translation

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translation, a transdisciplinary journal, is a new international peer-reviewed journal published in collaboration with the Nida School of Translation Studies.

Recent developments in our contemporary world (globalization, interculturalism, global and transcultural communication through the web) pose a challenge to every traditional concept of translation. Today, translation has to be considered as a transformative representation of, in, and among cultures and is poised to become a powerful epistemological instrument for reading and assessing cultural exchange.
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translation invites new thinking about what translation is today, about where translation occurs, and about how we can find new words to speak about translation.

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This issue is dedicated to
Laurent Lamy (1953–2018),
a brilliant and erudite scholar
of translation.

Contents

Presentation

Translation literally means "bringing across," which necessarily always implies that there is a spatial dimension connected to it. In fact, all translations take place in space and are conditioned by space; at the same time, translations are able to promote or provoke changes in the perception and the use of spaces and places.

Until Sherry Simon started to investigate what she calls *translational cities*, the awareness of the spatiality of translation was somewhat neglected among translation studies scholars. The phenomenon of multilingual cities as crossroads of translations—of languages, as well as of identities, cultures, and memories—had until then not received much attention.

Sherry Simon introduces us to urban spaces as passageways and crossroads of memory, as transition zones and spaces of negotiation, arguing that "the space where translation occurs is to be taken seriously—à la lettre," since that space is "defined by the figures and trajectories that make translation possible" (Simon 2006, 17).

And the urban translation spaces she speaks about are spaces in which citizens, foreigners, expatriates, the displaced, travelers, and migrants meet and coexist, experiencing dialogue as well as hostility, contact as well as separation, integration as well as alterity.

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I am deeply grateful to Sherry Simon for having agreed to guest edit this special issue dedicated to spaces and places. It is thanks to her work that we have discovered just how central the spatial dimension is in the continuous interplay of languages, and the collection of extremely interesting essays she has brought together for this issue of *translation* adds to our understanding of the many connections between translation and space.

This issue is itself a spatial experience, covering as it does a wide and varied geographical universe that includes France, Korea, Estonia, Gibraltar, Ukraine, Canada, and Nigeria. We are even invited to traverse the space that

is time when we are taken to Renaissance Florence and shown how central translation was in the transformation of the city's thinkers' understanding of space and the construction of the world.

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Regrettably, this issue is being published considerably late, for the same reasons we experienced with the publication of the two preceding issues—that is, changing from one publisher to another. I apologize for this delay, and express my sincere thanks to our guest editor, to our authors, and to our readers for all your efforts and, above all, your patience. However, I am sure that you will find this issue has been well worth the wait.

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Laurent Lamy, one of the authors who has contributed to this journal, passed away before issue 7 was published. Deeply saddened and shocked by his passing, we humbly thank him for his extraordinary essay, which we are honored to publish here.

This issue is dedicated to his memory.

S.N.

\<References\>

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Introduction

Sherry Simon

This special issue explores eight spaces of translation—geographical sites, urban spaces, and architectural structures—whose cultural meanings are shaped through language interactions and transfer. Each study confirms the idea that places are created through itineraries and narratives, wanderings and stories, which evolve over time. Situated in the complex cityscapes of Itae-won, Lagos, Lviv, Montreal, Talinn, Renaissance Florence, Marseille, and the historically rich interzone of Gibraltar, these places illustrate the formative powers of translation in defining sensory experience and memory.

The idea of space and place receives diverse interpretations in these essays—contributing to a field of inquiry which is rapidly evolving. Space is not understood as a simple container where translation takes place, but rather as a site where production and interpretation are intermingled, where translations occur and where identity is reinterpreted. Spaces are indicators of regimes of translation, of the forces that converge to allow or impede the transfer of languages and memories. From the architectural structure of a sanitary station to the dialogue between Gibraltar and Tangier, from the pages of novels to bronze statues, from multilingual markets to the studies where scholars are bent over treatises on Kabbalistic thought—these diverse spaces explode the notion of the "where" of translation.

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In her reading of the Sanitary Station of Marseille, Simona Bonelli uses the lens of translation and memory to evoke a place of multiple pasts—linked to the history of Marseille in its function as a place of migration and passage. Originally designed as a medical checkpoint, a place for screening migrants, then long abandoned, it has now become a museum which nevertheless maintains traces of its previous functions. Citing Barthes, Bonelli shows that architectural spaces can be read as chapters of a complex text, continually retranslated. Following the Station in its transformations over the years, she defines it as a palimpsest representing "a place of exile, of displacement, a metaphorical place that contains a plurality of meanings, errant trajectories,

and that lends itself to multiple interpretations." Initially born as a "boundary area" because of its function of containment and delimitation, the Sanitary Station has eventually "swollen," through a series of metamorphoses, into a threshold—a place caught up in a tension of the present. This passage from boundary to threshold is enabled by a history of translation.

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Hunam Yun's textured analysis of the district of Itaewon, in Seoul, South Korea, emphasizes the rich history of twists and turns that has marked this zone. This is a history which is not, however, apparent in the capsule "translations" found in tourist guides. As an area which has seen a strong military presence across the centuries, most recently for stationing the Japanese army during the colonial period and subsequently the American army, as a place now attracting many migrants, and also as a place strongly associated with sexuality and sex workers, Itaewon has been the site of cultural amalgamation and conflict. As Yun shows, the various translations of the name of Itaewon itself—foreigners' village, village for being pregnant with a foreigner's child, village for pear trees—show that the city as a "a culture-generator" (Lotman) cannot be translated into one fixed image. Itaewon has been a place for travelers and trading, a space of trauma caused by the conflictual history of Korea, a foreigners' village, a foreign land within the country, a colonized space, a space of freedom and resistance, a window onto Western culture, a space for cultural translation . . . Yun contrasts the selective translations and commodifications of the city with the richness of its reality and history. As a culture-generator, a city deserves a more adequate translation.

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Elena Murphy draws a portrait of the multilingual city of Lagos through readings of Nigerian authors who portray the different sounds and accents of one of Nigeria's most diverse and vibrant cities. The multilingual texts of Sefi Atta, a leading voice in what has come to be known as "The Third Generation of Nigerian Writers," replicate the language negotiations of the city. Languages such as Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba, as well as Nigerian English and Nigerian Pidgin, flow through Atta's novels, just as they flow through the city. Particularly interesting is the diversity of cultural forms and spaces which express this plurality—types of music such as afrobeat or highlife music, dance, film, as well as the spaces of Lagos's streets and markets. Translation is present in varied forms, aiding in the creation of new hybrid linguistic forms and new semantic associations, typical features of interaction in urban areas.

The Straits of Gibraltar, with its twin cities of Gibraltar and Tangier, stand as emblematic spaces of translation—but also as spaces whose hybridities force a rethinking of translation itself. To negotiate across hybrid spaces is to concentrate on the border experience as generating a powerful political vision, working against binaries, against inside and outside. In such zones, translation is a foundational activity, an activity of cultural creation. África Vidal and Juan Jesús Zaro provide a portrait of the Strait of Gibraltar as a natural border between two continents (Africa and Europe), between two countries (Morocco and Spain), and between two cities (Gibraltar, an overseas territory of the United Kingdom, and Ceuta, a Spanish city with its own statute of autonomous government), and offer nuanced descriptions of the cultural histories of those spaces as they have been in interaction with one another. Governed as one territory by the Romans and also during the eight centuries of Muslim occupation of the Iberian Peninsula, the Straits then become an indication of division across empires. The waters of the Strait carry "a layered text of narratives of belonging and exclusion."

Anastasiya Lyubas reads the Western Ukrainian city of Lviv as a space comprised of buildings, communities, maps, memories, and languages spoken, written, and read—a *tactile*, *textile*, and *textual* fabric. The "real" city, she argues, cannot be experienced without linguistic mediation. Inviting the reader to stroll the city, stopping at monuments and buildings, consulting a map drawn by authors Igor Klekh, Yuri Andrukhovych, and Natalka Sniadanko, she gives the widest meaning to translation as a key to the multifaceted elements which define city life. The city, thus, becomes a construct of individual and collective readings. The essay includes references to the events of 2013–2014 in Ukraine that have problematized even further unresolved issues of identity, politics of memory, and belonging. With an eye attentive to shifts in the role of language in the city, Lyubas shows how the *aural dimensions* of the spoken languages of yesterday have become *visual* places, traces. Yesterday's commerce has become trade in cultural meanings and in competing claims to the city. The city's architecture, its history, literary scene, and projections of the future are read as a "text" offering insights into urban experience and the ways it is mediated and interpreted.

