übersetzungsliteratur” indicates already in the choice of the geographical term “nordländisch” the difficulty: translation from Scandinavia turns out to be unreliably ‘Nordic’ and hides in its midst authors who merely masquerade as such¹⁵³. The term “nordisch” should be reserved for a particular “rassisch bedingte weltanschauliche Haltung, sei sie bewußt oder besser noch eingeboren” and not the mere fact of originating in the Nordic lands (Apr 1941:109). The racialised character of the WL’s Nordicity is made evident here - it is certainly not identical with geography or merely source language¹⁵⁴.

In these articles, the agents of translation are once again accorded a vital role, both positively in importing the ideologically acceptable versions of Scandinavian literature and negatively in making false representations. The role of the reader underlying these claims is contradictory: German readers are rightly attracted to the Nordic because of their racial affinity, yet apparently also wrongly attracted to the inauthen-

¹⁵³ The image of the masked intruder, discussed in 3.2., comes to mind when the WL accuses Christian writers of importing outmoded religious ideas into Germany under the cover of the Nordic craze (on Viktor Myrén, Feb-Mar 1943:48).

¹⁵⁴ On this distinction see also the entirely racialised case put by the *Bücherkunde*: “Ein Jude, der dichtet und in Schweden wohnt, ist noch bei weitem kein nordischer Dichter” (Feb 1937:95).

tically Nordic. The claim of racially determined reception is thus somewhat undermined in a way characteristic of Nazi polemic, where the ruling ideology's inevitable success and dangerous failure are asserted simultaneously. The conclusion of the article quoted above, at any rate, returns to a version of the defensive programme whereby 'authentic' Nordic literature in translation must be protected by barring entry to the dross of unrepresentative writing (ibid:110).

Overall, for approved translation from Flemish and the Scandinavian languages the WL takes a line which could be categorised as 'imperialist' in Robyns' terms - those foreign products considered acceptable are absorbed into a domestic literature supposedly determined by the Germanic soul. In this capacity they are welcomed as a set of confirmations of the truth of domestic categories; any translations which do not correspond to this affirmative task are rejected on the grounds that they cannot be truly representative of their source cultures and are thus unrealistic. Not the otherness of the source texts but their identity with target discourses is what makes them valuable. This would appear to sit uncomfortably with the WL's thesis that the literature of a nation is highly different from that of any other nation and that this difference, or specificity, is the key to its value. The problem is in the definition of 'nation'. The specificity of the Danish peasant, for example, is asserted at the same time as his identity with the German peasant in a wider Germanic frame. And the reviewers' increasingly contorted attempts to lay down precisely which Scandinavian texts are 'Nordic' show how hard such a definition must be when neither state, language, literature, nor even ethnicity suffices. The internal logic of the WL's imperialist stance lies in its pragmatism: translation's task is to help in the construction of the loyal "Nordische Mensch" that is the goal of SS literary criticism¹⁵⁵.

Translation in this view thus serves an "identity-building" agenda (see Robyns 1995:180), since the existence of a shared Nordic nation is demonstrated by 'good' translations from Flemish and Scandinavian languages. Translation's role as a "Waffe des Geistes" (Jan-Feb 1940:2) also rests, though, on its capacity to demonstrate the otherness of the non-'Germanic' peoples. This understanding of translation,

¹⁵⁵ And more to the point, not just literary criticism but murder campaigns and breeding programmes (see Combs 1986).

which informs the majority of WL reviews, depends on the quasi-Romantic idea of literature as an emanation of its source nation referred to in Chapter 1 and assumes a complete transparency of the text through which the desired reality of the source *Volk* can be viewed. The good translation again fulfils an ethnographic task: “Der Sinn der Übersetzungsliteratur”, says the WL at its most programmatic, “liegt darin, uns die anderen Völker in ihrer tiefsten und bezeichnendsten Eigenart zu zeigen” (Apr 1941:109).

In the reviews, this ethnographic stance credits translation with three types of benefit: to expose the evils of the SL society, to demonstrate the close links between (the desirable elements of) SL and TL *Völker*, and to build mutual understanding between them when a ‘natural’ relationship is not present. All three are inescapably connected to foreign policy considerations. The ethnographic value of translations from the ‘related’ languages - to the extent that they present a picture correct in terms of Nazi knowledge - has already been discussed. A salutary unveiling effect is attributed to translations from enemy nations (Macdonell’s *Selbstbildnis eines Gentlemans* constitutes “geradezu einen Anschauungsunterricht” on the failures of British society, Jul 1941:180), and to translations from Ireland which demonstrate the wickedness of the English imperialists. For the other SLs, the good translation is one which contributes to insight into the alien soul, especially where wartime goals are at stake: reviews of Japanese poetry (Dec 1943:172), for example, or of Russian short stories “nach der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Wende im Verhältnis Deutschland-Rußland” (Mar 1940:44). The arrangement of translations from a particular SL with non-fiction about the country in specially themed review sections underlines this approach (eg on Japan and China in Dec 1943 or on Ireland in Dec 1940).

The literatures of south-eastern Europe receive much attention too, with a special interest in Romanian fiction. Of two collections of translated Romanian novellas reviewed in Feb-Mar 1943, the one edited and published by the Romanian Institute, *Ewiger Acker*, is preferred because it succeeds better in presenting to the German reader the “Seele” of the Romanian people as well as their art (ibid:54). When a reviewer praises a collection of Bosnian and Croatian novellas for providing information about “die Sitten, die Lebens- und Arbeitsverhältnisse dreier verschiedener

Landschaften" (Aug 1942:171), one cannot help asking why the reader should not simply choose a geography textbook instead - the answer, within the WL's logic, is presumably that "Dichtung" gives deeper, truer and thus more effective insights than mere non-fiction. Translation from Bulgarian is reviewed with reference to the German-Bulgarian cultural agreement of June 1940, explicitly as a means of getting to know the "befreundete Volk" (Jun-Jul 1943:99; see also Aug 1942:171); translation into Bulgarian, the article continues, must be conceived of "nicht als Unterhaltung oder interessante Neuerscheinung, sondern als gültiger und bleibender Ausdruck des deutschen Geistes" (Jun-Jul 1943:99), so that the anthropological function of translation evidently applies in both directions.

In view of this informational role for translation, the WL's anthropological approach can usefully be related to an article on propaganda in the 'total war' theme issue of Oct-Nov 1943. In it, the three main aims of propaganda are described as follows:

- "a) die negative Charakterisierung des Feindes in der Weltmeinung und die Aufklärung des feindlichen Volkes gegen seine Regierung,
- b) die Aufklärung der neutralen Völker über die Rechtmäßigkeit des eigenen Standpunkts und die Kennzeichnung des Feindes als Kriegsverbrecher,
- c) die Stärkung der eigenen Nation im Glauben an die Gerechtigkeit ihrer Sache und im Vertrauen auf den Sieg sowie die Zusammenfassung aller Kräfte zu höchster Anspannung" (ibid:132).

These comments are not applied to translation in particular. However, the WL's claim to custodianship of foreign literature's entry into German should undoubtedly be seen as part of such a war effort, and translation fulfils point a) in the defamatory translation that exposes the enemy culture; point b) in the necessity of spreading translation out of German throughout the neutral and friendly nations; point c) in the selective translation of works which enlighten the TL reader about the Germanic soul of the 'related' *Völker* and about their need for German assistance to save their authentic peasant lifestyles from encroaching cosmopolitanism.

Publishers of translations have heavy responsibilities within this politicised anthropological framework¹⁵⁶, as do translators. Accordingly, the translator in the propaganda-

¹⁵⁶ "Von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus steht die Verantwortung klar vor Augen, die der Verleger mit jeder Übersetzung hat: vor dem eigenen Volk, dem ein wahrhaftiges Bild der anderen Nation gegeben werden soll, vor dem fremden Volk, das nicht literarische Erscheinungen über die eigenen Grenzen

minded WL is far less invisible than the humbler figure found (or not found) in the *Werkbücherei*, the *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt* or *Bücherkunde*. Translation is absolutely a political act for the WL, and the translator is its agent. The WL often, though by no means always, includes in its reviews a comment on the texture or quality of the translation. When it does, the comment usually relates to the ‘depth’ of the translator’s emotional access to the SL culture. The quality of one translation, for instance, is guaranteed by the fact that the translator is “in ihrer [Serbian] Heimat tief verwurzelt” (Jan-Feb 1940:21¹⁵⁷). Although other praised translators may not be natives of the SL culture, their affinity to it is repeatedly mentioned.

On the detail of the translation strategies of the texts reviewed, the WL is more reticent and presents somewhat contradictory ideals. For example, praise for a “freie Übertragung” of Jordan Jovkov, adapting the text to TL conventions of readability, is contradicted by the review’s overall emphasis on the valuable insights the text offers into the specificity, the strangeness, of the Bulgarian soul (Aug 1942:171). Such specificity is in keeping with the anthropological stance and indeed with the Nazi theory of literature as expression of the *Volk* spirit, yet reviewers’ comments on actual translation strategies, as opposed to choices of what to translate, waver between a desire to retain strangeness and appreciation of a more adapted strategy. Perhaps this confusion is inevitable in view of the paradox within an anthropological stance which on the one hand claims the authenticity and transparency of imported literature as a window on the SL’s soul, yet on the other calls for drastic selectivity of such literature by the TL system to screen out all elements that might disrupt existing TL views. We read, in other words, to find out, but what we find out must be in accordance with what we wished to find before we started reading, otherwise it cannot constitute true knowledge¹⁵⁸.

hinaustragen und in der Fremde als typisch vorgestellt wissen möchte, die nicht das Beste seines Schaffens darstellen” (Jan 1942:7).

¹⁵⁷ She is also noted as having received the Academy’s prize “für wissenschaftliche Förderung zwischenvölkischer Geistesbeziehungen” - again, the translator becomes commendable in her ethnographic and political capacity.

¹⁵⁸ For example, the reason why bad Scandinavian literature is unrealistic is that it presents a picture of Scandinavian life which “deckt sich nicht mit dem Bild nordischen Menschentums, das wir in der skandinavischen Literatur suchen” (Apr 1941:103).

The question remains how, or whether, this cluster of anthropological approaches to translation can usefully be viewed within the framework of stances outlined in 3.1. Clearly it does not comply with the working definition of the “defensive” stance applied in the earlier part of this section, since translation is welcomed, albeit within very strict boundaries. On the other hand, a clearly “imperialist” stance should deny otherness, whereas the anthropological approach defines translation’s usefulness by this very point. The lust for the alien in Robyns’ corpora marks a “defective” stance, yet defectiveness can hardly afford to be as fussy as the WL is on the exact nature of the imports it agrees to. In fact, the WL’s outspoken anthropological stance stretches the boundaries of the framework I have used. However, as argued in 3.1., the framework’s usefulness is as a starting-point for investigation, and indeed it does provide a viewpoint from which to draw some regularities out of the WL’s frequently contradictory comments on translation.

Firstly, there is a defensive refusal of the broad range of imports. Naturally this is not to say that a ‘normal’ system would welcome all products of a foreign literature; however, the WL’s filtering mechanism is fiercer and more explicit than those perhaps typical of an ‘open’ system. Secondly, the WL’s claim to gain from translation true knowledge of the alien disguises an imperialist swallowing, or transformation, of the other to conform wholly with TL categories. Whatever cannot be read as conforming is rejected; the interpretation of what remains amplifies the Nazi-approved values present in the text (if not of the ‘Nordic’, then at least of peasant life and harsh nature), simultaneously implying a threat to these values which demands intervention by the saving mission of Germany. Ultimately, for the WL translation can be a useful political instrument as long as it fulfils certain criteria. By representing foreign nations in the frame of Nazi ‘knowledge’ it can help create a *Volk* modelled on or differentiated from them; in more general terms, acceptable translation can help confirm the very notion of *Volk* as a natural and indisputable category.

3.5. Die Neue Literatur

Die Neue Literatur (hereafter “NL”) appeared monthly from 1931 to 1943¹⁵⁹ under the editorship of the violently anti-Semitic poet Will Vesper (1882-1962). The journal consists of highly politicised essays on literature, book reviews, theatre reviews, the long editorial section “Unsere Meinung” and finally some short excerpts from recently published books. It is illustrated with photographs of literary figures. Vesper’s line¹⁶⁰, as evidenced in the editorials and reviews, is that non-*volkhaft* literature must be eliminated at all costs - he often finds the efforts of the Nazi authorities sadly timid in this regard, especially during the regime’s early years. Vesper sees the root of all literary (as of all other) evil in the Jews, carrying out particularly lengthy and venomous campaigns against Jewish publishers and those he holds to be so (his special enemy is the Paul Zsolnay house, to which endless editorial space is devoted). He finds, though, that booksellers and the press are equally to blame for the state of the book market since they fail to act strongly enough against the Jewish threat. Vesper’s self-confidence shines through the journal’s pages and must have been a thorn in the side of the Propaganda Ministry, not only because of his constant, though never quite explicit, complaints about its laxity but also because, in contrast to the Ministry’s silencing of undesirable opinions, the propagandistically naive Vesper often reprints a whole letter of protest or anti-Nazi article from the foreign press, adding just a few lines of outrage that hardly neutralise the preceding statement’s subversive power.

The NL did not belong to one or other of the central institutions of the Nazi regime, and indeed conflicts with Rosenberg’s *Bücherkunde* and the SS-controlled *Die Weltliteratur* can be glimpsed in its pages¹⁶¹ as well as the dissatisfaction with the Propaganda Ministry already mentioned. For Gisela Berglund (1980), who analyses the NL and its competitor the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, Vesper is a figure

¹⁵⁹ In the following, only the volumes 1933-1943 inclusive will be analysed. The journal was originally established in 1923 under the name *Die schöne Literatur*, already representing a strongly *völkisch*, anti-Bolshevik line.

¹⁶⁰ Vesper’s voice dominates the journal; he signs almost all the editorial comments on translation and most of the more polemical translation reviews.

¹⁶¹ Examples are attacks on the *Bücherkunde* in Sep 1941:234ff; on the *Weltliteratur* in Jul 1940:172f. Differences of opinion on individual books are frequent, such as the NL’s dismissal of Sir Philip Gibbs’ *Brücke zum Morgen* (*The Great Argument*; reviewed Feb 1939:84), a translation heartily praised by the *Bücherkunde* (Jan 1939:36).

motivated by blind “Neid und Prestigehunger” (ibid:3) rather than pursuing clear-cut strategies within the Nazi institutional labyrinth. He was, however, closely involved with the Deutsche Akademie der Dichtung and the NS-Reichsverbund deutscher Schriftsteller (ibid:1) and the NL is based on friendly contributions from a very wide range of their members, the notable Nazi-approved writers of the day. Although I have no access to circulation figures, the size and paper quality of the NL, its star-studded cast of contributors and the fact that despite paper shortages it never appeared in the usual collapsed bi-monthly issues suggest that it enjoyed some success and can be seen as more influential than merely the personal megaphone of an obsessive anti-Semite. It seems at least possible that the NL expressed in an unusually explicit way opinions acceptable in the state-tolerated parts of the surrounding intellectual culture.

The NL has much to say about translation, almost all of it negative¹⁶², although individual translations are praised and the proviso is often made that, naturally, translation of the ‘best’ works of foreign literature is much to be desired. Translated fiction is reviewed in separate sections entitled “Übersetzungen”. These sections appear irregularly twice a year in 1933-36 and 1938, three times a year in 1937 and 1939, and not at all after the outbreak of war, though isolated reviews can then be found under more general rubrics. Before the war translations sometimes make an appearance in the other review sections, such as children’s books or history, but with a tiny handful of exceptions never in the main belles-lettres review sections (among those exceptions are reviews of translations from Old Norse or medieval German, evidently not considered foreign enough to warrant a separate section, eg Feb 1934:104f, Apr 1935:215). In the editorial pages, “Unsere Meinung”, the topic of translation appears frequently, especially in later years; the NL’s main concern is with the unmasking of translated authors who do not deserve to be imported and with the implementation of what Vesper calls a “geistige Planwirtschaft” that would regulate translation exchange to ensure a ‘balance’ of imports and exports (see below). Purely in terms of quantity, “Unsere Meinung” is most voluble on the failure of foreign countries to translate ‘true’ German literature; instead, it claims, the Jewish-controlled world

¹⁶² Once again the limits to *Gleichschaltung* are glimpsed: the damning tone of many NL reviews sits unhappily with Goebbels’ dictates on book reviewing (see Geißler 1967).

economy and its publishers are conspiring to translate only Jewish, emigrant texts from German.

Although I will look in most detail at the NL's editorial commentary, which is more plentiful and consistent than that of the other journals investigated, a few words should first be said about the reviews. Those written by Will Vesper himself tend to be pegs on which to hang general comments about the usefulness or - more commonly - superfluity of translation, in line with the editorial attitude to be described below. In fact, the negative comments by all the reviewers normally focus on the choice of text and the claim that its translation was unnecessary or even pernicious. A typical negative review concedes that the novels in question (by Rosamond Lehmann and Stella Gibbons) are rather charming and well-written, but argues that the German reader can just as well read Keller's *Der grüne Heinrich*, concluding "Wer (außer dem Übersetzer) hat denn eigentlich einen Gewinn von dieser Übersetzungsindustrie?" (May 1939:254). Such comments, which draw on the commercial issues fundamental to the NL's editorial line, tend to be applied to texts viewed as 'light entertainment'. The peasant and family novels from Scandinavian SLs and 'classics' of all languages are more favourably received, attention being paid more consistently than in other journals to the quality of the translation, although still usually in the most general terms: tags such as "die ungewöhnlich feinfühligste Übertragung" (Jan 1937:32) or "dieses - übrigens endlich einmal gut übersetzte - Buch" (May 1939:253). The implication in both examples that most translations are *not* well made is common, even though in fact the reviews rarely complain about a translation's style, preferring to praise it vaguely or else ignore it.

One minor but interesting theme of NL reviews is that of the reliable translator. Respected Nazi-loyal poet Lulu von Strauß und Torney, in particular, is held to guarantee the quality of the text she has chosen to translate ("Ein Buch, das Lulu von Strauß und Torney der Übersetzung für wert hält, braucht eigentlich keine weitere Empfehlung", Jan 1933:29). A good German translator may, in fact, even raise the text to a higher level by means of the greatness of the German language, thus helping

it to the status of *Weltliteratur*¹⁶³. At the same time the theme of the translator in the service of Germany complements the more frequent NL one of translator and publisher as smugglers, unreliable mediators threatening the target culture, to be found in both reviews and editorials (see below).

The themes of over-supply of translation, of 'good' translation as enrichment, of translation as truthful document of the SL nation's decadence all appear in the NL reviews; however, for the most part the reviews focus on plot and thematic aspects of the texts in question without referring directly to translation policy. In general the NL's evaluations of translations in these terms are even stricter than the Propaganda Ministry's, for example condemning the translation of the historical novel *Pfauenfeder und Kokarde* (*Drums along the Mohawk*, Walter D Edmonds; Feb 1939:84) that was later placed on the Ministry's wartime list of exceptionally permitted American titles.

Turning now to the editorial section, the NL pursues there a line on translation which takes Robyns' "defensive stance" in a slightly different direction from the 'flood' terminology of the other journals. Certainly, the flood metaphor occurs in the NL - normally in passing, as an obvious and accepted fact (for example, "Die Hochflut von Übersetzungen aus dem Englischen oder Amerikanischen, die unsere ganze eigene Literatur, jedenfalls aber unsere Unterhaltungsliteratur, zu überschwemmen droht", May 1939:244, et passim). However, a particularly striking, and consistently applied, defensive metaphor in Will Vesper's editorials is that of poison or contamination. This he applies to 'bad' literature in general, insisting - perhaps predictably, as a member of the Academy - on the vital importance of literature and thus its vast potential for harm: "Wir haben gelernt, daß Worte und Ideen für ein Volk ebenso tödlich [*sic*] sein können wie Kokain und Morphium und daß man darum die Einfuhr solcher Wortgifte ebenso verhindern muß" (May 1939:265, on Jean de la Varende's *Der Himmelsreiter*, published in Switzerland). Translated detective novels are said to

¹⁶³ See, for example, the comment in "Unsere Meinung": "Denn jede in einer fremden Zunge geschriebene Verdichtung von Wert ist erst durch eine *deutsche* Übertragung - dank der Meisterschaft der deutschen Sprache und dank dem aufgeschlossenen deutschen Sinn für fremde Dichtkunst! - zum Bildungsbesitz aller Völker der Erde geworden" (Jun 1942:144). Interesting here, apart from the reference to the Romantic cultural project, is the assumption shared by all the journals that the Germans are particularly open to foreign literature. For the NL, it is this openness which is being exploited by unscrupulous publishers of translations.

be “mit britischem Geist und britischem Ungeist unser Volk infizierend” (May 1940:125); Wilhelm Goldmann, publishing his Edgar Wallace “Schund”, is called a “Volksverräter und Volksvergifter” (Jun 1933:368). Here hatred of the successful non-*völkisch* publisher joins a characterisation of translation as the poison with which he works: for Vesper the non-Nazi publisher, and particularly any he considers to be Jewish, is always the agent of dangerous translations, the German readership their victim.

Related to the theme of poison is that other mainstay of anti-Semitism, the wolf in sheep’s clothing - the secret Jew who must be unmasked. In 1936 Karl Arns¹⁶⁴ takes it upon himself to list and describe those British authors who, unbeknownst to the German public reading them in translation, are Jews, “um vor der Einfuhr rechtzeitig gewarnt zu sein” (Mar 1936:178ff; the idea of forewarning may recall the *Werkbücherei*’s proposed prophylactic measures against translation in general, see 3.2.). The illicit “Einfuhr” of Jewish wares belongs to an image of smuggling which recurs in connection with publishers banned within Germany but able to export into the Reich from, for example, Vienna or Prague. Thus the NL claims that Viennese publisher Dr Rolf Passer

“Werke voll Fäulnis und Niedertracht nach Deutschland schmuggelt, wie das eben erschienene angeblich¹⁶⁵ aus dem Amerikanischen übersetzte Buch ‘Die Asiaten’ von Frederic Prokosch, dem man sicher kein Unrecht tut, wenn man ihn für einen Juden hält. [...] Eine Pfütze voll widerlicher Sexualität und Perversität” (Feb 1937:104).

The NL’s proposed solution to the problem is to mark all books by Jewish writers and publishers as such, with a “Stern Judas” (ibid), presumably enabling the German to avoid being inadvertently exposed to the ‘disgusting sexuality’ attributed to the Jewish-translated product. This sexual disgust is another typical feature of anti-Semitic discourse - it was present too in the *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt*’s association of translation with miscegenation and rape. The NL’s comments on translation deploy images of contamination, disease, infiltration and dangerous

¹⁶⁴ Karl Arns was the author of the *Index der anglo-jüdischen Literatur*, 1938, supposedly a list of the ‘hidden Jews’ among English-language writers for the aid of school and university librarians (Strothmann 1963:233).

¹⁶⁵ It is unclear why the provenance of this text (*The Asiatics*) should be cast into question, unless the doubt is attached to the term ‘American’ where the NL would advocate ‘Hebrew’ (see Introduction).

sexuality that clearly belong to the repertoire of anti-Semitic rhetoric.

Aside from these bodily metaphors, but still within the field of a defensive stance, the NL writes untiringly on the theme of translation as commerce, as intellectual and - at least as importantly - financial exchange. For example, Vesper attacks Rudyard Kipling for his remarks denigrating the “Boche”. These are quoted at length - yet, Vesper points out, “das Geld der Boches nimmt auch dieser gehässiger Verleumder gern” (May 1933:304; there follows a call to remove all Kipling’s works from the German book market). Other writers, too, are condemned as ungrateful when, like Sally Salminen or Frans Sillanpää, they accept royalties while speaking out against Germany (eg Jun 1939:317). In fact the NL’s constant attacks on ‘Jewish’¹⁶⁶ publishing houses create a context within which all reference to the mediators of foreign literature is drenched in anti-Semitism: even in cases where a direct accusation is not made that Jewish publishers are using translation to make money out of true Germans, the association is clearly there. It comes to the fore in a passage like the following which combines the theme of commercial exchange in both positive and negative senses with that of the Jewish translator and publisher of translations as a ‘false mediator’, a smuggler of poison into the target *Volk* and conspirator to exclude what would be truly valuable. The context is the discovery that a Czech Jewish writer has been published in German translation under a pseudonym, another case of publishers who “versuchen, durch Hintertüren wieder jüdische Literatur nach Deutschland zu schmuggeln”:

“Die internationalen jüdischen Literaturschieber haben lange genug verhindert, daß wir die wirklich nationalen Literaturen der anderen Völker kennenlernten und haben uns statt dessen nur ihre Rassengenossen serviert, sowie sie auch aus Deutschland nicht die deutsche, sondern die jüdische Literatur exportierten. Genau so wie wir wünschen, daß andere Völker endlich die wirkliche deutsche Dichtung kennenlernen, so wünschen wir auch endlich die arteigene Dichtung der anderen Völker ins Deutsche übertragen zu sehen. Wir lehnen dabei ausdrücklich jede jüdische Vermittlung, Übersetzertätigkeit u. dgl. ab. Wir wünschen mit den anderen Völkern endlich unmittelbar zu einem sauberen Austausch der geistigen Gütern zu kommen, ohne den fälschenden Zwischenhandel fremder Schmarotzer. Damit wir aber zunächst einmal in Deutschland selber Klarheit bekommen, müssen wir immer wieder verlangen,

¹⁶⁶ To Vesper’s mind the label ‘Jewish’ covers a very wide range; he seems to consider all non-Nazi publishers outside the Reich boundaries, as well as many within them, to be ‘Jewish’-owned. The same principle is at work in the use of the term “jüdische Literatur” in the quotation below.

daß alle deutschen Bücher, auch die importierten, einen Vermerk tragen, wenn der Verfasser ein Jude ist, - genau so wie ja auch in den Übersetzungen stehen muß, aus welcher Sprache sie übertragen wurden" (Feb 1936:118f).

Consistently here, translation is identified with the Jewish text or mediator - being Jewish is equated with being translated and in both cases the stigma must be publicly displayed. Translation becomes absorbed into Vesper's classic anti-Semitic image of the distorting, poisoning and parasitic enemy. The wish that translation could be "sauber" and "unmittelbar", too, betrays a deep-seated suspicion of translation in general, since translation can of course never be "unmittelbar" and thus for Vesper is inevitably not "sauber". The power of this disgust-fuelled argument seems to me to overshadow the asserted desire for an exchange of literature with other nations, a desire which itself allows translation only the narrowest and most racialised parameters: the transmission of the "Arteigene" alone is acceptable.

Alongside the call for texts to be marked to warn readers of their dangerous origin, the NL proposes, for example in the Kipling case, a more restrictive policy on imports. But the NL's suggestion is somewhat more specific than this, backed up by a dozen editorial analyses of the dearth of pro-Nazi literature translated into other languages, the blame for which is perfectly clear: "Daß diese reiche und mannigfaltige Literatur [ie approved German writing] dennoch nicht übersetzt wird, liegt vor allem an der jüdischen Weltherrschaft auf dem Gebiet der Übersetzungen selbst, wie bei deren Vermittlung und im Verlagswesen und Buchhandel überhaupt" (Jun 1939:316). Certainly, Vesper's accusations against the book trade abroad and at home aim wider than translation alone, but he does pay particular attention to translation, and proposes at several points a "geistige Planwirtschaft" to regulate it more satisfactorily. This proposal recurs throughout the NL's pre-war volumes. I will quote from the most comprehensive version:

"Eine der wichtigsten Aufgaben für die Reichsschrifttumskammer scheint mir eine Art *geistige Planwirtschaft* gegenüber und im Einverständnis mit dem Ausland, eine Art geistige Devisen-Kontrolle, zu sein, die es verhindert, daß andere Völker sich geistig gegen Deutschland absperren und wir dennoch ihre Literaturen aufnehmen. In vielen Ländern findet zur Zeit nur die jüdische Emigrantenliteratur als "Deutsche Literatur" Aufnahme und Beachtung, z.B. in Italien! Wir müssen diesen Ländern deutlich machen, daß wir es so lange gleichfalls ohne ihre Literatur aushalten, wie sie die unsere aussperren. [...] Unsere eigene Bucheinfuhr, das heißt die Übersetzung aus fremden Literaturen, bedarf gleichfalls genauester Überprüfung. Es geht nicht an, daß auch

weiterhin noch etwa die Tauschgeschäfte eines Pilsener Juden¹⁶⁷ bestimmen, welche fremden Dichter unserem Volk vermittelt werden sollen!" (Jan 1935:45ff)

Perhaps the most striking aspect of this passage is the economic context in which Vesper sets translation, in part metaphorically (he insists on 'balance' mainly as a way of ensuring the arrival of Nazi ideological products abroad) but just as much quite literally. Translation is for the NL, far more than for any of the other journals investigated, a business, driven by the agents publisher and translator; the NL repeatedly displays outrage that these commercial considerations could motivate translation, despite the journal's own concern with exactly such matters. Commenting on a book about Marie Curie, Vesper accuses translators and their publishers of tricking the German reader by cutting out anti-German segments of the original - "eigens für die dummen Deutschen zurechtfrisierten Übersetzungen" allow the translator and publisher to profit from "das gute Geschäft" (Jun 1939:318f¹⁶⁸). While the German readership is financially exploited by translation, Germany is misrepresented abroad by wrongly selected translations out of German, though here we are not told whether the motivation is ideological or financial, since both fall within the nebulous allegation of a Jewish world economy.

It will be seen from this passage that the NL differentiates - and this is why individual positive reviews can coexist with the extremely anti-translation editorial stance - between a foreign literature's 'true' products and its 'false' products, the latter unambiguously declared to be Jewish. "Fremde, aber volksechte Kulturen können nie unsere Eigenart ernsthaft bedrohen, aber die alle Kultur verneinenden und zerstörenden Gifte [terms consistently applied to Jews by Vesper] wollen wir erst recht nicht aus der Fremde eingeführt wissen" (Oct 1937:58, on translations of American literature). It will be remembered that *Die Weltliteratur* made a similar distinction though with more elaborate explanation and in less explicitly anti-Semitic terms. The NL's version belongs clearly to the language of threat and contamination. It does not further discuss the meaning of *true* 'world literature', although one article

¹⁶⁷ The reference is to Paul Zsolnay, the Viennese publisher specialising in translations.

¹⁶⁸ Vesper's accusation is based on a misreading of the French text and has to be retracted in a subsequent issue, though, he insists, the basic point remains valid since a book glorifying a Pole is highly inopportune (Aug 1939:422). The attack is thus shifted back from the form of the translation to the choice of text to translate, the NL's more usual theme.

does attempt to dismantle the claim that Goethe was a “Weltbürger”, in the process asserting that genuine literature (“Dichtung”), because entirely bound to its race and language of origin, is untranslatable and that only international, thus Jewish, literature (“Weltliteratur”) can be translated, “weil die verschiedenen Sprachen daran das zufällige sind” (Mar 1938:152f). This brisk dismissal addresses questions avoided at such length in *Die Weltliteratur* and in essence removes the possibility of good translation at one blow. Only the indissolubly specific can be translated without danger to the TL *Volk*, yet this is precisely the literature that is *untranslatable*.

It is clear that the journal’s understanding of good and bad translation is wholly imbued with its general anti-Semitic stance. While the agent of bad translations is not always named as Jewish, the constant theme of commercialism in translation is certainly informed by the NL’s anti-Semitism: hence the reference to the “Pilsener Jude” as the unworthy mediator of foreign literature. In a wartime issue Vesper summarises his point: “Wir müssen selber dafür sorgen, daß gute deutsche Literatur in fremde Sprachen übertragen wird, und dürfen dies nicht dem Zufall und den Juden überlassen” (May 1940:125)¹⁶⁹. In other words, the trade balance of translation is felt by the NL to be another, particularly devious, facet of the general Jewish conspiracy to defraud and destroy the German *Volk*. This embattled stance takes the foreign-currency considerations of the Propaganda Ministry decrees onto far less pragmatic ground, illustrating once again the gap between Goebbels’ power politics and the fevered ideals of the Party activists. The NL’s treatment of translation combines the paranoid stance of anti-Semitism, finding danger and disease in every ‘foreign’ product, and an activist insistence on urgent steps to keep out the competition, shore up and protect its own clique of *völkisch* writers. The NL makes only the briefest of nods towards a welcoming attitude to translation, never really warming to the complex “imperialist” line grappled with by *Die Weltliteratur* and *Bücherkunde*. Instead, most of its energies are focused on a “defensive” attitude which inextricably - and here most explicitly - belongs to the discourse of anti-Semitism.

¹⁶⁹ *Die Weltliteratur* warned in similar terms against leaving translation to chance (Jan-Feb 1940:2). Both journals hurry to take up the task of censorship, although this is a role in reality not directly available to Vespers (the SS, in contrast, did have some involvement in censorship processes).

3.6. Conclusions

It will have become clear that the five journals investigated do not speak with one voice. *Die Werkbücherei* views translation almost exclusively as an unnecessary and potentially dangerous invader, the *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt* takes a similar view in its editorials though allowing an ethnographic value to translated fiction. The *Bücherkunde* mixes the defensive and ethnographic approaches with more emphasis on the truth of the SL (and thus of the TL) race as mediated by translations, a nation-building theme elaborated at more length in *Die Weltliteratur*; and *Die Neue Literatur* greatly amplifies the anti-Semitic undertone of both the language-as-nation and the translation-as-infiltration themes.

What the journals share is firstly a reliance on implicit, associative argument by means of metaphor. Drawing on the emotive language of anti-Semitism (contamination, flooding, seduction), the journals' tone contrasts with Goebbels' mainly pragmatic, if not strictly economic approach. Certainly material considerations inform the journals' complaints that translations are forcing German writers out of the market or that they are damaging the trade balance; propaganda considerations apply to the promotion of, for example, anti-British texts in the war or the translated work of pro-Nazi Flemish writers. But there appear to be other matters at stake in this troubled relationship to translation. The journals coexist in a broader framework of literary theory that draws on Nazi appropriations of German Romanticism to define true literature as the emanation of the *Volk* soul. Because the *völkisch* line insists on an indissoluble unity of race and language, translation's challenge to that unity is always suspect to the journals. Their suspicion is articulated in images of swamping, miscegenation, infiltration, poisoning - all terms that identify translation as a threatening 'alien' inside the body of the target culture while betraying a fear that the German *Volk* is not in fact as impermeable, autonomous, pure as Nazi rhetoric would like to claim.

However, not even the fiercest of the journals calls for a simple ban on all translation. Firstly, they manage somewhat to defuse the issue of language by almost entirely repressing the question of *how* a foreign text is transformed into the domestic language - selection, not translation strategy, is the focus of their discussion, so that a large element of the explosive issue of "cross-breeding" (Berman 1992) disappears from view. Secondly, they make various attempts to recuperate translation for purity by integrating it into racialised projects which involve reading translated texts as miniature models of their source nations. Thus, the 'good' translation is one which accurately portrays the authentic characteristics of its originating *Volk* as known to the receiving discourse. All the journals agree that translated fiction which does not illustrate racial "Eigenart" is pernicious; translation which can be read in terms of such specificity is to be welcomed.

The journals' focus on the cultural specificity of the 'good translation' presents them with various difficulties. It sits uneasily with the notion of Germanic kinship and the 'Nordic Man' so central to Nazi ideology¹⁷⁰ - hence the confusion over translations held to demonstrate precisely the *sameness* of source and target nation. Scandinavian literature, especially, is examined anxiously for evidence both of its Scandinavian specificity (otherness) and its identity with the German (sameness). Further, the nature of the other's specificity is carefully defined, to include only the pre-modern idyll propagated at home - the specificity of, for example, contemporary British literature is often held to be a *non*-specificity, a cosmopolitanism that is the opposite of nation, thus of true literature, thus of true translation. To this extent, the apparent valorising of the translation's otherness is actually a strict enforcement of domestic requirements, dissolving the famous binary 'foreignising' versus 'domesticating' translation¹⁷¹. For the Nazi commentators investigated here, the good translation holds up a mirror to the target culture's notion of its neighbours. But this is not the only narcissistic mirroring (see Venuti 1998:77) at stake: if good translations dem-

¹⁷⁰ More central to some sectors than to others - the journal of the SS, most deeply implicated with the ideal of the Nordic, has the most difficulty trying to reconcile its contradictory positions.

¹⁷¹ This is, indeed, recognised by Venuti in his comments on Schleiermacher: "it would seem that foreignizing translation does not so much introduce the foreign into German culture as use the foreign to confirm and develop a sameness, a process of fashioning an ideal cultural self on the basis of an other, a cultural narcissism" (Venuti 1995:110).

onstrate the identity of the source *Volk*, their specificity supports the claim of the particularity and identity of the target *Volk* by processes of differentiation (we are not like the French but like ourselves) and recognition (the essence we find hidden in Scandinavian writing is in fact the essence of ourselves) - and, not least, by the constant repetition of the claim that *Volk* itself exists and defines all creativity. In these ways translation has a contribution to make to the project of constructing a German *Volk* identity.

It is clear that much of this contribution rests on shaky ground, largely because of the difficulties inherent in Nazi understandings of 'nation'¹⁷². There is, though, another way in which the journals' model of translation contains a seed of its own destruction. It is sensed by the writers who complain of "geistige Ausländerei": the reader may refuse to follow the convoluted logic of domesticated foreignness and read for the pleasure of inhabiting temporarily an alternative world, a space other than Nazi Germany. The Nazi translation's portrayal of the source text's cultural specificity is thus a delicate matter - the mirror risks becoming an attractive window out of the domestic scene, an identification with the 'alien' which would run entirely counter to the tenor of the journals' comment. Now, none of the journals overtly contemplates the possibility that the difficult task of portraying the source culture acceptably could be aided by manipulating the source text. They take 'faithfulness' to the source text for granted and only question the source text's faithfulness to its originating nation. The following chapters, investigating some translations made in the period, will ask whether such ingenuousness is justified. How do translations of the time deal with the representation of the 'alien' world, and, in a wider perspective, how far is the imprint of state censorship in general to be seen in this and other aspects of their strategies?

¹⁷² See, for example, Köpke (1987).

4. Case study: an approved translation

“[G]erade durch diese Verlagerung nach Norden [ie the North of England] rückt uns innerlich das äußerlich so fremd Erscheinende der Landschaft, der Sitten, der Menschen näher. Es sind echte Nordleute, die uns da geschildert werden, rauhe Gesellen, Männer, ganz auf sich gestellt, trotzig und hart kämpfend mit der Unbill der Natur.”

(Review of Hugh Walpole, *Bücherkunde*, Feb 1938:83)

The glowing review of Hugh Walpole's historical novels employs many of the terms of praise investigated in Chapter 3: the good translation as glorifying nature, as enabling knowledge of the other, as appealing to an “echte” soul shared by the Nordic peoples. Such praise allows that a translated text can fulfil the task of Nazi literature, “das Volk zu finden und schöpferisch zu formen” (see Chapter 1). However, this chapter will not only look closely at the terms of the text's official evaluation but go beyond them, trying to discover how far they are backed up by the detail of translation. It will be seen that in the case of this approved and recommended translation, the correspondence between evaluative statements and translation strategies is certainly a perceptible, but by no means a simple one.

4.1. The texts

Of the thousands of translated titles published in the period, there are many which received praise in the literary journals. The selection of a corpus from this mass cannot be either neutral or wholly representative (see Van Doorslaer 1995:247); in particular, the possibility of “idiosyncratic behaviour” by translators reduces the representativeness of any single text (ibid:249). However, exhaustiveness is never an option, and I have followed Van Doorslaer's advice to select according to “translational relevance” (ibid:250ff). For the present case my interest was in translations approved within the Nazi regime, especially their portrayal of the foreign culture and the degree to which they assimilate their source text to target language generic conventions - that is, their domestication of the source text. Modest though its scope, the

single study can begin to indicate how one such text managed find its way into the restricted space of promoted translation, at the same time providing a somewhat more differentiated view of the parameters of that space. Chapter 5 will deal with non-promoted translations.

The choice of Hugh Walpole's *Die Festung*, 1938 (*The Fortress*, 1932), was made on various grounds. Firstly, the translation belongs to a genre actively favoured by the regime, the regional historical novel. Secondly, it received positive reviews and was not indexed until the 1939 blanket bans. I decided not to opt for one of the few dozen novels exempted from these bans since they are so tendentiously selected as to present a particular case - there is a 'normality' in Walpole's novels as they fit into the German booktrade which, I hope, makes them more typical of everyday translating and publishing practice in the Nazi period. Finally, the text was translated relatively late, when the systems of control (both formal and informal) can be considered to have been fully developed.

There are many respects in which Hugh Walpole's Herries novels¹⁷³ seem tailor-made for importation into Nazi Germany. They combine the favoured genres of family saga and historical novel, set, too, in the approved context of the countryside. The four volumes follow the fortunes of the Herries family, based in Cumberland, from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century. By the time we reach the third volume, *The Fortress*, the central characters are the ageing matriarch Judith Paris and her son Adam. They are accompanied by ranks of the Herries family too numerous to list¹⁷⁴. Of these, Walter, Judith's nephew and enemy whose grandiose home is known as 'The Fortress', his daughter Elizabeth and his crippled son Uhland are the most important. After innumerable plot twists and premonitions of evil, Uhland finally kills another of Judith's nephews, John, now Elizabeth's husband. The novel circles around the conflict of two 'strains' of the Herries clan: the common-sense branch and the imaginative ones descended in spirit from the original 'Rogue' Herries and his gypsy wife, Judith's parents. At the same time a 'good versus evil' battle is fought

¹⁷³ *The Fortress* belongs to the four-part "Herries Chronicle". The translations of the individual volumes, all made by Vivian Rodewald-Grebin and published by Holle & Co, Berlin, are *Herries der Vagant*, April 1937 (*Rogue Herries* 1930); *Judith Paris*, November 1937 (*Judith Paris* 1931); *Die Festung*, July 1938 (*The Fortress* 1932); and *Vanessa*, May 1939 (*Vanessa* 1933).

¹⁷⁴ The English edition's 'dramatis personae' includes 42 of them and Hugh Walpole apparently employed an assistant especially to keep the imaginary family tree up to date (Hart-Davis 1985:428).

among the imaginative outsiders by Uhland, whose physical deformity marks him out, and the angelic John; the two cousins have, it is constantly suggested, a kind of *doppelgänger* relationship. By the end of the lengthy novel¹⁷⁵ all the major characters are either dead or reconciled. With Judith's hundredth birthday party the stage is set for the next generation to dominate the remainder of the chronicle, once again playing out the conflict of repressed materialists (rich Londoner Ellis Herries) and wild outsiders (Cumbrian Benjie Herries) who will fight for the love of their beautiful cousin Vanessa in volume four. It should be noted that although most of the action takes place in the Lake District, none of the main characters are peasant farmers; they are landowners, writers, socialites, even stockbrokers.

Hugh Walpole himself described *The Fortress* as a historical novel (Walpole 1940). Certainly, the book is set in the past and there are numerous passages featuring historical background; these are, though, in most cases limited to somewhat perfunctory lists of names or events of the period in question (1822 to 1874 in this volume) or detailed descriptions of the interior design and costumes of the day - history as scenery rather than subject. And indeed, the novel repeatedly claims historical change itself to be little more than a superficial alteration in decor: "the same battle was joined now as then, and so will be, for ever and ever, change the background as you may, for ever and ever, amen!" (41¹⁷⁶). While the "background" changes, the eternal struggles and the continuity of blood remain, and it is characteristic that one of the short summaries of historical events is punctuated by the hero's thoughts as follows: "the Americans were fighting one another, and Bismarck was bullying the Danes; he must widen the vegetable patch beyond the trees to the right of the house" (341). Nature, domesticity, agriculture, family are the lasting components and historical specifics are peripheral.