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Ceri Morgan's reading of Montreal focuses on two novels from the 1960s which challenge orthodox versions of the language situation in the city. In Yvette Naubert's *La Dormeuse éveillée* (1965) and Claire Mondat's *Poupée* (1963), active and passive linguistic translations become signposts for a particular kind of modernity, dramatizing embodied everyday translation prac-

tices occurring in places of work, leisure, and consumption, like the café and department store. The texts are striking for their choice of settings and their sometimes seemingly relaxed mediation of French and English interactions at a time when many examples of *le roman montréalais* are highlighting clashes between these. They prefigure, in fact, many of the everyday interactions between French and English in contemporary Montreal. As such, they offer important pointers as to the possibilities of negotiating differences. Gender is highlighted in the analysis, the body of the protagonist navigating between past and present gender conventions and mappings of Montreal's majority languages, as well as across the very different histories of the protagonists (the French-Canadian maid, the family of Holocaust survivors). Translation becomes a way of being in the world, of overcoming trauma. In many respects, Naubert's and Mondat's protagonists can be seen as "languagers"—that is, "people [. . .] who engage with the world-in-action, who move in the world in a way that allows the risk of stepping out of one's habitual ways of speaking and attempt to develop different, more relational ways of interacting with the people and phenomena that one encounters in everyday life" (Phipps 2011, 365). Translation facilitates a mobility associated with feminine assertion; translation allows escapes from, or challenges to, the social constraints of the past. Naubert's and Mondat's heroines inhabit a kind of messy middle in their employing of the "tactics" as "always [. . .] partial, provisional and broken" (Phipps 2011, 375). Moving inside and outside the city, they embody a translation practice beyond representation and vital to a "relational" being in the world.

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Federico Bellentani considers the case of the relocation of the Bronze Soldier of Talinn as a practice of cultural reinvention. Here translation takes on its medieval spatial meaning as the physical transfer of a sacred body. This paper proposed an analysis of the marginalization, the removal, and the relocation of the Bronze Soldier of Tallinn. Employing the vocabulary of semiotics, looking at *monument as text*, Bellentani argues that the removal cannot be interpreted through the clashing interpretations of Ethnic-Estonians and Russian speakers. Rather, the Bronze Soldier embodied an array of multifaceted interpretations and the process of its relocation elicited different emotional reactions. Its relocation two kilometers outside the center of the city had both spatial and ideological implications: it was an official attempt to displace its meanings toward a peripheral area of both Tallinn and Estonian culture as such—that is, to translate them into the context of contemporary European Estonia.

The final essay by Laurent Lamy tells the fascinating story of a transla-
tional movement whose center was Renaissance Florence. The paradigm shift
from a geocentric to a heliocentric universe, he argues, was in part possible be-
cause of the combination of mystical and rational thought which emerged in
the early Renaissance—largely through the translations of one Flavius Mithri-
dates, born Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (ca. 1445–1489), a colorful figure
who was a Jewish convert to Christianity. From 1485 to 1487, he labored by
the side of Pico della Mirandola, translating Kabbalistic literature. The col-
laboration between the two scholars was one of the most fertile translation
ventures in the history of ideas in the West; it provided the European intellec-
tual elite with a reservoir of ideas and symbolic patterns that found resonance
in provinces of thought "located many leagues from their country of origin."
The introduction of Persian and Chaldean solar theologies, and the concept
of a plurality of worlds presented through the various perspectives offered by
cosmological speculations of the Jewish Kabbalah, had a large impact on the
evolving ideas of the intellectual elite of the Quattrocento. The translation of
a critical mass of Kabbalistic and Arabian astronomical treatises—the begin-
nings of which far exceeded the translations produced under the enlightened
caliphate of Bagdad between the ninth and twelfth centuries—established, in
a very short time span, a fertile interplay between sapiential traditions of an-
cient times and embryonic ideas of modern science. Florence was, for several
decades, the epicenter of this heightened activity around translation, which
opened up a fault line that shook the geocentric status quo.

Marseilles' Sanitary Station: morphologies of displacement between memory and desire

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<Abstract> The former "Sanitary Station" of Marseille was built in 1948 by the architect Fernand Pouillon, its history closely linked to the history of the Phocaean city. The main entry and departure point for travelers and immigrants arriving by the sea, it was abandoned for forty years and was almost destroyed in 2009. In 2013, it was transformed into the museum Regards de Provence, but still keeps the memory of its past: the "steam room" (part of this quarantine internment system) is a permanent installation and is part of a section called "Memories of the Sanitary Station."

Migrants from all over the world arriving in Marseille were "displaced" here to go through disinfection, screening, and a vaccination process in a bid to fight the city's ever-present threat of epidemics. This was therefore a multilingual context, but also a place in which bodies were forced to undergo a transformation. Somehow, these people, like a text under the eyes of a translator, were carefully examined before being allowed access to a new space, a new context. The building itself is a palimpsest, made of different phases of transformation: from Sanitary station to a place occupied by squatters to a museum. What makes the Sanitary Station an emblematic city space is the fact that the different "layers" of its transformations are all present—none has been cancelled. An urban structure that is at the same time—as Derrida puts it—translatable and untranslatable: "Un texte ne vit que s'il survit, et il ne sur-vit que s'il est à la fois traductible et intraduisible."

> "La città non dice il suo passato, lo contiene come le linee d'una mano, scritto negli spigoli delle vie, nelle griglie delle finestre, negli scorrimano delle scale, nelle antenne dei parafulmini, nelle aste delle bandiere, ogni segmento rigato a sua volta di graffi, seghettature, intagli, svirgole." (Calvino, 1979, 18)[1]

In *Invisible Cities*, Marco Polo and Kublai Khan talk about the impossibility of defining what a city is and what it is not. Cities are the product of multiple and unpredictable interactions rather than the result of a rational plan. Urban space is read and interpreted by Italo Calvino as a place constantly crossed by fluctuations and rhythms. In one of the sections called "Cities and memory," Marco Polo describes the city of Zaira that, he tells the Emperor, consists of

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[1] "The city […] does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles of the flags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls" (Calvino 1997, 9).

"relationships between the measurements of its space and the events of its past" (Calvino 1994, 9). The urban landscape is made of time and space, and, like texts, cities are made of signs that we can read and interpret. In this article I would like to read the past of an emblematic building, the Sanitary Station, "like the lines of a hand" of Marseille, trying to decipher its patterns, its transformations, its symbolic function inside the city.

The former "Sanitary Station" of Marseille (figure 1) was built in 1948 by the architect Fernand Pouillon, and the history of this place is closely linked to that of the Phocaean city. Main entry and departure point for travellers and immigrants arriving by the sea, it was abandoned for forty years and was almost destroyed in 2009. In 2013 it was completely transformed into the museum Regards de Provence, but it still keeps the memory of its past: the "salle des étuves" (the steam room, part of the quarantine internment system) (figure 1) is a permanent installation and is part of a section called "Memories of the Sanitary Station." If the concept of memory recalls something that is buried in the past, what makes this building an exemplary space is the fact that all the different phases of its transformations are still there—they have not been canceled.[2]

The city of Marseille is not new to epidemics. The Mediterranean sea has always been a source of life and prosperity, but also of death: through the centuries, the population of Marseille has been devastated by plague and pestilence, and in the sixteenth century the first sanitation board was established, whose members inspected all incoming ships, cargoes, crew, and passengers. The worst plague outbreak in the history of Marseille occurred in 1720, when the merchant ship Grand Saint-Antoine brought pestilence-carrying rats and fleas into the Vieux Port. It was the "Great Plague of Marseille," the epidemics that Antonin Artaud evokes in his *Le Théâtre et son double* (1964) to develop an analogy between theater and pestilence; the plague is a transforming force that purges the world of its violence and ugliness.[3] Although this epidemic was considered the last outbreak of plague in France, at the beginning of the twentieth century small epidemics and sporadic cases were recorded in Marseille and Paris.

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[2] The book that retraces the several transformations from the Sanitary Station to the Museum Regards de Provence has the emblematic title of *Métamorphoses* (Muntaner and Durousseau 2013).

[3] The streets of a plague-ridden city are blocked by mounds of unidentifiable corpses; at this point, Artaud writes, "[l]e théâtre comme la peste est une crise qui se dénoue par la mort ou par la guérison. Et la peste est un mal supérieur parce qu'elle est une crise complète après laquelle il ne reste rien que la mort ou qu'une extrême purification. De même le théâtre est un mal parce qu'il est l'équilibre suprême, qui ne s'acquiert pas sans destruction" (Artaud 1964, 25).

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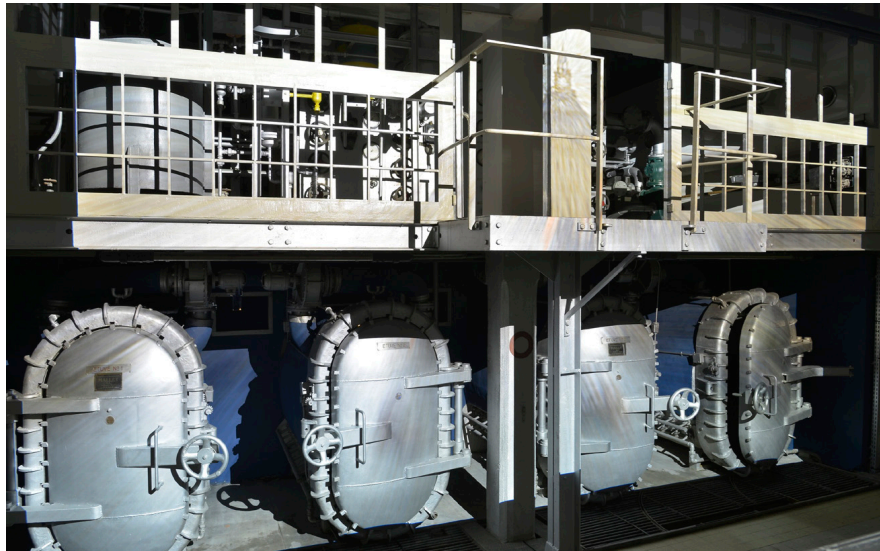
After World War ii, there were fifteen million refugees, or "displaced people," in Europe. Marseille organized the reception of thousands of immigrants by creating a strategy of sanitary prophylaxis against plague, cholera, yellow fever, typhus fever, and smallpox. In 1948, the French architects André Champollion, Fernand Pouillon, and René Egger were charged with the project of designing the Sanitary Station of Marseille. The main aim of their project was to create a place of disease prevention and control but, at the same time, to defy rigid spatial segregations and the exposure of individuals to a controlling centralized observation. For this reason they created a structure with several one-way corridors through which individuals could move in order to be washed and disinfected and undergo a medical examination (figure

3.
Area for ablutions
and disinfection

3). Everything was done to avoid any sense of humiliation to the passengers: wide, luminous spaces and above all a horizontal linearity that invested windows, objects, and at the same time the building's structure created a place that evoked the atmosphere of a ship. These similarities between a ship and a place receiving potentially ill people suggests the Renaissance allegory of the "ship of fools" that, as Foucault explains, symbolizes an intermediate moment between the medieval exclusion of lepers outside the gates of the city and the exclusion of the mad within the social body (Foucault 1988). Every boat that arrived in Marseille found its uncanny "double" located on the threshold of the city, in a place that lies between the sea and the urban space, a liminal area that must be crossed if the individual wants to be considered healthy and, above all, inoffensive to the rest of the population.

The threshold is an in-between state that separates two spaces of different nature. As Walter Benjamin observed in his reflections on architecture:

The threshold is a zone. And in fact a zone of passage (*Übergang*). Transformation, passage, flux—all are contained in the word threshold. [. . .] We have become quite poor as far as threshold experiences go. Falling asleep is perhaps the only such experience that has remained to us. (quoted in Sieburth, 19)

But the notion of threshold has also fascinated Gérard Genette who, in the opening pages of *Seuils*, explains that "plus que d'une limite ou d'une frontière étanche, il s'agit ici d'un seuil ou—mot de Borges à propos d'une préface—d'un 'vestibule' qui offre à tout un chacun la possibilité d'entrer, ou de rebrousser chemin" (Genette 1987, 8).[4] Philosophers like Wittgenstein and Benjamin have created several parallels between the forms of the city and the diverse forms of language, and semiotic studies invite us to read the city through its signifying forms. In his "Sémiologie et urbanisme," Roland Barthes sees the city as a discourse, and this discourse, he writes, is truly a language: "Et nous retrouvons la vieille intuition de Victor Hugo: la ville est une écriture; celui qui se déplace dans la ville, c'est-à-dire l'usager de la ville (ce que nous sommes tous), est une sorte de lecteur qui, selon ses obligations et ses déplacements, prélève des fragments de l'énoncé pour les actualiser en secret" (Barthes 1985, 268).[5] Architectural spaces can be read as chapters of a complex text—the city—made of streets, traffic, buildings, and so on that interact in a complex game of intertextuality. From this standpoint, the Sanitary Station is a multilingual context, a sort of Babel, but also a place in which the bodies of the immigrants had to undergo a transformation. Somehow these people, like a text in the eyes of a translator, were carefully examined before being allowed into a new space, a new context.

A translation implies a movement, the concept of carrying something across. The English word derives from the Latin *translatio*, which itself comes from *trans* "across" and *lātiō* "carrying"; the Italian language adds a cultural element to this image of movement with the use of the noun *tradotta*, which is a special train used for the transportation of military troops or deportees. By extension, in Italian it is possible to say that "l'assassino è stato tradotto in carcere" ("the murderer was taken, 'translated' to prison"). In his book *The Pleasure of the Text*, Barthes asks the question "Does the text have a human form, is it a figure, an anagram of the body?" (Barthes 1986, 16). We could ask ourselves whether the human body has

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[4] "More than a boundary or a sealed border, the paratext is, rather, a threshold or—a word Borges used apropos of a preface—a 'vestibule' that offers the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back" (Genette 1997, 1–2).
[5] "And here we rediscover Victor Hugo's old intuition: the city is writing. He who moves about the city, e.g., the user of the city (what we all are), is a kind of reader who, following his obligations and his movements, appropriates fragments of the utterance in order to actualize them in secret" (Barthes 1986, 199).

a textual status, that of a "readable" object of translation, whose position can be changed and relocated in a new context. The "transformation" of the refugees that arrived in Marseille took place in a building organized as a series of passageways that somehow evoke Benjamin's arcades, although with some remarkable differences. Sherry Simon writes that

> Benjamin uses the arcades as a cultural historian to represent an ambiguous urban space, neither inside nor outside, a passageway which is also a space of consumption, a new materialization of urban space. In the essay on translation, he uses the arcade to formulate a contrast between interpretive translation (which uses as its unit the "sentence" or the "proposition") and literal translation (which proceeds word by word). The first, he says, produces a translation akin to a wall, the second a text which functions more like an arcade: 'For if the sentence is the wall before the language of the original, literalness is the arcade.' The glass roof allows light to flow through matter, just as the literally translated text is a transparent surface which allows the light of the original to fall onto the new version, creating an interplay of surfaces. (Simon 2000, 75)

I find this passage extremely interesting because it gives me the opportunity to explore the relationship between the process of translation and the spaces of translation. Both in the Parisian arcade and in the Sanitary Station of Marseille, the presence of a glass construction is essential, but while in the arcade the glass roof has the aim of accentuating the transition zone between the outdoor world of the street and the interior space,[6] in the Sanitary Station the lateral glass walls contribute to the brightness of the space but at the same time the concrete structure creates a screen to guarantee the privacy of those passing by. Benjamin sees the arcades as the entry point of the Parisian labyrinth, a place where the *flâneur* could dwell; the Sanitary Station is a one-way passage in which there is no time for dwelling: the "translation" of those who are already "dis-placed" people should be done quickly in order to obtain a transformed, clean version of their bodies. Like Genette, I would like to insist on the term "vestibule," because, in addition to the concept of "threshold," this word also conveys the idea of clothing if we accept the etymology from the Latin *vestibulum*, from *vestis* "garment" and -*bulum*, probably from the sense of "a place to dress."[7] When the immigrants arrived in the Sanitary Station, they were first of all asked to undress so that their clothes could be

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[6] Benjamin was attracted by the ambiguity of glass, by the transformative power of this building material through its architectural application: "It is not a coincidence that glass is so hard and smooth a material to which nothing can be fastened. It is also cold and sober. Things that are made of glass have no 'aura.' Glass is the enemy par excellence of secrecy. It is also the enemy of property" (quoted in Heynen 1999, 155).
[7] Ovid, in his *Fasti*, links the term vestibulum to the Roman goddess of hearth and home Vesta. In any case, if the vestibule is now the place where outer clothing is put on or removed in leaving or entering a house, for the Romans it was the area in which they used to depose their clothes.