History in the sense of events is interpreted as a succession of results of fateful previous actions, in other words, as the legacy of the characters' forebears. "All his later troubles [...] dated perhaps from this meeting at Farnborough with his brother. It is not fanciful to imagine so. And that meeting, it is also not fanciful to imagine, be-

¹⁷⁵ The ST is 400 densely-printed pages long, the TT 600. Walpole sets no store by concision; the leisurely pace is slowed further by extensive landscape descriptions and historical vignettes.

¹⁷⁶ All ST page numbers refer to the paperback reprint, Allan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1995.

came inevitable when, nearly a hundred and fifty years before, Francis Herries rode, with his children, for the first time up Borrowdale” (315). Although the plot is not so tightly worked that this theory could be found anything but very fanciful indeed, the suggestion of extremely long-term consequences within the family’s history recurs throughout the book. It is associated with ghosts (the spectre of Rogue Herries appears at most significant junctures) and a supernatural ‘fate’ or ‘destiny’. Personality, too, is determined by blood inheritance, which causes John’s strange weakness of character and condemns him to the same doom as his male ancestors. As he muses on his way to meet his killer: “It is quite settled what I shall do. Every past incident contributes to this. I am what I have been made” (281).

If history in *The Fortress* usually appears as the chain of events set in motion by our forebears’ actions, there are some cases where events external to the family are accorded a more decisive role. In particular, the story of the Chartist uprising is pivotal to Adam’s experience. Also, the text thematises the clash of eighteenth-century lifestyles with the new Victorian values, to such an extent that certain passages contain really stinging attacks on the (then) recent Victorian past, especially as regards what Judith calls “priggishness” in manners and morals. Yet this focus on social changes - or for the purposes of the novel, changes in manners - in the course of the century is played out within the family history, not vice versa.¹⁷⁷ The fortunes of England are subsumed under those of an English family (thus, for example, criticism of English complacency is made by explicit reference to the complacency of the Herries, eg 60) and the family is subject to the rule of nature or ‘blood’. There is here a conflation of nation with family which, once the claim has been made that family history is the work of ‘blood’, constructs a blood-based national history too. Furthermore, the countryside, both as the ‘mother’ of the family and as the valorised unchanging element opposed to the superficial one of historical change, is in some ways the real protagonist of the Herries novels¹⁷⁸. While Walpole’s novels are less explicit than some Nazi-approved historical novels in their ahistorical, or antihistorical, under-

¹⁷⁷ For example, detailed treatment of the Chartists’ concerns are preceded by the narrator’s note that “some things are worth recording because of the effect they had upon Adam’s life and outlook” (125).

¹⁷⁸ This was Walpole’s claim for the Herries books. In a publicity booklet for the chronicle he tells us the books were written out of a wish “to connect myself in some way or other with that piece of England that I so dearly loved” (1940:9f). In the novels themselves the landscape receives almost as much attention as the characters.

standing of history as the plaything of nature (see Wippermann 1976b), they place themselves quite sufficiently within the bounds of Nazi historiography for comfort.

The Herries books were not Hugh Walpole's first appearance in Germany. Of his huge output¹⁷⁹, several novels had already been published, including some in English by Tauchnitz and Albatross¹⁸⁰. The first German translation to appear was by Knaur in 1927: *Bildnis eines Rothaarigen* (*Portrait of a Man with Red Hair*, trans Paul Baudisch). The *Jeremy* novels were published in the course of 1936 by Engelhorn and enjoyed some commercial success, with the collected version *Jeremy. Roman einer Kindheit* reprinted in its tenth thousand in 1936. None of the Herries books in translation received reprints in the period, though the imminent end of permission to publish translations from English (autumn 1939) may partially account for this¹⁸¹. Certainly sales of the initial volumes must have been promising enough to support the translation of the subsequent ones; and Walpole received positive reviews from the Nazi-controlled literary press. While he is by no means one of the journals' darlings, receiving no comment from many of the journals examined, when he is reviewed the praise is enthusiastic.

The *Bücherkunde*'s recommendation of the *Jeremy* cycle is framed in anthropological terms as a chance to observe the unfamiliar world of a turn-of-the-century English town which is, most importantly, presented "völlig ungeschminkt und tendenzlos" (Feb 1937:92). This claim for the authenticity of the novels' representation of the source culture is central to the *Bücherkunde*'s reviews of the Herries novels as well¹⁸². Discussing *Herries der Vagant*, the reviewer is impressed by the way the German reader has to give up many preconceived ideas about the English. We are used to reading about the present-day south, he writes in the sentences quoted at the start of this chapter, but this novel is set in the unknown north of the eighteenth century, thus providing insight into the soul of the true Englishman, which turns out to be highly 'Nordic'. The book is thus polemically contrasted with the mainstream

¹⁷⁹ Walpole published more than forty popular novels over his lifetime.

¹⁸⁰ Including *The Fortress* in 1933, as volume 92 of the Albatross Modern Continental Library.

¹⁸¹ The novels were reprinted after the war, by Holle in 1953 and under licence to Bertelsmann in 1960.

¹⁸² The first three volumes are reviewed in *Bücherkunde* Feb, Aug and Dec 1938; the review of the final volume, *Vanessa* of May 1939, was probably pre-empted by the outbreak of war.

of imported English fiction: it shows the breakthrough of wilder, more dangerous times into today's hopelessly civilised world¹⁸³. Those who call the book crude and improbable (presumably the degenerate advocates of the English social comedy) only show "daß in ihnen der letzte Rest jener Kräfte erstorben ist, die Menschen erstehen ließen, die einmal das Empire geschaffen haben" (Feb 1938:83). The 'inner proximity' of the German readers hints that the British are Germanic in their type - the more so the further north we go; so does the use of terms of praise usually applied to 'Nordic Man', contrasting his strong, victorious and nature-bound type with the decadence of civilised urban society. In fact, closer examination of the source text shows that it constructs a rather mild and friendly nature and leaves peasants more or less entirely aside, though it is certainly true that *The Fortress* indirectly sets nature (in the shape of the 'wild') against the city (as 'materialism'), thus opening the path for the *Bücherkunde*'s interpretation.

Accompanying the racialised focus on Englishness is praise for *Die Festung*'s historical vision, which is felt to demonstrate the importance of 'blood'. As a *Völkischer Beobachter* reviewer puts it, in the Herries novels "Geschlechter ziehen vorüber, sich wandelnd und ihrem Wandel beständig: Kraft der Rasse, die jeden einzelnen prägt" (in *Die Buchbesprechung*, Apr 1938:104). The *Bücherkunde* reviewer makes the educational value of such novels even more explicit:

"Man kann den Familiensinn und das Gefühl der Zusammengehörigkeit einer Sippe nicht besser wecken als durch solche Romane, die uns durch fast zwei Jahrhunderte bei aller Mannigfaltigkeit der Geschehnisse die erbmäßige Gebundenheit aufzeigen, die bei allen immer wieder durchbricht. Diese Romane sind vor kurzem nach ihren erbbiologischen Gesichtspunkten untersucht worden, und es wurde festgestellt, daß Walpole in allem mit den von der Wissenschaft gemachten Ergebnissen übereinstimmt. Das ist um so mehr anzuerkennen, als Walpole vor dem Verdacht sicher sein kann, seine Familiengeschichte aus tendenziöser Absicht geschrieben zu haben" (Dec 1938:688).

The *Bücherkunde* does not miss the chance the source text offers to read it as proof that history is determined by the "erbmäßige Gebundenheit" of its protagonists - proof that, it notes, has been 'biologically' checked, presumably by the busy 'race' department of Rosenberg's office. The review also credits *Die Festung* with the

¹⁸³ A similar point is made by the reviewer in *Die Bücherei*, who notes that Walpole's style does not show the "Überzivilisierung" typical of imported English literature, instead portraying the real thing: "echte Nordleute, Männer, ganz auf sich gestellt" (May 1939:286).

political benefit of ‘awakening’ in the reader this scientifically correct feeling for family and tribe. It is hard to imagine a clearer articulation of the didactic and interpellatory role assigned to fiction by the Nazi literary commentators (see Chapter 3). For the reviewer, the book’s not being a purely domestic product makes its remit the larger, pan-German “Sippe”. No ‘alien within’, it is evidence of Nordicity with the additional ethnographic credibility of having been written from the ‘objective’ position outside Germany¹⁸⁴.

On a less positive note, the *Bücherkunde* reviewer of the first Herries book criticises the standard of the translation itself, although the complaint is not repeated for the subsequent volumes:

“Leider ist jedoch die Übersetzung und die Ausstattung des Werkes nicht so, wie man es sich wünschte. Man merkt an der Uneinheitlichkeit der Satzgestaltung, des Stiles, daß es eben eine ‘Übersetzung’ und keine Nachgestaltung in deutscher Sprache ist. Viele überflüssige Fremdworte [*sic*] stören. Besonders die Worte ‘romantisch’ und ‘sentimental’ [...] sind so häufig und so formelhaft verwendet, daß im Deutschen nicht mehr das ausgedrückt wird, was der Dichter hat sagen wollen” (Feb 1938:84).

What it is that the reviewer claims to know Walpole “hat sagen wollen”, and that is spoiled by words like ‘romantic’ and ‘sentimental’, can be seen from a comment in the review of *Judith Paris* (Dec 1938:440). This praises Walpole’s art as “im besten Sinne des Wortes primitive Erzählkunst”; the review is presenting the novels as an attack on the civilised (thus alien) society embodied in the Latin-based style¹⁸⁵. Here, then, the translation is accused of undermining the authenticity of the text (misrepresenting what the author ‘wanted to say’) and the journal’s own interpretation (as a paean to the primitive Germanic over the degenerate Latin). Indeed, the question of foreign words - and of foreignness versus assimilation in general - is one of the central tensions in the translation of *The Fortress*, as will be seen in 4.3.

The *Bücherkunde*’s evaluation of the Herries novels demonstrates that, at least from

¹⁸⁴ The surprising, and surely unintentional, admission is that domestic production *is* subject to ideological manipulation and thus less reliable than translation.

¹⁸⁵ Specifically, the reviewer’s examples, “romantisch” and “sentimental”, suggest that the complaint is focused on the *Fremdwort*’s association with divergence from Nordic masculinity.

one position within the web of Nazi institutions, officially-backed norms steering the selection of texts to translate are amply fulfilled by *Die Festung* and its sister volumes. It seems that among the major criteria applied by the agents of censorship and official reception were the source text's conformity to an existing, and promoted, target system genre; acceptable treatment of highly-valued themes (family, history, nature); and a representation of the source culture acceptable in TL terms. It is no surprise that the novel was selected for import. However, the target text received in Germany is not identical with its source, and the next stage of investigation will be to find out whether the material of the source text was further worked upon to heighten its acceptability - or, indeed, whether it provides clues to the presence of other norms that conflict with the dominant ones here discussed.

4.2. Methodology

As indicated in the Introduction, I have approached the texts by means of a comparison between target text (TT) and its source text (ST), hoping to discover at least hints of how the translator¹⁸⁶ went about adapting the ST to its new context. Such adaptations may not be deliberate responses to censorship, but whatever their exact origin, they can offer more insights into the process of domestication than would a study of the TT alone, where no distinction could be made between the contribution of the ST and that of the translator to the final, acceptable product.

There is much disagreement on the best way to carry out a close comparison of translated text with original,¹⁸⁷ and methods range from the broad brush of Lambert and Van Gorp's macro-level checklist (1985) to the extremely detailed scrutiny proposed by Van Leuven-Zwart (1989-1990). The checklist approach recommended by Lambert and Van Gorp and, in a more restricted form, by Pym (1998) is designed for the relatively rapid examination of a large corpus with an eye to a limited number of features (for example, Pym examines his corpus to discover how paratexts deal with authorship and translatorship; *ibid*). But in view of the unclear extent of Nazi

¹⁸⁶ In view of the multiple agents of translations, especially in a context of censorship, the term 'translator' should be taken to cover editors, publishers and others involved as well as the translator herself (see Desmet 1999:215; Hulpke 1991:17). The possible direct input by Ministry censors cannot be reconstructed, leaving only the *product* itself open to examination.

¹⁸⁷ Surveyed in Hermans 1999.

translation censorship it seemed rash to predict what features would be most fertile to study - and indeed the types of shift found were in many ways unexpected (this is even more striking in the second case study, Chapter 5). Furthermore, a simple search of, for example, culturally specific items over an extensive corpus would have missed the many more subtle means by which the translations construct their images of the SL culture. Having said this, the examination of a much larger corpus, focusing on a limited set of shifts, would certainly be a fruitful future exercise once the preliminary study has established some parameters.

Van Leuven-Zwart's methodology is designed for very detailed description of small segments of text. Her ST-TT comparisons break down each textual fragment into its smallest units of translation, compares source and target version of each such unit with their shared ground (the "architranseme") and categorises the differences under headings such as "semantic modification" or "stylistic modulation" (Van Leuven-Zwart 1989). The model then traces the cumulative impact of such micro-structural shifts on aspects of the text as a whole, categorised in narratological terms. This method has the virtue of being systematic but can only be applied to a corpus of very small samples; my study showed many inconsistencies in the long and meandering Walpole translation which would have been obscured in such a process. Further, Van Leuven-Zwart's method is designed for "integral" translations (1989:154) without major deletions or insertions, so that the present corpus would yield many empty categories. However, much of Van Leuven-Zwart's approach to the interpretation of shifts (see 1990) has been applied here and in Chapter 5.

My method has been the pragmatic one of reading the pair of texts in parallel and noting differences between them - not, evidently, in search of 'mistakes' but to trace patterns of alteration that could point to the impact of the particular literary and political climate on the target product. There can be no question in any translation analysis of exhaustive description, and this has not been attempted. Instead, the journalists' comments have been utilised to narrow down the study's focus, as well as providing a framework for interpreting the results. The following short study therefore extracts from the mass of data those aspects which affect the degree of assimila-

tion to domestic political or literary mores and the representation of the foreign culture. The results are summarised with only short examples given for each recurrent theme; more unusual instances are noted as such.

4.3. Comparison: *The Fortress* and *Die Festung*

To begin with the physical aspects of the two texts, at around 186,000 words the TT is approximately 90% of the ST's length. The presentation of the TT is not dissimilar to that of the ST, the division into four 'books' and unnumbered chapters with headings being retained in full. Some paratextual features of the ST are deleted in the TT: the contents list and the list of characters, headed "Dramatis personae" (however, according to the DNB entry the TT contained a family tree, missing in the edition to which I have access, which would stress more than a *dramatis personae* the aspect of "Sippe"). There are no alterations to chapter divisions and the longest deletion is little more than one page long: in other words, no chapter-length deletions or insertions are undertaken.

In fact, the TT follows the ST closely throughout, and the primary translation strategy to be identified is indeed this closeness to the source. Of the other, sometimes contradictory, strategies employed, I will look at those which nudge the text closer to the Nazi-approved genre, those which neutralise politically delicate aspects of the ST and those which contribute to the TT's strong 'local colour'.

The "primitive Erzählkunst" praised by the *Bücherkunde* is an important marker of the regional or peasant novel, and indeed it was the basis for *Die Bücherei's* favourable contrast of Walpole with the successful, but state-disapproved, novelists of manners wrongly felt by the public to be 'typically English' (see 4.1.). To this extent we may read those translation shifts in *Die Festung* that increase the accessibility, readability or immediacy of the text as part of a strategy aiding assimilation to the approved domestic genre - although it would be impossible to attribute this once and for all to either the requirements of the censors or those of the book-buying public. Such streamlining shifts come in many forms. Firstly, the TT almost consistently removes repetition. Individual repeated terms are replaced by synonyms and passages

of description may be cut if they repeat elements of the surrounding text (this applies especially to landscape descriptions). Minor slips in the plot are cleared up, for example when an inconsistency in the upholstery of the family sofa is corrected in the TT (184/277¹⁸⁸), or a missing ‘not’ supplied (302/447). The removal of redundancy and inconsistency constitutes a tidying up of the ST’s sprawl - but of course, the attempt by the TT to close the ST’s gaps and infelicities is not neutral, altering to a small but perhaps significant extent the general impression created by the novel’s style. The same goes for a further translation strategy that ostensibly merely aids ease of reading, the syntactical simplification of the ST by means of cutting sentences into shorter units. The ST works with unusually long, often complex sentences, a feature which contributes to the impression of a leisurely stroll through events accompanied by the narrator’s sometimes convoluted commentary. The TT’s consistently shorter sentences, underpinned by the frequent splitting of paragraphs, increase pace and intelligibility. It may be claimed that this contributes to the reviews’ impression of a ‘primitive’ style.

Just as consistent as the reduction in sentence and paragraph length is the clarification of the text by amplifying implicit or allusive elements. This is most strikingly implemented by the insertion throughout of conjunctions and tags such as “aber”, “deshalb”, “sogar” or “im Gegenteil”. In particular, “Aber” replaces “And” to open sentences in the many cases where it reflects the actual sense. These changes explicitate logical relationships between sentences which the ST left implicit. Similarly, moments in the ST which ask the reader to interpret external signs in, for example, a character’s expression or gesture are interpreted for us by the translator. Thus, an interpreting adverb may be inserted: “Alice Perry smiled”→“Alice Perry lächelte **bedeutsam**”¹⁸⁹ (30/53), “He muttered something, looking away”→“Er murmelte etwas, schaute **verlegen** fort” (69/108); or the gesture may be even replaced by its interpretation: “Mrs. Golightly stared and stared”→“Mrs. Golightly vermochte es noch immer nicht zu fassen” (152/232). And unspoken or unfinished thoughts in the ST are completed in the TT. Judith comments that a strict governess would benefit from being “flung into a hedge by a tramp--”→ “von einem Landstreicher in einen

¹⁸⁸ All page references are first to ST then to TT.

¹⁸⁹ Emphasis added here and throughout.

Graben geschmissen **und verführt zu werden...**" (228/342). In all these cases, TT insertions make the text more explicit, more easily accessible and in this respect simpler - the TT more than the ST is loath to leave the task of interpretation in the hands of the reader, differentiating itself thus from the ironic style of the 'typically English' novel of manners.

A further form of clarification affects the use of metaphor in the TT. The translation tends to reduce the need for the reader to identify figurative language by adding explicit markers; the effect is simultaneously to reduce the level of melodrama in the text. Thus, metaphorical descriptions are frequently modified by adverbs like "förmlich", "beinahe", "geradezu", or verb markers like "wirkten wie", so that for example "the film of dust [...] compelled him" becomes "die feine Staubwolke [...] übte **eine Art** Zwang auf ihn aus" (237/354) or [the crows] "were spots of ink" → "**glichen** Tintenklecksen" (61/96). More generally, a metaphorical usage apparently felt too far-fetched is often normalised: for Judith, "today was yesterday" → "das Heute **verschmolz mit dem** Gestern" (173/261), or an early Herries who "married Convention" → "eine Vernunft-ehe geschlossen" (1/11). This is not by any means to say that the TT decries all figurative or melodramatic language, and much is reproduced very closely. However, the incidences of shifts that neutralise or soften it accumulate to produce a slightly more straightforward text than the ST.

A related effect is achieved by the simplification of narrative perspective. The ST depends for its style on a technique of multiple voices within the frame of an omniscient narrator: the thoughts of a crowd of major and minor characters are reported, often with irony or even sarcasm. The TT basically retains this use of free indirect discourse; after all, it makes up the bulk of the text and supplies the novel's humour. However, the TT's version of the device is a significantly reduced one. Often a passage of free indirect speech is normalised, so that, for example, Christabel's musings that an old quarrel "could never be forgotten" → "konnte **sie** nicht vergessen" (19/37), thus shifting the perspective from the character herself back to the external narrator. Similarly, the marking phrases that signal free indirect speech may be removed: the enthusiastic "best of all" in Major Bellenden's recollection of an aristocrat's murder, for example, draws attention to the character's personal voice but is neutralised to

“schließlich” in the TT (37/62). This slight reduction in the use of multiple perspectives creates a somewhat more unified narrative perspective, an effect supported by the removal of different dialects from the direct speech (all regional dialects, and the sociolects of Chartist agitators and villainous housekeepers, are standardised). A less polyphonic text results.

Finally, we might include under the heading of simplification also a range of shifts in characterisation. Some of these simply reduce the amount of detail provided: the character who is to dominate the following volume, Vanessa, receives less attention in the TT than the ST (an unusually long deletion removes her whimsical interior monologue as a small child, 346f/505) and very peripheral characters are subject to frequent small cuts in detail. Of the shifts affecting other characters, most result in more straightforward, less complex portraits. Thus any doubts about Judith’s suitability as the novel’s heroine are played down through frequent minor shifts (eg the narrator’s suggestion that she loves drawing attention to herself is deleted, 36/61; her ST ‘laughing’ as she does her accounts is translated as ‘smiling’, thus reducing her eccentricity, 227/340; her rudeness is softened by the shift “‘the Herries woman’” → “‘Lady Herries’”, 407/594). Hero Adam is shown in a more obviously positive light by similar means (eg neutralising his arrogance, 7/19, or reducing his helpless inarticulacy before his wife, 196f/293f). And the oddly contradictory character of the tortured Jennifer is streamlined in the TT by removing a ST reference to her good health and lazy contentment (60f/96). All these changes reduce the complexity of characterisation, a tendency which will be discussed further in the context of the second case study.

The TT’s more streamlined feel is not, as in some of the other cases examined (see Chapter 5) due to condensation. The TT almost never summarises content. Occasionally an individual item may be removed or subsumed into its neighbour, and there is one instance of true condensation where a whole scene is recast in less bulky, more plot-based terms (the interminable fist-fight scene is summarised from around 3500 to around 2500 words, 316ff/466ff). But in general, the TT cuts that lead to the shorter overall word-count are due to whole paragraphs being deleted: this is not a condensation strategy, which tries to reproduce content in a more concise form, but

an elimination *en bloc* of whole segments, from a short paragraph to - unusually - a whole page. The method leaves more or less unaffected the ST's characteristic proximity *within* passages, neatly removing whole elements apparently felt to be either unnecessary or unsuitable.

Translating techniques which increase the simplicity or immediacy of the text are thus fairly consistently applied, but other aspects of the translation's fit to the target genre are less clear-cut. I will look next at the treatment of the rural setting, 'destiny', politics, and marriage.

The TT generally keeps long patience with the ST's extensive landscape descriptions, reproducing the precision of the novel's countryside setting. Detailed passages are not condensed but retained very closely, including the more poetic flights of fancy, and sometimes the translator even steps in to intensify the scene (a typical amplification is "here daffodils were in bud, and the snowdrops dying" → "hier **träumten** die Osterglocken noch in den Knospen, **senkten** die Schneeglöckchen sterbend **ihre Köpfe**", 106/162). The word "seltsam", suggesting the mysterious ways of Nature characteristic of the *Blut und Boden* tale, is inserted at every possible opportunity (63/99; 167/252, et passim). The generally close translation with occasional insertions supports the conventions of the domestic genre; however, there is also a set of deletions running through the TT that actually removes segments of landscape description. The number of deletions in this area seems at first to contradict the TT's rootedness in the nature novel genre, but a closer look reveals that they are not sweeping. Deletions cluster around idyllic, sunny scenes where the countryside appears as a friendly force (eg 101/155; 269/400; 297/441). In other words, nature as a gentle, amiable setting is reduced whereas nature as a threatening, hostile one is retained in full - thus in fact shifting the text nearer to the genre core of a 'man against nature' topos. It will be remembered that this is the theme which the *Bücherkunde*'s review of the Herries novels praised so enthusiastically: the TT's Lake District is more unambiguously rugged and hostile than the ST's version, and the reviews show it succeeds in illustrating the rough 'North' beloved of Nazi criticism. The TT is rewarded by a place in the domestic canon for highlighting an aspect which is certainly present, but more marginally so, in the ST.

The ST is actually rather ambivalent on the theme of nature. Not only are the natural surroundings often harmless and soft but the charms of the metropolis feature strongly; additionally, the text deals with the life of peasants or small farmers only in the most peripheral of ways. Instead, the text's countryside is one populated by the bourgeoisie. Judith's comment that "the countryside was covered with old maids" → 0¹⁹⁰ (332/487) typifies the way the central characters perceive their setting¹⁹¹. Neither of these points is likely to endear the novel to the German receiving genre, but whereas the gentleness of nature is adapted, the make-up of the country population usually is not. Likewise, alterations to the image of the city are minimal. The looming presence of the city as a contrasting nightmare location is essential to the Nazi-approved peasant and historical novel, but in *The Fortress* London takes anything but a bogeyman role. It is the scene of adulthood and independence for all the major sympathetic characters (Judith, Adam, Benjie, Elizabeth, and to some extent John find freedom there, escaping from the limitations of the country), and descriptions of the city tend to be bathed in an enticing mystery and excitement. The TT retains the structural aspects of London as a plot element and much of the positive description, although it does cut such passages at several points, most noticeably by deletions in the impressions of young Benjie (374f/544f), more subtly by the normalisation of the ST's dramatic narrative present for Adam's fascinated first impressions of London into a prosaic past tense (72/112).

Another central element of the countryside novel genre, peasants and feudal relationships, is somewhat adapted in the TT, resulting in a better fit to the domestic genre. Adam's friend and servant Will Leathwaite, the main peasant character, loses four lines which stress his lack of intellect (267/397) and the softening addition "obstinacy" → "**eine gewisse Halsstarrigkeit**" (ibid) again helps modify characteristics that could be read as negative - reducing the slight ambiguity of the ST to create a more clearly idealising version of the character. Interestingly, the single instance of the word "gentleman" in its social-classificatory meaning *not* being transferred (see below) is found in a description of Will, who has "the ease and dignity of a gentle-

¹⁹⁰ 0 indicates a deletion in the TT.

¹⁹¹ The ST countryside is inhabited, too, by "gipsies", recurrent figures representing freedom and the 'wildness' of Judith and Adam. A long reference to them is cut at the start of the TT but later ones retained - this inconsistency makes it hard to know whether and how the TT treatment relates to German perceptions of Sinti and Roma.

man”→“eines **Freiherrn**” (268/398). The TT version is free of the Anglo-Saxon connotation elsewhere strongly attached to the concept ‘gentleman’, thus placing Will in an idealised peasant class that is not nationally specific¹⁹². Despite this element of idealisation, in other parts of the TT the ST’s separation between masters and servants becomes stricter. For example, Judith’s fondness of a chat with the servants is deleted (256/382) and so is the comparison of City gentleman Ellis Herries with one of his own gardeners (319/469). The latter case, set in the classless male society of the bare-knuckle fight audience, is interesting in that it pits one ideal of the domestic ideology - the bond of men outside class distinctions - against another, especially belonging to the peasant novel - the inborn superiority of masters over servants. The contradiction inheres in Nazi thought; the TT prioritises the genre-specific element that stresses the servant’s separate sphere.

The treatment of the peasant novel’s trope of destiny, insistent in the ST, is surprisingly mixed in the TT. As a rule it retains the ST’s heavy hints of the inevitability of fate so suitable to the domestic genre. Among other things, the TT makes as much use of series references as the ST does, even elaborating them at times (eg when the ST Judith simply remembers a meal “at the ‘Elephant’” in the previous volume, the TT version explicates: “**mit Georges und Emma Turze im ‘Elefanten’**”, 254/379). The use of series references in ST and TT may partly be a marketing device, but it also strengthens the claim of a family (series) time that overrides the historical time of the individual volume’s events. Equally, the TT reproduces comments scattered through the novel of the type “this would remain with him for the rest of his life”→“ihre Folgen würden [*sic*] ihn durch das ganze Leben begleiten” (197/295), where the narrator demonstrates the long reach of his knowledge of future and past. However, it should be noted that not every one of such comments is retained, and other passages which would seem to present ideal material to the translator are rejected, for example on genetic determination: “something of Jennifer [her aunt] in her blood” becomes in her “Charakter” (357/520). Thus, while the TT does in general highlight features that help the novel conform to an approved genre, this is not an entirely consistent tactic.

¹⁹² It could be argued that the TT also alters the character of bourgeois poet Adam, reducing references to his softness (eg 197/295) and helplessness (eg 196ff/293ff), in a way that allows him, not the actual peasant, to represent the “echte Nordleute”.

A similar ambivalence will be found in the question of the TT's treatment of potentially delicate political references. Again, no major changes need to be undertaken since the ST offers no explicit challenge to Nazi-approved ideology. Some alterations of superficial political sore points are made, most strikingly in the treatment of Disraeli, whose name is allowed to stand when the context makes him "oily" (366/532), "gaudy" (147/225), "flash" (220/329) and so on, but is replaced by a "Mr Bulwer" when his social charm and good taste is asserted (83/128; 91/140). Likewise, while the TT allows young Benjie Herries to support the French in the Franco-Prussian War, the emphatic "He hated and detested the Prussians" (374/543) is deleted and the "catastrophe" at Sedan substituted by "Schlacht" (373/543). References to the supposed German national character are rather frequent in the ST and are positive enough to obviate any need for adaptation, though sometimes the translator intervenes to highlight the positive, downplay potentially negative aspects implied by the ST¹⁹³. In short, the few obviously 'unacceptable' elements of the ST are ironed out in the TT leaving the basis intact.

However, just as the TT does not take up every opportunity the ST offers to intensify genre conformity, neither does it take up every opportunity to exploit the novel's reactionary potential. The example I would like to look at here is the treatment of patriotism in ST and TT. As was argued in 4.1., the ST's notion of family history is inextricable from a 'nation' expressed in family and landscape. Accordingly, frequent positive comments on 'my/our/their country' are made (and the term translated in the TT by "Vaterland", eg 247/368, et passim). The closeness of the translation here might seem to sit uneasily with an official imperialist, anti-English stance, until we remember the central criterion of Nazi critiques of a foreign literature: it must be rooted in its source *Volk* (see 3.4.). Thus the TT can safely follow the ST's description of England as the "mistress of the world" → "Herrin der Welt" (365/530). In such cases the TT is presented with material that need only be translated closely for a version that will suit the domestic context. But *The Fortress* is by no means as clear-cut as this on the question of patriotism. In the above-mentioned description of Eng-

¹⁹³ These are tiny shifts. For example, the ST's ambivalent imputation of "sentiment" to the German character becomes the TT's more positive "Mitgefühl", 183/277; deletions on 184/277 reduce the anxiety and exhaustion of the (half)German character, leaving her womanly fortitude unmodified by doubt.

land as the mistress of the world, the comment is then relativised by Judith's scorn for it (ibid, reproduced in TT), and such ironisation is not uncommon. In particular, patriotism is associated with priggish complacency (eg 249/371; 250/373; 264/393). Thus the Herries self-satisfaction expressed in patriotism is attacked even while the underlying claim of nation and clan is being made - there is no irony in Judith's definition of England as the sum of her own beloved family and landscape (see especially 409f/594f). This ambivalence is for the most part retained in the TT, which overall does not intervene very strongly in the ST's complex, even uncertain, treatment of national pride. The reproduction of the ambivalence perhaps offers the TT a position that can be read in divergent ways - not inopportune when translating a paean to England into a setting where England is about to become the nation's official enemy.

Another, less evident dilemma faces the translator in the ST's treatment of the Chartist movement. The topic is dealt with in a highly ambiguous manner by the ST, which through the biography of the soft-hearted Chartist Adam combines a passionate attack on capitalist injustice with an equally passionate horror of revolutionary change. Political commentaries arise in this context that are reasonably easy for the target ideology to accept: the oppression of the common man, the attack on traditional family values made by industrial capitalism (in particular: industrial capitalism in England¹⁹⁴), the need for renewal. At the same time, however, many of the Chartist scenes feature a violent activism decried by the narrator and culminating in the murder of Adam's German hero, Caesar Kraft. The TT mainly reproduces the bourgeois fear articulated by the ST, yet has to allow dignity to activism and assign unacceptable violence more clearly to a left-wing enemy if it is to avoid unwanted associations with the equally demagogic techniques of the NSDAP in its early 'Kampfzeit'. Thus, the air of ludicrousness given the uprising scene by the ST is lessened and the sense of threat or power retained (eg 223/334, where a paragraph cut removes references to the funfair atmosphere of the assembled crowd); an insertion, "'brought England to her knees'" → "'**das Proletariat** in England erniedrigt'" (226/338), establishes the speaker, activist villain Lunt, clearly as a communist where the ST differ-

¹⁹⁴ The case of anticapitalist novels (for example the Ministry promotion of A J Cronin's work) may also be seen as part of the 'self-defamatory' translation discussed in Chapter 3.

entiates not between communist and non-communist but between violent and humanitarian.

When the TT reduces the association of Lunt with a wild animal (131/201) but later makes his characterisation harsher (218/327), we see a divergence of strategies that suggests a sense of uncertainty on the part of the TT. It would, after all, have been perfectly possible to streamline the political scenes in either one way or the other by the use of more such shifts. Certainly, the shifts undertaken do not eliminate the ST's its potential applicability to the domestic political situation of mass rallies and violence - the reader must make of it what s/he will. The same, perhaps, can be said of passages in the TT that are highly reminiscent of Nazi literary diatribes. For example, a buffoonish literary critic's comments on Tennyson, laughed at by both ST and TT, are translated in terms that smack strongly of a Nazi literary review: Tennyson's work risks treading on "slippery"→"schlüpfrig" ground, but the "instinctive purity of his mind"→"instinktmäßige Reinheit seiner Seele" prevents danger (299/443). This is a close translation of the ST yet the choices of key terms accord noticeably with Nazi critical style and must surely have been recognisable as such to the TL reader. These versions do not merely retain the content and the ridicule, but add through their form associations with a rhetorical style that belongs in the pages of *Die Neue Literatur*.

To judge by the reviews, *Die Festung*'s racialised view of the family as history was a factor in its selection for Party approval, and it is something that remains virtually unchanged between ST and TT. No challenge to the receiving culture is presented by the central premise of the plot, that Herries family history is driven by the struggle between the 'commonsensical' and the 'wild' strains, and all such references are reproduced. The character of Uhland, the crippled villain, is likewise perfectly in tune with the Nazi identification of disability with criminality (see Bock 1984), so that statements like the following, from Uhland's diary entry explaining his murder of his cousin, can be retained intact: "We freaks in the Herries stock must have our revenge on the normal ones"→"Wir Sonderlinge vom Stamme der Herries müssen uns an den Normalen rächen" (208/312). In line with this, the TT slightly reduces any doubt the ST casts on biologist explanations. Evil Uhland and angelic Elizabeth are twins, and

the character of Elizabeth's husband John is tied to hers by its matching association with angelhood. While the TT retains the *doppelgänger* trope that connects John with Uhland, the strongly biological connection via the twin Elizabeth - which must cast doubt either on the inevitable likeness of twins or on the clear-cut devil/angel dichotomy - is reduced (eg 98/151 deletes a paragraph explaining that they are twins and yet entirely different; a paragraph cut on 139/213 removes a reference to the "strange subconscious alliance" between the two).

The TT here has decreased ambiguity and psychologising hints and increased conformity to a TL ideology of family, but it works only to accentuate the obvious thrust of the ST¹⁹⁵. There is, however, a different case where a subterranean element of the ST is almost entirely cleared away. This is the strand that questions marriage and pits against it the virtues of male bonding, sometimes heightened to near-homoeroticism¹⁹⁶. The theme is attached to the character of Adam and the story of his marriage and friendships, especially with his servant Will Leathwaite, and is affected by various shifts in the TT. There are, secondarily, shifts around the relationship of enemies Uhland and John which reduce the homoerotic charge of some of their encounters (eg in a fainting scene Uhland "had John's body in his arms" → "John war ihm ausgeliefert", where the gist is retained but the physicality removed, 238/356).

The alterations around Adam's character are, unusually for this translation, rather consistent. The TT reduces suggestions of weakness or effeminacy (eg 119/183; 195/293) and - while accepting the general premise of strong male friendships - neutralises moments where the ST's insistence threatens to become too extreme. This is achieved by an accumulation of minor shifts, using generalisation (eg "with the exception of his mother his deepest feelings **of affection and loyalty** had been roused by men" → "seine tiefsten **und besten** Empfindungen - wieder mit Ausnahme seiner Mutter - hatten Männern gegolten", 130/200); neutralising amplification (eg

¹⁹⁵ A similar case is the TT's emphasis of the ST's generally atheist stance. Minor changes lessen ambiguity, for example by removing the association of the villainous Uhland with an outspoken atheism which was, so to speak, the state religion of the receiving culture (eg 207/310).

¹⁹⁶ Without wishing to focus unduly on the ST author's private life, it may be worth mentioning that Walpole himself lived a series of "ideal friendships" with men, latterly his chauffeur Harold Cheevers, in whose arms, according to Walpole's otherwise reticent biographer, he died in 1941 (Hart-Davis 1985:345).

[Kraft] “put his arm round Adam”→“legte **freundschaftlich, väterlich** den Arm um Adam”, 219/329); and small deletions (eg [Will and Adam] “stood close together, shoulder to shoulder”→0, 307/454). Most striking is a series of long deletions near the end of the text with smaller ones in the surrounding passages. These cuts remove two paragraphs of interior monologue which cast doubt on the glories of marriage, beginning “She [his wife] would never *quite* understand him” (341/500) and closing by contrasting this relationship with the superior mother-son relationship¹⁹⁷. The hint is made that Margaret’s love is “possessive” and could potentially “weary and irritate” him (342/500). This paragraph is immediately followed in the ST by a scene between Adam and Will which associates happiness and freedom with male friendship: “man to man, rid of all the uncertainties, sudden crises, sudden darknesses that haunt like ghosts the relation of the sexes” (342/500). The TT retains this comment, yet its impact is considerably reduced by the loss of the preceding elaboration of what these “sudden darknesses” actually consist in. Likewise, the next passage, reiterating the unfavourable contrast of married love with manly affection, is cut. After this passage in the ST comes a scene where Will sluices the naked Adam down with cold water: a scene retained in the TT but once again deprived of the contrast factor so striking in the ST - suffocating female love versus fresh cold water of the male bond (343/501). In general the ST, while explicitly honouring married love, tends to portray it as a bourgeois and stifling matter that is set against a masculine drive for freedom. The TT undoubtedly retains this in the most general of terms, but reduces the detail of negative comment on marriage, thus de-emphasising an aspect of the ST that could be read as ideologically unacceptable. Indeed, the combination the TT achieves of explicit regard for marriage and implicit prioritisation of male relationships is one that seems perfectly consonant with the dominant Nazi culture; the ST takes the homoerotic element just a little too far and is corrected through the translation, resulting in a high degree of domestic acceptability.

We have seen, then, a strand of political cleansing, by deleting small elements and softening others, that runs through the translation and shifts it closer to the require-

¹⁹⁷ The toning-down of references to the intense relationship between Adam and his mother is similar to the case of homoeroticism. These moments often verge on suggestions of incest in the ST and they are recast or deleted, eg 257/383; 271/402 and many other instances where the acceptable image of mother-love threatens to tip over into the unacceptable one of incest. The translator’s shifts keep the text on the safe side of this boundary.

ments of the target regime. I would like now to turn to a set of translating decisions that seem to contradict the trend to domestication: the treatment of culturally-specific items.

One of the reviews quoted in 4.1. complained of the translator's excessive use of foreign words. Certainly, *Die Festung* makes ample use of Latinate words within the normal German lexicon, but it takes the use of loans from English to much greater lengths. For the official ideology, the aim of removing foreign words from German was held to be the "Reinigung unseres Fühlens und unseres Denkens, unseres Willens und unseres Vorstellens von uns wesentlich fremden, undeutschen Bestandteilen" (*Die Neue Literatur*, Jan 1934:19). Yet this translation is full to bursting with unassimilated cultural references - specifically, with untranslated SL items. There are, it is true, isolated cases of naturalisation, where for example the Cumberland dish "hodge-podge" becomes "Hühnersuppe"(173/261)¹⁹⁸ or "children are found in gooseberry bushes"→"die Kinder werden vom Storch gebracht" (270/401). Also, most of the ST's numerous references to book titles are translated into German (eg Thackeray's "*Jahrmarkt der Eitelkeiten*", 227/340). There are, too, occasional cases of paraphrase, where a superordinate term or a similar item replaces the difficult term (eg "gingerbread and lollipops"→"Pfeffernüsse und Süßigkeiten", 7/20). Rarely, an opaque term is glossed (eg "'The Peelers!'"→"'**Polizei!** Die Peelers!'", 87/136). And very occasionally the TT simply deletes an awkward reference: "to a ball or a theatre or Vauxhall"→"zu einem Ball oder zum Theater" (143/219)¹⁹⁹. However, it is fair to say that these are minor, or secondary, strategies only. The dominant approach is to retain the foreign item intact - in some cases even adding a marked foreign word where the SL item was not culturally specific in content.

The largest group of cultural references uses the method of untranslated transfer or uncommented calque of the source item. This applies, to begin with, to all personal titles (Mr→Mr, Miss→Miß, etc.; only aristocratic titles are translated, eg

¹⁹⁸ The very same item, 'hodge-podge', is shortly afterwards rendered as "dem landesüblichen 'Hodge-podge'" (175/265): in a highlighted position it is transferred and the cultural substitution occurs only when the type of dish is not of central importance.

¹⁹⁹ The next reference to Vauxhall, one page later, is retained entirely uncommentated, exemplifying the inconsistency of the TT's strategies for translating cultural references.

Duke→Herzog) and names (the exceptions are Elizabeth→Elisabeth, Emma Furze→Emma Turze²⁰⁰, numerous minor transcription errors, and the replacement of “Solomons” with its German equivalent “Salomon”, 219/327). Secondly, geographical names are transferred in almost all cases²⁰¹, even when this is likely to create an information gap. For example, when “Walla Crag” becomes “Walla Crag” (42/69) the reader loses the descriptive element, while the location element of “Fell House” is lost in the transferred version, “Fell-Haus”. Names of artists, architects or writers who could be - but probably are not - familiar to the TL reader are almost always left unglossed. Similarly, cultural references such as “Methodist principles” or “the City” to mean the London financial market are translated baldly as “methodistische Prinzipien” and “die City” (eg 11/26, 13/28, et passim), and there are countless examples of this kind of unexplained cultural, literary or historical reference. In long passages of historical background (among many instances, 25/45), half a dozen names of obscure politicians and events are usually simply reproduced in the TT, presumably confronting the TL readers with entirely unknown items of which to make what they can from the context. In fact, it is doubtful whether even the translator always knows what is happening, as witness various mistranscriptions (eg 76/119).

The effect of this technique may be that instead of reading the content of such a passage, as the SL reader presumably did (though no doubt sketchily), the TL reader reads it as differentness, unfamiliarity, opacity *per se*. This interpretation is supported by a passage where the TT openly asks for the reader’s cooperation in ‘reading in’ foreignness. Will Leathwaite begins to speak in Cumberland dialect, something which is never reproduced in the TT; the ST narrator comments that Will “relapsed for a moment into Cumberland” and the TT narrator follows suit: “fiel dann unwillkürlich für ein paar Minuten in seinen cumberlandischen Dialekt” (307/454; repeated on the same page in ST and TT) - yet of course the TL readers are being asked to supply for themselves the ‘dialect’ not actually present in the TT dialogue. Not only, then, must the TL readers often accept significant areas of non-compre-

²⁰⁰ The latter change evidently to avoid the unfortunate connotation in German.

²⁰¹ In isolated cases a name is amputated, eg “Hell Gill Bridge”→“Gill-Bridge” (42/69), presumably to reduce confusing bulk. Street names and sights in London receive more assimilation than the country place-names: “Westminster Abbey”→“die Westminsterabtei” (137/210), “St Martin’s Lane”→“St. Martinsgasse” (79/123) - but also “Hertford Street”→“Hertfordstreet” (83/128): the strategy for London place-names is highly inconsistent.

hension of content, but they may even be asked to insert foreignness where none is provided by the translated words themselves. The demands made on the readers' patience are high in such cases and it is fair to assume that the strategy relies on the expectation of a willingness to be baffled by the foreign, a high tolerance for the opaque. That this constitutes a translation norm, as opposed to plain idleness, is suggested by the reviews' praise for the difference from the domestic which translations express - the educational excursion they offer into another world.