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washed and disinfected; they then had to go through the communal showers that, thanks to a system of mobile partition walls, became individual showers. The city that has made "Savon de Marseille" its emblem distributed bars of soap and towels to the immigrants who, eventually, got back their clean clothes and could go upstairs for a medical examination.

The Sanitary Station only remained active for a couple of years, until the World Health Organization coordinated a global vaccination program that made entities such as the station redundant. Before entering a country, people were supposed to show their vaccination cards; this was the beginning of preventive medicine. After having served as offices for the administrative clerks of the Direction du Contrôle Sanitaire aux Frontières, the Sanitary Station of Marseille was closed in 1971.

A new chapter in this building's life then began—that of refuge of squatters. The edifice that was used as an institution for disease prevention and control became a place of meetings and creativity for squatters and graffiti artists. The white aseptic walls of the Sanitary Station were filled with colorful poems, tags, and murals. Round images replaced the square tiles covering the walls, showers, and steam rooms. An ephemeral form of art violated the visual and architectural order and setting, breaking the rules of the space–time relationship. The body, the skin of the sanitary station was "scratched,"[8] in the same way as the skin of the migrants was scratched to be immunized against smallpox. The squatters imposed a transformation on this building by "inoculating" the germs of a revolutionary art. In 2009, in order to protest against the permanent closing of the place, the squatters burned a car inside the building (figure 4), which was

4.
Burned car
in Sanitary Station

nearly destroyed—fire as a sort of extreme catharsis that paved the way to the next transformation. The burned car is a trace, its cinders a rem(a)inder of something that is at the same time present and absent. In *Feu la cendre*, Derrida describes how one particular phrase, "il y a là cendre" ("cinders there are"), continually returned to him and insists on the importance of the trace:

> Si vous ne vous rappelez plus, c'est que l'incinération suit son cours et la consumation va de soi, la cendre même. Trace destinée, comme toute, à disparaître d'elle-même pour égarer la voie autant que pour rallumer une mémoire. La cendre est juste : parce que sans trace, justement elle trace plus qu'une autre, et comme l'autre trace. (Derrida 1984, 30)[9]

What remains from the destruction returns to the surface, to the skin; when the smoke dissipates, the incinerated place resurfaces. The evocation of haunting memories that reemerge from a fire is at the center of the artistic production of Claudio Parmiggiani, who in his work *Delocazione* (De-location) builds installations and sets them on fire, revealing the traces of the disappeared objects. This is what Didi-Huberman calls "une matière de l'absence"—things disappear, but the memory of their presence still remains.[10]

The Regards de Provence foundation, in need of a permanent structure for its exhibitions in the city of Marseille, decided to rehabilitate this building and create a museum that collected artworks created in and about Provence. But before its permanent recuperation and conversion, before the ancient Sanitary Station was transformed into a Museum, a French photographer and installation artist was asked to fix an image in which the traces of the past could interact with the poetic metamorphoses that this place has experienced. Georges Rousse is an artist attracted by neglected and forgotten sites, by their solitude and emptiness; he takes his inspiration from the "wounds" suffered by an edifice to create an ephemeral "mise-en-scène" that he then immortalizes with photographs.[11] One of the main characteristics of a photograph is its link with the referent, a sort

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[9] "If you no longer recall it, it is because the incineration follows its course and the consummation proceeds from itself, the cinder itself. Trace destined, like everything, to disappear from itself, as much in order to lose the way as to rekindle a memory. The cinder is exact: because without a trace it precisely traces more than an other, and as the other trace(s)" (Derrida 1991, 57).

[10] In his book *Génie du non-lieu*, Georges Didi-Huberman explores the works of Parmiggiani. The Italian artist shows that fire does not cause the complete disappearance of an object, but, rather, it delocates it. The question of memory and survival therefore becomes essential: "Il serait donc abusif d'identifier l'œuvre de Parmiggiani à une simple nostalgie du passé (Delocazione est d'ailleurs plus proche d'Hiroshima que d'une reconstitution pompéienne). Cette œuvre vise plutôt un travail de la mémoire—une prise en considération de la survivance—qui a fait dire à l'artiste que 'les veritables Antiques, c'est nous'" (Didi-Huberman 2001, 43).

[11] His artistic intervention is multifaceted: "I call upon various methods of art: I am the designer of the project, the painter on-site, the architect by my interpretation of a given space and by the construction I organise there within, and finally the photographer who coordinates all these actions" (http://www.georgesrousse.com/english/news/rousse-speech.html).

of "reality effect" that makes the past reality of the object indubitable. In *La Chambre claire*, Barthes argues that the photographic referent is not the same as the referent of other systems of representation: whereas in painting the presence of the model is optional and in language the referents can be chimerical, in a photograph we cannot deny that the thing "has been there."[12] This significant aspect of referentiality seems to compensate for an inexplicable lack of images in relation to the activity of these spaces. In fact, neither the book *Metamorphoses* published by the Musée Regards de Provence (Muntaner and Durousseau 2013) nor the 45-minute documentary that, in the same Museum, explores the history of the plague in Marseille, immigration, and the building contain a single picture concerning the people who passed through the Sanitary Station, and there are only a few pictures of the areas and rooms from when it was active. Somehow, the artistic view of Georges Rousse is asked to capture, in single images, the significant past of these spaces, and he does so by insisting on the double liminality of the Sanitary Station: the instant captured by the photos of the French artist is not only that of a place that has represented for years the liminal area between the port and the city, but also that of a phase of an urban space that has gone through several transformations.[13] The technique used by Rousse is that of anamorphosis; whereas *trompe l'œil* gives the illusion that a flat surface is three dimensional, his anamorphic images create the illusion that a three-dimensional area is flat (figures 5 and 6). Although it looks as if the geometric form has been digitally created, the illusion generated by these photographs is optical, and represents the outcome of several weeks of work so that the colorful geometric is only visible from a specific point of view. The anamorphic figure invites those who are watching it to move, to change their point of view, in order to bring into perfect focus the object of interpretation. Nevertheless, the installations created by Georges Rousse, once they are immortalized by the camera, do not ask the viewer to move, to change their perspective: his artwork is intended only for the lens, and not for an observer in the actual space. Rousse creates a "before" and "after" effect—first, the "deconstructed" red circle and then the perfectly round red circle reassembled by the camera. In doing so, he wanders in the rooms of the Sanitary Station with the eye of the photographer who is trying to find the right standpoint.[14]

[12] Its essence is recorded in the formula "ça a été," "that has been."
[13] In an interview about his installations at the future Musée Regards de Provence, Georges Rousse said that "[l]e port c'était la station sanitaire qui accueillait les immigrants mais c'est aussi le point de départ vers l'ailleurs. [. . .] Je voulais rendre compte de ce nouvel espace qui a perdu toute fonctionnalité et qui va disparaitre, cet entre-deux" (Muntaner and Durousseau 2013, 109)
[14] "Je déambule dans les lieux avec l'œil du photographe pour repérer le bon point de vue jusqu'à l'image finale qui a besoin de l'appareil photographique comme outil de reproduction" (Muntaner and Durousseau 2013, 111).

In these ephemeral installations that are immortalized only by the lens of a camera, the gaze of the artist leaves its place to another "gaze": that of the Museum *Regards* de Provence, a museum that has slowly become a sort of palimpsest, made of its different phases of transformation. The permanent installation shows the old steam room and a documentary that retraces the history of this building, while the temporary exhibitions are housed in galleries on the ground and first floors. The several windows along both the front and the back walls of this long, horizontal building invite the observer to gaze outside, towards the port and the city. In the course of all its transformations, the Sanitary Station has been "living on"; its trans-lation, its trans-positions have not destroyed it. Like a text, this building has survived only because, to paraphrase Derrida, it was at once translatable and untranslatable.[15] This building outlives itself, is at the outskirts of its own living.