As for the insertions of SL items, the TT often translates "ladies" as "Ladys" (eg 40/66), "dining"/ "dinner" as "Dinner" (eg 39/64 et passim)²⁰². Or a colourful SL item that is not familiar in the TL is replaced by one that is: the consistent rendering of "brandy" by "Whisky" demonstrates that the presence of a foreign item is more important than culinary exactitude. Similarly, "coxcomb" becomes "Dandy" (110/169), "beef" → "Roastbeef" (passim); "drinking" → "beim Ale" (40/66), "sharps" → "Gangster" (209/313), "stuff" → "Humbug" (119/183) and many other examples. The term "gentleman" is a special case. It is translated as "Herr" or similar when used in the sense of 'man' but as "Gentleman" when used as a term of contrast to 'common man'. Here the logic of the TT's use of SL terms begins to emerge, as the TL "Gentleman" belongs to a whole scheme of traditional representations of the English. It is no accident that A J Macdonell's exceptionally highly approved, because anti-English, text *Autobiography of a Cad* is translated as *Selbstbildnis eines Gentleman*: the concept of the English gentleman, whether interpreted positively or negatively, has a life of its own in the receiving culture. The availability to the translator of an established image of the source culture also helps explain the presence of scraps of English dialogue in the TT. The ladies' comment "'shocking'" → "'shocking'" (eg 64/100), the young men's "'All right'" → "'All right'" (eg 256/382), the pretty girl's "'darling'" → "'darling'" (85/32) or the kind grandfather's "'My dear'" → "'My dear'" (149/227)²⁰³ not only draw attention to the foreign setting and the translatedness of the text but also refer the reader back to a whole panorama of

²⁰² I count such cases as 'insertions' because the SL item was not marked or necessarily culturally specific, and a more neutral, domestic version would have been possible (*Dame* for *lady*, *Abendbrot* for *dinner*, and so on). The use of the *Fremdwort* 'inserts' exoticism.

²⁰³ SL phrases like these are set in roman type, standing out from the gothic type of the surrounding text (this is standard practice for French, English and other inserted foreign words but is not applied to those terms like *Lady* apparently considered partially assimilated into German).

perceptions of the source culture, fed for decades not least by popular culture (see also Chapter 5).

Should we read this approach to the translation of culturally-specific items as more conforming to or more resisting the official literary line? Clearly the *Bücherkunde* is undecided on the issue, as its complaint about the failure to create a “Nachgestaltung in deutscher Sprache” is not enough to dampen its overall praise, and indeed there is a real dilemma of interpretation. On the one hand, the highlighting of source items in the TT can be read as part of that glorification of the other which the literary journalists deplored as “literarische Ausländerei”, a proof of infiltration. The TT could then be seen as resisting the regime’s demand for peasant novels to construct a ‘Nordicity’ that demonstrates the relationship of the Germanic tribes and not the difference between them. Certainly, the foreign words adopted by the TT draw not on the approved literary genres but on a tradition of imported Anglo-American culture that belongs firmly within the sphere of commercial, popular culture. From this point of view, *Die Festung* in some ways exemplifies the survival of traditional, commercially fuelled norms within the formidable strictures of the surrounding regime.

On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the selection of source items to retain or add is not neutral but slants towards a particular understanding of the source culture (see, for example, the discussion of the word “gentleman”). To this extent we might interpret the TT’s employment of foreign words as supporting a wider agenda that constructs the foreign in a particular, officially approved way - partly or even largely by means of translations. Thus, *Die Festung* helps to fill in the outlines of an image of ‘the English’ as a fighting, honest and unsophisticated nation with a proud racial history. The foreign remains foreign, nationally (or racially) specific and consonant with approved myths. More than that, the use of SL items in the translation underpins its claim to the seal of authenticity - the English as described by themselves - a general strategy that the reviewers quoted in 4.1. affirm. Finally, the foreign terms also provide the ‘local colour’, or regional specificity, that characterises the TL genre to which the TT seems to aspire.

4.4. Conclusions

The subtlety of the shifts traced here makes it difficult to speak of a clear or consistent translating strategy in *Die Festung*. The translation takes a variety of approaches, some of which pull in different directions. On matters of style it tends to increase the ST's proximity to the demands of 'Nordic simplicity' made by the approved target genre, whereas on matters of politically or ideologically charged aspects the translator's intervention is less consistent.

It has been suggested in the above analysis that certain aspects of the translation serve to subvert, in however gentle a way, the regime's literary policy. In particular, the representation of the foreign has a certain momentum of its own, feared by the prophets of the "unseliger Hang nach dem Fremden". However, overall the reviewers were surely right to praise the new text: it provides the dual benefit of describing a foreign culture in a way that supports the existing image in the official ideology, and of thematising the very notion of cultural specificity, of the separateness and national singularity of foreign nations. The novel in question proves particularly suitable to this anthropological task as it takes quite explicitly as its theme the question 'what are the English like?', harping on the existence of a nation and national character quite in line with Nazi ideology. The norms involved in text *selection* have been amply fulfilled. But the translation itself continues further down the trajectory set by the ST itself. It exposes and highlights elements present but less visible in the ST - perhaps 'supplementing' rather than strictly 'distorting' the source novel (see Venuti 1995, chapter 6). And, in a further "rewriting" move (Lefevere 1992), the critical reception positions the resulting text even more firmly within its TL ideological niche by amplifying the aspect of Northern man's struggle against harsh nature.

Certainly the practices of translation illustrated by *Die Festung* are difficult to extract and summarise, and anything but clear-cut - suggesting that whatever censorship did achieve, it was not a mechanistic slide-rule conversion of innocent source text to fascist target text. Apart from anything else, it would be hard to distinguish between adaptation to public 'taste' and politically motivated choices in matters like the

streamlining of narrative. However, there are areas, such as the treatment of politically delicate references, where the analysis has shown the fine detail of the translation intensifying the acceptability initiated by the text's selection for translation. In the following chapter, translations received very differently by the regime will be examined. It will be seen that while they diverge in many ways from the approved translation investigated here, there is also much common ground in terms of translation strategies.

5. Case study: translated detective novels

“Die Großstadt [the home of the detective novel] ist immer ein Zeichen dafür, daß der Mensch herausgetreten ist aus den kreatürlichen Ordnungen; daß er das fromme und einfältige Natur- und Abhängigkeitsgefühl verlassen hat und nun seinen Freiheitstraum zu verwirklichen sucht, eine eigene, wenn auch nur dünne, künstliche und abstrakte Gegenwelt zu erbauen. Der Preis, der für diese Entfernung vom elementaren Leben bezahlt wird, ist jene seelische Sterilität, der die biologische auf dem Fuße folgt.”

(“Der Kriminalroman und die Zivilisation”, *Die Literatur* 1940-41:489)

The pernicious effects attributed to the city in the words above separate its literary representatives sharply from the approved translation investigated in Chapter 4. Indeed, while the detail of translation strategies in the Walpole text proved less clear-cut than might have been expected, the *selection* of the text seems rather predictable in the context. Overall the translation of Walpole's novels of family and countryside can be situated more or less within the mainstream of Nazi-approved literature, with all its supposed psychological and biological benefits. However, the figures collated in Chapter 2 demonstrated that such evidently Nazi-convergent genres were not the most significant in terms of publishing, at least not for translation from English. Far more translations were made from an urban-based genre that met with official disapproval throughout the period, the detective novel.

It therefore seems worth turning now to the translations that made up this larger market segment. If even translations in central, approved genres were inconsistent in the degree of their conformity to the TL literary ideology, the case of a commercially successful translated genre which was rejected as a whole by the regime may offer an even more complex picture. At the same time, it will raise questions about the extent to which ‘undesirable’ literature survived on the margins of literary control. In this chapter, the translations from English of a selection of detective novels will be analysed in an attempt to discover how far they offer support or subversion to official literary policy. In particular, the issues of cultural specificity and generic conformity, which arose in the case of the Walpole translation, will be addressed. First, however, an investigation will be made of the shape of the receiving genre, the complexity of official attitudes to it, and the position of translations within it.

5.1. The detective novel in the Nazi period

The detective novel, having emerged as a mass genre in the Weimar Republic, was explicitly attacked by the institutions of Nazi literary control. As a representative of popular fiction in general, the detective novel was felt to be a danger to youth or an inferior product, if not “eine Gefährdung des moralischen und sittlichen Rückemarks der Nation” (*Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt*, Apr 1940:42). At the very least, “Die Leser von Kriminal- und Abenteuerromanen haben für uns Leihbibliothekare stets etwas Problematisches an sich” (*Zeitschrift der Leihbücherei*, 1937, no 18:10). Yet in contrast to other unwanted literature, much of which was unambiguously suppressed, efforts were consistently made to adapt and appropriate the detective novel rather than simply banning it. The excision of the genre in its less adapted forms was not completed until the war years. Before moving on to the specific case of translated detective fiction, I will look briefly at some possible reasons for this complex situation in the domestic genre.

The space allowed to detective fiction by the regime might, firstly, be explained to some extent by the practical difficulty of controlling a huge segment of production which, additionally, took place outside those areas of Nazi literary life completely subject to *Gleichschaltung*. As Helga Geyer-Ryan points out, the majority of writers

of popular fiction were part-time amateurs, thus not subject to the leverage of enforced RSK membership, and the sheer numbers of detective novels made detailed attention to individual texts logistically - and financially - unfeasible (1987:183)²⁰⁴. Geyer-Ryan also traces problems in confiscating popular literature that were engendered by power struggles between different ministries and between central and local police (ibid:187ff). She further remarks that the complete removal of so commercially important a segment of the publishing industry was hardly an option for an economy still based on free-market capitalism (ibid:184; see also 1.2.).

A second complex of possible reasons for the relative toleration of the detective novel concerns the opportunities a mass market offered for transporting contents approved by the regime. Despite a general ideological rejection, popular fiction became subject to a “versuchte politische Indienstnahme” (Geyer-Ryan 1978a:267), especially later in the period, when the phenomenon of the fascist detective novel arose (see below). During the war, particularly, the detective novel could be exploited as an escapist luxury, relatively cheap to produce and serving as a pragmatic ‘safety valve’ within a highly-regulated cultural economy²⁰⁵.

There are, too, more general arguments to be made that the ideology of the detective genre is one lending itself easily to integration into a fascist context. The detective novel’s conservative basis has been the focus of much comment, and the thrust of Stephen Knight’s argument is that from its very beginnings the detective story has addressed the issue of crime and deviance in such a way as to reassure the reader by realising a “pleasing, comforting world-view” (1980:2). To this extent it is ‘quietist’ in import, encouraging assent to the social and judicial status quo. While admitting the “fissures” present in detective novels, Knight finds that the genre succeeds in assuaging the anxieties these cause - referring to Christie he concedes that the revelation of crime and deception behind respectable bourgeois life is disturbing, but concludes that “the game-like features of the novel are forceful enough to dilute the

²⁰⁴ Geyer-Ryan’s studies deal primarily with series of the ‘dime novel’ type, but the border between these and the one-mark bound novels is a fluid one, and Nazi comment does not differentiate.

²⁰⁵ In this vein, Geyer-Ryan (drawing on Strothmann) describes the dispute between Rosenberg and Goebbels on the supply of popular fiction to the troops at the front, Rosenberg insisting that only highbrow literature was acceptable in any circumstances, the ever-pragmatic Goebbels that escapism was a necessity (Geyer-Ryan 1978a:273; see also Chapter 1). Schäfer’s (1981) more detailed evaluation of the issue of escapism will be addressed in the Conclusion.

real strength of the threats that are played with” (ibid:127). Both Knight and Martin Roth (1995) stress the distance from social reality maintained by detective fiction, which minimises crime (for example by trivialising death or excluding working-class criminals) to present it as merely an intellectual ‘puzzle’ - something that then becomes eminently capable of ‘solution’. Peter Nusser also points out that the detective story’s structure positions the reader as an obedient collaborator with the forces of law and order, receiving the peaceful return of order at the end as a “Geschenk” from the superman figure of the detective (1992:32). For Nusser, as for Knight, the schematic style of the detective novel allows the reader to enjoy the frisson of doubt without truly fearing that order will not be restored (ibid:160). The fact that detective fiction as a whole has survived in totalitarian regimes leads him to reject traditional British and American claims (for example by Haycraft 1942²⁰⁶) that the genre is a flower of democratic culture; the detective novel appears “eher als Bestätigung dieses keine Abweichung duldenden Systems von Disziplinarnormen anstatt als Bestätigung demokratischen Geistes” (Nusser 1992:162). For Nusser it is the neutralising of fear that outweighs in the detective novel, not the disruption - with its implicit criticism of orderly appearances - itself. The affirmation of discipline, in other words, is at the heart of the genre and makes it compatible with an authoritarian style.

Walter Rix (1978) also takes up the claim of detective fiction’s intrinsic democratic thrust, measuring it against the fortunes of the genre in the ‘Third Reich’. Analysing some Nazi literary journals’ criticisms of the detective novel, especially as being too urban, too playful and too intellectual or rationalist, thus foreign to the German reader’s soul, Rix then investigates a selection of approved detective novels published in the 1940s. He finds a thorough-going adaptation of the genre to Nazi ideology, for instance by rejecting the traditionally individualist, amateur detective hero in favour of a police figure as “Willensträger des Staates” (ibid:129), or by explaining the criminal as genetically degraded, a disease on the *Volk* body (ibid:130). A striking feature of the approved novels is, says Rix, their setting either in contemporary Ger-

²⁰⁶ Haycraft’s argument, coloured by its wartime context, is that “the detective story is and always has been essentially a democratic institution; produced on any large scale only in democracies; dramatizing, under the bright cloak of entertainment, many of the precious rights and privileges that have set the dwellers in constitutional lands apart from those less fortunate” (1942:313). Less polemically, he refers to the genre’s requirement for acceptance of the rule of law, a democratic police force and a belief in reason.

many (in which case stressing the smallness of the problem of crime in an ideal society) or in non-Anglo-Saxon foreign countries (thus exporting the problem of crime without having to refer to the traditional bases of the German detective novel in Britain and America). His conclusion is that in formal terms the detective novel was perfectly capable of accommodating fascist contents: “Der Detektivroman lebt also auch im totalitären Staat weiter, nicht in anderer Gestalt, aber mit einer anderen weltanschaulichen Orientierung. Einerseits wirkt die Popularität des Genre fort, andererseits okkupiert der Staat den beliebten Literaturzweig für seine Zwecke” (ibid:133).

Rix argues convincingly that just minor alterations to its structural conventions allow the genre to be appropriated by an authoritarian ideology. However, his texts are all taken from the wartime context, slightly skewing his argument since detective novels flourished in the longer preceding period of relative ‘normality’. I would like to look briefly at a small selection of non-translated novels to show that the features of the Nazi-adapted genre were less consistent than he suggests.

Out of a random selection²⁰⁷ of twenty non-translated detective novels published between 1933 and 1943, I found ten set in Germany, six in Britain or America and four in other foreign countries. In line with Rix’ findings, the British and American settings fade out, though not completely, in the later period. And certainly, many of the adapted features Rix describes are to be found in late and early novels alike. For example, the clearly Nazi novel *Der Grillenpiff* of 1943²⁰⁸ is set in Lisbon, “am Rande Europas” (161), and pits villainous Americans against the blond German hero (both doctor and detective, supporting Rix’ comment that the Nazi detectives are often portrayed as doctors healing the disease of crime). The detective finally triumphs, winning the love of the equally blond, victimised heroine, and the novel closes with the couple’s return to the fresh morning of Germany. In the earlier text *Der Mann hinter der Katze*²⁰⁹ (1935), set in the strange and threatening “Chinesenviertel” of New York, similar use is made of ‘race’ as a running theme and the crime

²⁰⁷ Those available in a second-hand bookshop in east Berlin specialising in detective fiction, February 1996.

²⁰⁸ Harald Baumgarten, *Der Grillenpiff*, Berlin: Aufwärts 1943 (*Der Aufwärts Kriminal-Roman*).

²⁰⁹ Fritz Strauß, *Der Mann hinter der Katze*, Munich: Matz 1935.

is located in the world of high finance and capitalist corruption. On the other hand, this novel affirms its urban American hero and freely exploits references to the English-language genre, transferring titles (“Miß Bird”, etcetera) and even scraps of speech (such as “‘All right!’”, 22). These deviations from the Nazi norm described by Rix do not suffice to place the text on the *Liste der für Jugendliche und Büchereien ungeeigneten Schriften* of 1940 and 1943, and *Der Mann hinter der Katze* seems to exemplify a successful mixed strategy of conformity to genre conventions with a nod to more explicitly Nazi values. *Chapman & Cole wird ausgerottet* (1936)²¹⁰ by Edmund Finke, author of defences of the detective novel in the literary journals, mixes its methods too. Its hero-detective is blond but not German and its style makes liberal use of anglicising touches such as detailed geographical references to London, unglossed cultural references (the “CID”) and barely domesticated English phrases (“einem fashionablen Tanzteelokal”, 171) - all appealing to the readers’ familiarity with the imported genre. It will be noted that several of these same devices were also found in the officially approved Walpole translation discussed in Chapter 4.

All three detective novels make at least some moves in the direction of official acceptability; the latter two allow themselves to be read either within a framework of the official genre as described by Rix or as virtually unreconstructed continuations of the pre-1933 craze for its imported version. Thus, the detail of tolerated detective novels is less consistent than Rix might claim. However, it is equally clear that many of their elements - such as the heroic detective superman, the passive female characters, the restitution of law and order after a threat by an alienated (often enough racialised) villain - are entirely present in the classic English genre and only need the new context to be read as perfectly consonant with a violently authoritarian ideology.

Yet the claim that detective fiction is authoritarian in import was not one endorsed by the institutions of authoritarianism themselves. The official literary and librarians’ journals took a line of general rejection, complaining especially of the detective novel’s foreign origin and cosmopolitan nature (eg *Die Literatur*, 1940-41:492; *Die Bücherei*, Jul-Aug 1940:207) and evidently regarding it as a threat to the new order.

²¹⁰ Edmund Finke, *Chapman & Cole wird ausgerottet. Kriminalroman*, Berlin, Vienna, Leipzig: Paul Zsolnay 1936.

This feeling might be explained in a variety of ways. Helga Geyer-Ryan's main argument is that popular novels (and indeed novels in general) endanger the corporatist, authoritarian state by providing a private imaginative space inaccessible to it: the very act of private reading is individualist. As she points out, attempts to enforce state-approved entertainment reading were doomed to failure since "gerade das Entspannungslernen beruht auf seiner Freiwilligkeit" (1978a:274), quite apart from the markedly 'antipolitical' basis of popular fiction which hinders its exploitation as an educational tool (1987:177). While these arguments may well be true in terms of the life of readers, the texts themselves seem to give more support to Rix's contrary claim. However, Geyer-Ryan also discusses the influence of political and class boundary disputes on official attitudes to popular fiction. The fight against 'trash' was fuelled on the one hand by the ire of the public librarians against their natural enemies and main distributors of popular fiction, the commercial lending libraries (1978a:272), on the other by the petty bourgeois ideologues' attempts to differentiate themselves from the genre fiction of the working-class 'masses' as much as from the avant-garde art of the educated bourgeoisie (ibid:268). In other words, the survival of mass fiction was a thorn in the side of the prophets of the 'new', more lofty yet never intellectual literature.

In terms of the ideology of the texts the Nazi bureaucracy's attacks may also prompt us to relativise somewhat the analysis of writers like Knight or Rix. In Richard Alewyn's opinion the sense of disruption conjured up by the detective novel outlives and outweighs its apparent resolution in the elimination of the alienated individual (1971:397)²¹¹. This is hard to quantify, but there are related problems: the floundering role accorded the police in the more traditional detective novels needs severe attention in order to become acceptable, and the fascination with the city is another element hardly consonant with Nazi literary ideology, as demonstrated by the words quoted at the start of the chapter. Additionally, the genre's typically self-conscious and playful rejection of realism (Roth 1995:29) must be suspect in the climate of Nazi literary theory.

²¹¹ Alewyn also notes the active role taken by the detective novel's reader, amounting to "eine Emanzipation des Lesers vom Erzähler" (ibid:379).

Another aspect of the detective fiction of the period up to 1939 touches less on the genre itself than on the fact of its domination by imports. The detective novel's embeddedness in Anglo-American culture is a stable feature up to 1939, referred to by non-translations in their settings as well as their generic conventions. It is the aspect singled out by the journals for particular opprobrium²¹² as exploiting and nurturing a fascination, apparently unbroken from the pre-Nazi past, with the exoticism of British and American life. It is no coincidence that the 1943 index of popular fiction contains so many Anglo-American-set titles among the non-translations, nor that correspondence cited by Rix from a publisher defending his "Tom Shark" detective series focuses on the newly-minted German identity given the previously all-American "König der Detektive" (Rix 1978:125f). Non-translated detective fiction in the period bears the visible imprint of its foreign origins, but of course this is played out to the full in the translated detective novel, which represents most clearly both the quantitative 'flooding' and the qualitative 'contamination' of German literature feared by the literary journals.

It will be seen from Figure 4 below, based on the DNB data (see Chapter 2), that translations made up a very significant segment of detective fiction, and that English and American English were by far the dominant SLs²¹³. The number of translated detective novels remained high - and rising - up to 1938, dropping only in the second half of 1939 in response to the blanket bans. During the pre-1939 period these translations represented on average around one third of fiction translated from English and American English, even approaching one half in 1934, the year when translation in general fared worst (possibly as publishers fell back on their predictorship, sure-selling staple), and in the boom year 1938. The proportion of translations of English-language detective novels to their non-translated counterparts dropped from 1936²¹⁴ as domestic production rocketed, but it then remained steady until the onset of the wartime bans. As mentioned above, the fact that so many of the non-translations indexed in the 1943 *Liste* are set in Britain or America and/or appear

²¹² For *Die Bücherei*, "Der Einbruch des Detektivromans in Deutschland ist daher dem Einbruch eines fremden Geistes weithin vergleichbar" (Jul-Aug 1940:207). See also the *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt*'s comments (3.2.).

²¹³ The 'other SLs' on the graph are mainly French before 1939, mainly Italian and Scandinavian languages after.

²¹⁴ In the years 1933-1935 translations from English made up around 40% of detective fiction published, in 1936-1939 an average of around 25%. In 1940-1943 the proportion fell to around 4%.

under English-sounding pseudonyms increases further the amount of fiction likely to have been *perceived* as imported.

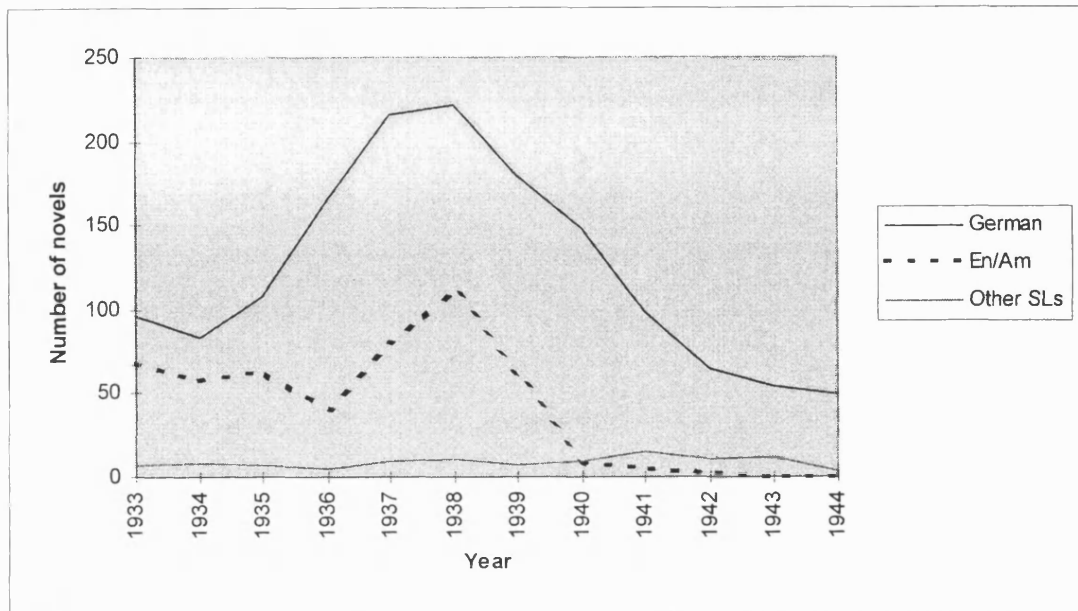


Figure 4: Numbers of detective novels published (translated and non-translated)²¹⁵

After 1939 it was not only translations but also non-translated detective novels which began to collapse, as pressure grew to replace them with their less successful *gleichgeschaltete* counterparts. There is, however, no doubt that the translations had much earlier become subject to special attention from the authorities, falling as they did simultaneously into the two suspect categories of translations and popular fiction. In particular, they more than fulfil the criteria for undesirability within each category, since among translations the non-*völkisch* is most decried, among popular fiction the non-German. Thus, translated detective fiction ought to be an ideal candidate for severe censorship. The surprisingly stable publication figures and the analysis of the 1943 index (see 1.4.) demonstrate, though, that censorship worked rather to modify than to excise the translated genre up until the onset of war. The type and extent of

²¹⁵ The figures are approximate because genre labelling is not entirely consistent for either translated or non-translated detective fiction. In particular, brochure-format detective 'pulp' is not consistently listed in the DNB.

these modifications will be investigated in the following sections by comparing source texts with the target versions permitted to enter the Nazi literary landscape. It should be clear from the foregoing discussion not only that such permission may have had pragmatic, commercial grounds alongside or overriding the ideological ones, but also that the genre itself came bearing a certain potential for ideological consonance with the regime, capable of judicious development in adaptation to circumstances. The translated detective novel could in the end cater to both commercial and ideological needs, thus preserving its position as a publishing mainstay of the system, if one that encompassed as well some more unwanted or subversive elements.

5.2. The corpus

The large numbers of detective novels translated from English in the period present some problems in the selection of a corpus for closer study. As the number of texts investigated has for practical reasons to be reasonably small, attention must be paid to the issue of representativeness. In an attempt to avoid what Van Doorslaer calls an “eclectic selection of examples” tailor-made to support a hypothesis (1995:247), I initially applied a random element, choosing the texts according to what was available in a second-hand bookshop at the time of searching. This set of texts came mainly from the Ullstein series *Ullstein-Bücher*, prompting me to reduce the selection to that series alone. This has provided a degree of coherence or comparability within the corpus while admittedly reducing its representativeness of the genre as a whole. However, the value of the findings is, I believe, increased by the particularly stylised, formulaic nature of the detective novel, which may allow a small sample to be taken as applicable to a much larger group of translations.

The ten texts investigated all belong, then, to the series published by Ullstein of Berlin. The house, the largest of the liberal Jewish-owned publishers of the early thirties and owner of many newspapers as well as the book publishers Ullstein and Propyläen (Barbian 1995:694), was ‘Aryanised’ (ie ‘bought’ under duress and at a tiny fraction of its value) by the Party-owned Eher Verlag as early as 1934. At this time the take-over was not evident to the public, the name Ullstein remaining intact

until 1937, when it was changed to Deutscher Verlag (ibid:695). The Deutscher Verlag, still under Eher's control, was later to take over Rowohlt (ibid:345), to name but one other significant publisher of translations. After 1937 the series name *Ullstein-Bücher* became the *Uhlen-Bücher*, though with no alteration in any other aspect of format. Ullstein's traditional focus on cheap editions of fiction (Stark 1981:261, n148) continued unbroken.

The *Ullstein-Bücher* were small-format hardback novels priced at one mark per volume. The series began in 1913 with a wide range of fiction (Vicki Baum, Ludwig Ganghofer) and few translations, including more translations and generally more detective novels from 1927, though the presence of writers like Ricarda Huch or Heinrich Mann shows that the series had more than a purely light-entertainment focus. The novels, 196 of them in the period 1933-1945, are 240-250 pages long. The original dustcovers have a standard style: yellow with black titles and typically illustrated with a dramatic film still. The series logo, an owl, remained in place even after the publisher's name was jettisoned in 1937 - the tiny graphic alteration and discreetly added 'DV' (Deutscher Verlag) allow the retention of the series recognition pioneered by Herman Ullstein. Ullstein notes that the books followed British and US marketing models to make use of "what at that time was a quite original form of publicity: instead of concentrating on any single volume, we advertised the entire series, thus counterbalancing the high cost of advertisement" (Ullstein 1944:94f). The concept of series recognition had evidently succeeded well enough to be worth preserving by the new Nazi owners²¹⁶.

The translations studied are standardised as regards format but do not otherwise show a tight editorial policy, as will be seen in the text analysis. However, the existence of a relative consistency of format and marketing means that comparisons between translations can be made that should reflect more than the idiosyncrasies of particular translators. Certainly, book-buyers and borrowers are likely to have perceived the series status of the texts, and to this extent some coherence of reception, at least, exists. The Ullstein/Uhlen series, though less rich in translations than the various

²¹⁶ In fact, the new series name "Uhlen-Bücher" appears to have been chosen to match the existing owl logo, thus asserting series continuity despite the new publishers' name. Naturally, to the marketing considerations must be added the political need for discretion about state-controlled takeovers.

Goldmann series or the *Iris* series of the Kulturelle Verlagsgesellschaft, belonged to a publisher that still, until 1937, carried a respected pre-Nazi name²¹⁷, so that readers may well have assumed a level of quality and a continuity with pre-1933 values even where this was in fact no longer the case. All the texts, though cheaply produced in terms of paper quality and size, are indeed carefully edited, normally containing few typographical or other proof-reading errors (in contrast to, for example, the Aufwärts novels). Nor are there large numbers of plain translation ‘errors’.

The ten translations investigated are the following:

Ashby, Rubie Constance (1936) *Nacht auf Schloß Cleys. Kriminalroman*, Berlin: Ullstein. Translated by Anna Drawe [*Death on Tiptoe*, London: Hodder & Stoughton 1931]

Berkeley, Anthony [ie Anthony Berkeley Cox] (1934) *Der zweite Schuß. Kriminalroman*, Berlin: Ullstein. Translated by Elsie McCalman [*The Second Shot*, London: Hodder & Stoughton 1930; all references to the Penguin reprint, Harmondsworth 1943]

Berkeley, Anthony (1936) *Spiel mit dem Feuer. Kriminalroman*, Berlin: Ullstein. Translated by Iris Doerfer-Koebse [*Panic Party*, London: Hodder & Stoughton 1934; all references to the Penguin reprint, Harmondsworth 1942]

Porlock, Martin [ie Philip Macdonald] (1935) *Hilf mir, Peter! Kriminalroman*, Berlin: Ullstein. Translator anonymous [*Mystery in Kensington Gore*, London: W Collins & Sons 1932]

Queen, Ellery [ie F Dannay and M B Lee] (1935) *Besuch in der Nacht. Kriminalroman*, Berlin: Ullstein. Translated by Werner Illing [*The Greek Coffin Mystery. A Problem in Deduction*, New York: F A Stokes 1932; all references to the the Gollancz reprint, London 1971]

Queen, Ellery (1937) *Die Dame mit dem Schleier. Kriminalroman*, Berlin: Ullstein. Translated by Werner Illing [*Halfway House*, New York: F A Stokes 1936]

Queen, Ellery (1938) *Besuch am letzten Tag. Kriminalroman*, Berlin: Deutscher Verlag. Translated by Werner Illing [*The Door Between. A Problem in Deduction*, New York: F A Stokes 1937; all references to the Gollancz reprint, London 1937]

²¹⁷ And indeed one openly attacked by parts of the Nazi press: the books of Ullstein, as a Jewish publisher, are equated by Will Vesper in *Die Neue Literatur* with inferior fiction in general (Jun 1934:398) and a reference to one of the books in the present corpus, *Hilf mir, Peter!* - the note “ein Ullstein-Buch” stands in place of an author - is used to exemplify the bad influence of the commercial lending libraries on public taste (Oct 1935:627).

Queen, Ellery (1939) *Das goldene Hufeisen. Kriminalroman*, Berlin: Deutscher Verlag. Translated by Julie Mathieu [*The Four of Hearts*, New York: F A Stokes 1938; all references to the Penguin reprint, Harmondsworth 1958]

Rinehart, Mary Roberts (1933) *Keine Spur! Kriminalroman*, Berlin: Ullstein. Translated by Julia Koppel [*Miss Pinkerton*, New York: Farrar & Rinehart 1932; all references to *Miss Pinkerton. An Omnibus of Detection*, London: Cassell 1959, pp 95-245]

Webster, Henry K (1936) *Der Mann mit der Mütze. Kriminalroman*, Berlin: Ullstein. Translated by Dankwart Sterry [*Who is the Next?* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill 1931]

The corpus thus reflects a range of publication dates from 1933 to 1939²¹⁸, both British and American source texts, and six different authors. The choice of four texts by one author, Ellery Queen, allows a comparison of two different translators' treatment of the same author over a period between 1935, the beginning of strictly enforced censorship measures, and 1939, when censorship can be assumed to have been at its pre-war strongest. Of the other translated authors in the Ullstein series between 1933 and 1939, only Anthony Berkeley (like Queen well-known in the period) has several titles, and again appears here twice with two different translators.

None of the translators belongs to the group of very prolific, specialised translators of detective fiction headed by Ravi Ravendro/Hans Herdegen (ie Karl Döhring; see 2.2.) and Fritz Pütsch - these two were both ensconced with Goldmann, the biggest publisher of translated popular fiction. Instead of building up a similar body of regular translators, the Ullstein series seems to have relied upon occasional translations by a large number of different translators. Only one translator is anonymous; of the remaining seven, five are women, all of whom published other translations either in or just before the period in question. All but one of the translators translated other detective novels, though the two prolific translators in the list specialised elsewhere: Julia Koppel as a collaborator with Marie Franzos, a highly successful translator of Scandinavian literature, and Elsie McCalman as the major translator of Joseph Conrad for the liberal, highbrow publisher S Fischer. It

²¹⁸ After the blanket bans of late 1939 no more translations from English are listed for the Deutscher Verlag.

appears, then, that the Ullstein series was diverse in terms of translators rather than using a compact staff whose work would be easier to standardise.

It will be seen in the following that individual approaches do indeed make themselves felt, although certain regularities can also be observed. In section 5.3. I will look in some detail at one of the ten texts investigated; in 5.4. the themes which emerge from this analysis will be taken up and their treatment in the rest of the corpus examined before conclusions are drawn in 5.5.

5.3. An initial comparison: *The Greek Coffin Mystery* and *Besuch in der Nacht*

Ellery Queen's *The Greek Coffin Mystery* of 1932 (*Besuch in der Nacht*, trans Werner Illing, 1935) concerns the mysterious disappearance of the will of rich New York art-dealer Georg Khalkis after he dies from natural causes. During the search for the will another body is discovered, hidden in Khalkis' coffin. This second corpse turns out to be the victim of a murder, a jailbird named Grimshaw. After many twists and turns, a story of blackmail around the theft of a Leonardo emerges. The now owner of the painting, millionaire Mr Knox, is among the suspects, as is the charming Miss Joan Brett, unbeknownst to us an agent of the London museum the painting was stolen from. In a surprise ending, the District Attorney's assistant, Pepper, is revealed as the mastermind of the blackmail plot and murderer of his accomplice, Grimshaw. As is usual for the Ellery Queen books, the detective-hero, Ellery Queen (detective-story writer and son of the investigating Inspector Queen), presents his deductions in great detail; the false clues planted by his quarry trick him into several untenable theories but he finally tracks down the murderer by means of pure logic.

Ellery Queen, the pseudonym of American cousins Frederick Dannay (1905-1982) and Manfred Bennington Lee (1905-1971), began to publish in the late twenties and continued a prolific career until well after the war, from 1941 also as namesake and supposed editor of the *Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine*, a forum for both new and established writers of short crime stories (Symons 1992:156). "Ellery Queen" is also

the hero of the mysteries. He is the brilliant amateur son of a New York police inspector, writing detective novels as a sideline to his idle existence. The playful characterisation of Queen - a youthful dilettante with a pince-nez who loves to quote the classics - forms a unifying thread through the novels, which are written in the third person. *The Greek Coffin Mystery* was one of the first Queen books, and exemplifies the “relentlessly analytical treatment of every possible clue and argument” which is slimmed down in the later Queen books (Symons 1992:111). *Besuch in der Nacht* appeared three years later. Another four Queen titles appeared in the Ullstein series between 1933 and 1939, three of them, like *Besuch in der Nacht*, translated by Werner Illing. Illing does not appear to have made any other literary translations in the period, unlike Julie Mathieu, translator of the fifth Queen novel in the series.

Initially most noticeable about the translated text is its length: at around 65,000 words it is not much more than half the source text’s 115,000 words. The reason is easily found, since the books in the Ullstein series are uniform in length (around 240 pages, though the size of font and margins allows leeway) - the source text is simply too long to fit the series format, requiring cuts which in some cases amount to condensation. However, not all passages are condensed; there are also certain, admittedly small-scale, insertions which indicate that the translator’s brief was not merely to summarise the text. Other small alterations are undertaken which neither shorten the text nor serve merely to ‘bridge’ the summarised parts. In the following I will argue that the deletions in the target text are not arbitrary or determined exclusively by format but show particular tendencies that can help trace the transformation of the ST within the target system. In particular, I will focus on the following areas: techniques of condensation including the general streamlining of the ST; the reduction of elements that undermine strict genre conventions; the construction of a more masculine, infallible detective hero; the portrayal of the foreign setting; and the treatment of the police characters.

I have said that the translation’s most striking feature is its shortness compared to the ST, and unsurprisingly, the most pervasive strategy in the translation is that of reduction in various forms. One of these means of shortening is the elimination of

minor characters - only the very minor, who do not appear in person but only by name in the ST, as onlookers (journalists, maids). There is almost no deletion of elements of the 'fabula' (in other words the events themselves, see Bal 1985), and instead, the TT concentrates on reducing perceived redundancy within the 'story' (ie the events as narrated). At many stages in the ST characters will recap on an argument or the narrator remind readers of a piece of information already mentioned (for example family relationships or the details of a clue); in the TT these recapitulations are generally deleted. Again and again details are cut that do not contribute directly to the plot but produce the more leisurely pace of the ST and the dwelling on detail that characterises Ellery Queen's²¹⁹ approach to detection. Thus, among countless examples, the fingerprint expert's report is halved in length by deleting the list of places where there were *not* any useful prints (117/81²²⁰), whereas such peripheral figures in the ST insist on covering all possible angles. More space still is saved by the severe cutting of Ellery's characteristic long expositions of his deductions, where the TT tends to delete the exploration of those very remote possibilities which Ellery immediately disproves (for example during his ingenious discussion of the number of teacups in the dead man's library, Chapter 15, or the long final exposition in Chapter 34). In Chapter 29 all of Ellery's questioning of the servants is deleted, with no damage to the argument.

Even where large sections of dialogue are not deleted, a degree of condensation is often carried out, usually with a skilful summarising sentence (it is a very rare case indeed when reference is later in the page carelessly made to "wie ich schon sagte" when that preceding fact has been cut, 155/117). It should be said that in the process of pruning the excess detail from these expositions other aspects are lost, particularly relating to the character of Ellery himself (see below). Overall, the main method by which the translation achieves the low word count necessary for the series format is through these deletions of narrative 'sideshoots' and an insistence on the main paths of the plot.

²¹⁹ In the following, the name "Ellery Queen" will refer to the detective-hero, not the author, unless otherwise indicated.

²²⁰ The page numbers refer first to the source text, then to the target text.

Another important means of shortening the text is the reduction of characterisation. This is achieved partly by deleting adverbs that qualify characters' speech (such as "grimly" or "gloomily", both 36/24); the TT also tends to delete detail, as in this reference to the housekeeper Mrs Simms: "She nodded regally and flounced into a chair"→0, or "Mrs Simms raised and lowered her beefy shoulders several times, like an old rooster mustering the energy for a rousing cockadoodle-doo"→"Frau Simms richtete sich auf" (94/63). While central figures are accorded more attention, the TT routinely reduces the minor characters until they are distinguishable almost only by their names, whereas the ST elaborates its stereotypical side-characters with some relish. This shift not only shortens, but also simplifies the story, losing humour but gaining a leaner, more streamlined narrative.

Other moves by the translator help streamline the text without necessarily shortening it. Information may, for example, be rearranged into a more straightforward order. Numerous examples range from the shift "Beautiful thing, it was"→"Es war ein wundervolles Stück" (154/116) to the very common chronological reordering: "Djuna answered a wild bell-ringing and admitted two red-faced gentlemen"→"Die Klingel schrillte. Djuna sprang zur Tür und ließ zwei Herren eintreten" (267/196 - the replacement of these 'y happened after x' structures with 'x happened, then y happened' is systematic in the TT).

A related form of simplification is achieved by the TT's removal of minor ambiguities in wording, again allowing easier, more rapid access to events. For example, the characters' unfinished sentences may be completed, such as when Inspector Queen warns his son not to be frivolous at the scene of the crime: "This is no time for anything so - so -"→"Für **faule Scherze**²²¹ ist hier nicht der Ort" (100/68). An explanatory phrase is often added to what in the ST was left as implication (eg "And then a **wild** light leaped into his eyes"→"Plötzlich flackerte in seinen Augen das Feuer **der Erkenntnis**" 131/95; when the secretary is asked to post a sealed letter for Khalkis she remembers "I was a bit surprised at this - I generally attended to all his correspondence"→"Ich war ein wenig überrascht, denn eigentlich ging seine gesamte, **auch die private** Korrespondenz durch meine

²²¹ Emphasis added here and throughout.

Hände’’, 87/59). In a similar move, the TT frequently replaces a conjunction to make the logical link more explicit. The shift “We found the wallet [...] **and** nothing in it” to “Die Brieftasche haben wir gefunden [...] **aber** es war nichts darin” (157/119), for example, may seem minimal but it does contribute to the overall tendency to increase the explicitness and reduce the allusiveness, or obliqueness, of the text²²².

Perhaps even more pervasive and effective as a streamlining shift is one involving focalisation, where the TT tends to incorporate more of the narration into a single perspective. The interpolations of characters’ own interpretations and reflections are generally removed from within dialogue segments (eg Gilbert Sloane’s interruption of his own report to comment doubtfully: “I don’t know if all this -”→0, 84/57). This has the effect of making the direct speech more coherent but also of narrowing the range of voices heard: the individuality of the particular speaker’s perspective is downplayed, leaving bare information in almost anonymous form. In some cases direct speech is simply replaced by indirect speech, thus absorbing the content entirely into the narrator’s perspective (eg when Queen’s order ““Please locate Trikkala, the Greek interpreter”” becomes the report “Danach beauftragte er den Hausdienst, Trikkala, den griechischen Dolmetscher,”, 163/125).

An interesting related example is the following section, near the opening of the book, which describes the lawyer Woodruff’s discovery that the will is no longer in the Khalkis safe:

“Certainly, he averred later, he had not intended to look for it, let alone find it missing. Why, he had seen it, actually handled it only minutes before the funeral party left the house!”→[previous sentence mentions that Woodruff is talking later about events] “Er versicherte, daß es ihm gar nicht eingefallen sei, nach der kleinen stählernen Kasette zu schauen, die er noch fünf Minuten, bevor der Trauerzug das Haus verließ, gesehen hatte” (20/8).

Here, as almost consistently throughout the TT, the use of free indirect discourse is removed - here replaced by straightforward indirect speech, in other cases simply cut out. The ST’s momentary shift in narrative voice is normalised, again adding to the coherence and unity of the new text. On the other hand, the TT excerpt does, unusually, retain a figure that dominates the first chapters of the ST and appears later

²²² It will be remembered that all these techniques were employed also in *Die Festung* (4.3.).

in smaller doses: the time reference placing reader and narrator together in a present looking back at past events. Phrases like “he averred later” (20/8), “as Joan Brett later remarked” (16/5) or “as Ellery Queen was later to appreciate” (17/6) produce this retrospective timeframe, and are normally deleted in the TT. The deletion on the one hand serves to simplify the narrative timeframe, on the other contributes to the loss of the playful sub-text revolving around the “character” of the hero/author and his retrospection from a wiser, older moment (see below).