Like Georges Rousse, Walter Benjamin was attracted by the decayed or abandoned spaces of the city; likewise, he was fascinated by "thresholds" and borders. He first visited Marseille in 1926, and then several times in 1928 and 1931. His last visit to the Phocaean city took place in 1940, shortly before his death. Marseille was for him like a book to be interpreted:

> In the early morning I drove through Marseilles to the station, and as I passed familiar places on my way, and then new, unfamiliar ones or others that I remembered only vaguely, the city became a book in my hands, into which I hurriedly glanced a few last times before it passed from my sight for who knows how long into a warehouse crate. (Benjamin 1999b, 447)

Whereas Paris represents for Benjamin the ideal place to discover the traces of social meaning and the collective dreams of modernity, he finds Marseille hard to decipher, to the point where he once commented that no city so stubbornly resisted his efforts to depict it as did Marseille (Eiland 2014, 310). Benjamin sees each street as a vertiginous experience; for him the city-dweller should be "on the threshold of the metropolis as of the middle class" (Benjamin 2006, 40). Nevertheless, in his writings on hashish, and in particular in the text "Hashish in Marseilles," he does not stay on the borders. Rather, he lets himself sink inside the "ventre of Marseilles":

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[15] "Un texte ne vit que s'il sur-vit, et il ne sur-vit que s'il est à la fois traductible et intraduisible. [. . .] Totalement traductible, il disparaît comme texte, comme écriture, comme corps de langue. Totalement intraduisible, même à l'intérieur de ce qu'on croit être une langue, il meurt aussitôt. La traduction triomphante n'est donc ni la vie ni la mort du texte, seulement ou déjà sa survie. On en dira de même de ce que j'appelle écriture, marque, trace, etc. Ça ne vit ni ne meurt, ça survit. Et ça ne 'commence' que par la survie (testament, itérabilité, restance, crypte, détachement déstructurant par rapport à la rection ou direction 'vivante' d'un 'auteur' qui ne se noierait pas dans les parages de son texte)" (Derrida 1986, 147–149).

> I lay upon the bed, read and smoked. All the while opposite to me this glimpse of the ventre of Marseilles. (Now the images begin to take hold of me). The street that I'd so often seen is like an incision cut by a knife. (Benjamin 1978, 138)

When, under the effect of hashish, Benjamin describes the streets of Marseille, he enters a surrealist dream world, made of strange sounds, images, and scents. His perception of what he sees in the streets—where he strolls to find a restaurant for dinner—is distorted, the dimensions of time and space are abolished.[16] Unexpectedly, the words of a conversation in a little port bar sound to him like dialect:

> The people of Marseilles suddenly did not speak good enough French to me. They were stuck at the level of dialect. The phenomenon of alienation that may be involved in this, which Kraus has formulated in the fine dictum "The more closely you look at a word the more distantly it looks back" appears to extend to the optical. (Benjamin 1978, 144)

Michel de Certeau writes that the city is a text, and that walking in a city has its own rhetoric: "Il y a une rhétorique de la marche. L'art de 'tourner' des phrases a pour équivalent un art de tourner des parcours. Comme le langage ordinaire, cet art implique et combine des styles et des usages" (De Certeau 2005, 15).[17] Nevertheless, the legibility of a city changes; it is the perspective of the viewer that defines the object of observation. When Benjamin quotes Kraus's aphorism ("The closer one looks at a word, the further away it looks back"), he too evokes the importance of perspective. How should we read a city, its translation zones, its palimpsests?

I would like to close this paper with another quote from Calvino's *Invisible Cities*:

> In due modi si raggiunge Despina: per nave o per cammello. La città si presenta differente a chi viene da terra e a chi dal mare. [...] Ogni città riceve la sua forma dal deserto a cui si oppone; e così il cammelliere e il marinaio vedono Despina, città di confine tra due deserti. (Calvino 1994, 370)[18]

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[16] "Versailles, for one who has taken hashish, is not too large, nor eternity too long" (Benjamin 1978,138).
[17] "There is a rhetoric of walking. The art of 'turning' phrases finds an equivalent in an art of composing a path. Like ordinary language, this art implies and combines styles and uses" (De Certeau 1984, 100).
[18] "Despina can be reached in two ways: by ship or by camel. The city displays one face to the traveler arriving overland and a different one to him who arrives by sea. [...] Each city receives its form from the desert it opposes; and so the camel driver and the sailor see Despina, a border city between two deserts" (Calvino 1997, 17).

Whereas the city of Zaira is part of a section devoted to memory, Despina is a city of desire that opens paths and opportunities for visitors. There are multiple ways of seeing the same city, depending on which face of the city they see. Those who arrive at Despina have to shift their perspective, as if they were in front of an anamorphic image. By building the Sanitary Station, Marseille has tried to give itself a "face" from which the immigrants could see it, but France's oldest city has not resisted the univocal direction imposed by this passage point: the Station operated for a few years, quickly transformed by artists who made this structure a place of exile, of displacement, a metaphorical place that contains a plurality of meanings and errant trajectories, and that lends itself to multiple interpretations.

The story of those anonymous people who arrived in Marseille and whose body/corpus underwent a transformation in order to be admitted to a new context intertwines with the story of another migrant who, some years before, in 1940, had been trying to escape France for the United States: Walter Benjamin. He went from Paris to Marseille, which at that time was full of refugees, especially those from countries occupied by the German army. The philosopher who used to be an extraordinary city dweller and who loved to get lost in the meanders of a city, found himself obliged to follow the route taken by many refugees. In Marseille he obtained a passport issued by the American Foreign Service, but when he discovered that the port was virtually closed he tried to cross the Spanish border by walking up into the mountains. He never managed to traverse the most important boundary of his life, however, and in Portbou he was refused entry into Spain. He was held in Portbou overnight and sent back to occupied France the next morning. The morphine Benjamin had brought with him from Marseille was strong enough to kill him. Hannah Arendt wrote about her dear friend and the Kafkian situation in which he found his death:

> A few weeks later the embargo on visas was lifted again. One day earlier Benjamin would have got through without any trouble; one day later the people in Marseille would have known that for the time being it was impossible to pass through Spain. Only on that particular day was the catastrophe possible. (Arendt 1990, 24)

Benjamin died in a liminal space, in a liminal time; a bitter twist of fate for the philosopher who has taught us the important difference between "boundary" and "threshold": "The threshold must be carefully distinguished from the boundary. A *Schwell* <threshold> is a zone. Transformation, passage, wave action are in the word *schwellen*, swell, and etymology ought not to overlook these senses" (Benjamin 1999, 494).

Following Benjamin's fundamental distinction, we might suggest that the Sanitary Station was initially born as a "boundary area" because of its

function of containment and delimitation, and that it has eventually "swollen," with an extraordinary series of metamorphoses, into a threshold, a place caught up in a tension, an innovative space. The Regards de Provence museum is now a site of rewriting, a place that combines memory of its past and a gaze towards the future. It has not lost its "in-between position," though, caught as it is between the ancient Cathedral and the new buildings (Mucem, Villa Mediterranée) designed by internationally renowned architects. A potential space for hybridization.

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Translation and Fragmented Cities: Focus on Itaewon, Seoul

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<Abstract> Cities are open texts. They are perpetually transformed by their dynamic relationship with history and with the people who live in them. They are "rearticulated, transformed from a singular structure into a multilateral palimpsest that can be 'written' up and over, again and again," with time. Therefore, the boundaries of cities' identities continuously expand with this dynamic movement. There can be no single, fixed, or complete description of a city, which is why cities require continuous translation. However, cities are commonly represented as a single, fixed, and complete image in the process of translation through selective appropriation, and people consume that image. This paper attempts to reveal the process and ideological bias in such selective appropriation with a focus on Itaewon, South Korea. Historically, Itaewon has always been a site of different cultural encounters reflecting the historical twists and turns of Korea. After the Japanese invasion of the country in 1592 and the Manchu war of 1636, Japanese and Chinese soldiers stayed in the area. Then, during the colonial period, the Japanese army was stationed there, and after liberation, the American army was quartered there. Now, Muslims are flocking to the area, and it is becoming a city of immigrants. Because of these dynamic historical moments, Itaewon has been the site of cultural amalgamation and conflict, always retaining traces of the past. However, the images of Itaewon created by tourist books are ahistorical and fixed; the city has been fragmented as a commodity to be consumed through selective appropriation, and its dynamic history has been erased. The most common of these images are those of shopping centers and the red light district, images that have been reinforced by reproduction throughout decades. This paper investigates the process of this fragmentation of Itaewon and its underlying ideology.

INTRODUCTION

I was motivated to consider the aspects of a city's translation (in terms of intersemiotic translation in which nonverbal text is transferred into verbal text) when I found the translation of Itaewon, an area located in the northern part of Seoul, South Korea. Shockingly, the words that caught my eye were "Red Light District." Wikipedia, the internet encyclopedia, in its entry on Itaewon, highlighted only the Red Light District as a local attraction, as follows:[1]

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[1] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Itaewon (last accessed December, 2014).

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With a brief explanation of the geographical location of Itaewon, Wikipedia introduces local attractions, focusing on the international dishes, hotels, shops, and clubs that tourists can enjoy:

> Many restaurants serving international dishes are found in this area […]. Major hotels such as The Grand Hyatt and local landmark The Hamilton Hotel can be found here as well as dozens of shops and services aimed at tourists. High quality leather products in Korea can be found […] as well as various types of traditional Korean souvenirs. […] Itaewon is one of the popular club congested area in Korea, […] Most of foreign people go to the clubs for clubbing and hooking up while they are staying in Korea.[2]

Then separate space was allocated to the introduction of the Red Light District under the same title:

> There is a portion of Itaewon known as "Hooker Hill" among GI's of different allied nations stationed in South Korea. Although the stereotype of only American servicemen frequenting this area is well-known, men from all other countries, including Middle-Eastern and African, are known to frequent this area as well. Furthermore, because South Korea is not widely socially accepting of homosexuals, there is an underground gay area within this district as well.

The prominent image of Itaewon represented by Wikipedia is of a "retail" city—selling goods and bodies.

An explanation of this followed: "This article is written like a travel guide rather than an encyclopedic description of the subject. [. . .]" (July 2013). This explanation is very significant in that it suggests that a travel guide does not present full, complete, and thorough information, but rather is selective regarding the information it includes. This is quite appropriate since a travel guide should be light enough for travelers to carry. However, the problem with selective information—in other words selective translation—is the image the translation produces. This paper is concerned with this point.

Translation has been frequently presented as an activity to create an image of others or of selves, in the case of Itaewon, for example, this includes "a nostalgic image of a lost past" about Japanese people (Fowler 1992), images of the East by the West in colonial contexts (Niranjana 1992), or a self-image

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[2] The article has since been altered, but there is no significant difference in its content.

by a colonized people (Tymoczko 1999). The process involves "a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration, and fabrication—and even, in some cases, of falsification, refusal of information, counterfeiting, and the creation of secret codes" (Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002, xxi).

However, little notice has been taken of translation as an activity to create images of cities and of the process this involves. French theologian Jacques Ellul states that the evolution of cities represents man's fall from natural grace and the subsequent attempt to create a new, workable order (Kotkin 2005, xv). This may mean that cities are constructed and shaped through the dynamic relationship with human beings, and they are formed, and transformed, by such repeated attempts throughout the city's history, keeping traces of every historical moment. That is, they are "rearticulated, transformed from a singular structure into a multilateral palimpsest that can be 'written' up and over, again and again" (Chambers 2012, 104) with time. Therefore, the boundaries of cities' identities continuously expand with this dynamic movement.

However, cities are commonly represented as a single and fixed image in the process of translation through selective appropriation, and people accept and consume that image. In the history of translation studies, little attention has been paid to these aspects of cities, that is, cities as a translated text.

Cities are translated through special forms of communication, such as the environmental landscape, symbolic artifacts, local events, or other landmarks, and through verbal communication, such as cities' names, slogans or statements.

This paper attempts to reveal how verbal translation, especially for tourists, constructs an image of a city, with a focus on Itaewon. Itaewon has been a very particular and special space in Korean history. Unlike other areas of Seoul, which have a single ethic identity, Itaewon has been the space of expatriates. It has been a foreign and exotic land within Korea, a zone of contact where native and foreign cultures encounter each other, and a mediating channel though which foreign cultures are introduced. This paper first investigates Itaewon as a site of cultural encounters and cultural translation against the background of Korean history, then it examines its translation in tourist books and the subsequent effects.

ITAEWON AS A SITE OF CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS AND CULTURAL TRANSLATION

When French historian Fernand Braudel stated, "A town is always a town, wherever it is located, in time as well as space" (Rybczynski 1995, 49), he must have been referring to the universality of the urban experience. As Kotkin notes, the urban experience is universal "despite vast differences in race,

climate, and location" because "there is the visceral 'feel' of the city almost everywhere—the same quickening of pace on a busy street, an informal marketplace, or a freeway interchange, the need to create notable places, the sharing of a unique civic identity" (2005, xv–vxi). The omnipresent visceral feel he refers to is created by the so called "non-places" found in almost every city. Non-places, a term coined by French anthropologist Marc Augé, refers to anthropological spaces of transience that do not hold enough significance to be regarded as "places." As Augé points out, supermodernity produces nonplaces, "meaning spaces which are not themselves anthropological places and which, unlike in Baudelairean modernity, do not integrate the earlier places" (1995, 63). Nonplaces are temporary, ephemeral, fleeting spaces for passage, communication, and consumption. Augé puts it thus:

> If place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place. [. . .] the same things apply to the non-place as to the place. It never exists in pure form; places reconstitute themselves in it; relations are restored and resumed in it; the 'millennial ruses' of 'the invention of the everyday' and 'the arts of doing,' so subtly analysed by Michel de Certeau, can clear a path there and deploy their strategies. Places and non-place are rather like opposed polarities: the first is never completely erased, the second never totally completed. (Augé 1995, 63–64)

Examples of nonplaces are air, rail, and motorway routes, aircraft, trains and road vehicles, airports and railway stations, hotel chains, leisure parks, large retail outlets, and the complex skein of cable and wireless networks that mobilize extraterrestrial space for the purposes of a communication (Augé 1995).

These nonplaces make urban scenes familiar and uniform, creating an illusion of universality in urban experiences. In extreme cases, those nonplaces may make urban experiences homogeneous so that they give the impression that "only the name of the airport changes" as described in the novel Invisible Cities by Italian writer Italo Calvino:

> If on arriving at Trude I had not read the city's name written in big letters, I would have thought I was landing at the same airport from which I had taken off. The suburbs they drove me through were no different from the others, […] The downtown streets displayed goods, packages, signs that had not changed at all. […] You can resume your flight whenever you like, but you will arrive at another Trude, absolutely the same, detail by detail. The world is covered by the sole Trude, which does not begin, nor end. Only the name of the airport changes. (Calvino 1972/1974, 128)

However, despite "the universality of the urban experience," each city has a unique and special "feel," which gives city tourists a different experience. One of the factors that make each city unique and special is its ascent and decline throughout history, the process of which is "both rooted in history

and changed by it" (Kotkin 2005, 147), in other words, the characteristics of "places" in Augé's term. Cities are not stagnant; they are reconfigured, re-shaped, and rearranged with political, economic, social, and cultural changes throughout history.

Just as Lotman points out in his discussion on the symbolism of St. Petersburg, "The city is a mechanism, forever recreating its past" (Lotman 1990, 194–195): architectural ensembles, city rituals and ceremonies, the very plan of the city, the street names and thousands of other left-overs from past ages act as code programs constantly renewing the texts of the past. Lotman also says that "in this sense, the city, like culture, is a mechanism which with-stands time" (Lotman 1990, 195).

So, as Simon's *Cities in Translation* (2012) suggests, cities are "intersec-tions of memory," and the streets of the cities keep those memories. Itaewon is such a city. Compared to other areas in Seoul, it is an area with a rapid pace of change, and it has various images: diversity, ambiguity, disorder, chaos, exoticism, foreign land within the country, and so on. Such dynamicity and images throughout the history of the place stem mainly from its geographical location, specifically, its location near Han River.

As Lotman puts it, there are two ways in which a city as a demarcated space may relate to the earth which surrounds it—concentric and eccentric:

> Concentric structures tend towards enclosure, separation from their surroundings which are classed as hostile while eccentric structures tend towards openness and contacts with other cultures. […] The concentric situation of the city in semiotic space is as a rule associated with the image of the city on the hill. […] The eccentric city is situated "at the edge" of the cultural space: on the seashore, at the mouth of a river. (Lotman 1990, 191–192)

The peculiar situation of Itaewon, due to its location near the Han River, imbued it with openness. Indeed, various meanings and different sto-ries about the origin of the name show such characteristics. Itaewon has three different names and meanings, using different Chinese characters—梨泰院, 李泰院, and 異胎院—which are embedded in its geographical position and Korean history.

Firstly, Itaewon was initially a place for travelers and trading. During the Joseon Dynasty, one of four Hanyang (present Seoul) *won* (院)—a *won* was a kind of inn established for government officials and travelers by the govern-ment—was located there. So the place was named Itaewon. The *won* (院) in the name "Itaewon" meant "inn offering lodgings to travelers" (SMG 1998, 83). As more people frequented the area, inns for foreign envoys and markets were formed (Jang 2000, 59). Another story claims that Itaewon (梨泰院), meaning "area for pear trees," was so named because pear trees were grown there.