Various devices, then, tend to simplify the narrative of *Besuch in der Nacht* as compared to *The Greek Coffin Mystery*. This, I wish to argue, is part of a wider strategy that produces a text more conformist to the classic detective novel’s basic conventions. I have mentioned that the characters in the TT become, to a greater extent than in the ST, ciphers honed down to their bare function in the plot, accelerating the pace of the story. Plot, in other words, is accorded a higher priority in the TT than in the ST - perhaps one should say an *even* higher priority, for the conventions of the genre make plot the ruling principle of the detective novel in either case. Within the Anglo-American formal detective novel characterisation is sketchy, working with stereotypical figures to avoid distraction from the ‘real business’ of the puzzle (or so SS Van Dine argued in his “Twenty Rules for Writing Detective Stories” of 1928, reprinted 1946); the translation in this case takes that rule far further than does the ST.

But the treatment of characterisation is not the only aspect of the TT that shows a stricter adherence to the ‘rules’ of the genre. There is also a noticeable sidelining of the love-interest that Van Dine decried (1946:189f), with numerous deletions clustering around the story of secretary Joan Brett and her alcoholic beau, Alan Cheney. Two ST references to the “black negligé” in which Joan went on her spying mission to the library are cut (90/61); so are her “round knees” (86/58), and references to her charm become rather perfunctory (eg “She nodded like a very pretty bird”→0, 33/20). In fact, Joan Brett, the token ‘pretty girl’ - in other words erotic interest - found in the classic detective novel, in general loses status in the translation. She is disproportionately hard-hit by decharacterisation, retaining only in the thinnest form a whole strand of flirtation with all the older male characters (see,

for example, the shift from ST coquettishness to TT comradely duty in her collaboration with Ellery, 245/183), and her relationship with Cheney, though retained as a plot element, is equally downplayed. While the ST could hardly be described as raunchy, the TT takes propriety even further, deleting a potentially risqué account of the body search of the male suspects (30/18), where the phrases “male body”, “irreverent hands”, “loosened clothes”, “hands over his body” are all deleted. When the female suspects return from being searched, their “flushes” and attempts to avoid eye-contact are neutralised to a simple “kamen hinter ihnen her” (31/19).

At least in the matter of love-interest, then, the TT follows Van Dine’s genre recipe implicitly - more implicitly than does the ST. Similarly, the treatment of death, always anodyne in the ‘crime puzzle’, becomes more so in the TT by the weakening of the ST’s few excursions into blood and guts. The terms “rotting flesh” and the “putrescence” of the corpse are deleted in the TT version, as is the eight-line description of the corpse’s face that follows (55f/37f); the nastiness, given a gloss (also deleted) of philosophising on mortality in the ST, is softened and the corpse reduced to a plot element. Similarly, when later the ST elaborates medical detail about how the time of death was fixed, the TT neutralises the physicality of the murder with a short summary. The condensation simultaneously abandons the typical detective devotion to scientific evidence and removes the main characterisation of the two doctors, whose page-long debate is deleted (75/51).

Regarding colour and poeticism, found inappropriately distracting by the stricter proponents of the classic detective novel²²³, it seems at first glance that the TT is much more sober in style, thinning out adverbs and metaphors and reducing melodramatic devices like the ST’s use of italicised emphasis. However, a closer look reveals that it is very specifically in characterisation that the TT becomes more neutral; in other aspects of style, and within the limited characterisation he allows himself, the translator often compensates for a lost piece of slang or a metaphor later in the paragraph, and, in particular, inserted similes are not uncommon. Overall,

²²³ Van Dine says that such “‘atmospheric’ preoccupations” are “irrelevant to the main purpose” (1946:192).

though, the colourful and lively aspects of the ST are certainly reduced in the TT, if only because of the other patterns of deletion I have mentioned.

One of the dramatic devices of the ST, the cliffhanger break within chapters marked by suspension points, is generally removed in the TT, so that events roll right on with no pause at all. On the other hand, however, when it comes to actual chapter breaks the TT inserts drama by ending on a note of suspense, especially by consistent deletion of the rambling philosophical musings that characterise the ST chapter endings. The TT's tighter construction is aided by the use of this more conventional means of suspense.

The world outside the crime and its solution is only minimally present in the ST, and the action takes place almost exclusively inside two houses and the office of Ellery's father, Inspector Queen. The surrounding city is absent, the merest of backdrops, all in line with the formal detective convention of the hermetically sealed arena. However, there is brief mention of the external world, in the form of the reporters who pester the police investigators (40/27 et passim). In the TT these references are systematically removed in long cuts (throughout Chapter 4; later in 227-8/171), extending to the deletion of a facsimile newspaper article that introduces the death of Khalkis before the story starts (14/0). The removal of the characters 'outside the gates' has the effect of intensifying the unity of place just as the simplification of the ST's retrospective narrator intensifies the unity of time.

A final aspect of the TT's more single-minded adherence to genre conventions should now be mentioned. According to Symons (1992), Ellery Queen's work represents a pinnacle of the classic, or 'Golden Age', detective novel of the 1930s - yet in *The Greek Coffin Mystery*, one of the first Queen books, there arguably already exists an element of self-parody, an implicit questioning of the form that had developed over the preceding decades. This is more or less entirely removed in the translation. Strikingly absent from the TT is, for example, almost the entire paratext. The ST contains a foreword by the editor or publisher, "J.J.McC". This delineates the "Ellery Queen" persona and refers not only to a reality of the protagonist outside the text but also to a life of the texts outside the text - in other words, which books were

written in which order and how they relate to one another. In one of the several footnotes (all, like the foreword, deleted in the TT) containing cross-references to the other Queen novels, the editor mentions the future fate of a minor character:

“For the information of Mr Queen’s readers who have met Inspector Queen’s men in previously published novels, it should be related that Detective Flint, as a result of his defection [ie his failure to stop a suspect escaping in this story], was demoted from the detective force, but was later restored to his position because of thwarting a daring robbery; the present case being the earliest so far presented to the public. - J.J.McC.” →0 (132/97).

This and the similar footnotes help produce a series ethos, where the characters outlast their existence in the particular text. It is no surprise that the ST omits such series references, since unlike the Edgar Wallace books published by Goldmann, Queen has no ‘series life’ with Ullstein²²⁴. More interestingly, though, in this footnote a complex timeframe is constructed where the ‘real events’ of the fabula are said to have taken place in a different chronological order from the appearance of the stories - even though the definition “novel” is not in the least avoided, so that the reader is not being asked to believe the events are real. In a playful manipulation of the conventions of realism, the reader is asked to agree that the novel’s events have a chronicity independent of their recording and yet that they are not ‘real’ but fictional. Likewise, should we take “Ellery Queen” to be the creator of a fictional detective writer, or the recorder of an actual detective writer, or simply the recorder of himself? This game is highlighted not only in the paratext but at moments in the text where a quasi-autobiographical note is introduced, as for example where Ellery is deeply embarrassed by having made a false deduction in front of the great Mr Knox:

“Years later, Ellery Queen was to go back in memory to this moment with the sad remark: ‘I date my maturity from Knox’s revelation [ie disproving his deduction]. It changed my entire conception of myself and my faculties’” →0 (153/115).

This comment opens a long passage, all deleted in the TT, of half-veiled ‘autobiography’ of the fictional character who is both author and protagonist. Its

²²⁴ Having said this, Ullstein published more of the Queen novels that appeared in the 1933-1945 period than any other publisher (five, compared with one by the Kulturelle Verlagsgesellschaft in 1934, two by Goldmann in 1935). At least one earlier Queen appeared under the Rot-Blau label, part of the Ullstein house. However, there is no series character comparable to that achieved by the Queen novels in both the US (published by F A Stokes) and Britain (Victor Gollancz).

ambivalence demands a kind of textual sophistication and playfulness from the reader that is strongly played down in the TT - retained only in the identity of name between author and hero.

Another deletion in the TT removes a direct address to the reader by the detective, who in his persona as author issues what he calls his “customary” (again the series reference) “Challenge to the Reader” to solve the puzzle now that all the clues have been presented. The ‘game’ element returns:

“It is a joy - a very real joy to one who is constantly beset by the jeers of paying customers: ‘Is that a puzzle?’ they demand. ‘Heavens, I solved it right off!’ - it is a joy to say to such as these: ‘Now, my masters, you may solve to your heart’s content. You’ll be properly fooled nevertheless!’”→0 (303/218).

The zestful reference to the battle of wits between reader and writer that underpins the classic detective novel depends on an anti-realist acknowledgement of the reader’s participation in the text, as well as the detective-author’s existence outside it. It is, already in the heyday of the genre, a parodic element that jokes explicitly with the detective novel’s conventions. In contrast, the TT plays the genre perfectly straight.

The TT’s more earnest approach is reflected in its treatment of the detective hero, the Ellery Queen persona. In the translation, Ellery remains the intellectual, still smokes and talks at length, is still impressed by the presence of the millionaire and mortified by his initially false deductions. But the impact of all of these elements is reduced by the condensation of so many set-pieces of characterisation. Ellery’s affectation of quoting the classics or dropping the odd French phrase, even a line of Goethe in German (all systematically cut in the TT), and the stress on his youthful, puppy-like enthusiasm all add elements of humour to the ST, among other things by manipulating the convention of the Holmesian Great Detective. The TT Ellery is characterised in less detail, in line with the general strategy in the translation but perhaps with further-reaching consequences: while the ST Ellery *is*, in the end, omniscient in the Great Detective tradition, his weaknesses, immaturity and uncertainties are stressed as well. The ST reference to his “cosmic egotism that is commonly associated with sophomores” (136/101) is deleted in the TT; so is his

“idiotic stare” when baffled by Joan Brett’s testimony and, as noted above, the depth of his despair at having publicly overreached himself (153/115).

In the TT, then, the detective’s fallibility is significantly de-emphasised. Indeed, the TT loses an entire short chapter (Chapter 22) which dwells on the failure of the investigation and Ellery’s philosophising on the impossibility of overcoming “the human margin of frailty” (227/171). Similarly, the TT removes a set of sentences that associate Ellery with Joan Brett’s intuition, when in the opening chapters,

“as Joan Brett later remarked, there was something wrong. Something that may be attributed, we may suspect, to that superior quality of feminine intuition, which medical men are prone to say is sheer nonsense. Nevertheless she described it [...] as ‘a tightness in the air’” (16/5, cf references again to this on each of the next four pages, all cut in the TT).

Notwithstanding the tone of sarcasm about femininity, Ellery does accept Joan’s diagnosis and goes on to prove it correct, aligning himself, in other words, with a female character and a non-scientific means of knowing. In the TT, all these references are deleted²²⁵. In another striking alteration, the ST Ellery is shown still fast asleep at ten in the morning - in the TT the time is changed to nine throughout the paragraph, presumably to avoid the German reader’s wonder at a detective living such a bohemian life (276/201). All these details add to the overall effect of a more remote, more manly, less eccentric detective²²⁶.

When the ST plays with the detective figure, it undermines, among other things and to an only limited extent, the detective genre’s apparent claim to certainty, to the indomitability of reason in the face of disorder. In the translation, issues of epistemological certainty become less ambiguous. An example is the teacups

²²⁵ This alteration seems all the more odd in that one of the chief complaints by Nazi journals against the detective novel is its rationalist basis which ignores the ‘felt knowledge’ supposed to typify the Nordic race (see, eg, *Die Bücherei*, Jul-Aug 1940:211). Here the tendency to masculinise the hero appears to override other aspects of ‘Nordicity’ that could have fitted well into the TL literary ideology.

²²⁶ Although the ‘rules of the game’ demand a rational and admirable detective-hero, obviously other detective figures of the ‘Golden Age’ are at least as eccentric as Ellery Queen (Poirot, Vance). For Alewyn, eccentricity distances the detective, the representative of the reader, from the social circle of the other actors (1971:385), and it is this distance that the Nazi journals deplore in the detective figure, an “aus allen volkstumsmäßigen Bindungen und Beziehungen seiner Sippe gelöste individualistische Einzelgänger” (*Die Weltliteratur*, May-Jun 1941:143). The rest of the article attributes this individualism to the genre’s ‘Anglo-American-Jewish origin’. From this perspective the small alterations to the Ellery character can be seen as an assimilation to the official literary ideology.

exposition, when Ellery attempts (unsuccessfully, as it turns out) to discover from a set of dirty crockery who was in the study at the time of the murder (142ff/106ff). The TT version reduces Ellery's doubtfulness - condensation makes him more decisive and succinct, less rambling and speculative. That is to say, the ST Ellery's assertion of certainty half denies, half admits the element of speculation and unprovability, whereas the TT picks up on just one reading and follows it through (for example by removing the irony that the ST produces by describing Ellery as naively over-confident, callow, etc., on 136ff/101ff; by the deletion of conditional disclaimers such as "If Demmy told the truth", 140/104; or the replacement of "a psychological reason" by "einen vernünftigen Grund", 142/106). This passage also concerns Ellery's construction of a careful and reasonable deduction which is, however, quite incorrect. Without the chance revelation of previously unknown information his mistake could have remained standing - a fact that may cast doubt on the reasoned denouements of detective novels in general. Certainly, the TT does not eliminate this dilemma, but it does tend to minimise it by removing elements that conjure up the spectre of fallibility.

There are recurrent details in the translation that underline this tendency, in particular the repeated deletion of expressions of doubt or hesitation by all characters (eg "She **seemed** sincere enough" → "An ihrer Aufrichtigkeit **war nicht zu zweifeln**", 236/176, and many simple deletions of words like "perhaps" or "it seems"). The ST's emphasis on retrospection in the idea of 'we did not know it at the time but...' (such as 16/5), almost entirely removed in the TT, involves an admission of not-knowing: although the narrator is in the end reassuringly omniscient, it is emphasised that there was a time when knowledge was not available, even to the key knowers of the text. The TT, in contrast, sticks more or less consistently to an assertion of coherence, knowability and natural chronology. The whole issue of narrative simplification dealt with above may, too, probably be regarded as part of the foregrounding of certainty and predictability at the expense of confusion or doubt.

One last aspect of this point relates to a further paratextual deletion, that of the epigraphs which begin the ST's two parts (the TT has only one part, divided into numbered chapters with no titles; the ST's chapters are numbered and named). The

first of these epigraphs, supposedly quoting a Munich professor of criminology, stresses that “[t]here is pattern but no logic in criminality” and the need for the criminologist to “bring order” out of this dangerous chaos (13/0). The second epigraph, from a book on “Modern Science”, asserts that “cold logic” can solve absolutely any puzzle (227/171). These two passages could be seen as allocating chaos (irrationality) and order (logic) to the criminal and the detective respectively, especially as Book One deals with Ellery’s bafflement, Book Two with his triumph. The threat of irrationality is conjured up and an apparatus of scientific logic and knowability then called upon to reassure us, but whether or not it entirely succeeds is a matter for argument. When the TT removes the epigraphs’ oblique comments on the genre and its detective superman, the effect is once again to disguise further those doubts that the ST allows us to glimpse.

The next set of shifts to be examined concerns the translator’s treatment of culturally specific items. Here, *Besuch in der Nacht* does not show one clear or strongly pronounced strategy. The setting in New York is retained, though in a simplified, indoors-only form, and the street names translated, again in a simplified form: “East Fifty-Fourth Street” becomes “die Vierundfünfzigste Straße” (15/5 et passim), and so on. The characters’ names are unaltered in the TT but with German titles (Herr, Fräulein) - this combination is not self-evident, as is made clear by the presence of “Miß Stuart” and her kind in other translations in the series (see 5.4.). Again in contrast to other translations, there is an avoidance of anglicisms, with a distinct lack of any *Lunch* or *Butler* (the latter becomes, clumsily, the “Haushofmeister”, 16/8 et passim).

Many terms difficult to translate into the German setting are lost in the course of the deletions of detail mentioned above, and it may also be condensation that motivates the deletion of some of the ST’s racist elements. Descriptions of the Greek language, for example, are neutral in the TT when compared to the defamatory tone of the ST: “strange sounds” (→“in der fremden Sprache”, 70/48) or “fiery syllables” (→0, 169/129) are “gabbled” (→0, 69/47). The treatment of the black witness, named White (“Weiß”, in an exception to the names strategy apparently prompted by concurrence in the hilarity of the joke), becomes marginally less offensive in the TT

by the fact that his dialogue is presented without the ST's stereotyped language ("Yassuh", "member" for remember, etc., all normalised, 124/89) - the TT uses the dialogue in this passage for its sparse information value whereas in the ST it seems to serve almost entirely as a vignette. The term "this fighting Mick", referring to an unruly Irish witness, is neutralised to "dieser Herr" (180/137) and his implied corrupt connections with the New York mayor's office are deleted (181/138). Perhaps the ST's stereotypical portrayal of the British characters as bumbling and pompous can be added to this set of shifts: references to their Britishness are reduced in the TT and their humorously conspicuous dialect markers deleted (for example Joan Brett's "jolly" and "copper", 86/58). In general, then, the TT neutralises the ethnic stereotypes of the ST to a certain extent, as indeed it tends to neutralise other aspects not directly relevant to plot.

One might have expected xenophobic elements of the ST to be brought out and elaborated in the Nazi-tolerated translation, yet on the contrary, the translator appears to have 'missed an opportunity' to underpin the target system's ideology. While within the larger frame both TT and ST rely on the potentially xenophobic theme of the evil hidden in our midst, it seems that in this particular aspect the ideological potential of the ST has been jettisoned, accorded a lower priority than the textual norm of streamlining described above.

The use of particular slang and dialects by other characters is a part of their characterisation in the ST and is lessened in the TT. German semi-underworld terms are used to compensate for lost slang in some cases but not all, and idiosyncratic styles such as the consistently clipped 'telegramese' of Knox's speech are reproduced only in one or two instances. Of course, as well as flattening out characters, the loss of dialect difference weakens the embeddedness of the text in the source culture and shifts the text towards a more universal, place-less style.

There is, however, one case of cultural items where the translation shifts appear to be less for convenience or to save space than in order to accommodate the text to the TL system. This, neither obvious nor dramatic, is the TT's deployment of a particular image of America in the figure of the millionaire Knox. Knox, while neutrally or

positively portrayed in the ST, becomes in the German text a “Dollarkönig” (167/127) whose disdain for the law, though certainly present in the ST, is strongly highlighted in the TT by an insertion like “Knox rose” [to leave the Inspector’s office]→“**James J Knox erhob sich, um anzudeuten, daß die Zeit der Millionäre kostbar ist**” (172/130). Here, the anti-American trope of the undeservedly powerful parvenu gives a familiar taste to the rhetoric of the new text.

A final group of shifts affects the police characters and their hierarchical relationships. Subtly different choices of adverb and verb accumulate to tint, for example, Inspector Queen’s character as determined and decisive as opposed to the ST’s portrayal of him as shrewd but softhearted. Thus, references to the Inspector’s unimposing physical appearance - “his plump little body” (114/79), for example - are deleted in the TT. The declarative verbs and adverbs or short descriptions often attached to them are altered, for example when “in a sort of desperation” becomes “bärbeißig” (69/47) with its significantly more aggressive connotation, and military metaphors may be inserted or explicated, such as the amplification of “The questions rattled out of his grey-moustached mouth” to “er jagte seine Fragen **wie Maschinengewehrfeuer** gegen die Leute” (97/66).

Additionally, Inspector Queen is given more authority by the translator than by the ST author. In the ST, Inspector Queen calls millionaire Knox “sir”; in the TT the less deferential “Herr Knox” (49/34). The TT makes the relationship between the policemen more hierarchical, with a “respektvollem Gespräch” replacing a “guarded conversation” (105/71) between Sergeant and Inspector, and an assistant’s implicit decision to do his duty becoming the explicit “unterwarf sich der Entscheidung seines Vorgesetzten” (88/60). Somewhat ominously, “We can’t hold on to him” [due to lack of evidence] becomes “Wir können ihn nicht zum Reden zwingen” (176/133); yet conversely the Inspector’s bluff fairness is claimed in the TT by means of insertions. One witness, it is implied, is a bootlegger, but the TT Inspector reassures him: 0→“Bringe ungern ehrliche Männer in Verlegenheit...” (119/83); later in the same conversation comes another insertion, 0→“‘Hm...’, brummte der Inspektor gutmütig” (119/84). It is so unusual for the translator actually to insert anything into this text, as opposed to replacing or compensating for items, that the two minor additions merit

attention. They partly add humour to the exchange, partly make more transparent to the TL reader the implicit reference to Prohibition. But aside from that the insertions work with the other strokes of characterisation to produce a major police character who is strict, even domineering, exerts his authority, and yet is sympathetically fair to the little man - not, then, a monster but a Good Policeman²²⁷. Since the ST's often wavering and flummoxed Inspector is essential to the Queens' father-son dynamic, this added aspect is a real departure from the ST and may be taken as one prompted by the TT's ideological context in priority over other aspects.

Naturally the motivation behind a translator's choices can only be speculated upon. However, in these latter cases, we see particular aspects of the SL culture adapted in a way that allows the TT a better ideological 'fit' within the new context, and these have perhaps been made with an eye to the demands of the regime. Other cultural references are simplified and made more abstract in a move that is, it could be argued, part of the paring down of the ST to its bare genre bones. This achieves a universalisation of the text which may make it more suitable for importation into the domestic genre system, in this case with an eye to the demands of the market.

To recap, the target text streamlines the novel in a variety of ways: by simplifying narrative structure and point of view, explicating motivations and events, removing redundancy. It tends to reduce the text to its bare generic bones by stressing the core genre elements - the crime-puzzle and the Great Detective - and de-emphasising the peripheral ones of abundant minor characters, the detective's eccentricity, love interest. It removes the playful or knowing, reflexive element and de-emphasises uncertainty. It retains some culturally specific items to the extent of creating a somewhat sketchy American setting and elaborates on some for ideological purposes, but mainly accords cultural references a lower priority than the textual aspects just mentioned. Finally, aspects of the ST that could be read as political, here the

²²⁷ Likewise, a Good Police Surgeon, Dr Prouty, is fashioned out of a surly and heartless original by removing his physically unmilitary appearance (eg "slouched into the room"→0, 214/166) and his facetiousness in the face of death ("cheerfully" and "chewing away on his cigar" both deleted, *ibid*).

portrayal of the police, are manipulated. The resulting text conforms overall more closely to the simplest detective novel form than does *The Greek Coffin Mystery*. To return to the questions posed in 5.1., this may suggest that the 'pure' detective genre, with its theme of the dangerous alien finally removed from the body politic by a superhuman hero, is one highly consonant with Nazi ideology. On the other hand, the pared-down translation may fit more easily into a genre system not yet as well-established, not yet as ready for internal deconstruction as the source system. Potential dissonance with the emerging domestic production, closely modelled on earlier imports in the 1920s, is reduced and a more universalised, transportable version produced.

Self-evidently, the transformation from ST to TT is too complex to describe exhaustively in a corpus this large (see the discussion in 4.2.). However, in the remaining nine ST/TT pairs many of the tendencies found in this first comparison recur, albeit with very varied treatment. For the sake of coherence, then, in 5.4. the data from the corpus as a whole have been organised around the key themes identified for *Besuch in der Nacht*. This will also allow more detailed conclusions to be drawn on each group of shifts. For the sake of brevity only a few, representative examples will be given for each point made.

5.4. Patterns in the remaining comparisons

Of the ten translations in the corpus, seven are within three thousand words of the average length, 63,000 words²²⁸. The source texts cover a wider range in terms of length, from 67,000 to 115,000 words. There are four TTs that reach close to their STs' length (KS²²⁹: 88%, SC: 91%, MM: 93%, LT: 93%²³⁰); three are less than two-

²²⁸ The range is from 53,000 to 77,000 words.

²²⁹ The following abbreviations will be used in references:

BN = *Besuch in der Nacht* (*The Greek Coffin Mystery*)

DS = *Die Dame mit dem Schleier* (*Halfway House*)

GH = *Das goldene Hufeisen* (*The Four of Hearts*)

HP = *Hilf mir, Peter!* (*Mystery in Kensington Gore*)

KS = *Keine Spur!* (*Miss Pinkerton*)

LT = *Besuch am letzten Tag* (*The Door Between*)

MM = *Der Mann mit der Mütze* (*Who is the Next?*)

SC = *Nacht auf Schloß Cleys* (*Death on Tiptoe*)

SF = *Spiel mit dem Feuer* (*Panic Party*)

ZS = *Der zweite Schuß* (*The Second Shot*)

thirds of their ST (BN: 55%, SF: 59%, DS: 60%); and the average proportion is 77%. The reductions are achieved by shaving off detail, in some cases wholesale condensation. Almost never do cuts affect action: they tend rather to remove characterisation, dialogue, redundant detection and other aspects which will be detailed below.

It is clear that the series does not impose a binding length or one single approach to the amount of condensation to be undertaken. Neither is there one rule on the translation of chapter breaks and titles: in some texts (*Besuch in der Nacht*, *Spiel mit dem Feuer*) chapters are joined, but in most they are unchanged; chapter titles may be replaced by numbers alone (*Die Dame mit dem Schleier*) or reproduced, in which case they may be translated more (*Nacht auf Schloß Cleys*) or less (*Der Mann mit der Mütze*) closely. The remaining texts use number-only chapters in ST and TT alike. More consistent is the removal of paratextual material: the forewords provided by four STs are lost, as are maps or plans (reproduced only in *Besuch in der Nacht*) and the facsimile newspaper report opening *The Greek Coffin Mystery*. The target series thus presents the bare novel in its plainest form. This tendency is in most cases underpinned by the detail of translation choices throughout the texts, as will now be discussed, grouping the findings according to the patterns found in the analysis of *Besuch in der Nacht*.

Streamlining shifts

Simplification of sentences

No detailed and systematic analysis of ST and TT syntax has been undertaken here, but some shifts are eye-catching and regularly applied. For example, all the TTs tend to split ST sentences into shorter units, and paragraphs too are normally sub-divided in the TT, contributing to a faster-moving, more easily accessible style.

Apart from splitting sentences, the TTs also tend to rearrange the sentence elements in a simpler, more chronological order, particularly replacing 'y followed x' con-

All page references are to first the ST, then the TT.

²³⁰ LT is the longest translation at 77,000 words, the series standard of 240 pages necessitating an extremely cramped layout. It seems surprising that the constraints of the target series allowed such a long TT, particularly since the same translator reduced other texts to 55% and 60% of their source length. Evidently the percentages are not simply determined by a ST's inconvenient length.

structions with ‘x happened, then y happened’ (see 5.3.). In a text like *Das goldene Hufeisen*, which rearranges sentences throughout, this may even involve inserting an action to reconstruct chronological order: “Bonnie straightened up **with** two enormous thermos bottles from the hamper”→“Bonnie **bückte sich und holte** zwei riesige Thermosflaschen aus dem Weidenkorb” (GH 61/63). In another TT the chapter openings follow a similar pattern on a larger scale, replacing the ST’s dialogue plus retrospective account of events with a plain, chronological narrative paragraph (SF 61/53 et passim), and in fact retrospectivity is avoided in general as part of the tendency to de-emphasise the limitations of the focalisor’s viewpoint (see below). Such rearrangements constitute a ‘streamlining’ shift by making the flow of events more transparent, pulling the reader along and smoothing out syntactical obstacles.

Explicitation

The similarity between the translation of *The Fortress* and this corpus can be seen in the strategy of explicitation that runs through all the TTs examined, here primarily by inserting interpretations to what is left implicit in the ST. For example, all the TTs add interpreting modifiers to declarative verbs (eg “asked De Jong”→“fragte De Jong **mißtrauisch**”, DS 32/37) or to actions (“he flushed”→“er wurde **vor Wut** rot”, LT 171/139). They tend to replace pronouns by names where any confusion would be possible, and in some cases to insert declarative verb phrases into dialogue where the ST left attribution to the reader (0→“sagte Camilla”, MM 61/44). Explicatory conjunctions (“aber”, “deshalb”) are sometimes inserted, as in *Die Festung* though less consistently. More elaborate are the insertions where characters’ actions are explained (eg “finally she began to cry”→“**da jedoch die Kommissionsmitglieder ihr nicht glauben wollten**, begann sie schließlich zu weinen”, MM 116/88) or a ST allusion expanded into full form (such as ““they would leap to **the obvious** conclusions””→““wird sie sofort glauben, **ich sei eifersüchtig gewesen**””, ZS 89/117).

In general, the use of a range of explicatory shifts means the TT does not require its readers to ponder implications, substituting a pre-interpreted set of events for the more open, diversely interpretable ST version. Amongst other things this increases the cohesion and pace of the texts. It should be noted that not all TTs in the corpus make equally strong use of this technique - the three Illing translations explicitate

particularly heavily - but in all it is perhaps the most regular of all the shifts examined, and none of the TTs entirely avoids it.

Simplification of perspective

This too occurs in all TTs, though to varying degrees. Most striking is the replacement of dialogue by narration of events or at most indirect speech, particularly in the highly-condensed shorter TTs. The effect is to unify the narration so that fewer different versions or commentaries are heard.

Less obviously, the idiosyncrasy of the focalisor's perspective may be played down, as in "Ellery heard" → "man hörte" (DS 239/205) or the deletion of limiting phrases such as "I suppose", "it looked to me as if" (especially in *Keine Spur!*). Phrases emphasising the unreliability of memory tend to be deleted, especially in the first-person narratives (*Der zweite Schuß*, *Hilf mir*, *Peter!*, *Keine Spur!*); thus *Hilf mir*, *Peter!*'s frequent comments like "All I do remember, looking back now, is" are normally removed or reduced (here, → "Ich glaube", 142/140). Allied to these shifts is the toning down wherever they occur of devices that set up a confidential relationship between narrator and reader, most noticeably in the cosy atmosphere created in *Keine Spur!* between the reader and the first-person narrator, detective nurse Hilda Adams. Here the TT, while reproducing the basic form of narration, shaves away the narrator's characteristic interjections: "I don't mind telling you" → "sagte ich **mir selbst**" (KS 126/56) is a shift from a feminine fireside chat towards the account of a solitary mind, backed up by the deletion of all the many instances of the narrator nurse's "Well," and the normalisation of her language (eg "my brain felt like a **cheese soufflé**" → "Es war mir, als ob mein Gehirn **zerspringen wollte**", KS 172/135). In *Nacht auf Schloß Cleys*, too, the translation consistently deletes arch narratorial comments such as "Alas!" (SC 32/24) or "let it now be added" (SC 80/61), and the culturally specific bond of understanding with the reader may also be removed by explicitation: on Sir Harry's birthday "everyone jumped up to pat him on the back and **make appropriate noises**" → "alle aufsprangen, um ihm die Hand zu schütteln und **ihm zu gratulieren**" (SC 57/44).

Another shift affecting narrative perspective is the reduction of free indirect discourse, privileging the main narrator's voice and producing a more monologic text. In *Nacht auf Schloß Cleys* the private perspective of the silly governess is deleted, losing some of the ST's ironic humour in the process ("She thrilled deliciously. She was actually having a *tete-à-tete* conversation with her hero. If only he might not think her too young and unsophisticated!" → 0, SC 41/31). In *Der Mann mit der Mütze* the assimilation of the secretary's inner commentary not only re-establishes the focus on the narrator but also helps de-ironise the male protagonist: "**The boss** was always **groaning and growling** about his guardianship of this young woman as one of the principal thorns of his existence and pretended to consider her a pest. But he was nuts about her, really. **Weren't men the limit!**" → "Prentice hatte seine Vormundschaft über dieses junge Mädchen stets als eine der größten Verdrußquellen seines Daseins bezeichnet. Aber in Wirklichkeit war er in Camilla vernarrt" (MM 12/5). The conversion into plain narrative may also serve to reduce uncertainty or doubt. Here the detective hero observes his suspect: "rather - **though it seemed far-fetched - it was as though** he deliberately avoided the girl's eyes" → "sondern den Blicken des Mädchens auswich" (SC 159/123).

As regards point of view, then, the TTs tend to unify the narrative into a more singular and external narrative voice, whether by reducing references to the limitations of the focalisor's knowledge or by assimilating the direct or indirect speech of other characters into the surrounding narrative voice. Again, the reader's access to knowledge becomes simpler, more unproblematic.

Removal of redundant detection

I have said that the various shortening strategies of the TTs do not normally affect action, which is left untouched as the heart of the new text. Detection is surely part of this action, comprising the TTs' *raison d'être* if anything more than their sources'; however, here the tendency to streamline takes priority, attacking redundancy in this area as much as anywhere else. The TTs regularly cut or condense segments where the STs recapitulate the evidence so far (eg the puzzled debates between the detective and his helper in SF passim), discuss forensic evidence in excessive detail (eg the technicalities of fingerprinting in DS 152/142) or explore 'detection cul-de-sacs', that

is, possibilities that turn out to be unfounded or irrelevant (eg the fruitless search scenes in KS 173f/136 et passim).

These deletions are consistent throughout the corpus, although some TTs take a stricter line than others, depending on the degree to which they condense and of course the amount of redundancy offered by the ST (the Queen STs revel in elaborate, repetitive detection; other texts are laconic by comparison). Allied to such cuts is a tendency to tighten up the detectives' closing expositions: the TTs normally remove other characters' interjections, thus producing a one-track version of the STs' more multiple-perspective denouement. As well as speeding up pace by focusing on action alone, the removal of redundant detection affects the characterisation of the detectives and in some cases (especially *Spiel mit dem Feuer*, *Die Dame mit dem Schleier*) of their female helpers (see 'The Great Detective' below).

The genre skeleton

This section will examine aspects of the TTs which tend to move the texts nearer to the core characteristics of the classic detective genre (as described, for example, by Nusser 1992 or - contemporaneously with the STs - by Van Dine in 1928). The streamlining shifts just described, by removing sideshoots and ambiguity, tend to produce more formulaic texts and thus support the aspects to be dealt with now.

Characterisation

The detective puzzle uses characterisation to construct a set of plot 'counters' rather than as a means of psychological realism, and it will be seen that this feature is one picked up and intensified in the present translations. The analysis of *Besuch in der Nacht* showed the reduction of peripheral characters, and it is this, along with a tendency to disambiguate more central characters, which will now be discussed. Separate attention will be given in subsequent sections to the characterisation of the policemen and the detective.

All ten TTs shave detail from minor characters, though some STs offer very little detail in the first place (especially *Hilf mir, Peter!*, where no real change is made). The complete loss of a character is found only in *Besuch in der Nacht* - otherwise

characters are all retained but in a somewhat reduced form. The reduction may be achieved by trimming down modifiers (“disappointed **and** **resentful**”→“enttäuscht”, SC 60/46), idiosyncrasies (eg the lollipop constantly in the mouth of the shady businessman, deleted in GH ch 12), actions (the tough guy chucking his middle-aged landlady under the chin, LT 213/173) or evaluative comments (the comparison of the heroine with a “jellyfish”, LT 57/45).

Secondly, the strategy of condensation automatically de-emphasises characterisation because it affects chiefly the sections of dialogue which serve to mediate not plot but character detail. This is particularly striking in *Die Dame mit dem Schleier* and *Spiel mit dem Feuer*, where lengthy stretches of dialogue are replaced by short third-person summaries, losing the STs’ focus on the speaking individuals. *Spiel mit dem Feuer* also frequently transforms shorter dialogue sequences, with their characterising colour, to plain narration, for example in the campfire exchange between snobbish Miss St Thomas and her admirer: “‘It’s a crashing bore,’ as she had remarked, ‘to think of those dim cads knocking us for six like that, but I suppose it’s no use getting strenuous about it, is it, Reggie?’ ‘Oke, angelface,’ Captain Twyford had agreed”→[narrator reports that everyone was pulling their weight at the campsite] (69/61). Here, the ST’s enjoyment of stereotypical character elaboration and humorous detail falls by the wayside; plot stands alone.

Most of the TTs normalise to a greater or lesser extent the colourful speech styles that help the STs flesh out their characters. English debutante Rene’s hoydenish manner, for example, fades when her use of American slang is neutralised: “‘Spill it!’” →“‘Erzählen Sie!’” (SC 58/45); narrator Cyril Pinkerton becomes less prissy by the loss of his pretentious way with words: “the scientific slaughter of wild creatures” →“der Jagd” (ZS 16/23). Although some characters are less strongly affected by normalisation (particularly the police characters in *Das goldene Hufeisen* and the stockbroker in *Spiel mit dem Feuer*), it is only in *Hilf mir, Peter!* that a slangy style is reproduced in full, even intensified, and this is part of a general shift in the hero’s character that will be discussed separately.

The source genre employs characterisation not in the realist tradition but to build the puzzle from easily-recognisable set types labelled by their stereotypical speech. For the translations, the problem arises that these familiar ‘types’ are highly culturally specific - the impoverished vicar’s daughter in *Death on Tiptoe*, for example, or the retired major in *Panic Party*²³¹. In the TTs the specificity of such figures is reduced by the general slimming-down already mentioned, but they are not domesticated to any degree by substituting TL types. In other words, the character-‘counters’, though more universal and placeless than their ST versions, remain basically Anglo-American²³².

The loss of social and local character colour by normalising dialogue results in increased concentration on the pure plot, the removal of ‘noise’; however, there appears to be a further regularity in the TTs’ characterisation strategies. The translated figures tend to be simplified into one or the other of their facets, with ambiguities reduced. This is especially noticeable for the most central roles, with hero and heroine usually made more unambiguously positive, villain and victim more unambiguously negative²³³. Relatively rare are large-scale insertions, which pick up one, entirely implicit, possible reading and present it monolithically. They are to be found especially in *Spiel mit dem Feuer*, where, for example, an inserted assessment enables the reader to reach a fast, clear-cut judgement of the character: “Mr Bray approached Roger”→“Als Bray an Roger herantrat, konnte er nicht umhin, eine heftige Gereiztheit gegen den Mann zu empfinden. Wie er sich selbst eingestand, war das völlig ungerecht, aber eigentlich war es dauernd Bray, der direkt oder indirekt böse Situationen heraufbeschwor” (SF 250/174). The same TT interprets the detective’s friend Crystal for the reader: 0→“diesem prächtigen, unverlogenen und tapferen Menschenkind” (SF 166/122)²³⁴.

²³¹ Indeed, the host of the *Panic Party* explicitly claims he has selected the unfortunate guests to represent social “types” (SF 34/34), and the entire text draws, tongue in cheek, on the typecast nature of its characters.

²³² The two main exceptions to this are the hero-narrator of HP, who becomes a rather recognisably German semi-underworld ne’er-do-well although his English name and setting are retained, and the Cockney stockbroker in SF, who becomes an undereducated social climber - general ungrammaticality replacing dialect as the marker of inferiority. See also ‘The foreign setting’.

²³³ In general victims are painted negatively in the classic detective novel, if only to buttress the trivialisation of murder so essential to the puzzle genre. GH is the only text of the ten not to comply with this.

²³⁴ SF is unusual in its heavy use of often lengthy insertions, some but not all of which - the new, summarising sentences - are necessitated by condensation techniques.

A less dramatic shift also favours easy interpretation of character by removing irony. For example, the villain of *Das goldene Hufeisen*, screenwriter Lew Bascom, is introduced by another character as follows: “Unstable, one of Nature’s screwiest noblemen, brilliant picture mind, absolutely undependable, gambler, chippy-chaser, dipsomaniac - a swell guy”→“Haltlos **ja**, unzuverlässig, ein Spieler und Trinker - **aber** wie gesagt, ein Bursche mit tollen Einfällen” (GH 17/17). The trimming of contradictory details and the explicatory use of “ja” and “aber” smooths out the complexity of the description, giving us a more singular focus from which to judge the character²³⁵.

Of these disambiguating shifts, the most consistent are those affecting the masculinity of the heroes (especially the detective heroes, see below) and the femininity of the heroines. In the latter case we see a range of modifications that remove potentially unfeminine elements (eg the governess “cried **noisily, as much from anger as from despair**”→“weinte **leise** vor sich hin”, SC 246/187; the black eyes, thick eyebrows and large hands of heroine Lucy are all deleted in *Die Dame mit dem Schleier*, creating a more classically waif-like figure) or insert feminine ones (“**said** Frances”→“**stammelte** Frances”, HP 99/103: this character is consistently made weaker in the TT, see below). In particular, the emphasis on helplessness is important - as we see from the frequent insertion of terms like “hilfesuchend” to describe women characters’ actions (eg DS 212/190) - and it is a consistent pattern that female initiative or agency is reduced in the TTs. Thus, in *Die Dame mit dem Schleier* journalist Ella Amity, Ellery’s fast-thinking detective sidekick in the ST, is almost entirely eliminated. Among many cuts to her contributions as an equal thinking partner, a passage explaining how Ella’s clever choice of the term ‘Halfway House’ provided Ellery with the key to his solution is recast: in the TT Ellery recounts how *he* thought of the vital term (DS 111/125). In *Keine Spur!* the narrator-detective is a woman, but her agency is subtly demoted, for example by the insertion at the story’s opening of a phrase attributing the subsequent detection to her boss, the Inspector: 0→“nachdem **er** den Fall Mitchell so glänzend zu Ende geführt hatte” (KS 102/13).

²³⁵ The removal of the reference to womanising, on the other hand, seems to be motivated by a more general strategy in GH to gloss over impropriety - it affects all the male characters equally.

The alterations to the female characters, especially taken together with the treatment of the detective heroes described below, show a tendency to intensify further the STs' already heavy use of gender stereotyping. At the same time, the TTs' characterisation disambiguates in general, to produce a world of clearer certainties. These two norms can sometimes clash, for example in the case of Karen Leith, the victim but also villain of *Besuch am letzten Tag*. The TT makes her sweeter, more feminine (eg by inserting softness, "said Karen"→"sagte Karen **sanft verweisend**", LT 14/11, or deleting condemnations, "a twisted being"→0, 272/224) - but this has the result of throwing into doubt the moral justification for her murder later given by the text, namely that she is a "monster who didn't deserve to live" (283/233)²³⁶. In this case we see how an attempt to streamline characters can backfire, one set of shifts undermining the thrust of another set. Overall, however, the ten translations do present a world of simpler characters, thus significantly reducing possible distractions from the core of action.

Love interest

A strand of love interest runs through all the texts in the corpus, as well as all twenty available non-translations, typically between a young woman falsely accused of the crime and the hero who rescues her. In some cases the love story is between more marginal characters, but it is never absent - this despite Van Dine's stern comments: "There must be no love interest. The business in hand is to bring a criminal to the bar of justice, not to bring a lovelorn couple to the hymeneal altar" (Van Dine 1946:189f). The TTs, faithful as they are to plot, always retain the love element, and indeed eight of them close with a betrothal or impending marriage, one with an inconclusive proposal of marriage (*Keine Spur!*) and just one with the news of a loveless match (*Spiel mit dem Feuer*). However, the actual treatment of these love stories in the TTs, though varied, as a whole presents a noticeably different pattern from the sources.

There are two TTs which reproduce their sources' love-stories in full, *Hilf mir, Peter!* and *Der Mann mit der Mütze*. The latter's slightly bumbling lawyer hero and brave aviator heroine are retained almost exactly and there are no significant cuts to their

²³⁶ See also section on 'Uncertainty' below.

love scenes. In *Hilf mir, Peter!*, the love story is at the centre of what is anyway a novel more of police chase than of detection. The heroine Frances is framed for a murder and her escape from the scene aided by the narrator, tough guy Peter Craven; the remainder of the novel concerns their flight, romance and Frances' eventual vindication. Here, the relationship of the two protagonists is not marginalised, but it is altered, in such a way as to bolster the masculinity of the hero and remove elements of the ST that question the classic male-female dynamic. I will examine these shifts in some detail to bring out the close link between the theme of love-interest and that of femininity as discussed under 'Characterisation'.

In *Hilf mir, Peter!* consistent shifts make the heroine weaker and more needful of help, through insertions such as 0→"sie knickte zusammen" (HP 154/150) or 0→"Jetzt lag ihr Kopf tatsächlich an meiner Brust" (26/28); inserted comparisons with a child (eg 61/66) and specifically with a little girl (her hair is tousled "like a **boy's**"→"wie bei einem **kleinen Mädchen**", 165/158); avoidance of references to her strength, eg "stern and mature"→"ernst und sehr vornehm" (69/75) and many more. Indeed the very choice of title, *Mystery in Kensington Gore*→*Hilf mir, Peter!*, contributes to the loss of the usual 'death/mystery' theme and the construction of a more romantic, helpless heroine. Furthermore, the relationship is altered, for example by the consistent removal of Frances' speaking to Peter (eg 101/104, 151/147; instead, he speaks to her) and deletions affecting the ST's portrayal of Peter as more object than subject of the romance (eg her "peculiar effect" on him→0, 63/67). When the ST Frances is at the centre of vision, the TT edges her out: in the scene with the police chief where she is the exclusive focus of attention, the Inspector's eyes "had never left **hers**"→"wanderte zwischen **uns** hin und her"; "Allwright wasn't, as I'd expected, looking at me" [but at Frances]→0 (and deletion of long exchange between Frances and the Inspector, 182f/170). These examples may suffice to illustrate the TT's tendency to make the victim-heroine less an agent herself, more a foil for the heroic narrator; the love theme accordingly changes in colour though by no means in prominence.

However, *Hilf mir, Peter!* and *Der Mann mit der Mütze* are not typical in retaining the full strength of the love interest. The other texts to a greater or lesser degree play

it down - most notably, any elements of it that could be deemed improper. Thus, references to silk underwear and stockings are cut out almost entirely consistently throughout the corpus (such as the deletion of Andrea's brassière, "very pink and lacy", DS 223/197, and all the references to girdles and g-strings in GH)²³⁷. Decency is always preserved (eg by trimming down references to flirtation, discussed for *Besuch in der Nacht*). In *Die Dame mit dem Schleier* this involves quite a complicated set of shifts. When Andrea comes to breakfast at the Queens', her new sweetheart, Bill, and Ellery are in their pyjamas. Thus they remain in the ST, while the TT has Bill rush out of the room to get dressed before commencing the strategy meeting *à trois* (DS 243/206), as well as removing the banter about Bill's snores and the "weird" taste in pyjamas which Ellery attributes to his "libido sneaking out" (DS 244/206). In this scene, for good measure, Ellery's father's presence as a chaperon is inserted by the TT. Thus the potentially indecent aspects of modern manners, employed to playful effect in this and other STs, are shorn away in the TTs to leave a purer romance.

This is the pattern to be found in most TTs where love plays a central role. In one, it is taken to extremes. The narrator-hero of *Der zweite Schuß*, fussy bachelor Cyril Pinkerton, reluctantly falls in love with modern miss Armored, falsely suspected of her step-brother's murder. In a TT which does not employ severe condensation, the merciless cutting of love scenes is conspicuous. In particular, the gradual change in Pinkerton's attitude to Armored from disgust to interest is so badly hit by long deletions that the TT reader, unprepared, must be quite taken aback by their sudden elopement. The TT seems especially unwilling to reproduce delicate elements like Pinkerton's horrified fascination with Armored's untidy bedroom ("My embarrassment was increased by the fact that if I wished to preserve the decencies thus, there was hardly any place in the room on which I could rest my eyes" → paragraph deleted, ZS 104/137) or a set of incidents where Pinkerton is caught being kissed (162/204; necessitating a rewrite of the whole subsequent scene). The reduction of the love story to its bare bones may, certainly, be seen as part of the general thinning of character and streamlining of redundant detail; at the same time, though, it is implemented so strictly here that we must suspect additional motivations. One of these, I

²³⁷ The single exception is the "pink silk undershirt" retained in MM 242/186.

would argue, is the effect of reducing the male protagonist's vulnerability, his weakness in the face of sex.

It is, at least, this aspect which seems to drive another TT where severe cuts affect the love interest. In *Das goldene Hufeisen* the besotted one is the detective hero, Ellery Queen, in love with reclusive, intelligent Hollywood gossip columnist Paula Paris. This relationship presents a difficulty for the TT's depiction of the Great Detective figure. On the one hand, the TT enters into the strong romance element with some gusto, although Ellery's few references to possible marriage are deleted (eg GH 183/186) allowing stricter adherence to the classic 'rule' that the detective must not be married. Love as a point of vulnerability for the detective hero is retained in the TT, but in a much paler form - shifts cluster around the romance to give Ellery a more heroic position, whether by de-emphasising his lack of sexual experience ("and **clumsily** kissed her" → "und küßte sie", 234/235), reducing Paula's sarcasm and Ellery's helplessness (long cuts on 178ff/182ff²³⁸) or removing irony (eg from the playful wondering "whether to go to her and **act terribly** sympathetic and powerful" to the straightforward "zu ihr gehen und liebevoll und männlich den Arm um sie legen", 114/118). The result is a less sarcastic heroine and a more masterful hero, whose role as lover does not compromise his manly superiority.

In all it appears that while the TTs reproduce love interest in the format of the fainting heroine clinging to her hero, any more explicitly erotic references are quite consistently removed. This suggests that the shift might be attributed not only to the stricter upkeep of the genre norm (as in the case of characterisation) but also to ideological considerations of 'decency'.

²³⁸ For example, the following passage is deleted: "She gazed at him, her beautiful eyes mocking. 'How true to type,' she murmured. 'Such magnificent sarcasm, arising from such magnificent egoism. The great man himself condescending to listen to a mere layman. And a woman, at that. Oh, Ellery, sometimes I think you're either the smartest man in the world or the dumbest!' Ellery's cheeks took on a strong reddish cast. 'That's not fair,' he said angrily" (GH 180/184). It will be noticed that the ST segment helps construct an adversarial relationship between man and woman; the confused hero emerges red-faced and somewhat battered from the introduction of a female perspective into his world of detection. All these aspects are avoided in the TT version of the scene by means of long dialogue cuts.

The Great Detective

The comments on love interest above have shown that the figure of the ‘Great Detective’ in the corpus is one noticeably affected in translation. While one text (*Keine Spur!*) features a somewhat unheroic female detective, Nurse Hilda Adams, who receives little alteration in the TT²³⁹, in the other nine the detective hero becomes more manly, more omniscient and less vulnerable.

Reference was made in 5.3. to the Ellery Queen figure, who in all the Queen TTs (*Besuch in der Nacht*, *Die Dame mit dem Schleier*, *Das goldene Hufeisen*, *Besuch am letzten Tag*) loses much of his camp intellectualism and gains in masculine decisiveness. His characteristic classical allusions are always removed and his playful, not to say pretentious, speech normalised. One example will illustrate both types of shift, in a comment on Andrea’s lost engagement ring: “‘But is it the latest mode for the wealthy young bride-to-be to eschew the symbol of plighted troth? Syrus said that God looks at pure, not full, hands; but I didn’t know our upper classes had taken up the classics’”→“‘Neuerdings scheint es Mode zu sein, daß die jungen Bräute keine Verlobungsringe tragen. Oder sollte ich mich da irren?’” (DS 81/91). In all four texts terms suggesting weakness, cowardice or bafflement are replaced or cut (eg “‘**Mind** if I **trail** along?’”→“‘Ich komme mit’”, LT 47/37; “‘in a **helpless**, angry mood’”→“er ärgerte sich”, LT 219/178; “‘he made a **gibbering** noise’”→“seufzte er”, GH 11/10; “‘puzzlement’”→0, DS 38/44).

In particular, Ellery’s characteristic lack of machismo is downplayed wherever it occurs²⁴⁰ (eg in the dialogue with Inspector Glücke, “‘You see how much I love you, darling?’”→“‘Sie sind so nett, Glücke’”, GH 171/176), and any aspersions cast on his manliness removed, such as in the following scene with Andrea: “‘Her black low-cut evening gown with its daring lines might have caused another young man to stare with admiration; but Ellery was what he was, and he chose to study her eyes instead’”→0 (DS 101/113). The TT here does not ask the reader to wonder ‘what Ellery was’ but presents a detective who is young but righteous, manly and in control. This

²³⁹ The few changes affect her relationship with the Inspector, mainly reducing her agency in the plot, see above. Likewise, the Inspector’s admiring appraisals of Miss Adams’ capacities are often deleted (eg 222/217), helping make the male figure rather than the detective heroine the locus of knowledge.

²⁴⁰ Of course, the translation automatically obscures his ‘speaking’ surname.

sometimes affects other aspects of the text. In the following exchange, the ST sets up a dichotomy between masculinity/the professional (Inspector De Jong) and intellectualism/the amateur (Queen) which is significantly weakened by the neutralisation of the Ellery figure: “‘Since I’ve never had the pleasure of watching you at work, De Jong,’ murmured Ellery, ‘I’m scarcely in a position to gauge the extent or accuracy of your observations. But there are certain *minutiae* of at least hypothetical interest.’ ‘You don’t say?’ De Jong was amused”→“‘Ich bezweifle Ihre Fähigkeit, Schriften zu identifizieren, durchaus nicht,’ entgegnete Ellery” (DS 32/37).

The treatment of Ellery Queen - which, incidentally, is unbroken between the two translators involved - typifies the general trend of the corpus. Two somewhat nondescript detectives, lawyers Lionel West (*Nacht auf Schloß Cleys*) and Pete Murray (*Der Mann mit der Mütze*), are subject to similar though less striking shifts²⁴¹; Roger Sheringham, Anthony Berkeley’s series detective, presents a case basically similar but with some specific accents, and will be looked at in more detail now.

In *Spiel mit dem Feuer*, detective-story writer Sheringham is one of a party invited to a cruise by the wealthy eccentric Guy Pidgeon. Pidgeon has his guests stranded on a desert island as an experiment in the clash of social ‘types’; inevitably catastrophe strikes, Pidgeon is murdered and Sheringham has to lead the investigation on the island, aided by his friend Crystal Vane and the commonsensical novelist Stella Crosspatrick. In the TT the potentially unsympathetic side of Sheringham’s character is veiled, for example by deleting another character’s evaluation of him as “‘the most bouncing bounder I’ve ever met’” (SF 176/127). As in the case of Queen, the detective’s weakness is downplayed in the TT, and his interaction with and dependence on the two female co-detectives Crystal and Stella is reduced by deleting his acceptance of their authority (eg “Sheringham could not withhold his admiration” for Stella’s perspicacity→0, 132/108) or even removing them from the scene entirely (eg Sheringham’s conversation with Crystal becomes a soliloquy, 123/103). The hero’s manly self-sufficiency is thus reasserted. More than in the Queen texts, Sheringham is made

²⁴¹ Lionel West is shorn of references to his “failure” (SC 225/195), unprepossessing appearance (“ferret”, 138/107), eccentricity (“‘mad as a bat’”, 242/181) and penchant for philosophical ramblings (200/152 et passim). Pete Murray remains almost unchanged in this very close translation, and comes through as the only hero in the corpus to be barely more manly or in control than his ST counterpart.

not just less effete but positively dictatorial: the TT constructs a bully by insertions such as 0→“Mit einem groben Kommando jagte er alle in ihre Zelte zurück. Er mußte selbst den Kopf schütteln, als er sah, wie folgsam sie davonschlichen” (232/160), or the switch “said Roger sharply”→“Roger **schüttelte** sie grob” (245/171).

The TT’s severe condensation²⁴² affects primarily Sheringham’s lengthy and entirely fruitless interrogations of the suspects. Many pages at a time of such dialogues are summarised by short paragraphs of narration. Apart from increasing pace and decreasing characterisation, this also de-emphasises the detective’s helplessness and his failure to achieve knowledge - a more extreme version of the cuts made in the Queen translations. Additionally, Sheringham is made a less ambiguous figure as part of the TT’s tendency to extract moral aspects from what in the ST is evidently a game: his laughter and concurrence in the beauty of Pidgeon’s cruel psychological experiment are cut down (91f/78), his final comment on whether the murderer should confess to the police altered entirely from a brief and pragmatic “no good purpose would be served” to a ten-line inserted exposition of how it was more accident than murder, how “Sie haben ein bißchen Gerechtigkeit gespielt” and how a guilty conscience has been punishment enough (318/245f). Here amplification allows the TT’s detective figure to represent a more clearly acceptable moral evaluation of crime and retribution.

When Sheringham appears in the other Berkeley novel, *Der zweite Schuß*, it is less centrally. He shares the hero role with narrator Cyril Pinkerton, who is heavily ironised in the ST, far less so in the TT (eg by the normalisation of Pinkerton’s characteristic pompous style²⁴³, the removal of references to his sexual inexperience and prudishness, the de-emphasis of his physical inferiority to the other male characters; the culturally-specific irony of his name, suggesting a go-getter American agency detective, is also lost). Pinkerton, then, becomes more heroic, but so does Sheringham. What Pinkerton loses in effeteness, Sheringham loses in bluff offensiveness (eg

²⁴² SF is only 59% of its ST’s length, and two thousand words below the TT series average.

²⁴³ Especially the deletion of his frequent commentaries on his own character, eg his defence of his tidy habits, ZS 95/126. This and other related shifts to the narrative persona also serve to simplify the perspective of the TT; see ‘Streamlining’ above.

113/150) and fallibility. In fact Sheringham is finally proved wrong - deceived by the narrator-killer Pinkerton, whose comment that he had never considered him “clever enough to discover the real truth” is deleted in the TT (205/242). The translation here allows the rule-breaking *fact* of the detective’s failure to stand, but uses small deletions to reduce its impact.

In the above texts, the detective tends to be simplified or reduced. *Hilf mir, Peter!* alone in the corpus undertakes an elaboration rather than a thinning-down of the hero figure. Not a classic detective hero but still focalisor, representative of manliness and channel of knowledge, the ST Peter is a man of action rather than an intellectual, something that the TT takes up and intensifies in a variety of ways. Firstly, like the rest of the corpus, *Hilf mir, Peter!* uses deletions that reduce any elements dissonant with ‘heroism’. Thus, cuts affect Peter’s weakness and fear (eg “a puddingy mess of panic”→0, 33/36); the questioning of the essential moral decency behind his tough exterior (eg “my anti-social complex was so active that I knew that before the night got much older I was going to do something which, if I wasn’t very careful about it, might get me into trouble” [ie burglary]→0, 9/9); self-deprecatory remarks (eg “I had a scheme. **It wasn’t a very good one**”→“hatte ich mir auch einen **gewissen** Plan zurechtgelegt”, 39/41); vacillation, worry and pointless musings. However, the TT by no means only makes cuts. It is prepared to spend as much space or more than the ST on characterisation, including lavish insertions. The narrator’s colourful speech is reproduced with enthusiasm and intensified by the use of a rougher style (“I’d saved a bit of money, though not much”→“, hatte etwas Geld zurückgelegt. Viel aber nicht.”, 6/5) and inserted colloquialisms (eg on his landlord: “He wanted me to put the things on and clear out then and there”→“Der **edle Mann** bedeutete mir **überaus lebhaft**, die besagten Dinge **an meinen Leib zu kleben** und so schnell wie möglich zu verschwinden”, 7/7). These techniques, carried out absolutely consistently, not only add unusual zest to the narrative but also help construct a figure who is tough and hard-drinking (eg Peter and Allwright drink a glass of whisky, then 0→“Dann nahmen wir noch einen und noch einen”, 145/143; the amount of alcohol drunk is consistently increased) with no pretensions to refinement (eg “said something rude, **I don’t remember what**”→“Ich sagte etwas **sehr** Häßliches, etwas **an Rüdigkeit nicht zu Überbietendes**”, 49/52).

Thus, the hero figure of *Hilf mir, Peter!* is developed rather than reduced. Yet the TT's elaborations taken together with its deletions work, just as in the rest of the corpus, to produce a figure more active, more effective, more courageous and in control - in short more manly - than the somewhat ambivalent ST version.

Self-parody

It emerged from the analysis of *Besuch in der Nacht* that the Ellery Queen novels, at the pinnacle of the puzzle-classic, already delight in parodying their own conventions, and that the translation jettisons this playful aspect in favour of a more straight-faced version. The examination of the corpus as a whole shows that this pattern is typical. Three further texts are adapted in a way parallel to *Besuch in der Nacht* (*Der zweite Schuß*, *Spiel mit dem Feuer*, *Die Dame mit dem Schleier*), and the others, where the ST does not offer any comparable paratext, are affected by smaller shifts reducing genre self-parody.

Of the three TTs showing large-scale deletions, *Die Dame mit dem Schleier* works in a very similar way to *Besuch in der Nacht*. The TT removes an editor's foreword reporting a discussion with 'Ellery' about the novel's title, thus underpinning the series figure and playfully flaunting the author/hero deception. This is followed up by the removal of a two-page "Challenge to the Reader" not to rely on primitive guesswork but to "play the game scientifically. It's harder, but immeasurably more fun" (DS 253/208).

Such invitation to the readers to reflect is also made in the forewords of the two Anthony Berkeley STs and removed in their translations. The foreword of *Panic Party* (*Spiel mit dem Feuer*) explains the author's intention to experiment with "human interest", thus "breaking every rule" of the crime writers' Detection Club to which he belongs (SF 7/4). The deletion of this preface supports the TT's contrary tendency precisely to obey those 'rules'. In the preface of *The Second Shot* (*Der zweite Schuß*), similarly, the author asks "What is the future of the detective story?" and proposes that the genre must take new directions, abandoning the now outdated "old crime-puzzle pure and simple, relying entirely upon plot and without any added attractions of character, style or even humour" (ZS 5/6). Even without the preface,

the story is fundamentally reflexive. It is told, within the frame of a police memorandum, in the form of a manuscript by Cyril Pinkerton, who has “often thought of writing a detective story” on the grounds that the existing ones are unrealistic and fail to engage the human interest of the reader (ZS 12/17). The narrator, having openly declared his intention to ‘tell a story’ from the murderer’s point of view, then proceeds to exploit the readers’ genre expectations²⁴⁴ to convince us by careful manipulation of the facts he narrates (he never directly ‘lies’) that he is innocent. Only in the epilogue does the narrator confess to the reader that he actually committed the crime. Thus issues of reliability, trickery and genre knowledge are at the heart of the ST, and they are not missing from the TT by any means. The very choice of ST thus allows a self-conscious joke on the genre pattern, but on the other hand, the detail of the translation lessens its impact. Not only is the important outermost frame removed (the author’s contextualising preface) but the specific voice of the narrator persona is weakened in a range of ways (see ‘The Great Detective’) and the narratedness of his account de-emphasised (eg through the deletion of comments like “I am telling this story not at all well”, ZS 45/64). Thus, the force of the ST’s game is defused through relatively small but cumulative shifts in *Der zweite Schuß*.

The ‘reality reference’²⁴⁵ typical of the genre in both English and in German is almost everywhere reproduced, though sometimes in a weakened form. In *Die Dame mit dem Schleier* the reference is unusually explicit and obviously ironic: the ST Ellery - who, it should be remembered, is supposed to be not only the detective but also a detective-story writer and indeed the author of the text - remarks that Andrea’s paralysed grandfather cannot be the culprit because only “‘in a detective story’” would he be shamming and “‘since this isn’t a detective story’” his innocence is proven→0 (DS 298f/231). The deletion suggests that this may be going a little too far, but the

²⁴⁴ Above all that convention which says the narrator must not be the culprit. This was the ‘rule’ so controversially broken by Agatha Christie in *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd* (1926; translated rather late as *Alibi*, Goldmann 1937).

²⁴⁵ I use this term to refer to Rix’ “Realitätsfiktion” (1978:128): the text’s allusion to the improbability of detective stories, thus implicitly asserting the plausibility and reality of its own narrative. While Rix seems to read these references as an actual attempt to establish a veneer of realism, I understand them more as a self-conscious and playful device, in view of their context (within unabashedly anti-realist texts) and formulaic frequency - they occur in almost every ST and TT examined, as well as those read outside the corpus. Even the early Sherlock Holmes novels, so near the beginning of the tradition, scoff at their predecessors Poe and Gaboriau (see, for example, *A Study in Scarlet*), though perhaps with less ironic intent.

TTs normally reproduce such references²⁴⁶ and *Besuch am letzten Tag* even elaborates one: Ellery refers to the phase of events “‘technically known as the *dénouement*’”→“‘der in **Detektivgeschichten durch die Kapitelüberschrift ‘Des Rätsels Lösung’** ausgezeichnet wird’” (LT 242/199)²⁴⁷. In particular, the STs’ frequent references to Sherlock Holmes are almost always reproduced intact²⁴⁸, sometimes even inserted (eg DS 5/5), demonstrating that the Anglo-American genre tradition is very much available to the TL reader as a point of reference.

In *Hilf mir, Peter!*, which, as was implied above, tends to increase its ST’s proximity to the adventure novel by constructing a tougher, more invulnerable hero, the TT inserts allusions to the cinema: Peter’s investigation of the corpse, “very closely”, becomes “wie ein Filmdetektiv” (HP 23/25), a sudden appearance is 0→“wie in einer Filmüberblendung” (HP 141/138), and there are other similar references which if anything point up the artificiality of the text and underline its relationship to neighbouring genres. However, other texts reassert genre boundaries, as in *Besuch am letzten Tag*, where private eye Terry, an invader from the competitor genre of hard-boiled crime, is entirely denuded of his exaggeratedly *noir* style and fitted neatly into the position of the puzzle genre’s ‘nice young man’²⁴⁹.

In general we can say that the TTs normally keep jokey references to genre conventions within a non-ironic frame or excise them altogether. Additionally, the loss of slangy language, narrative sideshoots, narratorial interjections and colourful characterisation - all discussed above - contributes to the reduction of the STs’ entertaining

²⁴⁶ However, sometimes such a reference may be lost for other reasons. In SC the detective refers to great predecessors: “It reminded West of Poe’s classic description of the police hunt for the ‘Purloined Letter’ [...] But, alas, thought West, there was no Dupin here to make the Great Find!”→0 (SC 235f/179). The reason for the deletion here is more likely to be that the sentence writes off detective and police as poor substitutes for Poe’s hero; retention would contradict the norm of the infallible detective mind and introduce a criticism of the police (see below).

²⁴⁷ The same phrase, “Des Rätsels Lösung”, is indeed used in a chapter heading of MM. This TT, alone in the corpus, alters all the ST chapter headings from vague, suspense-oriented phrases to either explicit indications of content (eg “After Eight Years”→“Eric kehrt heim. Nochmal der Mann mit der Mütze”, ch 6) or clear invitations to read the chapter in terms of genre conventions (eg “Confessions”→“Des Rätsels Lösung und ein gutes Ende”, ch 12).

²⁴⁸ The only exception is KS 242/244, where a reference to Holmes is deleted (KS is also the TT least interested in the foreignness of its setting, see below). In MM a reference is slightly explicated: “‘Marvelous, Holmes!’”→“‘Der reinste Sherlok [*sic*] Holmes!’” (243/187).

²⁴⁹ Neutralisation of the Terry character is achieved largely by changes in his tone such as “‘that stuffed shirt’”→“‘diesem Kerl!’” (LT 210/171) or calling the Inspector “‘the old baboon’”→“‘der Alte’” (LT 193/156).

tone. While some TTs reproduce their STs' lighthearted feel (especially *Hilf mir, Peter!*; to a much lesser extent *Besuch am letzten Tag*, *Das goldene Hufeisen* and *Spiel mit dem Feuer*), the majority of the translated texts are far more serious and flat than their sources. The result is increased exposure of the strand apparently felt to be central, that of the puzzle itself - the exact opposite of the project outlined in the preface to *The Second Shot*.

Uncertainty

On the assumption that certainty is a central trope of the classic detective novel - certainty that the crime will be solved and order restored, the bourgeois world reaffirmed (see 5.1.) - I have classified the TTs' tendency to reduce uncertainty as part of the emphasis on the genre core. It is, to be sure, a less striking set of shifts than the others in this category, but is present in all the TTs examined. It takes the form mainly of the avoidance of phrases that suggest uncertainty or unreliability and of a more clear-cut treatment of moral questions.

On the level of individual phrases, the analysis of *Besuch in der Nacht* showed a tendency to remove indicators of doubt such as "she **seemed** sincere enough"→"an ihre Aufrichtigkeit **war nicht zu zweifeln**" (BN 236/176), and the other texts conform to this pattern: "**he fancied** he had"→"hatte er" (DS 46/52), "**I made him out** to be"→"er war" (HP 24/26). Hints of a narrator's hesitancy are removed (eg the constant use of "I suppose" and similar phrases in *Keine Spur!*, nearly all deleted in the TT). The more unified narrative perspective, discussed under 'Streamlining' above, contributes as well to the sense of a reliable, confidence-inspiring account presented to the TL reader; in the same way, the general tendency towards disambiguation in language and characterisation can be considered part of a wider strategy to strengthen certainty, reduce uncertainty.

The certainty of reason's triumph, the *sine qua non* of the genre, is questioned only rarely, and then obliquely, by the STs. Even these delicate hints, though, are normally eliminated by the TTs. Thus the consistent removal of detection cul-de-sacs not only serves to streamline but also deflects the sources' admission that detection can be hit-or-miss, that failed reasoning as well as successful exists. In the case of *Besuch in der*

Nacht, the ST conjured up the fear that reason is not omnipotent, but elsewhere in the corpus this is to be seen only indirectly, in the shape of questioning the reason-affirming genre itself, an aspect, as has been shown, avoided by the translations.

Apart from the issue of reason, the classic detective novel presents moral certainties that ensure disorder remains controlled within fixed, inevitable patterns. Indeed, it is possible to view this as the heart of the genre's acceptability to an authoritarian regime - certainly the *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt* measured a detective novel by "die Sauberkeit der Haltung und eine klare Stellung zwischen Gut und Böse" (15 Mar 1941:76). Sure enough, the TTs tend if anything to foreground the question of moral decisions. In *Besuch am letzten Tag*, for example, the ST's references to the natural force of "rightful vengeance" as a motive for killing (LT 287/237) and the right of the individual to kill "a monster who didn't deserve to live" (283/233) are reproduced as they stand. ST and TT appear to concur in the reasonableness of murder as community policing - a theme also addressed explicitly in *Der zweite Schuß* and *Spiel mit dem Feuer*, less so in *Die Dame mit dem Schleier*, and implied in all the others except *Das goldene Hufeisen*. Unlike *Der zweite Schuß* and *Spiel mit dem Feuer*, though, *Besuch am letzten Tag* demands payment for the crime, in the form of the sympathetic killer's suicide. The ambivalent position of Ellery, who has faked evidence to prompt the murderer's confession and thus suicide, is altered from an internal musing to legitimation by the external authority of the narrator and destiny: "It was too much like playing God to feel comfortable" → "Es ist kein schönes Gefühl, wenn **einem das Schicksal es auferlegt**, dem lieben Gott ins Handwerk zu pfuschen" (LT 287/237).

Even clearer is the case in *Das goldene Hufeisen*, when what in the ST is a more or less perfunctory moral comment, "All deliberate killers are out of plumb **some-where**", is elaborated, highlighting the official rationale of the genre: "Jeder Mensch, der Mord plant, ist nicht nur **moralisch**, sondern **auch geistig** nicht intakt" (GH 217/217; the psychiatric explanation of crime, part and parcel of Nazi eugenic policy, is also worth noting). In other words, the TTs tend to pick up the STs' rather sketchy investigation of the moral aspects of crime and remould them in a less ambiguous, more forceful way.

The foreign setting

It was seen in the analysis of *Die Festung* that the treatment of the text's foreign setting may be complex, and indeed in these ten detective novels it is impossible to discover a single strategy for dealing with cultural references. The journals' vociferous complaints about Anglo-American settings (see 3.2. and 5.1.) might lead us to expect entirely unassimilated foreign settings - but this is not the case. On the other hand, none of the texts actually transports its characters to another setting or gives them clearly domestic identities²⁵⁰. There is a wide range of approaches in the TTs, demonstrating that the series does not impose a unified line.

The most 'domesticating' text in the corpus is *Keine Spur!*. While the general setting in an unnamed American city is retained, along with the characters' names, most other aspects are incorporated into TL habits. For example, personal titles are translated ("Miss"→"Fräulein", etc.), the names of animals changed (Dick the canary becomes Hans, etc.), newspaper titles and organisations assimilated or generalised (eg "*The News*"→"Die 'Nachrichten'", KS 140/79). Meals are Germanised ("luncheon" is consistently "zweites Frühstück", "toast" →"geröstetes Brot", eg KS 119/43) and other foreign words avoided carefully enough to create an almost archaic feeling (eg "taxi"→"Autodroschke"). The central term "Miss Pinkerton" - the Inspector's affectionate nickname for the heroine, alluding to the detective agency - is rendered by "Schwester Detektiv" throughout²⁵¹. Even the detail of professional relationships is adapted to German style, with an academic title bestowed on the family lawyer ("Mr Glenn"→"Dr Glenn") and a generally more formal tone adopted by all characters towards the nurse ("my dear", "miss" and "Miss Adams" are all rendered by the respectful professional title "Schwester").

²⁵⁰ For example, in general names are not domesticated. At most spelling is changed (eg Enid→Anid in SF) or a name is simplified (Eric Scott-Davies→Eric Scott in ZS) or slightly normalised (Rene→Renée in SC). The exception among major characters is Stella→Jane in SF, a switch that makes the character more, not less, English.

²⁵¹ Until, that is, in the closing pages the translator seems to lose interest in consistency and begins to write "Miß Adams" (KS 227/223 et seq). The human element in these choices cannot be ignored: here perhaps lack of time, elsewhere in the corpus obscure references and idioms occur that are evidently simply unknown to the translators.

In *Der Mann mit der Mütze* a similar degree of domestication is to be found, particularly striking in the avoidance of foreign words (“dinner”→“Abendessen”, for example - though it does not go as far as *Keine Spur!* regarding “toast”, and uses anglicised clothing). *Der zweite Schuß*, too, retains little of the ST setting’s specificity, making heavy use of generalisation (eg “*The Times*”→“eine Zeitung”, ZS 126/167, or “in Devonshire”→“der näheren und weiteren Umgebung”, 39/55).

These three texts are not, however, typical of the whole corpus. A further three - the Illing translations of Ellery Queen - all adopt somewhat more local specificity, for example by reproducing most street names, including references like “a regular Broadway punk”→“Broadway-Nichtstuer” which demand some knowledge from the reader or else some readiness to guess (DS 195/180). Film-stars in *Besuch am letzten Tag* may be retained (eg Clark Gable) or generalised (eg Myrna Loy); baseball references are not allowed to stand but newspaper titles are. These three TTs show, then, varied strategies with an emphasis on neutralisation.

A seventh text, *Spiel mit dem Feuer*, is even more inconsistent in its treatment of cultural specificity. It mixes its strategy on titles, translating “Miss” and “Mr” but retaining “Sir” and “Lady”, and while losing large amounts of local and social colour through the deletion of dialogue it sometimes attempts to compensate for this. Compensation is most notable in the case of parvenu stockbroker Mr Bray, whose “unmistakably Cockney accent” becomes a generally undereducated “grimme Fehde mit der Grammatik” (SF 21/20). Thus the class aspect is domesticated but not lost altogether (“‘I’m not afraid of any ruddy half-ruddy-blue from ruddy Oxford’”→“‘So einen wie Sie schlag’ ich mit der linken Hand zu Mus!’”, 205/140). And while many cultural items are generalised, others are retained (eg the newspaper titles, such as the jokey “Daily Distress”→“Daily Distreß”, 15/13). Also on the side of exoticisation, a lengthy amplification of the yacht’s luxurious interior decor suggests the TT is exploiting the charm of the millionaire lifestyle associated with an Anglo-American setting (a paragraph lovingly describing rosewood, shower fittings and room telephones is inserted, SF 17/15f).

Finally, three texts enter with full enthusiasm into the task of presenting the foreign setting to the TL reader. *Hilf mir, Peter!*, its ST strongly embedded in the cityscape of London, does trim down street names at those frequent points where the ST begins to read like the A-Z, but otherwise reproduces long stretches of geographical detail; it is also prepared to gloss extensively to enable the use of probably unfamiliar SL terms. Thus a reference to a London district is glossed with heavy irony: “If you don’t know Lambeth - don’t”→“Wenn Sie Lambeth, **dieses entzückende Londoner Viertel**, nicht kennen sollten, dann lassen Sie’s auch für die Zukunft bleiben” (HP 6/6). The portrayal of the hero as an urban insider, and specifically as a Londoner, is reproduced and the German reader drawn into the setting by being addressed (“Sie”) as a fellow potential knower of the foreign city.

Hilf mir, Peter! does, though, translate personal titles. *Nacht auf Schloß Cleys* and *Das goldene Hufeisen* alone in the corpus transfer “Miß” and “Mr” throughout, though this proportion may not accurately reflect the habits of translations outside the corpus or even non-translations²⁵². *Nacht auf Schloß Cleys* is, like *Die Festung*, also quite ready to transfer or calque SL cultural terms almost certainly opaque to the TL reader (“georgianisch”, “Shilling”, etc.). In fact, the transfer of “Tudor” followed closely by the mistranslation of the ST’s gloss (“sixteenth-century”→“achtzehnten Jahrhundert”, 74/57) suggests that the actual historical period in question is less important than the term’s being a reference to British history. Likewise, the tiny neighbouring Welsh village of “Abertefn” is rendered throughout the TT as “Aberdeen”. Here the marker ‘foreign place’ is accorded a higher priority than either closeness to ST content or ease of reading (since in the context the generalisation ‘village’ could perfectly easily have been used to avoid the intrusion of a foreign word). In all, *Nacht auf Schloß Cleys*’ setting in its haunted Welsh castle is, like the millionaire’s yacht, one that plugs successfully into TL images of the source culture - worth retaining even at the expense of easy intelligibility.

²⁵² A translation published by Aufwärts in 1937, *Der Gegenspieler* by Gerald Verner, uses SL titles throughout, and so do five out of the six Anglo-American-set non-translations considered. This is an issue that requires examination of a much larger corpus, since usage may have varied between publishers.

Looking now across the Atlantic, *Das goldene Hufeisen* very evidently feeds from the American mystique produced by the movies and the western, gangster and detective genres of popular fiction. Its Hollywood setting is reproduced closely and uncritically. Indeed, the ST's playful criticism of Hollywood is subject to the longest cut of the whole translation (GH 101/105): the satirised twitter of the glamour press at a star's extravagant funeral is reduced to plain content, losing the irony and leaving an uncritical, not to say lip-smacking, account of luxury outfits that again recalls the yacht in *Spiel mit dem Feuer*. The TT seems to rely on abundant knowledge of the source culture by the TL readers, reproducing a lengthy discussion of Greta Garbo (20/19) and a (mis)quotation of Mae West (117/121). The newspaper name *Variety* is transferred, while other magazine names find convincing TL substitutes evidently drawn from an equivalent, familiar enough sphere: the intriguingly-named "*Screen Squeezes*", for example, beomes the "'Sternenhimmel'" (11/10). Only slight amplification suffices to make a gangster reference transparent ("Al's hoods"→"Al **Capone's** Leute", 97/102).

But one set of shifts in *Das goldene Hufeisen* takes this a step further: the replacement of a ST cultural reference with a different one drawn from German popular images of America. Thus, when Bonnie sits "camp-fire fashion", the TT has her "in der Haltung eines Cow-Girls" (50/53); a "cluck" becomes a "Greenhorn" (132/136) and many more. A matching pattern for the British context can be found in *Hilf mir, Peter!*, where "slowly" is elaborated as "stoisch wie ein **Aberdeen-Terrier**" (HP 143/140) or "looked as if I'd just been playing tennis"→"als ob ich **aus der Themse** gekommen wäre" (44/46).

In *Nacht auf Schloß Cleys*, similarly, SL items are used in an accepted TL way regardless of SL usage: "sir" is always "Sir", "m'lady" becomes "Mylady" but so does "her ladyship" (SC, passim). As in the other exoticising texts mentioned, foreign words have a strong presence, so that "Lunch" and "Dinner" appear throughout, along with "die Season" (16/11) and "die Nurse" (248/189). The transferred "gentleman"→"Gentleman" is a key term. It is not merely a descriptive item - after all, *Keine Spur!* translates "play the gentleman" as "den feinen Mann spielte" (KS 231/177) - but seems to be a short-cut to summon up the British setting, specifically

the British class system (the same usage was observed in *Die Festung*). The following example is typical of *Nacht auf Schloß Cleys* and other texts²⁵³: “Nothing could stem the torrent of his **coarse** rage when once the veneer of the **gentleman** was gone”→“Nichts war imstande, seine **rasende** Wut aufzuhalten, wenn einmal der äußere Anstrich des **Gentleman** abgefallen war” (SC 176/134). The loss of the specific accusation “coarse” lessens the force of the class accusation, while the transfer of the term “gentleman” recasts the conflict: from being class-bound *per se* it becomes a contribution to an image of the source culture *as* class-bound, and thus a part of the stereotypical ‘local colour’ so eagerly constructed in the TT.

Potentially political references

Without wishing to suggest that the shifts so far described are *not* ‘political’, I have grouped in this final section themes which seem to be obvious candidates for especially cautious treatment in the context of Nazi-monitored publishing, however marginal the text or carefree the translator. These are the police, xenophobia, direct references to political events and topics that could be found risqué or sordid. These areas of evident political delicacy receive more consistent treatment throughout the corpus than other patterns noted, suggesting that they may have prompted more conscious (self)censorship during translation.

The police

The tendency to present the police as stricter and stronger, noted in *Besuch in der Nacht*, is one of the most marked in the corpus, although some texts feature no police presence (*Spiel mit dem Feuer*) or no criticism of the police (*Der Mann mit der Mütze*) and are thus unaffected, and one, *Hilf mir, Peter!*, reproduces its ST’s somewhat critical attitude to the police²⁵⁴. The remaining seven TTs, however, follow a clear pattern. They use small deletions to remove ludicrousness or stupidity (eg the “weird expressions” that “flitted like bats before the light of day” across Inspector

²⁵³The word “gentleman”, and to a lesser extent its counterpart “lady”, is retained in most of the corpus, and may even be inserted (eg SF 174/126). See also 4.3.

²⁵⁴In this as in other aspects, HP is exceptional within the corpus. It takes on its own momentum as an adventure story, reproducing all the ludicrous ineffectuality of the policemen and even adding to it: as Peter and Frances escape from the scene of the crime they see behind them “a bare-headed policeman. He was **gaping** after us”→“**drei laufende, schreiende, wild in der Luft herumfuchtelnde Bobbys**” (HP 76/81; the use of the word “Bobby” is another example of HP’s construction of a culturally-specific text, see above).

Sedley's face→0, SC 277/211) and tone down humiliating insults by other characters (eg when the Inspector is called ““That mouldy old giraffe who won his teeth in a raffle?””→““Diesen alten Idioten!””, SC 195/149). References to fear tend to be deleted (eg ““the only reason I didn't turn and bolt down those stairs was because Evans was behind me!””→0, says Inspector Patton in the moonlit house, KS 177/143) and police characters are made stricter by altered modifiers (eg “looked uncomfortable”→ “machte ein ärgerliches Gesicht”, GH 174/179) or insertions (0→“zornig”, LT 135/107). The figure of Inspector Queen, Ellery's father, appears again in *Besuch am letzten Tag* and as in *Besuch in der Nacht* is made more powerful by deletion (“little”→0, LT 84/66), generalisation (“pattered off”→“verschwand”, LT 85/67) or altered connotation (“scuttled”→“stürmte”, LT 232/190). In all the texts affected, puzzlement and fallibility are particularly downplayed, in a way that closely mirrors the treatment of the detective heroes (eg “bewildered”→0, SC 279/213; “helplessly”→0, ZS 188/222; ““I was puzzled””→““war ich irregeführt worden””, KS 228/223).

Actual criticism of the police is avoided, such as hints of brutality (eg “they wouldn't use physical force with her, of course, but”→0, KS 85/143; “a fist smacked against the door”→“es klopfte”, LT 76/58). However, the TTs do not discard entirely that foundation stone of the classic detective novel: the police are incapable and the amateur detective, belonging to the social milieu of victim and villain, will always outwit them. The theme is shared by all four Queen novels, *Nacht auf Schloß Cleys*, *Der zweite Schuß* and *Hilf mir, Peter!*²⁵⁵ and it is allowed to stand in translation, though always in a somewhat softened form. Above all, the underlying class dynamic, of course partly a matter of cultural specificity, is weakened in the TTs. In the sources it is often expressed as a satirical portrayal of the police as vulgar and ill-educated, especially in the British-set texts²⁵⁶; the translations neutralise this to a great extent. For example, the TTs' usual normalisation of dialogue may smooth over the rank-

²⁵⁵ HP is a slightly different case since although the police in general are made ridiculous, the detective inspector appears in his capacity as a civilian and thus falls between amateur and professional status. He is more or less unchanged, losing only his ridiculously “prawn”-like eyebrows in the TT (→ “buschig”, HP 144/141).

²⁵⁶ The four American Queen STs also use working-class policemen; however, this is not, as in the British texts, portrayed as a stigma but rather as admirable (tough, fair, down-to-earth, etc.). The remaining two American-set STs, *Who is the Next?* (MM) and *Miss Pinkerton* (KS), feature entirely sympathetic and educated police characters.

and-file policemen's uneducated style (eg Sergeant Hannigan's "First there's the tracks of the Caddy, see?" → "Da sind erst einmal die Spuren von dem Luxuswagen, den uns Herr Angell beschrieben hat", LT 40/45); in *Nacht auf Schloß Cleys* this means major loss of the ST's snobbish humour (Constable Blackmore's "torch chamber", "Demon Strate" and "Haughty Mattic" are all normalised in SC 215/164). More subtly, in *Der zweite Schuß* the amateur detective finds the Chief Constable most easy to manipulate in the pub "after a couple of gin-and-bitters" → 0 (ZS 153/198) and the overall relationship of the police to the country house party is altered by the consistent replacement of "sir" with "Herr Sheringham" and so on, reducing subservience. Likewise, *Death on Tiptoe* (*Nacht auf Schloß Cleys*), which makes ill-educated constables the butt of so many jokes, also pits the petty-bourgeois professional, Inspector Sedley, against the upper-middle-class amateur: "Sedley looked blank. 'I don't see it.' 'Just an elementary idea of honour,' said West dryly". The pointed remark is deleted in the TT: "Das begreife ich nicht" (SC 170/130).

Despite some divergence within the corpus, the general reduction in the policemen's inferiority - social, moral or intellectual - is consistent, defusing to a considerable extent the classic detective novel's apparent scorn. Looked at the other way, the fundamental acceptance of police authority that underlies the STs' more or less gentle laughter is drawn out and foregrounded in the TTs. However, it cannot be said that these texts go as far as the Nazi-approved detective novel described by Rix (5.1.): the relationship between detective and police, at least in its general outline, remains rooted in the Anglo-American genre tradition.

Other

This section must necessarily be somewhat fragmented, as the range of potentially political references is wide. The most obvious set would be the few references to Germany, and I shall deal with these first. Germans appear only rarely in the STs: the German tourist eating his dinner in *Hilf mir, Peter!* no longer makes "noises" → 0 (HP 102/104); the deletion of Ellery's philosophical musings that time is "the background of *The Magic Mountain* and Albert Einstein's mathematical researches" → 0 (GH 215/215) usefully eliminates references to German exiles in America. *Das goldene Hufeisen* makes an odd name change: its tasteless Hollywood mansion was built by

the late “old Sigmund”, who is consistently “der alte Thornton” in the TT. It is unclear whether the German name is felt to be an intrusive element into the Hollywood context (perhaps especially in view of the success of German exiles in the film business) or simply that it cannot be given to a clearly spendthrift, uncultivated character. The latter interpretation is supported by the fact that *Der zweite Schuß* changes the name of the silly novelist neighbour from Helen Asche to Helen Clark. The other German-sounding names in the corpus all belong to neutral or positive characters and are unchanged. The only actual reference to the Nazis appears in a letter from an author bemoaning the Nazis’ blocking of her royalty payments from Germany - this segment is simply cut out of the TT letter (LT 109/87)²⁵⁷.