Itaewon was also a space of trauma. It was the area for alienated women, women who had to choose isolation from the society because, with the scar of foreign invasion on their body, they could not be accepted in Korean society.

During the Seven-Year War (1592–1598) against the Korean dynasty of Joseon, a Japanese military supply base was established in the Unjongsa Buddhist nun temple near present-day Itaewon. It is said that the Japanese commander Katō Kiyomasa and his soldiers seized the temple, raped the nuns, and then stayed for some time. They subsequently burned the temple before they left. The Buddhist nuns, who had lost their home, moved to nearby Yunggyeong Mountain and lived there. Thus, the area was called Itaewon (異 胎 院), which means "village for being pregnant with a foreigner's child" (No-mi Lee 2011, 242–243; Hoefer et al. 1981; Jun-gi Kim 2012).

Itaewon was also the place where Korean women, who had been taken to China during the second Manchu invasion of Korea in 1636, returned and settled down (Chosun Daily 2011).[3] In Joseon society, which had a tradition of monogamy, those women were despised as *hwanhyangnyeo* ("women who returned") and so they could not return to their home. Therefore, they went to live with the nuns (Heu-suk Han 2001, 59).

According to another story, the name originated from *Itain* (異 他 人), which means foreigners, in reference to Japanese soldiers, who surrendered and were naturalized during the Seven-Year War, forming a community there (Jun-gi Kim 2012).

This link between Itaewon with marginalized people might have facilitated the formation of neighboring Haebangchon (literally, "liberation village"). Haebangchon was the area for displaced people after liberation from Japanese colonial rule, for north Korean refugees after the Korean War of 1950–1953, and then for farmers who had left their rural hometowns for cities during the process of industrialization.

Geographically situated near Han River, Itaewon was considered strategically important in terms of transportation and military withdrawal. Thus, Itaewon has frequently been an area for foreign troops, having been a logistics base for the Mongolian Army during the late Goryeo Dynasty and a supply base for the Japanese Army during the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592 (Choi 2003, 23); it was also used by Chinese forces during the Im-O mili-

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[3] 서울 속 외국 이태원 백서. 美軍거리서 다국적 거리로 (Itaewon White Paper: From the Street of the US Military Army to Multinational Street). Chosun Daily, Feb 21, 2011. http://boomup.chosun.com (accessed December, 2014).

tary revolt of 1882–1884, was the location of the Japanese military headquarters during the colonial period of 1910–1945, and was used by the US forces after the liberation of Korea from Japanese colonial rule (No-mi Lee 2011, 242–243; Shin 2008, 193; Seoul Development Institute 2001).

The deployment of foreign troops transformed and rearranged the topography of Itaewon. During the 1920s, for instance, the public cemetery, which was located near the present-day Central Mosque, was transformed into the Japanese military headquarters. The cemetery was moved to the Miari district, and the body of Yu Gwan-sun, a patriotic martyr for independence from Japanese colonial rule, was lost in the process.

However, the biggest changes to and deepest influence on Itaewon came with the deployment of the US forces. On September 9, 1945, the US forces came to be stationed in Itaewon when the US Army commanding officer John Hodge received the surrender of all the Japanese forces in Korea south of the 38th parallel and took over the Japanese barracks and military facilities. The US Army Military Government was established and lasted from 1945 to 1948. However, with the Korean War in 1950, the US forces came back to be stationed in Itaewon, and the history of the US forces in Itaewon began. The English and Korean languages came to be used together; shops and bars emerged; and prostitutes, orphans, widows, and people from the provinces crowded around the US Army base hoping to scrape together a living from working on the base, selling goods to the soldiers, and so on. Military camp town clubs for American soldiers were opened, and Itaewon became a space where "American soldiers consumed Korean women sexually" (Hyeon-mee Kim 2005, 26). Thus, the so called "Hooker Hill" was formed.

However, most of the women who worked at Hooker Hill were victims of the Korean War. As the war had produced many orphans and widows, girls and women had to take responsibility for earning a living. They had to support not only themselves, but also their families. Some of them had to send money to their families in their hometown.[4] Under the circumstances, given that they could not find proper jobs, they had to choose prostitution, becoming *yang-gongju*[5] (a foreigner's whore), as described in Yeong-su Oh's novel of *Anna's Will* (1963):

[4] A girl risked her life to avoid the government's control over prostitution and died because she could not make a living if she was caught. Hearing this news, sixty yang-gongju held a demonstration against the control (Dong-A Ilbo Daily, October 27 1960, 3).
[5] Yang in yang-gongju means Western, and gongju means a princess. Women who sold their bodies to Western men, especially American soldiers, were called yang-gongju.

10/12/18   13:01

She had no clothes to cover her body
A brick looked like a chunk of meat to her.
How could you expect a girl, who is starving,
To be a lady, to be faithful?
I was starved.
A mature girl had no place to lay down her body.
Is this sin?

So I became a whore called Anna. (translation mine) (Oh 1963, 330)

As foreign official residences were established in the 1960s, military accommodation was built in 1963, and when the 121st Evacuation Hospital of the US Army was moved to Itaewon from Bupyeong district, more than 10,000 people relocated there. During the 1970s, the area became a shopping district for cheap branded goods; there was a prosperous textile industry, and the area enjoyed the reputation of one of the most popular tourist attractions in Korea among foreign tourists in the 1980s when international events were held in Seoul.

Thus, it was while the US forces were stationed there that Itaewon came to be known for its shopping area and for Hooker Hill. However, Itaewon cannot be reduced to only a shopping area and Hooker Hill. Itaewon was both a colonized space and a space of freedom and resistance. Politically, it was an Americanized colonial space (Lee and Jung 2010, 191), a colonized space (Choi 2003), or a deterritorialized space in that the authority of the nation–state was applied differently from how it was applied in other areas of the country (Eun-sil Kim 2004). Culturally, it was the space of freedom and resistance where Korean people could escape oppression under the Yushin regime in the 1970s and experience American culture (Eun-sil Kim 2004, 27; No-mi Lee 2011, 243). Indeed, Itaewon was the only route to American culture in Korean society: It was a place to experience Americanism as an object of desire for a generation familiar with AFKN radio programs, with singers trained on the musical stages at US military bases, and with Hollywood movies (Choi 2003,102) because foreign travel remained restricted in Korea until 1989.

These characteristics made the area a dynamic space where heterogeneous cultural codes and different subjectivities (including colonized "others," fragmented "youths," and a decolonized "new generation") were encountered, (re)constructed, (re)signified, and transformed at a specific historical stage (Lee and Jung 2010, 191). It was a place where subcultures, such as the culture of the US army in the 1950s–1960s, the Go-Go culture in the 1970s, disco culture in the 1980s, and hip-hop culture around the 1990s, were circulated, and it took on a leading role in Korea's popular music and subculture. The "clubs" which actively interacted with subcultures of different generations formed a site that led Korean popular music and subculture (see Lee and Jung 2010).

Itaewon, where American soldiers were previously the most numerous of the foreign residents, has become more multinational since 1993, when the Korean government introduced an industrial trainee system for foreigners. Foreign workers from India, Pakistan, Turkey, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan, Uzbekistan, and so on settled in Itaewon because the area was more open to foreigners and foreign cultures. Thus, foreigners could feel more comfortable and secure there. Many expatriates found solace in its accommodating nature and chose to set up their homes there. As various cultures, languages, and lifestyles mix together and various cultural activities commingle, the exterior landscape of the area is changing, and the space of the area is being rearranged, creating a unique and distinctive atmosphere. Through these dynamics, the area is becoming the cultural frontier zone where various cultures have become multinational and multilingual (Hyeon-mee Kim 2005, 26).

Itaewon is also a site of both conflict and solidarity as shown in the Muslim community in the area: "Though Arab Muslim traders have been known to make infrequent trading expeditions to Korea since the Silla dynasty, the teachings of Muhammad never made a real impact until 1950 when Turkish troops arrived to fight for UN forces" (Hoefer 1981). In 1960, the Korean Muslim Federation was founded with a Korean, Haji Sabri Suh, as its leader. However, the Islamic community was established due to the need to understand the Islamic world after the oil crisis of 1973 and 1974 (Lee and Jung 2011, 242). In February 1975, an Islamic Center was established in Itaewon, Seoul, and an adjoining Central Mosque—the largest such onion-domed structure in northeast Asia—was opened in 1976 (Hoefer 1981).