Of course, the removal of some of these references could also be read in terms of the TTs’ tendency to pare the texts back to their generic core, which, after all, scrupulously avoids the ‘real’ world outside the arena of the puzzle (see Knight 1980). Indeed, the few, and desultory, pointers out into the world that the STs offer are consistently neutralised or deleted in the TTs: “labour troubles in Europe”→“Streiks” (DS 196/182), “the Japanese war in China”→0 (GH 205/206), “the Great War, or Daylight Saving, or the Labour Party”→0 (as causes for postal delays, SC 98/75). ST references to socialism are always removed, even though they are never anything other than sarcastic rejoinders reaffirming the protagonists’ bourgeois status, for example the cutting comment ““You must be a Socialist in disguise”” (deleted ZS 90/118; see also deletions to Ellery’s mocking description of how the aristocratic Mrs Gimball sees him as a bomb-toting Red, DS 198/184).

An interesting area, because less consistent, is the treatment of themes related to eugenics and xenophobia; these are, as hinted in the analysis of *Besuch in der Nacht*, by no means always picked up in the TTs. Thus, debates on the justifiability of killing anti-social individuals may be made less ambivalent (see ‘Uncertainty’ above), yet there are other instances where the opportunity is missed to reproduce a point that would fit neatly into the dominant TL ideology. For example, the comments in *Who is the Next?* stressing the genetic burden of mental instability are cut down (MM

²⁵⁷ The discretion echoes the actual position of publishers who owed such fees to foreign authors: they were forbidden from disclosing the Ministry restrictions that prevented them from paying their debts (see 1.3.).

18f/10f) - perhaps the aim is to *avoid* summoning up the Nazi tirades which belong outside the politics-free sphere of entertainment (see Schäfer 1981). The speech of the black characters in *Besuch am letzten Tag* is neutralised as in *Besuch in der Nacht* and the ST's jokes removed, and much of the same text's anti-Japanese theme is downplayed. For example, the constant use of the derogatory "Jap" is lost throughout the TT, and in a passage where Inspector Queen discusses the loyal silence of Karen's Japanese maid, the TT shifts the emphasis slightly from a racialised to a feudal explanation: "“You know, the Japanese are probably the most inferiority-complexed people on earth. That's why they're always raising so much hell in Asia. It's the curse of the superior-white-man psychology”"→“Aber Karen hat sie zum Stillschweigen verpflichtet, und ihre Treue und Ergebenheit gegen ihre weiße Göttin verschließt ihren alten Mund”" (LT 138/110). Of course, the reference to East Asian politics thus also falls by the board. There are many other instances in this text where, for whatever reasons, a less hostile attitude to Japan and the Japanese is constructed in the TT.

On the other hand, *Hilf mir, Peter!* presents an example of a TT opportunistically expanding a xenophobic trope offered by the ST: shifts cluster around the use of the term "dago" to describe Peter's appearance after being expertly disguised. When he looks in the mirror he sees "the worst looking sort of dago". The TT takes its chance to specify from a fairly general xenophobic to an anti-Semitic stereotype: "das widerlichste **Levantinergesicht**, das mir Zeit meines Lebens vor Augen gekommen ist". It inserts the evaluative comment 0→“Daß es so etwas Widerliches wie ein derartiges Gesicht überhaupt geben konnte!” and completes the cartoon by adding to the ST's rather brief description the stereotypical physical details 0→“Lange Lider hatte ich und damit einen weibischen Blick” (all HP 223/211). Although the ST's few later references to the "dago's" characteristic gait, voice, etc., are removed (233/221, 244/233), the TT's overall effect is to heighten further the racism present in the ST and tailor it to flatter the TL context. Apart from this case, all possible references to Jewish life are cut (eg the "knishes" sold in New York by "old Finkelstein" are replaced by an anonymous baker's "Teigplätzchen", LT 202/164; "Mrs Rabinowitz" becomes "Frau Rakowitz", LT 212/172; "a little *meshugeh*"→“reichlich verrückt”, GH 55/67).

The other main group of probably deliberate cuts reduces the presence of sex, profanity and alcohol, resulting in a more respectable TT world. Most striking in this respect is *Das goldene Hufeisen*, which, while reproducing the Hollywood setting, reduces its more seamy sides by frequent deletions affecting sex (so that, for example, most mentions of lechery and womanising disappear; see also the notes on ‘Love interest’) and alcohol (the consumption of which is reduced throughout the text, especially for sympathetic characters, as in the shift “Ty recovered a little of his colour, **or perhaps it was the Scotch**”→“nachdem er sich vom ersten Schrecken erholt hatte”, GH 194/196).

Profanity is treated with care in the corpus. For example, in *Spiel mit dem Feuer*, some colour is reproduced in dialogue but the coarseness of Mrs Bray’s insults to her rival is retracted: ““Think I ’aven’t been watching your goings-on with that ---- little ---- of a ----?” Here Mrs Bray regrettably used three expressions that caused her hearers first to start violently, and then to look, with complete unconvincingness, as if they had not heard them”→“wüste Schimpfworte heraussprudelte” (SF 225/155). There is similar coyness in *Hilf mir, Peter!* (eg ““Why the blank can’t you keep those blankety cars...””→indirect speech, HP 126/126 - the phrase is followed by the narrator’s hint, unsurprisingly cut in the TT, that a full transcription would fall foul of the censor). In general, admittedly, *Hilf mir, Peter!* is quite willing to sacrifice propriety to its portrait of the tough action hero, who, as has been mentioned, uses even more slang than his ST counterpart and certainly drinks more. The other texts are more forbearing.

It will be noticed that all the examples mentioned have a humorous role to play in the STs. Their loss contributes to the generally more serious tone of the translated corpus, within which *Hilf mir, Peter!* presents an exceptional case with its light, slangy and generically impure style. Thus the removal of impropriety in the TTs may be overdetermined: both as adaptation to a TL ideology of clean living and as reduction to the skeleton of the genre. The more directly political references, however, seem to be rather clearly motivated by a need for acceptability within the target regime.

5.5. Conclusions

The analysis of the ten translations has shown some consistent patterns, but perhaps equally striking is their divergence on many points. This suggests that a certain amount of leeway was available to translators and their publishers and that the translated genre during the period was not one totally assimilated into a regime of censorship. Even the shifts shared by all TTs do not all seem to be entirely politically motivated, and some conform to ideological patterns that did not begin or end with Nazi rule. These points will be examined below, after a short recapitulation of the findings.

The TTs use a variety of techniques to streamline the texts - making them more explicit, increasing their pace and providing their readers with transparent, pre-interpreted accounts rather than asking them to ponder implications. The narrative perspective tends to be unified more into a single voice and redundancy in any form reduced.

The reduction of the ST to its bare bones is supported by cuts to character complexity, love interest and philosophical passages. These shifts significantly reduce distractions from the core of the genre: the puzzle. They also, however, have secondary effects. The treatment of hero and heroine, for example, reaffirms the strict gender roles sometimes slightly undermined in the STs; the tougher, less effete detective figures comply more closely with Nazi-approved images of the heroic; the loss of excursions into uncertainty intensifies the moral simplicity of the genre. The TTs' rejection of their sources' element of self-parody reinforces the conventions of the imported genre while again skirting issues of reflexivity and doubt. The slimming down of the texts to remove side-issues, humour and self-parody tends to create TTs that refer more clearly to a supposed reality of crime and detection, as opposed to one of self-reference and generic play.

The texts' foreign setting is the aspect most decried by the literary commentators, yet also the one receiving the most varied treatment in the corpus, in other words apparently subject to the least insistent norms. Some texts domesticate to a large extent,

producing a more universalised setting, while others evidently delight in the lure of an exotic world and even embroider it at points. Like *Die Festung*, the translations both draw upon and contribute to a pool of stereotyped 'knowledge' of the source culture.

In contrast to these varied treatments, the rendering of the police as stricter and more powerful than the ST versions is consistent through the corpus, with the exception of *Hilf mir, Peter!* (translated anonymously²⁵⁸ in 1935). Although none of the shifts goes as far as to make the detective a member of the police, in other words a representative of the state as in the Nazi version of the genre (Rix 1978:129f), the close correspondence between changes to the policeman and changes to the detective hero serves to narrow the distance between the two figures. The simple deletions affecting the STs' other politically delicate aspects - few in number due to the source genre's resolutely antipolitical stance - are rather predictable, and yet the consistency of their application does demonstrate that these translations were not simply moving unhindered through the processes of production. Successful mechanisms either of self-censorship by translators or of editorial control must have been at work.

I would, then, argue that the explicitly political shifts were made deliberately. Others, in particular those affecting gender roles and the hero figure, conform neatly to Nazi demands, but also coincide with much wider, longer-term cultural currents and are thus unlikely to have been made as a conscious reaction to the demands of the regime. For example, the early *Keine Spur!*, advertised in September 1933 and thus translated possibly even before the Nazis' accession to power, converges in many respects with the later texts in the corpus. The fact that the later texts do not differ systematically from the earlier ones suggests that no clear caesura in 1933 should be claimed here. It will also be noted that many of the tendencies seen in the marginalised, semi-banned detective novels - disambiguation, reduction of character, treatment of impropriety, cultural reference - are shared by the approved translation of Walpole's family epic. It may thus be unwise to assume that the shifts undertaken can

²⁵⁸ The fact that this translation, which breaks so many of the patterns seen in the rest of the corpus, was the only one made anonymously might lead us to speculate on the freedom endowed by anonymity, or rather on the constraints probably felt by a translator working under her/his own name.

all be explained either by the specific genre or by the specific political constellation²⁵⁹.

One issue certainly seems to have a momentum of its own, evading the matter of censorship altogether: the tightening of the classic genre's conventions and the removal of parodic elements. This seems easier to explain in terms of genre importation than of political pressure, possibly expressing a time gap in genre development - at the moment when the Anglo-American genre is beginning to question itself and rebel against its own norms, the German genre is still perfectly prepared to follow the rules. Admittedly, this may be less a matter of chronology (the later start to the genre's success in Germany) than of a literary climate that encouraged the consolidation of conventions and not literary experimentation. Certainly, the questioning of the genre norms to be seen in a text like *The Greek Coffin Mystery* is about as close as the SL genre gets to a subversion of the certainties of law, order and narrative reliability. The content of the detective novel means that questioning its norms involves reflection on crime and punishment, but equally, the genre's hallmark of strictly conventionalised form means that such questioning casts into doubt the power of formula itself. In other words, the charm of the detective novel for the period in Germany is perhaps as much the fact of being rule-bound as the actual rules themselves; this would help explain the translations' reluctance to accept those minimal disruptions offered by their sources.

This point touches on the question posed in 5.1.: how compatible the detective novel might be with a totalitarian regime and why the journals so feared its popularity. On the point of exotic settings, the journals' major complaint, there is no doubt that the corpus shows a fascination with a supposed western lifestyle which must clash with the official norm of an inward-looking, Nordic sensibility and suggest that public taste was not as well-educated as parts of the regime had hoped. On the other hand, the case of imported Hollywood comedies - parallel in many ways to that of trans-

²⁵⁹ In fact, many of the shifts seen here (reduction of characterisation, free indirect discourse and redundancy; avoidance of references to sex) have been identified for an entirely different context: American *noir* thrillers translated into French in the 1960s (Robyns 1990).

lated detective fiction²⁶⁰ - suggests that the remnant of escapism offered by foreign glamour gave the German audience a comforting illusion of freedom without actually challenging Nazi norms (Rentschler 1996:16). The long-term aim of the Propaganda Ministry was, however, to replace the imported films with a home-produced imitation more closely adapted to the needs of the regime (ibid:17).

However adapted or not the glamorised images of foreign countries it mediates, the detective genre is clearly one rooted in an Anglo-American publishing tradition, and this origin as much as the settings themselves is what the journalists deplore. Yet their claim that its foreign provenance makes the detective novel entirely incompatible with the new German ideology is not supported by the analysis of the texts. Although these novels can in no way be counted as 'propaganda', the relative ease with which they could be tweaked into reasonable consonance with the 'new order' seems to suggest that they do at least contain the capacity for redeployment in a fascist context. For example, the translations intensify a powerful, omniscient hero figure already present in a paler (specifically: less 'masculine') form in the sources. Gender and class stereotyping also require only minor adjustments to become highly acceptable. Above all, once the sources' occasional, and gentle, laughter at their own formulaicity is removed, the genre's fundamental fascination with convention and order makes it potentially very affirmative of an authoritarian style. This is not to say that the source genre is itself an authoritarian form, inherently suitable for importation like the type of historical novel analysed in 4.3. It does, though, appear to contain a potential which the translations tease out while stifling most of the more subversive moments - especially playfulness - that the source texts offer.

To conclude, the case studies have shown that the ten texts are quite divergent in many ways, but that they converge on certain key points, most of which affect the TTs' compatibility with the TL system. This does not, however, necessarily imply that all these points have been consciously undertaken in reaction to state censorship,

²⁶⁰ Karsten Witte's analysis of the Nazi version of Frank Capra's *It Happened One Night* (as *Glücks-kinder*, 1936) brings to light many very similar patterns to those traced in 5.4.: the adapted film tones down sexual references, irony and social critique (1976:355f).

nor that the source genre has been in some way ‘falsified’. Instead, it appears that those aspects of the STs offering themselves to assimilation have been drawn out, those resisting assimilation played down, resulting in a translated genre surely anything but subversive to the TL system. Having said this, the unambiguously foreign origin of the genre runs counter to an official literary policy based on autochthony; furthermore, the use of exoticised foreign settings is an element that side-steps officially voiced requirements altogether, following what should probably be seen as a commercially driven, popular rationale more or less unbroken by the events of 1933.

In other words, the translation practices emerging from this corpus are multifaceted, not to say contradictory, and subtle enough to require quite close analysis. Only at individual points does direct control make its presence felt, while other aspects of consonance with the target ideology should probably be attributed to a climate much less specific than the Nazi regime alone. Certainly, the translations do not concur in any simple way either with the accusations or with the recommendations of the would-be regulators of fiction in the Nazi period.

Conclusion

“Sucht man nach den Motiven, die der immer steigenden Begünstigung der Übersetzungsliteratur von seiten der Verleger wie von seiten des Publikums zugrunde liegen, so stößt man, vor allen Dingen beim Leser, auf einen überaus seltsamen und abzulehnenden Hang zu einer besonderen Hochschätzung des ausländischen Schrifttums lediglich deshalb, weil es nun einmal aus dem Ausland kommt. Diese sehr oft als besonders weitgehendes geistiges Interesse ausgelegte Neigung ist in der Vergangenheit gerade vom Nationalsozialismus stets als ‘geistige Überfremdung’ bekämpft und eindeutig als Ausdruck eines völkischen Minderwertigkeitsgefühls gekennzeichnet worden. Nachdem nun im Verlauf der Jahre seit der nationalsozialistischen Revolution das deutsche Schrifttum selbst einer gründlichen Reinigung unterzogen und alles in seinen Bereichen vorhandene Wesensfremde ausgemerzt worden ist, befinden wir uns heute wiederum einer Entwicklung gegenüber, die uns auf dem Umwege über die ausländische Übersetzungsliteratur in vielen Fällen wieder genau mit den gleichen negativen Werten vertraut zu machen sucht, die wir erst mühsam aus dem deutschen Schrifttum selbst ausgeschieden haben.”

(*Der Buchhändler im neuen Reich*, June 1939:209)

This opinion is worth quoting at length because it indicates the literary bureaucracy's sense of its failure to persuade the reading public entirely of the virtues of the new, 'purified' German literature. Specifically, the fear is voiced that translation's popularity signifies a rejection of the Nazi ethos and the smuggling back in of harmful foreignness, the "Wesensfremde" long destroyed at home. Before asking whether this fear was justified, I will recap on the related arguments made by state and Party journals on the topic of translation.

It was shown in Chapter 3 that the language used by journalists to decry translation drew, like the quotation above, on notions central to the discourse of racism: swamping, contamination, threat to the nation's *Volkwerdung*²⁶¹. Translation's hybridity - foreign content clothed in German words - made it eminently suspect to an ideology obsessed with fears of miscegenation and the 'alien in its midst'.

However, journalistic attitudes to translation were not as unambiguous as that. Alongside the threatening role imputed to 'bad' translation, the 'good' translation was welcomed if it fulfilled the twin criteria of offering an ethnographic account of its source *Volk* and a confirmation of the category of *Volk* itself. Translation as truthful ethnography could provide a seal of authenticity for the target culture's official version of the 'other'. The circularity is clear: a translation truly expressed the foreign culture if it conformed with home expectations of what that culture was, expectations themselves formed to a large extent by previous translations. Foreign literature that did not conform was denigrated as untruthful - a Christian Scandinavian novel²⁶², for example, or a flippant Flemish one²⁶³. Foreign policy aims were to be served by translations that fostered a particular understanding of newly-occupied nations (such as translation from Croatian or Romanian), or by those which could assert the existence of a Germanic tribe across wide stretches of northern Europe. In this respect translations from certain source languages served to underpin the 'imagined community' of Germans - a German Europe past, present and future.

²⁶¹ The term is used in the *Großdeutsches Leihbüchereiblatt* (15 May 1941:141) to describe literature's role in the development of the Italian nation.

²⁶² For example reviews in *Die Weltliteratur* of Jeanna Oterdahl (Apr 1941:102) or Viktor Myrén (Feb-Mar 1943:48).

²⁶³ Such as Felix Timmermans' *Pallieter*, reviewed in *Die Weltliteratur* (Aug 1942:171).

Furthermore, regardless of its source nation the approved translation could awaken and cement the Germans' awareness of the centrality of *Volk* to culture. To do so it had to be readable as an emanation of the *Volk* soul, and positive reviews accordingly emphasised the indivisibility of the text from its landscape and racial inspiration, unpolluted by internationalism or art - or indeed by translation *technique*, a matter largely ignored by the commentators, who focused instead on the *selection* of the text and seemed to assume it was transferred untouched into German. The pure foreign soul thus exposed was claimed to be ineffably different from all others, and worth translating only because of that difference (paradoxically, a difference that also made the 'pure' text untranslatable²⁶⁴). This standpoint, drawing on Romantic theories of language-culture and of translation, moves the idea of "foreignising" translation onto delicate terrain. An imported text's lack of ease and accessibility was taken by the Nazi journalists to be salutary proof of the essential, biologically determined differentness of nations, the inaccessibility of one culture to another; ultimately to justify the *domestic* project of fetishising the 'own' literature as a radically autonomous, uncontaminated entity. Thus the dichotomy of foreignising and domesticating translation sometimes posited by Translation Studies (especially Venuti 1995; 1998) proved to be too sweeping to account for the complexities of the present case.

The Nazi journals welcomed translations in terms of a reification of the supposed source *Volk* - and thus, *mutatis mutandis*, of the receiving *Volk*²⁶⁵. It appears that the official promotion of translation by Nazi bodies was inextricably bound up with nation-building agendas: rejection and suppression were, in other words, not the only ways in which translation policy contributed to the construction of the boundaries of a Nazi cultural system. However, as will be discussed below, the otherness of the foreign may not have been so easy to instrumentalise and, following traditions much older than 1933, without a doubt frequently over- or side-stepped its official rationale.

²⁶⁴ The reviewers found "international", or non-culturally specific, work unworthy of translation though the easiest of all to translate because of its lack of specificity (eg *Die Neue Literatur*, Mar 1938:152f).

²⁶⁵ The notions "fremd" and "vertraut" in the context of translation, as elsewhere, being mutually constitutive (see Lönker 1992:47).

The comments on translation so far summarised were based on ideological considerations. However, the Propaganda Ministry itself, as the major agent of translation management, appears to have prioritised more material issues, in particular foreign currency reserves and the extension to foreign literature of its programme to exclude Jews from cultural life. This study has shown that the discourse on translation propagated by Party and state bodies can be taken as identical neither with the practices of state control nor with those of production itself. Examining a field of literature almost entirely ignored by studies of Nazi culture - translation, and specifically popular fiction in translation - has enabled a more differentiated picture to emerge, contradicting the frequently held assumption that the Nazi cultural regime was rigorously engineered and hermetically sealed.

This was demonstrated firstly by the results of the bibliographical survey of translations published in the period, which revealed a degree of translating activity hardly matching the policymakers' officially strict line. Certainly, the cutting edge of imported literature was blunted by bans on modernist, Jewish and anti-fascist authors, but the middle ground appears to have survived largely unaffected up to the start of the war. Translation activity was intense in the period 1933-1939, not only in absolute terms but as a proportion of all fiction published, and even after the implementation of wartime bans on country after country, translation as a whole did not completely collapse until 1943. Investigation of the traditionally less-translated source languages such as Italian or Bulgarian showed that many of them clearly profited from official promotion; the success of translation from Scandinavian languages was aided by a combination of popular interest and toleration or encouragement by the regime. However, the most-translated languages during the pre-war period, as before 1933, were the non-promoted, indeed deeply suspect ones English and, to a lesser extent, French. The dominance of these source languages persisted long beyond the introduction of pre-publication controls in 1935, and the commercially successful translated genres they specialised in, especially adventure and detective fiction, continued to be published *en masse* despite official denigration. The largest swathes of translation appear to have followed a long-established commercial trajectory, as did other areas of popular culture such as jazz (see Lange 1966), girls' fiction (Hopster 1987) or film (Rentschler 1996).

The selection of foreign texts for import demonstrates, then, that in daily publishing practice the stern tenets of the official journals and Propaganda Ministry memoranda faded into greyer areas. This was not necessarily to the detriment of the Nazi state. Despite its regulation, translation contributed on the one hand to the financial health of the publishing industry, on the other to an illusion of normality. In fact, Schäfer argues that the devastation to culture caused by Nazi persecution was complemented by the state's promotion of a "politikfreie Sphäre", fed by consumerism and the comfort of familiarity, "um die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung auf Dauer an sich zu binden" (1981:7). For Schäfer, the fostering of apolitical culture was designed to enhance popular consensus by fulfilling materialist desires and allowing retreat from the violent realities of the new Germany. On the other hand, this intentionalist explanation should perhaps be tempered by the findings of the institutional studies discussed in Chapter 1, that Nazi policy was hampered by economic exigencies and conflicting competencies, and only partially successful in what were very real attempts at totality. The data presented in the bibliographical study can certainly be read in both ways.

However, the actual content of the ostensibly 'politics-free' cultural product cannot be determined from the bibliographical lists alone. Examination of the translations themselves showed that even the seemingly harmless or neutral product was not in fact "politikfrei" but in various ways carried a consolidation of fascist ideology. The comparisons of source with target text made in Chapters 4 and 5 allowed a detailed view of the interventions apparently considered necessary to fit the texts to their new political surroundings. It was shown that these adaptations certainly served to increase the source texts' convergence with the regime's ideology. They were, though, anything but predictable or obvious; the relationship of official opinion - itself many-layered and contradictory - to translation practice could only be uncovered by careful study of the texts.

In the case of the approved translation, *Die Festung*, examined in Chapter 4, the selection of the text for translation offered no subversion to the Nazi ideological scene and avoided the "negative Werte" feared by the journal quoted above. The texture of the translation itself then realised even further the source's potential con-

vergence with the regime. In the translation the 'primitiveness' of the style is intensified by streamlining and disambiguation; a depiction of 'man against the elements' is moulded from the source text's gentler view of nature; hinted criticisms of heterosexuality are eliminated. At the same time, an ambivalent stance prevails in the translator's treatment of patriotism, the city, destiny, political activism and, especially, the presentation of the foreign setting, which will be discussed below.

Walpole's historical novel belongs to a genre favoured by the regime and could without great alteration be integrated sufficiently to receive glowing reviews from the Party press. The sources of the detective novels discussed in Chapter 5, in contrast, are urban-set and contemporary, making no reference to nationalist ideology and employing social models based rather on class than on *Volk* - the reverse of the Nazi literary ideologues' recommendations. Thus the selection of texts to translate already positioned them as approved or disapproved within the target system. However, the translation norms at work in the two types of text turned out to share much ground. Like the approved translation but by more drastic means, the translated detective novels consistently cut down allusiveness, redundancy, ambiguity, polyphony and doubt, a streamlining tendency that intensifies ideological convergence with the target system by reducing any dissonance with the genre's most acceptable aspect: the triumph of order. Again in common with the Walpole translation, they tend to shave away divergence from the genre core, leaving a barer, more formulaic text. Further, the translated detective novels reduce elements that could be felt indecent or sordid and - if anything to a greater extent than the approved translation - boost the manliness of their heroes, the femininity of their heroines. Indeed, this sharpening of conventional gender roles, traceable only by close comparison of the texts, at once strikingly increases conformity to the Nazi ideological climate and fulfils conservative agendas much broader than the specific Nazi context²⁶⁶.

While the means employed (extensive deletions and insertions) are more dramatic in the detective novels than the subtler treatment of the Walpole text, the overall direc-

²⁶⁶ A further study, comparing detective translations in the Weimar period with the ones investigated here, would enable more detailed conclusions to be drawn on what changes properly belong to the Nazi setting. However, the comparison of earlier with later translations in the corpus suggested continuity rather than breach, supporting the conclusion of, for example, Ketelsen (1992) that 1933 did not represent a caesura in either ideology or literary practice.

tion is very similar. In both cases, I would argue, translation practice succeeded in recuperating the products of a rival culture to bolster the domestic regime; in neither was this a simple or uniform process.

On the matter of the foreign setting, the similarity of approved and disapproved texts was perhaps more surprising still, given that both clearly draw on a bank of images of the source cultures stocked by Weimar popular culture and fiercely attacked by the Nazi journals. Thus Hollywood luxury, English gentlemen and stereotyped snippets of English speech are set to work, sometimes embroidered, in many (not all) of the detective novels, and *Die Festung* parallels or even exceeds its down-market cousins in the use of such exoticising elements.

The same type of treatment, then, but different evaluations by journalists and Ministry: one is a praiseworthy expression of the source *Volk*'s specificity, the other pernicious propaganda for a threateningly alien lifestyle. The contrast reveals an uncertainty within Nazi conceptions of the foreign, as radically alien or confirming domestic knowledge, as educationally beneficial or dangerously seductive. The literary commentators resolved such conflicts by defining good foreignness as the expression of a pure race spirit and bad foreignness as Jewish-inspired cosmopolitanism. It may, however, be suspected that the reading public did not apply the same fine distinctions but continued unabated in their enjoyment of the enticing far-away, perhaps even intensified by the contrast with grim realities at home in what one commentator worried was a "Flucht vor dem Programm des Nationalsozialismus"²⁶⁷. Indeed, despite all their potential for convergence with the regime, the imported detective novels did live in the sphere of privacy outside state control²⁶⁸, their indifference to matters political making them the subject of constant attacks by the literary bureaucracy. Secondly, they provide some taste of an alternative world, not just geographically but in ideological terms, by failing to support the core Nazi concept of the *Volk*: they are urban, western, internationally marketed, they exclude nature (indeed, the translations do so if anything more than their sources), and inherently,

²⁶⁷ Hanns Johst, president of the RSK, cited in *Die Neue Literatur*, Aug 1939:418.

²⁶⁸ This is Geyer-Ryan's argument (1978a). The neighbouring field of film presents a different case, being produced in a large-scale, resource-heavy way much easier to police, and consumed in public. Thus Rentschler's (1996) rather convincing conclusion that film entertainment was a successfully manipulated tool of Goebbels is not necessarily transferable to writing and reading.

irremediably playful, an element that manages to survive despite the heavy editing carried out in translation.

Finally, the translated detective novels with their lack of *völkisch*-ness do, as the journals demand, transport an image of a foreign culture, but it is the wrong image. The detective novels' England or America is not blood and soil, the struggle with nature, but glamour, luxury goods, witty repartee. The enticing world of the detective novels offers a rival vision of city life, harking back to the pre-Nazi scene - the Weimar Republic with its relatively open cultural borders - as well as privileging an Enlightenment ideal of rationality decried by the official ideology²⁶⁹. Naturally, we can only speculate on why Germans under Nazism enjoyed reading translated detective novels. Perhaps the pleasure lay in the repetition of safe, state-backed patterns of submission to authority, but it is impossible to rule out that their charm and commercial success was due as much to a fascination with the foreign that refused to follow the official version of the alien in translation.

The case of translated detective novels, officially disapproved yet flourishing till the outbreak of war, full of potential consonance with fascism yet riddled with elements of subversion, is perhaps most instructive in its very complexity, supporting the perspective of scholars like Barbian (1995) or Ketelsen (1992) who emphasise the ambiguities of the state control of cultural production, the inadequacy of simple claims of instrumentalisation and propaganda. The coexistence of adapted and non-adapted strategies in translated literature indicates a degree of continuity with non-Nazi norms and the lack of an entirely streamlined literary scene. Apart from anything else, the term 'censorship' only seems useful for a small proportion of the shifts from source to target text; others seem prompted by much more generalised norms of readability, 'tastefulness' and generic conformity which applied equally to both promoted and denigrated translations. The notion of 'censorship' certainly has its place in a study of translation in Nazi Germany, but can probably be used with more precision to describe the threatened and actual violence surrounding the publishing

²⁶⁹ Indeed, in stark contrast to official demands the translations actually strengthen the source texts' valorisation of reason against feeling, a move often prompted by the apparently stronger norm of increasing the detective hero's masculinity and infallibility.

scene and the total exclusion of certain translated authors. For the translations that found publication, manipulation of the texts appears to have been less a matter of obedience to a simple censorship rulebook than overdetermined by a range of often enough conflicting expectations. In fact, it seems that translation's progress up to 1939 was the outcome of a somewhat chaotic mixture of contingent decisions, institutional failures, commercial considerations and ideological confusion within the regime.

In conclusion, this investigation has shown a literary bureaucracy that regarded translation with anxious attention. Translation was not taken for granted - but neither was it simply suppressed. The discourse on translation in the officially-approved journals insistently absorbs translation into agendas of xenophobia and nation-building, yet the actual practice of selecting and translating texts for import proves to have been much more multifaceted. Some aspects of the translations manage, in ways often difficult to trace, to edge their source texts towards acceptability in the authoritarian context of the target system; others retain a real element of resistance to ideological *Gleichschaltung* and the cult of Germanness. However, let us not stylise such translations into acts of heroism. Even if, as seems likely, the survival within the Nazi state of disapproved, Anglo-American popular fiction was due more to incapacity than design, the regime in the end could only benefit from the existence of a space for intellectual retreat. As Brecht wrote in exile:

“Was sind das für Zeiten, wo
Ein Gespräch über Bäume fast ein Verbrechen ist
Weil es ein Schweigen über so viele Untaten einschließt!”

(“An die Nachgeborenen”, Brecht 1967:723)

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Appendices

Appendix A: Sample year 1937

Appendix B: Sample year 1942

The appendices contain truncated versions of two of the twelve years recorded in the database of translated fiction (see Chapter 2). The two sample years have been chosen to allow a comparison of translation publishing at the height of the fiction boom with that after the onset of blanket translation bans and paper rationing. The analysis of trends is made in Chapter 2.

Author, target language title, publisher, edition (“1” = first edition, “-” = subsequent edition), source language and source language title are included; the fields place of publication, series, genre, translator and week of entry have been omitted for reasons of space. Names and titles are recorded in the form given in the *Deutsche Nationalbibliographie* entries.

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Aanrud, Hans	Sölve Solfeng, das Sonntagskind [12 Aufl	Franckh	-	No	Solve Solfeng
Adams, Herbert	Das rätselhafte Spiel. Detektiv-Roman	Goldmann	1	En	The Old Jew Mystery
Adams, Herbert	Eine Tasse Tee. Detektiv-Roman	Goldmann	1	En	A Word of Six Letters
Akerhielm, Annie	Wemunds Rache. Erzählg a heidn Zeit	Limpert	1	Sw	Sagan on Vemund
Allen, Hervey	Oberst Franklin. Roman	Dt Verlagsanstalt	1	Am	Action at Aquila
Allen, Hervey	Oberst Franklin. Roman [7 u 8 Tsd]	Dt Verlagsanstalt	-	Am	Action at Aquila
Allingham, Margery	Blumen für den Richter. Kriminalroman	Tal	1	En	Flowers for the Judge
Ammers-Küller, Jo van	Prinz Inkognito. Roman [11-20 Tsd]	Schünemann	-	Ne	Prins Incognito
Amorim, Enrique	Die Carreta. Roman	Holle & Co	1	Sp	La Carreta
Anandarayamakhi	Das Glück des Lebens. Mediz Drama. Zum e	Bamberg	1	Sa	Jivanandanam [zum 1 Mal..übers von
Aubry, Octave	Maria Walewska. Roman um Napoleons geh	Franckh	-	Fr	Le grand amour caché.. [2 Aufl]
Aubry, Octave	Maria Walewska. Roman um Napoleons geh	Franckh	-	Fr	Le grand amour caché.. [3 Aufl]
Aubry, Octave	Maria Walewska. Roman um Napoleons geh	Franckh	-	Fr	Le grand amour caché.. [4 Aufl]
Aubry, Octave	Maria Walewska. Roman um Napoleons geh	Franckh	-	Fr	Le grand amour caché.. [5 Aufl]
Aubry, Octave	Maria Walewska. Roman um Napoleons geh	Franckh	-	Fr	Le grand amour caché.. [6 Aufl]
Aubry, Octave	Maria Walewska. Roman um Napoleons geh	Franckh	1	Fr	Le grand amour caché de Naplëon
Aubry, Octave	Marie Walewska. Roman um Napoleons geh	Franckh	-	Fr	Le grand amour caché.. [7 Aufl]
Aubry, Octave	Marie Walewska. Roman um Napoleons geh	Franckh	-	Fr	Le grand Amour caché.. [8 Aufl]
Ayres, Ruby M	Komm zu meiner Hochzeit. Roman	Lipsia	1	En	Come to my Wedding
Baker, Olaf	Der Sohn des Donners. Indianer- und Silb	Altenburg	-	En	Thunder-Boy [6-10 Tsd]
Bartoli, Giorgio	Der Untergang Roms. Geschichtliche u psy	Strauch & Krey	-	It	- [first publ 1908, Arwed Strauch]
Baxter, George Owen	Der Rächer von La Paloma	Buchwarte	1	En	Jerry Payton's Notched Inheritance
Baxter, George Owen	Der wilde Reiter	Buchwarte	1	Am	Ronicky Doone
Baxter, George Owen	Die Expedition nach San Triste. Mexikani	Ullstein	1	Am	The Trail to San Triste
Baxter, George Owen	Ronicky aus dem Westen	Buchwarte	1	Am	Ronicky Doone
Benoit, Pierre	Die Dame aus dem Westen. Roman	Eden	1	Fr	La Dame de l'ouest
Bentley, Phyllis	Das Erbe der Oldroyds. Roman	Propyläen	1	En	Inheritance [Ausz][still 551 S!]
Bergstrand-Poulsen, Elisa	Lobgesang zum Holzorchester. Köstlichkei	J J Weber	1	Sw	Lovsang till träorkester
Bernanos, Georg	Die Geschichte der Mouchette	Thomas-Verl J Hegner	1	Fr	Nouvelle Histoire de Mouchette
Bernanos, Georg	Tagebuch eines Landpfarrers. Roman [2 Au	Thomas-Verl J Hegner	-	Fr	Journal d'un curé de campagne
Bhagavadgita	Des Erhabenen Gesang [17-19 Tsd]	Diederichs	-	Sa	-
Björnson, Björnsterne	Norwegische Bauerngeschichten	H Fikentscher	1	No	- [Teils]

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Blixen, Tania	Die Sintflut von Norderney u a seltsame	Dt Verlagsanstalt	1	En	Seven Gothic Tales
Boo, Sigrid	Du herrliches Leben. Roman	Universitas	1	No	Du deilige liv
Brand, Max	Der Schrecken vom Rio Grande. Roman	Knaur	1	Am	South of the Rio Grande
Brand, Max	Die verhängnisvolle Wette. Roman	Knaur	1	Am	The Happy Jack
Brand, Max	Pepillo. Roman	Knaur	1	Am	The Blue Jay
Brand, Max	Spuren im Sand. Roman	Knaur	1	Am	The King Bird Rides
Bredon, Juliet	Das Mondjahr. Chines Sitten, Bräuche u F	Zsolnay	1	En	The Moon Year
Bridge, Ann	Frühling in Dalmatien	Bastei	1	En	Illyrian Spring
Briffault, Robert	Europa. Die Tage der Unwissenheit. Roman	Bastei	1	En	Europa. The Days of Ignorance
Browne, K R G	Sir Michaels Abenteuer. Ein lustiger Rom	Aufwärts	-	En	Following Ann [first pub 1928, Mch
Bruun, Laurids	Der unbekannte Gott. Roman	Antäus	1	Da	Den ukendte Gud
Buck, Pearl S	Gottestreiter in fernem Land. Roman	Zsolnay	1	En	The Fighting Angel [1-8 Tsd]
Bulwer, Edward Lytton	Rienzi, der Letzte der Tribunen [Neudruc	Weichert	-	En	Rienzi, the Last of the Tribunes
Bulwer, E[dward] L	Die letzten Tage von Pompeji. Geschichtl	Janke	1	En	The Last Days of Pompeji
Bulwer, E[dward] L	Die letzten Tage von Pompeji. Geschichtl	Rothbarth	1	En	The Last Days of Pompeji
Bulwer-Lytton, Edward	Die Pilgrime am Rhein	K Rohm	1	En	The Pilgrims of the Rhine
Burns, Robert	Robert Burns, niederdeutsch	Ellermann	1	En	- [Werke, Ausz]
Burton, Miles	Das Halsband der Lady Hardway. Kriminalr	Tal	1	En	The Hardway Diamonds
Bus-Fekete, Ladislaus	Liebe - nichtgenügend. Roman	Tal	1	Hu	Szerelemböl elegtelen
Bush, Christopher	Ein Gongschlag und ein Schuß. Kriminalro	Tal	1	En	The Case of the Chinese Gong
Bystroem, Ella	Fiorenza. Roman	Esche	1	Sw	-
Calderon	Der Richter von Zalamea. Schauspiel in 3	Heydebrand	1	Sp	El alcalte de Z [Freie Nachdichtg]
Carco, Francis	Der Schatten. Roman	Auffenberg	1	Fr	L'Ombre
Carducci, Giosue	Gedichte. Ausgew. Übertr v Fridolin Heft	Feuz	1	It	-
Cartland, Barbara	Der Zauberer vom Sikkim-Paß. Abenteuer-R	Goldmann	1	En	Desperate Defiance
Cauwelaert, August van	Der Gang auf den Hügel. Roman. Verdeutsch	Herder	1	Fl	Harry
Cervantes Saavedra, Migue	Der sinnreiche Junker Don Quijote v d Ma	Hendel	1	Sp	El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote d
Chapuis, Alfred	Schmetterlinge über dem Werktisch. Gesch	Diebener	1	Fr	Papillons autour du quinquet
Christie, Agatha	Alibi. Detektiv-Roman [Bearb v Fritz Püt	Goldmann	1	En	The Murder of Roger Ackroydt [sic]
Christie, Agatha	Das geheimnisvolle Verbrechen in Styles	Aufwärts	1	En	The Mysterious Affair at Styles
Christie, Agatha	Der ABC-Fahrplan. Kriminalroman	Tal	1	En	The ABC Murders
Christie, Agatha	Der blaue Expreß. Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	1	En	The Blue Train
Christie, Agatha	Der Mord auf dem Golfplatz. Detektiv-Rom	Aufwärts	1	En	The Murder on the Links

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Christie, Agatha	Der Mord auf dem Golfplatz. Detektiv-Rom	Goldmann	1	En	The Murder on the Links. Bearb v F
Christie, Agatha	Tod in den Wolken. Detektiv-Roman	Goldmann	1	En	Death in the Air
Clevely, Hugh	Mister Munt spielt Polizei. Kriminalroma	Payne	1	En	Mr Munt Carries On
Collins, Gilbert	Die Jagd nach den Lichtsteinen. Abenteue	Aufwärts	1	En	The Starkenden Quest
Conrad, Joseph	Die Schattenlinie. Eine Beichte [13,14	S Fischer	-	En	The Shadow Line
Conrad, Joseph	Jugend. Erzählung	Insel	1	En	Youth
Conrad, Joseph	Zwischen Ebbe und Flut	S Fischer	1	En	Within the Tides [1-4 Aufl]
Coolen, Anton	Die drei Brüder. Roman	Insel	1	Ne	De drie gebroeders
Coolidge, Dane	Das Tal des Goldes	Buchwarte	1	Am	Wunpost
Coolidge, Dane	Der Rotschimmel	Buchwarte	1	Am	War-Paint
Coolidge, Dane	Die Arizona Ranger	Buchwarte	1	Am	Sheriff Killer
Coolidge, Dane	Die Canonreiter	Buchwarte	1	Am	Gun-Smoke
Coolidge, Dane	Die donnernden Hufe	Buchwarte	1	Am	Other Men's Cattle
Coster, Charles de	Die Mär von Ulenspiegel und Lamme Goeds	Dt Buch-Gemeinschaft	1	Fr	La Légende et les aventures..
Crane, Stephen	Das blaue Hotel	Herbig	1	En	- [Teils]
Crow, Carl	Vierhundert Millionen Kunden	Zsolnay	1	En	Four Hundred Million Customers
Dandolo, Milly	Die unsterbliche Legion. Roman	Zinnen	1	It	E caduta una donna
Daniel, Joseph	Das leere Haus. Detektivroman	Oestergaard	-	En	The Crimson Shadow (f publ Kulture
Dante	Göttliche Komödie	Insel	1	It	La divina commedia
Daudet, Alphonse	Die wunderbaren Abenteuer d Tartarin von	Einhorn	-	Fr	Aventures prodigieuses... [Neuauf]
Decaux, Lucile	Madame Walewska	Goldmann	1	Fr	Le tendre Amour de Napoléon, Marie
Deeping, Warwick	Der alte Pybus u sein Enkel. Roman[11-20	Schünemann	-	En	Old Pybus
Deeping, Warwick	Frau Buck und ihre Töchter	Schünemann	1	En	The Road [1-10 Tsd]
Deeping, Warwick	Keir baut Sybille ein Haus. Roman [11-13	Schünemann	-	En	Smith
Deeping, Warwick	Unruhe des Herzens. Roman	Schünemann	1	En	The Bridge of Desire
Demers, Frans	Das große Abenteuer. Kriminalroman	Hans Müller	1	Ne	Het groote avontuur
Dickens, Charles	Die Pickwickier. Die nachgelassenen Papi	Dt Buchgemeinschaft	1	En	The Pickwick-Papers [n d Übers v O
Dixelius, Hildur	Die Pflegegeschwister. Roman	Wichern	1	Sw	Fostersyskonen
Dombrowska, Marja	Die Landlosen. Roman	Propyläen	1	Po	Ludzie stamta
Dorling, Taprell	Verdammte Nordsee! Engl Seekriegsgesch	Franckh	-	En	Endless Story [6 Aufl]
Dorling, Taprell	Verdammte Nordsee! Engl Seekriegsgesch	Franckh	-	En	Endless Story [7 Aufl]
Dostojewskij, F M	Die Brüder Karamasow. Übertr u sinngem g	Weichert	-	Ru	Brat'ja Karamasovy [gek][Neudruck]
Douglas, Norman	Sirokko. Roman [mit Nachwort v H Giese]	Kiepenheuer	1	En	South Wind

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Doyle, Arthur Conan	Der Spion des Kaisers. Roman um Napoleon	Aufwärts	1	En	Uncle Bernac
Doyle, [Arthur] Conan	Der Hund von Baskerville [5 Aufl d Neuau	Franckh	-	En	The Hound of the Baskervilles
Doyle, [Arthur] Conan	Der Hund von Baskerville [6 Aufl]	Franckh	-	En	The Hound of the Baskervilles
Doyle, [Arthur] Conan	Der Hund von Baskerville [7 Aufl]	Franckh	-	En	The Hound of the Baskervilles
Doyle, [Arthur] Conan	Der Hund von Baskerville. Roman [8 Aufl]	Franckh	-	En	The Hound of the Baskervilles
Doyle, [Arthur] Conan	Der sterbende Sherlock Holmes u a Detekt	Franckh	-	En	His Last Bow [2 Aufl d Neuau
Doyle, [Arthur] Conan	Der sterbende Sherlock Holmes u a Detekt	Franckh	-	En	His Last Bow [3 Aufl d Neuau
Doyle, [Arthur] Conan	Der sterbende Sherlock Holmes u a Detekt	Franckh	1	En	His Last Bow [1 Aufl d Neuau
Doyle, [Arthur] Conan	Die tanzenden Männchen u a Detektivgesch	Franckh	-	En	- [5 Aufl der Neuau
Doyle, [Arthur] Conan	Die tanzenden Männchen u a Detektivgesch	Franckh	-	En	- [3 Aufl d Neuau
Doyle, [Arthur] Conan	Die tanzenden Männchen u a Detektivgesch	Franckh	-	En	- [5 Aufl d Neuau
Doyle, [Arthur] Conan	Fünf Apfelsinenkerne u a Detektivgeschic	Franckh	-	En	- [2 Aufl d Neuau
Doyle, [Arthur] Conan	Fünf Apfelsinenkerne u a Detektivgeschic	Franckh	-	En	- [3 Aufl d Neuau
Doyle, [Arthur] Conan	Fünf Apfelsinenkerne u a Detektivgeschic	Franckh	-	En	- [Teils] [4 Aufl d Neuau
Duguid, Julian	Die grüne Hölle. Abenteuerl Reise durch	Franckh	-	En	The Green Hell [6 Aufl]
Duguid, Julian	Tigermann. Odyssee d Freiheit [4 Aufl]	Franckh	-	En	Tigerman
Dumas, Alexandre	Ange Pitou [Vollst Ausgabe] [Neudr]	Weichert	-	Fr	-
Dumas, Alexandre	D'Artagnan's Mission. In neuer Übertragu	A Juncker	1	Fr	Le Vicomte de Bragelonne Teil 1
Dumas, Alexandre	Das Halsband der Königin	Rothbarth	1	Fr	Collier de la Reine
Dumas, Alexandre	Das Halsband der Königin. In neuer Übert	Singer	1	Fr	Le Collier de la reine
Dumas, Alexandre	Der Graf von Monte Christo. In neuer Übe	Singer	1	Fr	Le Comte de Monte Christo
Dumas, Alexandre	Der Halsband der Königin[bearb u zeitg g	Weichert	-	Fr	Collier de la reine [Neudruck]
Dumas, Alexandre	Die drei Musketiere [zeitg gekürzt] [Neu	Weichert	-	Fr	Les trois Mousquetaires
Dumas, Alexandre	Die drei Musketiere. In neuer Übertragun	Singer	1	Fr	Les trois Mousquetaires
Dumas, Alexandre	Die Gräfin v Charny[bearb u zeitgem gekü	Weichert	-	Fr	Comtesse de Charny [Neudruck]
Dumas, Alexandre	Halb-Welt. Gesellschaftskomödie in 3 Akt	Ebering	1	Fr	Le Demi-Monde
Dumas, Alexandre	Joseph Balsamo, der Großkoptha, genannt	Weichert	-	Fr	- [Neudruck]
Dumas, Alexandre	König Ludwigs Doppelgänger. In neuer Übe	A Juncker	1	Fr	Le Vicomte de Bragelonne Teil 2
Dumas, Alexandre	Lady Hamilton. Memoires e Favoritin [Neu	Weichert	-	Fr	Souvenirs d'une favorite
Dumas, Alexandre	Marie-Antoinette [Vollst Ausg] [Neudruck	Weichert	-	Fr	Le Chevalier de Maison-Rouge
Dumas, Alexandre	Zehn Jahre später [zeitgemäß gekürzt][Ne	Weichert	-	Fr	Le Vicomte de Bragelonne
Dumas, Alexandre	Zehn Jahre später. In neuer Übertragung	A Juncker	1	Fr	Le Vicomte de Bragelonne
Dumas, Alexandre	Zwanzig Jahre nachher [zeitg gek] [Neudr	Weichert	-	Fr	Vingt ans apres

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Dumas, Alexandre	Zwanzig Jahre nachher. In neuer Übertrag	Singer	1	Fr	Vingt ans apres
Dumas, Le Prince	Die Totenhand [Vollst Ausg] [Neudr]	Weichert	-	Fr	La Main du défunt
Dunois, Dominika	Armer kleiner Prosper. Roman	Speidel	1	Fr	Le Second des Berthault
Eberhart, Mignon G	Das Haus auf dem Dach. Kriminalroman	Tal	1	En	The House on the Roof
Edda	Edda. Götter- u Heldendichtung	Diederichs	1	ON	- [Monumentalausgabe]
Elkjaer, Sigurd	Zwischen Meer und Fjord. Roman	E Sicker	1	Da	Mellem Hav og Fjord
Elpl, Mirek	Ein Lied auf Venedig	Winkler	1	Cz	Mesta na pobrezi
Elvestad, Sven	Der rätselhafte Feind. Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	1	No	-
Elvestad, Sven	Die Zwei und die Dame. Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	-	No	- [first publ 1928, Munich]
Eminescu, Mihail	Gedichte	Gronau	1	Rm	-
Erkelenz, Carl Hanns, ed	Flämische Weihnacht. Erzählgn flämischer	Kösel-Pustet	1	Fl	-
Estaunié, Edouard	Die Dinge erzählen. Roman	Zsolnay	1	Fr	Les Choses voient
Estaunié, Edouard	Schwester Therese. Tragödie e Herzens	Zsolnay	1	Fr	L'Appel de la route
Etlar, Carit	Der Korse Serafino. Roman [Neudruck]	Weichert	-	Da	-
Fabricius, Jan	Gesucht - ein Einbrecher. Lustspeel in d	Quickborn	1	Ne	Inbråker gevraagd
Falkberget, Johan	Grube Christianus Sextus. Roman	P List	1	No	Christianus Sextus, de förste Gese
Fexer, Donald O	Die Spinne. Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	1	Sw	Spindeln
Flaubert, Gustave	Frau Bovary [Neue Aufl]	Insel	-	Fr	Madame Bovary
Flaubert, Gustave	Salambo	Rothbarth	1	Fr	Salamambo
Flaubert, Gustave	Salambo. Roman	Ludwig Nath	1	Fr	Salamambo
Fletcher, J[oseph] S	Das Schloß in den Klippen. Detektiv-Roma	Aufwärts	1	En	Scarhaven Keep
Fletcher, J[oseph] S	Der Stadtkämmerer. Detektivroman	Aufwärts	1	En	The Borough Treasurer
Fleuron, Svend	Die Brandgänse. Tiergeschichten	Diederichs	1	Da	- [not listed as a tr] 1-10 Tsd
Fleuron, Svend	Meister Lampe. Roman [16-25 Tsd]	Diederichs	-	Da	Haren den graa
Fleuron, Svend	Ruf der fernen Wälder. Tiergesch [11-20	Diederichs	-	Da	- [Werke, Ausz] [11-20 Tsd]
Fleuron, Svend	Schnipp Fidelius Adeltand. Gesch e Dacke	Diederichs	-	Da	Ib Fidelius Adeltand [51-60 Tsd]
Fleuron, Svend	Schnipp Fidelius Adeltand. Gesch e Dacke	Diederichs	-	Da	Ib Fidelius Adeltand [61-70 Tsd]
Fleuron, Svend	Tjo sucht Abenteuer [7-10 Tsd]	Diederichs	-	Da	En raabuks haendelser
Flynn, Brian	War es der Zahnarzt? Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	1	En	The Mystery of the Peacock's Eye
Földes, Jolán	Ich heirate. Roman	Kittl	1	Hu	Ferjhez megjek
Footner, Hulbert	Die Prinzessin vom Nordwald. Abenteuerro	Oestergaard	-	En	A Backwoods Princess (f publ Kultu
Forester, C S	Ein General. Roman	Wolfgang Krüger	1	En	The General
Forester, C S	Ein General. Roman [6-10 Tsd]	Wolfgang Krüger	-	En	The General

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Freeman, R Austin	Gewagtes Spiel. Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	-	En	- [first publ Moewig & Hoffner]
Friedrich II, König v Pre	Die Komödien d großen Königs	Theaterverl Albert L	1	Fr	- [Teils]
Fünf Geschichten	Fünf Geschichten v Ächtern u Blutrache	Diederichs	-	Vs	- [4 u 5 Tsd]
Gaboriau, Emil	Betrogene Frauen. Detektiv-Lecoq-Roman	Aufwärts	1	Fr	- [Dt Bearbeitung von Henriette Dé
Gaboriau, Emil	Detektiv Lecoq. Kriminalroman. Dt Bearb	Aufwärts	1	Fr	Monsieur Lecoq
Galsworthy, John	Auf der Forsyte-Börse [Ungek Sonderausga	Zsolnay	1	En	On Forsyte Change
Galsworthy, John	Ein Heiliger. Roman [36-45 Tsd]	Zsolnay	-	En	Saint's Progress
Galsworthy, John	Forsytes, Pendyces und andere	Zsolnay	1	En	Forsytes, Pendyces and Others
Gardner, Erle Stanley	Die sechs Glasaugen. Kriminalroman	Tal	1	En	The Case of the Counterfeit Eye
Gardner, Erle Stanley	Rechtsanwalt Mason. Detektivroman	Oestergaard	-	En	Case of the Velvet Claws (f publ K
Gatti, Angelo	Roman in der Ehe. Ilia und Albert	Benziger	1	It	Ilia e Alberto
Gervais, A[ibert]	Im Schatten des Ma-kue. Als Arzt im Bann	Goldmann	1	Fr	L'Ombre du Ma Kouï
Gevers, Marie	Die glückhafte Reise. Roman	Staackmann	1	Fr	Le Voyage du frère Jean
Ghéon, Henri	Die Spiele der Hölle und des Himmels	Pustet	1	Fr	Les Jeux de l'enfer et du ciel
Gibbs, Philip	Verwandte Welten. Roman	Universitas	1	En	Blood Relations
Giono, Jean	Bleibe, meine Freude. Roman	Bermann-Fischer	1	Fr	Que ma joie demeure. 1-4 Tsd
Giono, Jean	Die Sternenschlange	S Fischer	1	Fr	Le Serpent d'étoiles [1-10 Aufl]
Giono, Jean	Taube Blüten	Bermann-Fischer	1	Fr	- [4 Erzählungen] [1-4 Aufl]
Giono, Jean	Vom wahren Reichtum	Morgarten	1	Fr	De la vraie Richesse
Godoy, Armand	Hosianna zum Sistrum. Nachdichtung v Alf	Saturn	1	Fr	Hosanna sur le sistre
Godoy, Armand	Rom. Nachdichtg v Alfred Neumann	Saturn	1	Fr	-
Gos, Charles	Die Nacht im Fels. Ein Bergsteigerroman	Attinger	1	Fr	La Nuit des drus
Goudge, Elizabeth	Die Stadt der Glocken. Roman	Kiepenheuer	1	En	The City of Bells
Graham, R D, Commander	Kurs West zu Nord. Sturmfahrt d Yacht 'E	Klasing	1	En	Rough Passage
Graves, Robert von Ranke	Rostbraun - gezähnt. Roman um e Briefmar	P List	1	En	Antigua, Penny, Puce
Green, A[nna] K	Endlich gefunden. Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	1	Am	A Strange Disappearance
Gregory, Lester	Der Herr der Ranch J	Payne	1	En	Boss of the Diamond J [frei übers]
Grex, Leo	Danny Rivers Ende. Kriminalroman	Payne	1	En	Danny River's End
Grex, Leo	Das Geheimnis von Nettlefield. Kriminalr	Payne	1	En	Stolen Death
Grex, Leo	Die Tragödie von Draythorpe. Kriminalrom	Payne	1	En	The Tragedy at Draythorpe
Grey, Zane	Die Todeskarawane. Roman	Knaur	1	Am	The Last Wagon Train
Grey, Zane	In der Prärie. Roman	Knaur	1	Am	The Trail Driver
Gudmundsson, Kristmann	Kinder der Erde. Roman	Piper	1	No	Jordens Barn. 1-5 Tsd

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Guillot, René	Im Sand von Ras el Gua. Roman	Zeitbild	1	Fr	Ras el Gua poste du sud
Guitry, Sascha	Roman eines Schwindlers	Styrmühl	1	Fr	Mémoires d'un tricheur
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Das Erbe von Björndal [101-111 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Det Blaser fra Dauingfjell
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Das Erbe von Björndal [111-120 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Det Blaser fra Dauingfjell
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Das Erbe von Björndal [121-130 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Det blaser fra Dauingfjell
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Das Erbe von Björndal [131-140 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Det Blaser fra Dauingfjell
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Das Erbe von Björndal [141-150 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Det Blaser fra Dauingfjell
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Das Erbe von Björndal [61-70 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Det Blaser fra Dauingfjell
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Das Erbe von Björndal [81-90 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Det Blaser fra Dauingfjell
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Das Erbe von Björndal [91-100 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Det Blaser fra Dauingfjell
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Und ewig singen die Wälder [111-120 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Och bakom synger skogene
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Und ewig singen die Wälder [121-130 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Och bakom synger skogene
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Und ewig singen die Wälder [131-140 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Och bakom synger skogene
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Und ewig singen die Wälder [141-150 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Och bakom synger skogene
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Und ewig singen die Wälder [151-160 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Och bakom synger skogene
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Und ewig singen die Wälder [161-170 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Och bakom synger skogene
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Und ewig singen die Wälder [171-178 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Och bakom synger skogene
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Und ewig singen die Wälder [181-190 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Och bakom synger skogene
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Und ewig singen die Wälder [191-200 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Och bakom synger skogene
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Und ewig singen die Wälder [201-210 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Och bakom synger skogene
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Und ewig singen die Wälder [91-100 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Och bakom synger skogene
Gulbrandsen, Trygve	Und ewig singen die Wälder [[101-110 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Och bakom synger skogene
Gunn, Neil M	Das verlorene Leben. Roman	Albert Langen/Georg	1	En	Butcher's Broom
Gunn, Neil M	Das verlorene Leben. Roman [11-15 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	En	Butcher's Broom
Gunn, Neil M	Das verlorene Leben. Roman [11-15 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	En	Butcher's Broom
Gunn, Neil M	Das verlorene Leben. Roman [6-10 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	En	Butcher's Broom
Gunnarsson, Gunnar	Der graue Mann. Roman	Albert Langen/Georg	1	Da	Graamand
Gunnarsson, Gunnar	Der graue Mann. Roman [7-10 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Da	Graamand
Gunnarsson, Gunnar	Die Eidbrüder. Roman d ersten Islandsied	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Da	Edbroedere [14-18 Tsd]
Gunnarsson, Gunnar	Die Eidbrüder. Roman d ersten Islandsied	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Da	Edbroedere [9-13 Tsd]
Gunnarsson, Karl	Ich zog als Bauernknecht durchs Land	Zsolnay	1	Sw	Raskens [Sonderausgabe]
Habberton, John	Helenes Kinderchen u Andrer Leute Kinder	Hesse & Becker	1	En	Helen's Babies/Other People's Ch
Hamilton, Harry	Mississippi-Melodie. Roman	Aufwärts	1	En	Banjo on my Knee

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Hamsun, Knut	Gottes Erde. Natur- uu Landschaftsbilder	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	- [Werke, Ausz] [36-45 Tsd]
Hamsun, Knut	Hunger. Roman [Neue berecht Üb] [45-48 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Sult
Hamsun, Knut	Pan. Aus Leutnant Thomas Glahns Papierer	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Pan [51-55 Tsd]
Hamsun, Knut	Segen der Erde [116-120 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Markens Groede
Hamsun, Knut	Segen der Erde. Roman [116-120 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Markens Groede
Hamsun, Knut	Segen der Erde. Roman [116-120 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Markens Groede
Hamsun, Knut	Vagabundentage [11-20 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Vagabondenage
Hamsun, Knut	Vagabundentage. Erz [21-30 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Vagabondage
Hamsun, Knut	Vagabundentage. Erzählg	Albert Langen/Georg	1	No	Vagabondage
Hamsun, Knut	Victoria. Geschichte e Liebe [121-125 Ts]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Viktoria
Hamsun, Knut	Victoria. Geschichte e Liebe [126-130 Ts]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Viktoria
Hamsun, Knut	Victoria. Geschichte e Liebe [136-140 Ts]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Viktoria
Harrison, Henry Sydnor	Jene Miß Hinch u a Geschichten	Benziger	1	En	Miss Hinch [vs stories/vs authors]
Harsányi, Zsolt von	Und sie bewegt sich doch. Roman um Galil	Esche	1	Hu	Megis mozog a föld [üb u bearb]
Harte, Bret	Cressy. Ein Mädchen a d Wilden Westen	Aufwärts	1	Am	Cressy
Harte, Bret	Die Geschichte einer Mine. Wild-West-Rom	Aufwärts	1	En	The Story of a Mine
Harte, Bret	Glück und Untergang von Tasajara. Wild-W	Aufwärts	1	En	A First Family of Tasajara
Harte, Bret	Im Walde von Carquinez. Wild-West-Romar	Aufwärts	1	En	In the Woods of Caquinez
Hay, Marie	Die Grävenitz. Eine dt Pompadour [12,13	Dt Verlagsanstalt	-	En	A German Pompadour
Haycox, Ernest	Rauhe Luft. Roman a d Höhen u Tiefen Hol	Aufwärts	1	En	Rough Air [Hollywood]
Heever, C M van den	Das Leben schreitet weiter. Südafrikanis	Dt Verlagsbuchhaus	1	Af	Somer
Heller, Frank	Ehrenmänner	Stephenson	1	Sw	- [not listed as a translation]
Heltai, Eugen	Der stumme Ritter. Lustspiel in Versen	Renaissance	1	Hu	-
Hemmer, Jarl	Onni Kokko. Erz	Albert Langen/Georg	1	Sw	Onni Kokko
Herczeg, Franz	Rakoczi, der Rebell. Roman	Zsolnay	1	Hu	Pro libertate
Hertog, A[ry] den	Frauen nach Jakarta	Benziger	-	Ne	Frouwen naar Jakarta [4-6 Tsd]
Hertog, A[ry] den	Frauen nach Jakatra. Roman	Benziger	1	Ne	Frouwen naar Jakatra [sic]
Hilton, James	Ein schweigsamer Held. Roman [3 Aufl]	Benziger	-	En	Knight without Armour
Hilton, James	Ein zweiter Unglücksfall? Kriminalroman	Tal	1	En	Murder at School
Hilton, James	Wir sind nicht allein	Reichner	1	En	We Are Not Alone
Hobart, A[lice]	Das Haus der heilenden Hände. Roman	Zinnen	1	En	Yang and Yin
Holt, Henry	Der Malaiendolch. Detektiv-Roman	Goldmann	1	En	The May Fair Mystery
Holt, Henry	Die Tongabohne. Detektiv-Roman	Goldmann	1	En	The Scarlet Messenger

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Homer	Die Odyssee Homers. Dt erneuert v..[6 Au	P List	-	Gk	Odyssea
Ibsen, Henrik	Peer Gynt. Ein dramatisches Gedicht	Reclam	1	No	-
Idriess, Jon L	Lasseters letzter Ritt. Ein Goldsuchersc	Bertelsmann	1	En	Lassater's Last Ride [1-20 Tsd]
Ironside, John	Ein Schiff kommt heim. Roman	Kulturelle Verlagsge	1	En	The Marten Mystery
Irwin, Margaret	Der stolze Vasall	Bondi	1	En	The Proud Servant
Jackson, Helen Hunt	Ramona. Liebesgeschichte a Kalifornien	Herbert Fischer	1	Am	Ramona
Jackson, Helen Hunt	Ramona. Roman	Aufwärts	1	En	-
Jacobsen, Jens Peter	Frau Maria Grubbe. Bilder a d 17 Jh	Jahnke	1	Da	Fru Marie Grubbe
Jacobsen, Jens Peter	Frau Maria Grubbe. Bilder a d 17 Jh	Rothbarth	1	Da	Fru Marie Grubbe
Jacobsen, Jo	Die Tümmelerjäger. Roman	Zsolnay	1	Da	Marsvnsjaegerne
Jensen, Johannes V	Gudrun. Roman	S Fischer	1	Da	- 1-4 Aufl
Jensen, Thit	Jörgen Lykke, der letzte Ritter Dänemark	Zsolnay	1	Da	Jörgen Lykke, Rigens sidste Ridder
Jürgensen, Jürgen	Die große Expedition. Ein Kongoroman	Rütten & Loening	-	Da	Opfylder jorden [Neue Ausg]
Juwelenkästchen, Das	Das Juwelenkästchen	Heyne	1	Ch	Kin ku ki kwan [Ausz]
Kamban, Gudmundur	Die dreißigste Generation. Roman	Holle & Co	1	Da	30. Generation
Kamban, Gudmundur	Ich seh ein großes schönes Land	Insel	1	Da	Jeg ser et stort skont land. In Ve
Karhumäki, Urho	Yrjö der Läufer. Roman	Scherl	1	Fi	Awaweteen
Kaye-Smith, Sheila	Stechginster von Sussex. Geschichte e Ka	Schaffrath	1	En	Sussex Gorse
Keeler, Harry Stephen	Das geheimnisvolle Netz. Kriminalroman	Auffenberg	1	Am	The Amazing Web
Keverne, Richard	Der Mann mit dem roten Hut. Detektiv-Rom	Goldmann	1	En	The Man in the Red Hat
Keynes, Helen M	Polizist Thompson stolpert. Kriminalroma	Tal	1	En	Murder in Rosemary Lane
King, George S	Das letzte Sklavenschiff. Abenteuerroman	Aufwärts	1	En	The Last Slaver
Knittel, John	Der Weg durch die Nacht. Roman [4 Aufl]	Orell Füssli	-	En	A Traveller in the Night
Kochanowski, Jan	Eine Auslese aus seinem Werk	Korn	1	Po	- [Teilsammlg]
Körmendi, Franz	Begegnung. Roman	Bermann-Fischer	1	Hu	Talalkozas es buscu. 1-6 Aufl
Körmendi, Franz	Die Sündigen. Roman	Bermann-Fischer	1	Hu	Bünösök [1-4 Aufl]
Körmendi, Franz	Die Sündigen. Roman [5-7 Aufl]	Bermann-Fischer	-	Hu	Bünösek
Koskeniemi, V[eikko] A	Der junge Anssi u a Gedichte	Albert Langen/Georg	1	Fi	Nuroi Anssi
Krasnow, P N	Kostja der Kosak. Hist Roman	Antäus	1	Ru	Vse prochodit
Krasnow, P N	Vom Zarenadler zur roten Fahne [Neudruck	Vier-Falken	-	Ru	Ot dvuglavago orla..[völlige Neube
Krassnoff, P[etr] N	Katharina die Große. Hist Roman	Essener Verl Anstalt	1	Ru	Jekaterina Welikaja
La Roche, Mazo de	Das unerwartete Erbe [5-8 Tsd]	Diederichs	-	En	Whiteoaks of Jalna
La Roche, Mazo de	Die Brüder und ihre Frauen. Roman [8-13	Diederichs	-	En	Jalna

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
La Roche, Mazo de	Finch im Glück. Roman	Diederichs	1	En	Finch's Fortune [1-8 Tsd]
Laatsman, J	Wie Meister Slubberke Küster wurde. Erzä	Brockhaus	1	Fl	Slubberke Slob [...aus Flandern]
Lagerlöf, Selma	Anna, das Mädchen aus Dalarna [36-40 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Sw	Anna Svärd
Lagerlöf, Selma	Charlotte Löwensköld. Roman [39-43 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Sw	-
Lagerlöf, Selma	Christuslegenden [Neudruck]	Hesse & Becker	-	Sw	Kristuslegender
Lagerlöf, Selma	Der Gottesfrieden. 3 Erz	Dt Buchgemeinschaft	1	Sw	Drottningar i Kungahälla
Lagerlöf, Selma	Gösta Berling. Roman [45-50 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Sw	Gösta Berlings saga
Lagerlöf, Selma	Gösta Berling. Roman [Neudruck]	Hesse & Becker	-	Sw	Gösta Berlings Saga
Lauterbach, Julius	Mein Freund Juli-Bumm. Abenteuer d Kapit	Koehler & Amelang	-	Am	- [by Lowell Thomas] [5 Aufl]
Lawrence, D H	Söhne und Liebhaber. Roman [7-11 Tsd]	Insel	-	En	Sons and Lovers
Lawrence, D H	Söhne und Liebhaber. Roman. Neu übertrag	Insel	-	En	Sons and Lovers [4-6 Tsd]
Lawrence, D H	Todgeweihtes Herz. Roman	Höger	1	En	The Trespasser
Laxdoelasaga	Geschichte v d Leuten a d Lachswassertal	Diederichs	-	Ol	Laxdoelasaga [6 u 7 Tsd]
Leeuw, Aart van der	Ich und mein Spielmann. Eine leichtherzi	Leo & Co	1	Ne	Ik en mijn speelman
Leslie, Doris	Die Frauen von Wroth. Roman	Holle & Co	1	En	Fair Company
Leßkow, Nikolai	Der versiegelte Engel	Holle & Co	1	Ru	Zapecatlennyj angel
Lewis, Cecil	Schütze im Aufstieg. Eine autobiogr Erzä	Rowohlt	1	En	Sagittarius Rising
Lewis, Sinclair	"...König sein dagegen sehr!". Roman	Humanitas	1	En	Let us Play King
Lin Tsiu-Sen	Chinesische Legenden [10 S]	Metzner	1	Ch	-
Lincoln, N[atalie] S	Rätsel um Ellinor. Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	1	Am	-
Locke, William J	Der geliebte Vagabund. Roman	Frick	1	En	The Beloved Vagabond
Lökken, Thomas Olesen	Niels Hald. Roman	Holle & Co	1	Da	- [Da original in 3 volumes] [1-3
London, Jack	Die Art des weißen Mannes	Universitas	1	En	- [Werke, Ausz]
Lulofs, Madelon	Gummi. Roman aus Sumatra [31-33 Tsd]	Holle & Co	-	Ne	Rubber
Lulofs, Madelon	Hungerpatrouille. Roman a Nieder-Indien	Holle & Co	1	Ne	De Hungertocht
Lulofs, Madelon	Kolonisten	Holle & Co	1	Ne	Emigranten [1-8 Tsd]
Lyttkens, Alice	Man muß soviel in dieser Welt. Roman	Zsolnay	1	Sw	Det är mycket man maste [1-5 Tsd]
Lyttkens, Alice	Wonach wir uns alle sehnen. Roman	Zsolnay	1	Sw	Det är dit vi längtas. 1-6 Tsd
Mahrt, Haakon Bugge	Die Sonne kommt wieder. Roman	Piper	1	No	Orkanen
Malyschew, Peter	Petja, ein Vagabundenleben. 8 Jahre i d	Nibelungen-Verlag	1	Ru	- [1-5 Tsd]
Mansfield, Katherine	Das Gartenfest u a Geschichten	Reichner	1	En	[from: The Garden Party, The Dove]
Maria, Jaroslav	Advokaten. Roman	Ed Kaiser	1	Cz	-
Marquand, John P	Der selige Mister Apley. Roman a d golde	C H Beck	1	Am	The Late George Apley

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Masefield, John	Die Geschichte einer Rettung	Vieweg	1	En	Victorious Troy
Masterman, W[alter] S	Der falsche Brief. Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	1	En	The Wrong Letter
Maugham, W Somerset	Menschen der Südsee. Ein Novellenkreis	Tal	1	En	The Trembling of a Leaf
Maugham, W Somerset	Theater	Bastei	1	En	Theatre [1-5 Tsd]
Melle, Jan van	Bart Nell der Rebell. Roman	G Altenburg	1	Af	Bart Nel de opstandeling
Merrel, Concordia	Diana und die Liebe. Roman	Lipsia	1	En	Diana and the Love [sic]
Meynell, Esther	Die kleine Chronik der Anna Magdalena Ba	Koehler & Amelang	-	En	The Little Chronicle.. [21 Aufl;]
Minney, R[ubeigh] J[ames]	Kampf um Indien. Roman d Lord Clive	Aufwärts	1	En	Clive
Mitchell, Margaret	Vom Winde verweht [41-60 Tsd]	Goverts	-	En	Gone with the Wind
Mitchell, Margaret	Vom Winde verweht. Roman	Goverts	1	En	Gone with the Wind
Mitchell, Margaret	Vom Winde verweht. Roman [15-19 Tsd]	Goverts	-	En	Gone with the Wind
Moberg, Wilhelm	Fern von der Landstraße. Roman	Zsolnay	1	Sw	Langt fran landsvagen
Molière	Der eingebildete Kranke. Lustspiel	Rohmkopf	1	Fr	Le Malade imaginaire
Montherlant, H[enry] de	Die Mädchen. Roman	Atrium	1	Fr	Les jeunes Filles
Morgan, Charles	Das Bildnis. Roman	Dt Verlagsanstalt	1	En	Portrait in a Mirror
Morgan, Charles	Das Bildnis. Roman [9 u 10 Tsd]	Dt Verlagsanstalt	-	En	Portrait in a Mirror
Morgan, Charles	Der Quell. Roman [12-14 Tsd]	Dt Verlagsanstalt	-	En	The Fountain
Morgan, Charles	Der Quell. Roman [15-16 Tsd]	Dt Verlagsanstalt	-	En	The Fountain
Morgan, Charles	Der Quell. Roman [17-18 Tsd]	Dt Verlagsanstalt	-	En	The Fountain
Morgan, Charles	Die Flamme. Sparkenbroke [11 u 12 Tsd]	Dt Verlagsanstalt	-	En	-
Morgan, Charles	Die Flamme. Sparkenbroke [13, 14 Tsd]	Dt Verlagsanstalt	-	En	Sparkenbroke
Morgan, Charles	Die Flamme. Sparkenbroke [15 u 16 Tsd]	Dt Verlagsanstalt	-	En	Sparkenbroke
Mottistone, Lord	Mein Pferd Warrior [13, 14 Tsd]	Dt Verlagsanstalt	-	En	My Horse Warrior
Mulford, Clarence E	Der Einsame	Buchwarte	1	En	The Orphan
Munthe, Axel	Das Buch von San Michele [146-150 Aufl]	P List	-	En	The Story of San Michele
Munthe, Axel	Das Buch von San Michele [neue Ausgabe]	Knaur	-	En	The Story of San Michele
Murasaki, genannt Shikibu	Die Geschichte vom Prinzen Genji	Insel	1	En	[intermediary tr = Arthur Waley]
Murger, Henri	Bohème. Bilder a d Pariser Künstlerwelt	Rothbarth	1	Fr	Scènes de la vie bohème
Nagel, Kurt	Englische Gedichte. 222 Gedichte a d lez	Hempel	1	En	- [mit nebengesetzter dt Übertr]
Neagoe, Peter	Hier ist meine Welt. Roman	Zinnen	1	En	There is my Heart
Nielsen-Stevns, S[ara]	Die köstliche Gabe. Roman	Drei-Masken	1	Da	Den kostelige Gave
Nikolaus v Jeroschin	Abenteuer, Novellen u Schwänke a d "Kron	Bücherstube	1	Nh	Kronike von Pruzinlant
Nordhoff, C/J N Hall	Hurrikan. Roman	Zinnen	1	En	Hurricane

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Norris, Frank	Gier nach Gold. Roman	Linden	1	Am	McTeague
Norris, Frank	Shanghaied. Eine abenteuerliche Geschich	Linden	1	Am	Shanghaied
Nyblom, Helene	Onkelchen. Roman [Neudruck]	Weichert	-	Sw	-
Nyirö, Josef	Der Uz. Roman a d Schneebergen Siebenbü	Zsolnay	1	Hu	Uz Bence
O'Brien, Jack	Silberherr. Abenteuerroman	Goldmann	1	En	Silver Chief
O'Donnell, E P	Das große Delta. Roman	Bermann-Fischer	1	Am	Green Margins
Oedmann, Malin	Der unheimliche Wald. Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	-	Sw	- [first publ Moewig & Hoffner]
Oftedal, Johanna	Constanze erobert New York. Heiterer Rom	Fromme	1	No	New York tur og retur
Orczy, Baroness	Eine Frau unter Tausenden. Geschichte de	von Schröder	1	En	The Turbulent Duchess [=Ferdinande
Ortega, Manuel	Der Ring des Kardinals. Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	-	Sp	- [first publ Moewig & Hoffner]
Ovidius Naso, Publius	Liebeskunst [6-7 Tsd] [N d Üb W Herzberg	Heimeran	-	La	Ars amatoria
Oyen, Henry	Der Holzkönig. Roman a d kanad Bergen	Neuer Buchverlag	1	En	The Man's Trail
Packard, Frank L	Der Wunderdoktor	Antäus	1	En	The Miracle Man
Packard, Frank L	Die Pirateninsel	Antäus	1	En	The Devil's Mantle
Peck, Geo W	Tagebuch eines bösen Buben	Das Bergland-Buch	1	En	A Bad Boy's Diary
Pérochon, Ernest	Magdalene. Geschichte e einfachen Herzen	Vieweg	1	Fr	Nene
Petrarca, Francesco	Der Canzoniere auf das Leben u den Tod d	Amalthea	1	It	Il canzoniere
Po Hsing Tschien	Fräulein Tsui und Fräulein Li. 2 ch Nove	Hyperion	-	Ch	- [not listed as a tr] [11-20 Tsd]
Poe, Edgar Allan	Drei mystische Erzählungen [Neue Aufl]	Hyperion	-	En	- [Teils]
Psichari, Ernest	Der Wüstenritt des Hauptmanns	Herder	1	Fr	Le Voyage du centurion
Puschkin	Boris Godunow	Dt Staatsverlag	1	Ru	Boris Godunov
Puschkin	Die Hauptmannstochter	Dt Staatsverlag	1	Ru	Kapitanskaja docka
Puschkin, Alexander S	Gedichte	H von Weber	1	Ru	-
Queen, Ellery	Die Dame mit dem Schleier. Kriminalroman	Ullstein	1	En	Halfway House
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Ehen im roten Sturm. Tageb e russ Frau	Pustet	-	Ru	- [Symphonie d Lebens] [21 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Ehen im roten Sturm. Tageb e russ Frau	Pustet	-	Ru	- [Symphonie d Lebens] [22 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Ehen im roten Sturm. Tageb e russ Frau	Pustet	-	Ru	- [Symphonie d Lebens] [23 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Ehen im roten Sturm. Tageb e russ Frau	Pustet	-	Ru	- [Symphonie d Lebens] [25 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Ehen im roten Sturm. Tageb e russ Frau	Pustet	-	Ru	- [Symphonie d Lebens] [26 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Geheimnisse um Tataren und Götzen. Erleb	Pustet	-	Ru	- [5 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Milchfrau in Ottakring. Tageb e russ Fra	Pustet	-	Ru	- [Symphonie d Lebens] [17 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Milchfrau in Ottakring. Tageb e russ Fra	Pustet	-	Ru	- [Symphonie d Lebens] [18 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Milchfrau in Ottakring. Tageb e russ Fra	Pustet	-	Ru	- [Symphonie d Lebens] [19 Aufl]

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Milchfrau in Ottakring. Tageb e russ Fra	Pustet	-	Ru	- [Symphonie d Lebens] [20 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Milchfrau in Ottakring. Tageb e russ Fra	Pustet	-	Ru	- [Symphonie d Lebens] [21 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Studenten, Liebe, Tscheka u Tod. Tageb e	Pustet	-	Ru	- [Symphonie d Lebens] [29 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Studenten, Liebe, Tscheka u Tod. Tageb e	Pustet	-	Ru	- [Symphonie d Lebens] [30 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Studenten, Liebe, Tscheka und Tod. Tageb	Pustet	-	Ru	- [Symphonie d Lebens] [25 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Studenten, Liebe, Tscheka und Tod. Tageb	Pustet	-	Ru	- [Symphonie d Lebens] [27 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Studenten, Liebe, Tscheka und Tod. Tageb	Pustet	-	Ru	- [Symphonie d Lebens] [31 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Tragödie e Liebe. Roman d Ehe Leo Tolsto	O Müller	-	Ru	- [2 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Tragödie einer Liebe. Roman d Ehe Leo To	Otto Müller	-	Ru	- [8 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alexandra	Tragödie einer Liebe. Roman d Ehe Leo To	Otto Müller	-	Ru	- [Leo Tolstoi's marriage] [7 Aufl]
Rachmanowa, Alja	Die Fabrik des neuen Menschen [13 Aufl]	Pustet	-	Ru	-
Rachmanowa, Alja	Die Fabrik des neuen Menschen [15 Aufl]	Otto Müller	-	Ru	-
Rachmanowa, Alja	Die Fabrik des neuen Menschen. Roman	Pustet	-	Ru	- [14 Aufl]
Raffalovich, Serge/H Mons	Die große Liebe d Mona Lisa. Hist Roman	Hallwag	1	Fr	Le Roman de la Joconde
Rasmussen, Knud	Die Gabe des Adlers. Eskimoische Märchen	Societäts-Verl	1	Da	- [Übers u bearb von Aenne...]
Ratel, Simonne	Frau Isabelle. Roman	Kiepenheuer	1	Fr	La Maison des Bories
Rayment, Tarlton	Das Tal des Himmels. Roman	E Sicker	1	En	The Valley of the Sky
Reinhart, Hans	St Galler Spiel v d Kindheit Jesu [13 Jh	Hug & Co	-	Mh	- [Frei a d Urtext übertr u f Bühn
Reymont, W[ladislaw] S	Die Bauern. Roman [20-25 Tsd]	Diederichs	-	Po	Chlopi
Rhode, John	Nikotin im Tee. Kriminalroman	Tal	1	En	Murder at Breakfast
Richardson, Norval	Maskenball in Bukarest. Kriminalroman	Uhlmann	1	En	Third and Last
Rinehart, M[ary] R	Das Verschwinden der Jenny Brice. Detekt	Aufwärts	1	Am	The Case of Jennie
Rinehart, M[ary] R	Elf einundzwanzig. Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	1	En	-
Rinehart, M[ary] R	In der Falle. Kriminalroman	Aufwärts	1	En	When a Man Marries
Ring, Barbra	Klein Mette. Roman [4 u 5 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Lille-Mette
Rölvaag, Ole Edward	Peder der Sieger. Roman	Schünemann	1	No	Peder Seier
Romains, Jules	Die Demütigen. Roman	Rowohlt	1	Fr	Les Humbles
Roy, Kristina	Ohne Gott in der Welt. Erz a d slowak Vo	Urban	-	Sl	Bez Boha na svete [16 Aufl]
Russell, Elizabeth	Alle Hunde meines Lebens	S Fischer	1	En	All the Dogs of my Life [1-8 Aufl]
Sachs, Hans	Das Kälberbrüten. In freier Übertrgg spr	A Strauch	-	Nh	-[17-21 Tsd]
Salminen, Sally	Katrina. Roman	Insel	1	Sw	Katrina
Salminen, Sally	Katrina. Roman [16-23 Tsd]	Insel	-	Sw	Katrina
Salminen, Sally	Katrina. Roman [34-40 Tsd]	Insel	-	Sw	-

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Salminen, Sally	Katrina. Roman [6-15 Tsd]	Insel	-	Sw	Katrina
Salminen, Sally.	Katrina. Roman [24-33 Tsd]	Insel	-	Sw	-
Sandoz, Mari	Old Jules	Atlantis	1	En	-
Sandoz, Maurice	Seltsame Erinnerungen	Fretz	1	Fr	-
Sapper	Mord im Nebel. Kriminal-Roman	Aufwärts	1	En	The Return of Bulldog Drummond
Sayers, Dorothy L	Aufbruch in Oxford. Roman. Mit e Geleitwo	Christian Wegner	1	En	Gaudy Night [..rt v Bernhard Fehr]
Schmidtbonn, Wilhelm	Die siebzig Geschichten d Papageien. Nac	Rütten & Loening	-	Tu	- [n d Türkischen neu erz; neue Au
Schneur, Salman	Noah Pandre. Roman	Brandus	1	Yi	Noah Pandre
Sealsfield, Charles	Die weiße Rose. Roman a d Wild-West-Zeit	Vieweg	1	En	Tokeah or the White Rose
Segebarth, Johann	Die Schmuggler von Darß	Lenz	1	Pd	De Darsser Smuggler. Hochdt Bearb
Shakespeare	Die Aufnahme Shakespeares...[incl 4 trs]	Reclam	1	En	- [4 trs; about Enltmnt reception]
Shakespeare	Hamlet, Prinz von Dänemark. Dt a d Urtex	Hartung	1	En	Hamlet, Prince of Denmark
Shakespeare	König Richard III. Dt aus dem Urtext v W	Hartung	1	En	King Richard III
Shakespeare	Macbeth. Dt aus dem Urtext v Walter Jost	Hartung	1	En	Macbeth
Shakespeare, William	Shakespeare-Trostbüchlein f viele Lagen	P List	1	En	- [Werke, Ausz]
Sheean, Vincent	Sanfelice. Roman	Bermann-Fischer	1	En	Sanfelice
Sheppard, Alfred T	Rom gibt, Rom nimmt. Roman	Goverts	1	En	Rome's Gift
Sheridan, Richard B	Himmlische Hölle. Schiffsjunge nur so zu	Frundsberg	1	En	Heavenly Hell
Sick, Ingeborg Maria	Die Stunde Gottes. 2 Erz	Reinhard	1	Da	- [1-6 Tsd]
Sillanpää, Franz	Silja, die Magd [7-9 Tsd]	Insel	-	Fi	Nuorena nukkunut
Sillanpää, F[rans] E	Menschen in der Sommernacht [7-9 Tsd]	Insel	-	Fi	Ihmiset Suviyössa
Sillanpää, F[rans] E	Silja, die Magd [10-14 Tsd]	Insel	-	Fi	Nuorena nukkunut
Silvestre, Charles	Das unerschöpfliche Herz. Roman	Hegner	1	Fr	Prodige du cœur
Simons, Jef	Flandern stirbt nicht. Das flämische Fro	Westphal	1	Fl	Eer Vlaanderen vergaat
Solonewitsch, Iwan	Die Verlorenen. Chronik namenlosen Leide	Essener Verlagsansta	1	Ru	Rossija w konclagere [Teil 2]
Sophokles	Tragödien	Insel	1	Gk	- [Werke]
Spurlos verschwunden	Spurlos verschwunden. Kriminalr v Frankl	Antäus	1	Am	President's Mystery Story[Roosevel
Steen, Marguerite	Land d Liebe, Land d Leidenschaft, Spani	Zsolnay	1	En	The One-Eyed Moon
Steffen, Albert/P MacKaye	Im andern Land. Gedichte, gegenseitig üb	Schöne Wissenschafte	1	En	In Another Land
Sterne, Laurence	Das Leben u die Ansichten Tristram Shand	Dt Buch-Gemeinschaft	1	En	The Life and Opinions...
Stowell, W[illiam] A	Das Haus der summenden Wände. Detektiv	Aufwärts	1	Am	The Mystery of the Singing Walls
Street, Julian	Wochenend auf Schloß Denbeck	Knorr & Hirth	1	En	The Need of Change
Streuvels, Stijn	Der Flachsacker	Insel	1	Fl	De vlaschaard

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Streuvelds, Stijn	Frühling. Erzählung	Engelhorn	1	Fl	Lente [1-5 Tsd]
Streuvelds, Stijn	Kinderseelchen [1-5 Tsd]	Engelhorn	1	Fl	Kinderzieltje [Alleinberechtigte Ü
Streuvelds, Stijn	Martje Maartens u der verruchte Totengrä	Reclam	1	Fl	- [from Lenteleven]
Streuvelds, Stijn	Weihnachtsgeschichten	Engelhorn	1	Fl	- [Teils] 1-5 Tsd
Stribling, S[igismund]	Colonel Vaiden. Roman	E Sicker	1	Am	The Store
Strindberg, August	Tschandala [Ill von Alfred Kubin]	Verl d Johannes-Pres	1	Sw	-
Strong, Austin	Im siebenten Himmel. Ein Roman	Aufwärts	1	En	Seventh Heaven
Stuart, Francis	Der Jüngste von Rosaril. Roman	Schützen	1	En	The White Hare
Sue, Eugen	Der ewige Jude. Roman [Neudr][sinng gekü	Weichert	-	Fr	Juif errant
Supervielle, Jules	Ochs und Esel bei der Krippe	Herbig	1	Fr	Le Boeuf et l'ane de la crèche
Surányi, Miklos	Ein Volk allein. Histor Roman-Trilogie	Zsolnay	1	Hu	Egyedül vagyunk
Sutra	Die "heilige" Sutra u a japan Geschichte	Meißners	1	Ja	-
Swift, Jonathan	Gullivers Reisen [Neue Aufl]	Insel	-	En	Gulliver's Travels
Szelburg-Zarembina, Eva	Johannas Wanderung. Roman	Universitas	1	Po	Wedrowka Joanny
Talvio, Maila	Die April-Anna	Theaterverl Albert L	1	Fi	Huhtikuun-Manta
Talvio, Maila	Die Kraniche	Albert Langen/Georg	1	Fi	Kurjet
Talvio, Maila	Die Kraniche [6-10 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Fi	Kurjet
Tang Hsiän-Dsu	Die Rückkehr der Seele. Romantisches Dra	Rascher	1	Ch	Huan hun dji
Taylor, Ph[oebe] A	Das Haus auf der Sandinsel. Kriminalroma	Kulturelle Verlagsge	1	En	Sandbar Sinister
Tersánszky, Eugen J	Die Hasengulasch-Legende	Biblos	1	Hu	Legenda a nyulpaprikasrol
Thackeray, William M	Die welterschütternden Abenteuer d Major	Würfel	1	En	The Tremendous Adv of Major Gahaga
Thompson-Seton, Ernest	Die Wölfin Wosca u a Tier- u Urweltgesch	Goldmann	1	En	Mainly About Wolves
Timmermans, Felix	Beim Krabbenkocher. Erzählg	Insel	1	Fl	Bij de Krabbekoker
Timmermans, Felix	Der Pfarrer vom blühenden Weinberg[24-27	Insel	-	Fl	De Pastoor uit den bloeyenden wijn
Timmermans, Felix	Pallieter [126-140 Tsd]	Insel	-	Fl	-
Tolstoi, Graf Leo	Anna Karenina [Neudruck]	Weichert	-	Ru	- [Übertr u bearb]
Tolstoi, Leo	Anna Karenina [neue durchge Üb] [7-10 Ts	Diederichs	-	Ru	-
Tolstoi, Leo	Anna Karenina. Ein Roman in 8 Tln	Insel	1	Ru	-
Tolstoi, Leo	Herr und Knecht [Neudruck]	Weichert	-	Ru	Chozjain i rabotnik
Tolstoi, Leo N	Auferstehung. Neu durchges Übertr [11-12	Diederichs	-	Ru	Voskresenie
Tuttle, W C	Die Geisterreiter. Wild-West-Roman	Aufwärts	1	En	Ghost Trails
Undset, Sigrid	Weihnachtsfrieden	Styria	1	No	Julefreden [1-3 Tsd]
Valdess, Richard	Männer am Meer. Roman a d lett Seemanns	Plates	1	Lt	Juras vilki

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Van Dine, S S	Alles auf einem Pferd. Kriminalroman	Tal	1	En	The Garden Murder Case
Vance, Louis Joseph	Die Bronzeschale. Ein Kriminalroman	Aufwärts	1	Am	The Brass Bowl
Vandercook, John W	Das Geheimnis der Fidschi-Insel. Detekti	Goldmann	1	En	Murder in Fidji
Vanecura, Vladislav	Die Räuberbraut Margarete Lazar. Roman	Mars	1	Cz	Marketa Lazarova
Vaszary, Gábor von	Zwei gegen Paris. Roman	Esche	1	Hu	Ketten Paris ellen [1-10 Tsd]
Vergilius Maro, Publius	Eklogen. Ins Dt übertr v Goetz von Precz	Schwabe	1	La	Bucolica [lat u dt]
Verner, Gerald	Black Skull [sic]. Kriminalroman	Eden	1	En	Black Skull
Verner, Gerald	Der Henker. Kriminalroman	Eden	1	En	The Hangman
Verner, Gerald	Der krumme Kreis. Kriminalroman	Eden	1	En	The Crooked Circle
Verner, Gerald	Die Blitzkolonne. Kriminalroman	Eden	1	En	Q-Squad
Verner, Gerald	Mr Whipple enthüllt. Kriminalroman	Eden	1	En	Mr Whipple Explains
Verwey, Albert	12 Gedichte. Übertr u eingel v Rudolf Pa	Ellermann	1	Fr	-
Vesaas, Tarjei	Das große Spiel. Roman	Universitas	1	No	Det store spelet
Vesaas, Tarjei	Eine Frau ruft heim. Roman	Universitas	1	No	Kvinnor ropar heim
Villon, François	Das große Testament	Sussmann	1	Fr	Le grand Testament
Villon, François	Dichtungen. Frz u dt, übertr u m Anmerku	Callwey	1	Fr	- [Werke]
Wäscha-kwonnesin	Kleiner Bruder. Grau-Eule erzählt v Indi	Franckh	-	En	Pilgrims of the Wild [9 Aufl]
Wallace, Edgar	Das Geheimnis der Stecknadel [Neudruck]	Goldmann	-	En	The Clue of the New Pin
Wallace, Edgar	Der Diamantenfluß [Neudruck]	Goldmann	-	En	The River of Stars
Wallace, Edgar	Der Safe mit dem Rätselschloß [Neudruck]	Goldmann	-	En	Angel Esquire
Wallace, Edgar	Die blaue Hand [Neudruck]	Goldmann	-	En	The Blue Hand
Wallace, Edgar	Die Melodie des Todes [Neudruck]	Goldmann	-	En	The Melody of Death
Wallace, Edgar	Hand Up! Hands Up! [sic] [Neudruck]	Goldmann	-	En	Hands Up! Hands Up!
Walpole, Hugh	Herries, der Vagant. Roman	Holle & Co	1	En	Rogue Herries
Walpole, Hugh	Judith Paris. Roman	Holle & Co	1	En	-
Walsh, J[ames] M	Der Mann hinter dem Vorhang. Detektiv-Ro	Aufwärts	1	En	The Man behind the Curtains
Walsh, J[ames] M	Die weiße Maske. Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	1	En	The White Mask
Walsh, J[ames] M	Männer im Dunkeln. Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	1	En	The Company of Shadows
Walsh, J[ames] M	Schüsse in der Nacht. Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	1	En	The Black Ghost
Walsh, J[ames] M	Tod im Autobus. Detektiv-Roman	Aufwärts	1	En	The Mystery of the Green Caterpill
Walther v d Vogelweide	Gedichte. Erneuert v Hermann Stodte	Eher	1	Mh	-
Wermeskerken, Henri van	Die Zuckerlady. Lust Roman aus Java	Hans Müller	1	Ne	Suikerfreule
Wermeskerken, Henri van	Notlandung ins Glück. Roman	Hans Müller	1	Ne	Het Manneneiland

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Wernher der Gärtner	Meier Helmbrecht [11-15 Tsd]	Insel	-	Mh	-
Weyssenhoff, Josef	Der Zobel und die Fee. Jagdroman	Essener	1	Po	Soboli Pana
Wheatley, Dennis	Mord bei Miami. Die Polizeiakte m Origin	Burmester	1	En	Murder of Miami
Widén, Albin	Heim will ich wieder reiten [5-7 Tsd]	Holle & Co	-	Sw	Hem vil jag ater rida
Widén, Albin	Heim will ich wieder reiten. Roman	Holle & Co	1	Sw	Hem vil jag ater rida
Wilde, Oscar	Werke in zwei Bden. Mit e Einl v Wolfgan	Knauer	1	En	- [not listed as a translation]
Wilde, Oskar	Das Gespenst von Canterville	Thalia	1	En	The Ghost of Canterville
Williamson, Thames	So spricht die Erde. Roman	Tal	1	En	The Earth Told Me
Wodehouse, P G	Billie, welchen meinst Du?	Kittl	1	En	The Girl on the Boat
Wodehouse, P G	Die Fürstin von Blandings. Ein heiterer	Aufwärts	1	En	Summer Lightning
Wodehouse, P G	Wenn der Vater mit dem Sohne. Ein lustig	Aufwärts	1	En	Piccadilly Jim
Wolfe, Thomas	Vom Tod zum Morgen	Rowohlt	1	En	From Death to Morning
Wolfram v Eschenbach	Parzival	Hanseatische	1	Mh	-
Woude, Johan van der	Die Magalhaens-Straße. Roman	Holle & Co	1	Ne	Straat Magellanes
Zilahy, Lajos	Etwas treibt inm Wasser. Roman	Zsolnay	1	Hu	Valamit visz a visz
Zilahy, Lajos	Zwei Gefangene. Roman	Zsolnay	1	Hu	Két fogoly

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Ady[, Endre]	Zu Gottes linker Hand. Ausgew. Gedichte	R Gergely	1	Hu	- [Teils]
Akerhielm, Beth	Das grüne Bataillon. Roman	Huber	1	Sw	Den gröna bataljonen
Alarcón, Pedro Antonio de	Die Verschwenderin. Roman	Frick	1	Sp	La prodiga
Alvaro, Corrado	Die Hirten vom Aspromonte. Erdenmächte u	Henssel	1	It	Gente in Aspromonte
Ammers-Küller, Jo van	Die Familie Quist. Roman	Schweizer Druck- u V	1	Ne	- [Auslfg nur f d Schweiz]
Ammers-Küller, Jo van	Die Treue der Tavelincks, 1799-1813 [11-	Schünemann	-	Ne	De Getrouwen [11-15 Tsd]
Andersen, Carlo	Der dritte Schuß. Kriminalroman [1-4 Tsd	A Müller	1	Da	Det tredje Skud
Andersen, Carlo	Der entscheidende Beweis. Kriminalroman	A Müller	1	Da	Det afgørende Bevis [1-4 Tsd]
Andersen, Hans Christian	Die schönsten Märchen [21-40 Tsd]	Insel	1	Da	Eventyr og Historier [Feldpostausg
Angelis, Augusto de	Das verhängnisvolle C. Kriminalroman	A Müller	1	It	Il do tragico [1-4 Tsd]
Annunzio, Gabriele d'	Amaranta. Das Tagebuch e Leidenschaft	Karl H Bischoff	1	It	Solus ad solam
Annunzio, Gabriele d'	Feuer. Roman [3 Aufl]	P Franke	-	It	Il Fuoco
Arland, Marcel	Heimaterde. Roman	Rauch	1	Fr	Terre natale
Aslagsson, Olai	Der Kojote. 4 Erzählgn [16-20 Tsd]	Scherl	-	No	Under Praeriens Himmel
Awertschenko, Arkadij	Leitfaden für Faulenzer	Stephenson	1	Ru	- [Werke, Ausz]
Azorin [= J Martinez Ruiz	Spanische Visionen. Literar Paraphrasen	Rascher	1	Sp	- [Teils]
Bacchelli, Riccardo	Eine leidenschaftliche Ehe [1-3 Tsd]	Droste	1	It	Un passione coniugale
Barbey, Bernard	Im Morgengrauen. Roman	Scientia	1	Fr	La Crépuscule du matin
Belli, Adriano	Flöte und Fanfare. Neue Gedichte [1-3 Ts	Kreisel	1	It	Altre poesie [Ausz]
Benl, Oscar	Flüchtiges Leben. Moderne japan Erzgn	Landsmann	1	Ja	- [aus d Orig übertr]
Beonio-Brocchieri, Vittor	Ein Farmerjunge lernt fliegen	Dressler	1	It	Le ali del piccolo vagabondo
Berg, Bengt	Arizona Charleys Junge [Neuau sg 37-42 Ts	D Reimer	-	Sw	Arizona Charleys Pojke
Bergstrand-Poulsen, Elisa	Am Webstuhl des Lebens	Orell Füssli	1	Sw	Väven
Bernt, Alois	Liebe, Lust und Leid. Altdt Novellen, ub	CH Beck	-	Vs	- [21-25 Tsd]
Björnson, Björnsterne	Mutters Hände. Novelle	Meister	1	No	Mor's Haender
Björnson, Björnsterne	Synnöve Solbakken. Erzählg [36-55 Tsd]	Dt Volksbücher	-	No	-
Bobek, Josef	Die braunen Schuhe u a kroatische Novell	Meiner	1	Cr	-
Boissevain, Dieuke	Nur Fassade. Roman [1-3 Tsd]	A Müller	1	Ne	Facade
Bojer, Johan	Des Königs Kerle. Roman [5-8 Tsd]	C H Beck	-	No	Kongens Karer
Bojer, Johan	Die Auswanderer. Roman [23-26 Tsd]	C H Beck	-	No	Vor egen Stamme
Bojer, Johan	Die Lofotfischer. Roman [38-43 Tsd]	C H Beck	-	No	Den siste Viking
Borberg, Svend	Sünder u Heiliger. Tragödie	Hoffmann & Campe	1	Da	-
Brocchi, Virgilio	Erinnerung an Netty. Gesch e Familie	Zsolnay/Karl H Bisch	1	It	Netty

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Bruijn, Cor	Strandgut. Roman [1-10 Tsd]	Staackmann	1	Ne	Sil, de strandjutter
Bruun, Laurids	Der unbekannte Gott. Roman [3 Aufl]	Antäus	-	Da	Den ukendte Gud
Buzzati, Dino	Im vergessenen Fort. Roman	Karl H Bischoff	1	It	Il deserto dei Tartari
Cauwelaert, August van	Der Gang auf den Hügel. Roman [2 Aufl]	Herder	-	Fl	Harry [verdeutscht v Hans Roland F
Chateaubriant, Alphonse d	Herr von Lourdines. Gesch e Landedelmann	Kösel-Pustet	1	Fr	Monsieur des Lourdines
Chiesa, Francesco	Geschichten aus der Jugendzeit	Rascher	1	It	Racconti puerili
Chronsky, J C	Die armen Seligkeiten d Josef Mak [2 Auf	Hohenstaufen	-	Sl	Josef Mak
Chronsky, J[ozef] C	Die armen Seligkeiten des Josef Mak. Rom	Hohenstaufen	1	Sl	Josef Mak
Claes, Ernest	Flachskopf [31-36 Tsd]	Insel	-	Fl	De witte
Claes, Ernest	Hannes Raps. E Landstreichergesch [36-75	Insel	-	Fl	Wannes Raps [Feldpostausgabe]
Claes, Ernest	Jugend	Insel	1	Fl	Jeugd
Claudel, Paul	Gedichte	Schwabe	1	Fr	-
Colliander, Tito	Menschen gibt es...	Stephenson	1	Sw	- [Werke, Ausz]
Collins, W W[ilkie]	Der Mondstein	Fraumünster	1	En	The Moonstone
Conscience, Heinrich	Der Löwe von Flandern [22 u 23 neu durch	Aschendorff	-	Fl	De Leeuw van Vlaanderen
Conscience, H[endrik]	Der Löwe von Flandern. Hist Erz [8 Aufl]	Josef Habbel	-	Fl	De Leeuw van Vlaanderen [Neubearb
Coolen, Antoon	Der Mann mit dem Kasperletheater	Tiefland	1	Ne	De man met het Jan Klaassenspel
Cordan, Wolfgang	Spiegel d Niederlande. Die nied Dichtung	Tiefland	1	Ne	- [seit d achtziger Bewegg][2 erwe
Cossio, Francisco de	Manolo. Ein Leben im Freiheitskampf Span	O Müller	1	Sp	Manolo
Coster, Charles de	Die Brüder v guten Vollmondgesicht. Vlām	Meister	1	Fr	Les Frères de la bonne trogne
Coster, Charles de	Die Hochzeitsreise [35 Tsd]	Frau u Mutter	-	Fr	Le Voyage de noce
Coster, Charles de	Die Hochzeitsreise [50 Tsd; 10 Tsd d Fel	A Juncker	-	Fr	Le Voyage de noce [..dpostausgabe]
Cozzani, Ettore	Das verlorene Reich. Eine Jugend am Meer	Cotta	-	It	Il regno perduto [7-9 Tsd]
Cozzani, Ettore	Marmor und Erde. Roman e Mannes [11-15	Cotta	-	It	Un uomo
Cronin, A[rchibald] J	Die Sterne blicken herab [Neue Aufl]	Karl H Bischoff	1	En	The Stars Look Down [revised by tr
Dante	Neues Leben	Insel	1	It	Vita nuova
Dante Alighieri	Die göttliche Komödie	Atlantis	1	It	La divina commedia
De Angelis, Augusto	Das Geheimnis von Cinecitta. Kriminalrom	A Müller	1	It	Il mistero di Cinecitta [1-4 Tsd]
De Cèspeles, Alba	Der Ruf ans andere Ufer. Roman [neue Auf	Schaffrath	-	It	Nessuno torna indietro
Demedts, André	Die Ruhelosen	Alber	1	Fl	Vorbijgang
Die Scholle	Die Scholle. Ukrainische Novellen	Harrassowitz	1	Uk	-
Doroschewitsch, W M	Träumereien	Stephenson	1	Ru	- [Teils]
Dragumis, Ion	Samothrake	Rütten & Loening	1	Gk	- [a d Neugriechischen]

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Duun, Olav	Der Mensch und die Mächte. Roman [3 Aufl]	Goverts	-	No	Menneske og Maktene
Duun, Olav	Die Juwikingen [Neue Aufl 2 Bde]	Goverts	-	No	Juvikingar [tr in collab w author]
Duun, Olav	Die Juwikingen [Neue Auflage 2 Bde]	Goverts	-	No	Juvikingar [tr tog w author]
Duun, Olav	Die Olsøy-Burschen. Roman [2 Aufl]	Goverts	-	No	Olsøy-Gutane
Duun, Olav	Gott lächelt. Roman [6 Aufl]	Goverts	-	No	Gud smiler
Edda	Die Edda [101-105 Tsd d Volksausg]	Diederichs	-	ON	-
Edda	Die Edda [Volksausg 91-100 Tsd]	Diederichs	-	ON	-
Egge, Peter	Arnt Lein. Roman	Rütten & Loening	1	No	Arnt Lein
Egge, Peter	Gnadenbrot. Erzählg	Alber	1	No	-
Erkelenz, Carl Hanns	Flämische Weihnacht. Erzgn fl Dichter	Kösel-Pustet	-	Fl	- [6-8 Tsd]
Errico, Ezio d'	Der Untergang der "Schwalbe". Kriminalro	A Müller	1	It	Il superstiti dello "Hirondelle"
Errico, Ezio d'	Die Familie Morel. Kriminalroman [1-4 Ts	A Müller	1	It	La famiglia Morel
Errico, Ezio d'	Mord ohne Mörder. Kriminalroman [1-4 Tsd	A Müller	1	It	L'affare Jefferson
Errico, Ezio d'	Vollmondnächte im Zoo. Kriminalroman	A Müller	1	It	Plenilunio allo Zoo [1-4 Tsd]
Espina, Concha	Sechs Novellen	O Müller	1	Sp	- [Teils]
Falk-Rönne, Jörgen	Das Land des Glücks [23-27 Tsd]	Steinkopf	-	Da	Lykkens Land
Fauconnier, Henri	Das Palmenhaus. Roman a Malaienland	Payne	1	Fr	Malaisie
Fekete, Stefan	Tsch. Vier Tiernovellen	Karl H Bischoff	1	Hu	-
Fischer, Leck	Eine Frau von vierzig Jahren. Roman [1-5	Droste	1	Da	En Kvinde paa fyrrer
Fleuron, Svend	Die rote Koppel. Eine Fuchsgesch [106-11	Diederichs	-	Da	Det røde Kobbelt
Fleuron, Svend	Die rote Koppel. Eine Fuchsgesch [91-105	Diederichs	-	Da	Det røde Kobbelt
Fleuron, Svend	Flax Adilius. Leben e Schäferhd [21-30 T	Diederichs	-	Da	Flax Adilius
Fleuron, Svend	Flax Adilius. Leben e Schäferhds [31-35	Diederichs	-	Da	Flax Adilius
Fleuron, Svend	Schnipp Fidelius Adeltand [111-130 Tsd]	Diederichs	-	Da	Ib Fidelius Adeltand
Fleuron, Svend	Strix. Gesch e Uhus [61-77 Tsd]	Diederichs	-	Da	Det tuder om Natten
Franz von Assisi	Des Hl Franz von Assisi Sonnengesang [Ne	Fretz	-	It	Laudes creaturarum [It u dt]
Frateili, Arnaldo	Zwischen uns steht die Vergangenheit. Ro	Langer & Co	1	It	Clara fra i lupi
Frattini, Angelo	Glück muß man haben! [2 Aufl]	Stephenson	-	It	-
Fries, Hjalmar	Schönes schweres Leben	Grenze und Ausland	1	Da	Godseier Per
Frison-Roche, Roger	Seilgefährten. Ein Bergsteigerroman	Orell Füssli	1	Fr	Premier de cordée [bearb A Graber]
Gaboriau, Emile	Das Verbrechen von Orcival	Fraumünster	1	Fr	Le Crime d'Orcival
Gallarati Scotti, Tommaso	Törichtes Leben. Roman	Benziger	1	It	Un passo nella notte
Geijerstam, Gösta af	Das Sommerparadies [12-16 Tsd]	Westermann	-	No	Paradisidage i Storevik

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Geijerstam, Gösta af	Feriensonne auf Großwieck [8-12 Tsd]	Westermann	-	No	Ongene og vi to i Storevik
Geijerstam, Ragnar af	Drei Frauen. Roman	A Müller	1	Sw	Tre Fruar
Giono, Jean	Ernte. Roman [10-14 Aufl]	Suhrkamp	-	Fr	Regain
Gjems-Selmer, Aagot	Schwesterchen. Erzählg f d ganze Familie	Franckh	-	No	Lillemor [11-15 Tsd]
Gotta, Salvator	An den Rand des Lebens gestellt. Roman	Langer	-	It	Ombra la moglie bella [2 Aufl]
Gotta, Salvator	Herrin über Alle. Roman [2 Aufl]	Langer	-	It	La signora di tutti
Grimm, Wilhelm	Altdanische Heldenlieder. Neu hrsg v Max	Alster	1	Da	- [not listed as a tr]
Grix, Arthur Ernest	Tschikara. Die Rache d 47 Samurai [Neuau	Die Heimbucherei	-	Ja	- [Nach e japan Heldenepos]
Gudmundsson, Kristmann	Das neue Land. Roman [9-13 Tsd]	Piper	-	No	Det hellige Fjell
Gudmundsson, Kristmann	Vorfrühling. Roman [11-15 Tsd]	Piper	-	No	Förste Vaar
Guenther, Johannes von ed	Schule d Liebe. Ital Meisternovellen d R	Rütten & Loening	1	It	-[Renaissance]
Gulbranssen, Trygve	Das Erbe von Björndal [401-410 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Det blaser fra Dauingfjell
Gulbranssen, Trygve	Das Erbe von Björndal [411-420 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Det blaser fra Dauingfjell
Gulbranssen, Trygve	Und ewig singen die Wälder [511-530 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Og bakom synger skogene
Gulbranssen, Trygve	Und ewig singen die Wälder [531-540 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Og bakom synger skogene
Gummerus, E[duard] R	Dem Rufe getreu. Ein Finnlandroman	E Sicker	1	Sw	Fästningen
Gunnarsson, Gunnar	Die Eidbrüder. Roman d ersten Islandsied	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Da	Edbroedere [44-53 Tsd]
Gunnarsson, Gunnar	Die goldene Gegenwart. 2 Erz [36-40 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Da	-
Gunnarsson, Gunnar	Die goldene Gegenwart. 2 Erz [Feldpostau	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Da	- [41-60 Tsd]
Gunnarsson, Gunnar	Die goldene Gegenwart. 2 Erzgn [31-35 Ts	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Da	-
Gunnarsson, Gunnar	Die Leute auf Borg. Roman [41-50 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Da	Borgslaegtens historie
Gunnarsson, Gunnar	Die Leute auf Borg. Roman [51-55 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Da	Borgslaegtens historie
Gunnarsson, Gunnar	Einsamer Reiter u a isländ Novellen [11-	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Da	- [Werke, Ausz] [11-15 Tsd]
Gunnarsson, Gunnar	Im Zeichen Jörds. Roman [9-11 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Da	Jörd
Hamsun, Knut	August Weltumsegler. Roman [46-55 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	August
Hamsun, Knut	Die Liebe ist hart. Roman in 2 Erz [46-5	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	- [not listed as tr]
Hamsun, Knut	Ein Gespenst u a Erlebnisse [36-40 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	-
Hamsun, Knut	Ein Gespenst u a Erlebnisse [41-45 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	-
Hamsun, Knut	Ein Gespenst u a Erlebnisse. Feldpostaus	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	- [Feldpostausgabe] [46-65 Tsd]
Hamsun, Knut	Erzählungen [61-70 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	- [not listed as tr]
Hamsun, Knut	Gesammelte Novellen i e Bande [6-8 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	- [Teils]
Hamsun, Knut	Gottes Erde. Natur- u Landschaftsbilder	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	- [Feldpostausgabe] [71-90 Tsd]
Hamsun, Knut	Gottes Erde. Natur- u Landschaftsbilder	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	- [not listed as tr] [61-70 Tsd]

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Hamsun, Knut	Gottes Erde. Natur- u Landschaftsbilder	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	- [Werke, Ausz] [56-60 Tsd]
Hamsun, Knut	Kämpfende Kräfte. Erz in 2 Romanen [31-3	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	- [rev u hg J Sandmeier]
Hamsun, Knut	Leidenschaften. Erzgn u Geschichten	Dt Verlags-Expeditio	1	No	- [Werke, Ausz]
Hamsun, Knut	Pan. A Leutn Th Glahns Papieren [81-85 T	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	-
Hamsun, Knut	Pan. A Leutn Th Glahns Papieren [86-95 T	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	-
Hamsun, Knut	Pan. A Leutn Th Glahns Papieren [96-105	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	-
Hamsun, Knut	Segen der Erde. Roman [176-195 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Markens Groede
Hamsun, Knut	Segen der Erde. Roman [206-215 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Markens Groede
Hamsun, Knut	Victoria. Geschichte e Liebe [311-330 Ts	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Viktoria
Hamsun, Knut	Victoria. Geschichte e Liebe [331-335 Ts	Albert Langen/Georg	-	No	Viktoria
Hansen, Lars	In Schnee u Nordlicht u a Erz n [Feldpost	Rütten & Loening	1	No	I Sne og Nordlys [Ausz]
Hansen, Lars	Nordische Erzählungen [Feldpostausg]	Rütten & Loening	1	No	I Sne og Nordlys [Ausz]
Heidenstam, Verner von	Aus einem Heldenleben. 2 Geschn um Karl	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Sw	Karolinerna, Ausz [21-30 Tsd]
Heller, Frank	Die nachgelassen Finanzen d Grossherzog	Aufwärts	1	Sw	- [not listed as a tr]
Heller, Frank	Odysseus oder Die sieben Menus. E heiter	Stephenson	1	Sw	- [not listed as a tr][..Abenteuer
Henniger, Karl	Grettir der Starke. Eine Saga a Alt-Isia	Schaffstein	1	Ol	In gek Form nacherz [Feldpostausg]
Hino, Ashihei	Weizen und Soldaten. Kriegsbrieft e japa	P List	-	Ja	[Unteroffiziers] [21-28 Aufl]
Homer	Ilias in Ausw [4 Aufl]	Oldenbourg	-	Gk	-
Homerus	Achilleis. Homers Ur-Ilias. Übers in 7..	Hünenburg	1	Gk	Ilias [Ausz] [..Gesängen]
Hornborg, Harald	Das stärkere Blut. Roman [16-20 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Sw	Ödemarspråsten
Hrotsvit v Gandersheim	Dramen. In d Übers v O Piltz neu hrsg	Reclam	1	La	- [hrsg Fritz Preißl]
Italienische Novellen	Italienische Novellen. 3 Bde, Bd 1-3	L Schneider	1	It	- [not listed as a tr]
Jacobsen, Joergen-Frantz	Barbara und die Männer. Roman [21-26 Tsd]	Rowohlt	-	Da	Barbara [nur f d Wehrmacht]
Jacobsen, J[ens] P	Die Pest in Bergamo. Frau Fönß. 2 Novell	Meister	1	Da	Pesten i Bergamo
Järventaus, Arvi	Hinter hohen Bergen. Roman	Wegner	1	Fi	Maan hiljaiset
Jovkov, Jordan	Der Schnitter. Erz a d Dobrudscha [11-13	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Bu	Zetvarat
Jovkov, Jordan	Im Gasthof zu Antimovo. Geschn a d Dobru	v Hugo	1	Bu	Veceri v Antimovskija han
Kalewala	Kalewala. Das Nationalepos d Finnen	L Schneider	1	Fi	Kalevala
Kallas, Aino	Sankt Thomasnacht. Erzählg [16-20 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Fi	Imant ja hänen Aitinsä
Koch, Lauge	Von Lissabon nach Pearyland [1-3 Tsd]	Schaffstein	1	Da	Fra Lissabon til Peary Land
Kolar, Slavko	Der Herr seines Leibes. Erzählgn	Wiener Verlagsges	1	Cr	- [Feldpostausgabe]
Koskeniemi, V[eikko] A	Der junge Anssi u a Gedichte [11-20 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Fi	Nuori Anssi
Krasnow, P N	Der endlose Haß. Roman	Vier-Falken	1	Ru	Nenawistj

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Krasnow, P N	Vom Zarenadler zur roten Fahne [9 Aufl]	Vier-Falken	-	Ru	Ot dvuglavago.. [völlige Neubearb]
Krasser, Harald	Herzschlag d Erde. Rumän Lyrik d Gegenwa	Harrassowitz	1	Rm	- [Hrsg vom Rumän Institut in Dt]
Kroatische Novellen	Kroatische Novellen [2 Aufl]	Wiener Verlagsges	-	Cr	-
Kroatische Novellen	Kroatische Novellen [Neuauf]	Wiener Verlagsges	-	Cr	-
L'Ermite, Pierre	Menschen auf Irrwegen. Roman	Walter	1	Fr	Les Hommes sont fous!
La Varende, Jean de	Manon. Roman	Rauch	1	Fr	Man' d'Arc
Lagerlöf, Selma	Herrn Arnes Schatz. Erzählg [36-45 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Sw	Herr Arnes penningar
Lagerlöf, Selma	Herrn Arnes Schatz. Erzählg [46-55 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Sw	Herr Arnes penningar
Lagerlöf, Selma	Herrn Arnes Schatz. Erzählg [56-65 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Sw	Herr Arnes penningar
Le Fanu, J Sheridan	Grüner Tee. Bearbeitg v O C Recht	Fraumünster	1	En	- [Entn aus In a Glass Darkly]
Leeuw, Aart van der	Der kleine Rudolf	Tiefeland	1	Ne	De kleine Rudolf
Lewis, Sinclair	Babbitt. Roman	Aufwärts	1	En	Babbitt
Linklater, Eric	Juan in Amerika. Roman [1-10 Tsd]	Franckh	1	En	Juan in America
Linklater, Eric	Juan in Amerika. Roman [11-30 Tsd]	Franckh	-	En	Juan in America
Linklater, Eric	Juan in Amerika. Roman [31-72 Tsd]	Franckh	-	En	Juan in America
Linklater, Eric	Juan in Amerika. Roman [73-97 Tsd]	Franckh	-	En	Juan in America
London, Jack	In den Slums [Neuausg v Volk am Abgrund]	Universitas	1	En	People of the Abyss
Lorentzen, Mogens	Familie Geline. Ein heiterer Roman	Sponholtz	1	Da	Familien Geline
Macdonell, A[rchibald] G	Selbstbildnis eines Gentleman [28-35 Tsd]	Franckh	-	En	Autobiography of a Cad
Mälk, August	Im Angesicht des Himmels. Roman [6-15 Ts]	Herbig	-	Eo	Taeva palge all
Manninen, E N	Die Tundra droht. Roman aus Lappland	Frick	1	Fi	Tunturi uhkaa
Martinson, Moa	Die Frauen von Kolmarden [1-5 Tsd]	Droste	1	Sw	Drottning Gragyllen
Melville, Herman	Billy Budd. Vortoppmann auf d "Indomitab	Goverts	-	En	Billy Budd [8 Tsd]
Melville, Herman	Omu. Abenteuer i d Südsee [3 Aufl]	Antäus	-	En	Omoo. N d Üb v F Gerstäcker frei b
Melville, Herman	Taipi. Vier Monate a d Marquesas [3 Aufl]	Antäus	-	En	Typee. N d Üb v R Garigue frei bea
Meynell, Esther	Die kleine Chronik d Anna Magdalena Bach	v Hase & Koehler	-	En	The Little Chronicle.. [25 Aufl]
Moens, Wies, ed	Das flämische Kampfgedicht [Fläm u dt]	Diederichs	1	Fl	- [Gedichtübertrg] [1-5 Tsd]
Móra, Franz	Der einsame Kaiser. Roman	Ibach	1	Hu	Aranykoporsó
Moretti, Marino	Die Witwe Fioravanti. Roman	Orell Füssli	1	It	La vedova Fioravanti
Mullen, Pat	Irische Geschichten	Rütten & Loening	1	En	Irish Tales
Munthe, Axel	Unter dem Nordstern [18-27 Aufl][Feldpos	P List	-	En	The Story of San Michele [Ausz]
Naeff, Top	Vor dem Tore. Roman [1-20 Tsd]	Buchwarte	1	Ne	Voor de poort
Nemi, Orsola	Rococo. Roman	Frick	1	It	Rococo

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Neue bulgarische..	Neue bulgarische Erzähler [4-6 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Bu	- [Nachwt Dr G Gesemann]
Nuoliwaara, Auni	Kleine standhafte Katri. Roman [59-78 Ts]	P List	-	Fi	Paimen, Piika ja Emäntä [bearb]
Nyirö, Jozsef	Denn keiner trägt das Leben allein [Neue	v Hugo	1	Hu	Az en népem
O'Flaherty, Liam	Das braune Segel. Roman	Safari	1	En	Famine
Ojetti, Ugo	Ugo Ojetti berichtet. Italienische Varia	Goldmann	1	It	Cose viste [Ausz]
Olsson, Hagar	Der Holzschnitzer u der Tod. Erz n a Kare	Rascher	1	Sw	Träsnidaren och döden [a Karelén]
Pillecyn, Filip de	Der Soldat Johan. Roman	Altenburg	1	Fl	De soldaat Johan
Pindar	Die Dichtungen u Fragmente	Dieterich	1	La	- [Werke] [verdeutsch u erl v Lud
Pludons [, Vilis]	Einer Witwe Sohn. Ein Poem	Zelta Abele	1	Lt	Atraitnes dels
Popowa-Mutafova, Fani	Der Letzte der Assenows. Hist Roman	Karl H Bischoff	1	Bu	Poslednijat Asenovec
Prestre, W[illy] A	Das tötende Licht. Roman	Huber	1	Fr	La Lumiere qui tue
Ramuz, C[harles] F	Das Dorf in den Bergen	Morgarten	1	Fr	Le Village dans la Montagne
Ramuz, C[harles] F	Samuel Belet. Roman	Steinberg	1	Fr	Vie de Samuel Belet
Rebreanu, Liviu	Der Aufstand. Roman	Wiener Verlagsges	1	Rm	Rascoala
Rebreanu, Liviu	Die Erde, die trunken macht. Roman [Neua	Wiener Verlagsges	-	Rm	Jon
Richter, Max, Prof	Blütenlese rumänischer Novellen, Skizzen	Gronau	1	Rm	- [u Erzgn. Hrsg u übers]
Riesen, Wouter van	Angenietje Speerstra. Gesch e Mädchens	Alster	1	Ne	Angenietje Speerstra
Rossi, Vittorio G	Ozean. Roman [18-21 Aufl]	P List	-	It	Oceano
Rossi, Vittorio G	Wüste. Erzählgn a d Nahen Osten	P List	1	It	Sabbia
Rüdiger, Horst	Italienische Gedichte. Mit Übertrgn dt D	Rauch	-	It	- [..Dichter] [2 Aufl]
Runeberg, Joh[ann] Ludv	Fähnrich Stahl [Neue revid Ausg]	Söderström	1	Sw	Fänrik Stals Sägner
Runeberg, Joh[an] Ludwig	Fähnrich Stahl	Söderström	1	Sw	Fänrik Stals Sägner
Sadoveanu, Mihail	Nechifor Lipans Weib [9-13 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Rm	Baltagul
Saga	Die Geschichte Thidreks von Bern [4,5 Ts]	Diederichs	-	ON	Saga Diedriks af Bern
Salminen, Sally	Katrina. Roman [81-90 Tsd]	Insel	-	Sw	Katrina
Saraja, Viljo	Waffenbrüder	P List	1	Fi	Lunastettu maa
Scerbanenco, Giorgio	Der sechste Tag. Kriminalroman [1-4 Tsd]	A Müller	1	It	Sei giorni di preavviso
Scharten-Antink, C + M	Der Narr aus den Maremmna. Roman	Dressler	1	Ne	De nar uit de Maremmen
Schwarz, Wolfgang	Italienische Dichtung v Dante b Mussolin	Gauverl-NS Schlesien	1	It	- [Eine Anthologie] [1-10 Tsd]
Seppänen, Unto	Markku und sein Geschlecht. Roman [31-35	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Fi	-
Shakespeares Zeitgenossen	Shakespeares Zeitgenossen. Bd 1.2.	L Schneider	1	En	-
Snorri Sturluson	Die jüngere Edda. M d sogen ersten gramm	Diederichs	-	ON	Edda [4 u 5 Tsd]
Sophokles	Aias	Schwabe	1	Gk	Aiax

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Spies, Otto	Das Blutgeld u a türkische Novellen	Meiner	1	Tu	- [übersetzt u besprochen von Otto
Spong, Berit	Die Fuchsgrube. Erzählgn	Reclam	1	Sw	- [Teils]
Stendhal	Rot und Schwarz. Zeitbild v 1830 [3 Aufl	Insel	-	Fr	Le Rouge et le noir
Streuvelds, Stijn	Letzte Nacht [21-25 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Fl	Kerstwake
Streuvelds, Stijn	Quertreiber am Werk. Erzählungen	Verl dt Volksbücher	1	Fl	- [Werke, Ausz]
Strindberg, August	Schwedische Miniaturen	Rütten & Loening	1	Sw	Nya svenska öden
Stuart, Francis	Der Herr von Baravore. Roman [11-15 Tsd]	Keil	-	En	The Great Squire
Stuart, Francis	Die Brücke. Roman	Keil	1	En	The Bridge
Talvio, Maila	Der Verlobungsring. Roman	Westermann	1	Fi	Kihlasormus
Talvio, Maila	Die Kraniche. Roman [11-15 Tsd]	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Fi	Kurjet
Talvio, Maila	Tochter der Ostsee. Roman a d alten Hels	Albert Langen/Georg	-	Fi	Itämeren tytär [31-35 Tsd]
Tanefiko, Riutei	Sechs Wandschirme. Japan Roman	Kranich	1	Ja	- [Textrev u bearb v AR Meyer]
Tasso, Torquato	Sonette an Lucrezia Bendo [2 Aufl]	Alber	-	It	Le Rime [Ausz]
Tausend und eine Nacht	Die schönsten Geschichten aus 1001 Nach	Insel	-	Ar	Alf laila wa laila, Ausz [22-26 Ts
Tibullus, Albius	Lied des Friedens. Elegie [Lat u dt]	Schwabe	1	La	Elegia
Tieck, Heinrich	Wenn ein Blatt sich bewegt,..Gedanken ch	Scheuermann	1	Ch	- [Übertrg a d chin Urtexten v Ann
Tillier, Claude	Mein Onkel Benjamin	Stephenson	1	Fr	Mon oncle Benjamin
Timmermans, Felix	Das Jesuskind in Flandern [57-66 Tsd]	Insel	-	Fl	Het kindeken Jezus in Vlaanderen
Timmermans, Felix	Pallierter [161-172 Tsd]	Insel	-	Fl	Pallierter
Timmermans, Felix	Sankt Nikolaus in Not u a Erzgn [96-135	Insel	-	Fl	Het Keersken in de... [Feldpostaus
Tolstoi, Leo	Krieg und Frieden. Roman	Scherz	1	Ru	Vojna i mir
Tombari, Fabio	Mein Tierbuch	Andermann	1	It	Il libro degli animali
Toonder, Gerhard	Das ist kein Frieden. Roman [1-5 Tsd]	Herbig	1	Ne	Vreemdeling in Babylon
Turgenev, Iwan S	Ein Monat auf dem Lande. Komödie. In e f	Francke	1	Ru	Mesjac v derevne [..freien dt Text
Vaagen, Arne	Lasse Aga. Roman a Norwegens Notzeit	Herbig	1	No	Lasse Aga
Varé, Daniele	Das Tor der glücklichen Sperlinge [3 Auf	Zsolnay	-	En	The Gate of Happy Sparrows
Varé, Daniele	Der Schneider himmlischer Hosen [14-28 T	Zsolnay	-	En	The Maker of Heavenly Trousers
Varé, Daniele	Die Stromschnellen des Yangtze. Feldpost	Karl H Bischoff	1	En	Laughing Diplomat [Ausz]
Vaszary, Gábor von	Wenn man Freunde hat... Pariser Geschn	Rowohlt	1	Hu	A nő a pokolban is ur
Velde, Anton van de	Das Herz kämpft [2 Aufl]	Herder	-	Fl	Het hart vecht [verdeutscht v Eric
Vesaas, Tarjei	Die schwarzen Pferde [2 Aufl]	Steirische Verl Anst	-	No	Dei svarte hestane
Vestdijk, S[imon]	Aktaion unter den Sternen. Roman a d vor	Rohrer	1	Ne	Aktaion onder de sterren
Voortland, Andries	An der Zeit vorbei. Roman a Insulinde	Herbig	1	Ne	Jaren wentelen in Indie [1-10 Tsd]

Author	TL title	Publisher	Ed	SL	SL title
Wallner, Ernst	Ewiger Acker. Rumänische Novellen	Harrassowitz	1	Rm	- [Hrsg vom Rum Inst in Deutschlan
Waltari, Mika	Ein Fremdling kam auf den Hof [2 Aufl]	Bruckmann	-	Fi	Vieras mies tuli taloon
Waltari, Mika	Nein, wir werden niemals sterben	Bruckmann	1	Sw	tr from Swedish text Nej, vi komme
Woestijne, Karel van de	Pieter Bruegel	Alber	1	Fl	In Voto
Woestijne, Karel van de	Tödlicher Herbst. Gedichte	Alber	1	Fl	- [Werke, Ausz]
Wolfram v Eschenbach	Parzifal [2 Aufl]	Hanseat Verl-Anstalt	-	Mh	-
Wolfram von Eschenbach	Parzival. Ausgew, m zusammenhangend	Diesterweg	1	Mh	- [Ausz]