The Seoul Central Mosque had been built with both Korean and Middle Eastern funds to serve the 3,000 followers of the Prophet in the nation (Hoefer 1981). The Central Mosque is therefore not only a place for religious belief but also a symbolic site which shows Koreans' effort to understand the Islamic world (Lee and Jung 2011, 242–243).

A larger Muslim community was formed in Itaewon in 2005 when anti-American sentiment spread after two Korean middle school girls were accidentally run over and killed by an American armored personnel carrier, and American soldiers assaulted some citizens. As American soldiers were subsequently banned from bars and clubs, the economic base of the area declined and workers in the entertainment business left the area for cheaper accommodation elsewhere. Thus, the Muslim community was formed around the Central Mosque.

The Muslim community is bringing about changes to Itaewon. One of the most noticeable changes is the increased number of Halal food restaurants and the reduced number of local butcher's shops (Heu-su Yi et al. 2008,

1.
Itaewon, street view

2.
Itaewon, Muslim
settlement area

68). Furthermore, because of the strong solidarity among Muslims, the community is often regarded as a closed community by other Koreans (Lee and Jung 2011, 250).

The Muslim settlement in Itaewon is a segmentation of urban space formed by the pluralism of race and Islamic culture. However, the space is

never homogeneous to the citizens and Muslims living in the Muslim settlement, and the place of residence is perceived according to different meanings. That is, the citizens living in Itaewon view the Muslims as those who threaten their lives and view foreigners as the cause of economic conflicts as well. However, for those Muslims in the settlement, the citizens' hostility toward them has given rise to a view of them as a strange and potential threat. The place of conflict and alienation is an inevitable part of the process of initiating a new cultural solidarity (see Lee and Jung 2011).

Another feature of Itaewon is the coexistence of mutually exclusive activities in the same place: the Muslim community adjoins Gay Hill, which was formed in the late 1990s when gay bars moved there from Euljiro-Jongro (Jung-eun Kim et al. 2010). The position of Itaewon as a place of expatriates makes negotiation across different cultures with no shared history the very condition of civic coexistence. Now, Itaewon is producing a varied atmosphere and landscapes as multinational cultures are dynamically mixed together.

TRANSLATION AND REPRESENTATION OF ITAEWON AS A NONPLACE

Tourist books have an important role to play in presenting an image of a city to the outside world because most tourists depend on the books for information about the city they will visit. They obtain information about the history, culture, shopping centers, or entertainment facilities in the city and they consume the city based on this information. Tourist books provide guidelines to give tourists information and instructions to help them know or understand the city.

Itaewon has been one of the most popular tourist areas in Seoul among foreign tourists to the extent that it has been said that "[y]ou may not know Seoul, but you should know Itaewon" (Saccone 1994, 79). Indeed, for most foreigners the area has become synonymous with Seoul. This section investigates how Itaewon has been presented in tourist books during the past thirty years. For this purpose, tourist books in English from 1981 until 2010 were examined; however, as not many tourist books are available that discuss Itaewon, the sample was limited to seventeen books.

Insight Guides: Korea (Hoefer et al.), which was published in Hong Kong in 1981, offers comparatively detailed information, focusing on the origin of the name and Muhammadanism in Korea. Regarding the name, it quotes Allen and Donard Clark, a father-and-son team of Seoul historians as saying, "Following the Japanese invasion of 1592–1598, the area now called

Itaewon came to be called 'Itaein' or 'Itaein dong' meaning 'Foreigners' Village,' because of the Japanese soldiers who were quartered on this site," and "When the war was over, some of the soldiers settled down, married Korean girls, and spent the rest of their lives here." Then "the tradition carries on, though most American soldiers take their Korean brides home, to 'the world.' as they call the U.S. of A." (Hoefer et al. 1981).

Regarding Muhammadanism, the book says the teachings of Muhammad never made a real impact until the arrival of Turkish troops in 1950, as mentioned previously, and it goes on to explain the foundation of the Korean Muslim Federation in 1960 and the establishment of an Islamic Center in 1975 and, later, the adjoining Central Mosque (Hoefer et al. 1981).

Visitors Guide: Seoul Korea, which was published by Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG) in 1998, introduces some of Itaewon's historical traces:

> [the] "won" of the name has meant an inn offering lodgings to travelers of the Choson Dynasty. In the middle of the 17th century, there was a concentrated village of naturalized Japanese. From 1906, a Japanese Military Post was stationed in the area until liberation from Japanese colonial rule, and now US Military Post including headquarters is located there. (SMG 1998, 83)

However, *Insight Guides: South Korea* (Le Bas), which was published in London in 2007, introduces the history of Itaewon using a more poetic tone:

> but foreigners, not all of them Western, now occupy multi-story apartment buildings. [. . .] Imagine the astonished reactions of the Buddhist monks who, for some 500 years, kept a free hostel for travelers near here. What exists now, albeit breathtaking, may prove to be too developed for their tastes: the Grand Hyatt Hotel's mirrored façade; and the twin minarets of the onion-domed mosque below, from which resounds the muezzin's call to afternoon prayer. (Le Bas 2007, 135-139)

The book then adds that centuries ago, Itaewon was used as a stopover point for visitors to the capital, that Japanese troops were housed there during the Japanese Occupation, and that, after the Korean War, they were then replaced by American soldiers.

Although the descriptions in the above three tourist books are not enough to show the dynamicity of Itaewon, they at least reveal the historicity of the area. However, other tourist books introduce Itaewon, focusing on it as place for consumerism and as a shopping area and entertainment district as follows:

> known as a part of the city that never sleeps. [. . .] a one-stop hub for foreign visitors, including shopping, tours, lodging and information services. It also offers many venues in which to enjoy Korean and foreign cultures and cuisines. (KOTRA 2006, 249)

> now a growing mecca for bargain hunters. [. . .] It is lined on both sides with hundreds

of shops and arcades selling ready-made sports clothes [. . .] It is also an entertainment spot that boasts well over 200 restaurants, bars and clubs. (Suzanne Crowder Han 1989, 74)

crowded with shops of all kinds from custom tailors to jewelers, from antiques dealers to clothiers. [. . .] In the evening Itaewon becomes a dynamic entertainment district packed with discos, nightclubs, bars, and karaokes of all sizes. (Saccone 1994, 79–80)

the shopping paradise of diverse visitors from all parts of the world. (кошос 2002, 63)

Itaewon offers tailor-made and ready-made clothes [. . .] There is a spirited night life, too. (Chunsung Kim 2004, 90)

it was one of the only places in the country in which you could buy "Western" items [. . .] While it remains a great place to shop for cheap tailored suits and shoes, Itaewon's popularity also made it a byword for transactions of a more sexual nature – hostess bars sprung up all over the place. (Paxton 2008, 109)

It's a bastardized district that's neither Korean nor Western, but a skewed yet intriguing combination of both. Clothing, gifts . . . (Nilsen 2009, 44 and 92)

a lively expat entertainment zone with bars and clubs aplenty, both gay and straight. Market stalls line the main street and the district comes to life in the evening. (Robinson and Zahorchak 2009, 55)

Once a shady red-light district, it's been cleaned up [. . .] You can still find ladies of the night walking down certain streets at night, but during the day, it's a shopper's paradise. (Cecilia Hai-Jin Lee 2010, 63)

Translation of Itaewon in the above tourist books is no different from that in Wikipedia, as was pointed out in the introduction. Rather than being presented as a dynamic space where memories are imprinted, heterogeneous cultures mix together, and new cultures emerge, Itaewon is represented in these books as a large retail outlet for the selling and buying of goods, just like nonplaces, to use Augé's term (1995, 63), which have no urban relations, history, or identity.

The way Itaewon is translated is similar to the process of reification in that it presents fragmented information about the city in the process of commodification for tourism, and thereby stops us understanding the totality of the city. According to Lukács (1971), under capitalism everything is reified as the result of a unified structure of consciousness—that is, seeing everything in a completely discrete way, where everything is separated and fragmented and taken out of the process to which it belongs. Lukács claims this is caused by the fact that everything is turned into a commodity under capitalism, which thus prevents us from seeing the totality of the place and the deeper processes that are going on.

In a capitalist society, a city is presented as a commodity for the tourist industry, and its images are created, manipulated, or distorted in the pro-

cess of translation in order to create a profit. A city's function as a place for entertainment and shopping is frequently emphasized in presenting the city because "the criteria of the successful tourist industry mainly puts priority on spending on entertainment and shopping" (Yi and Oh 1994, 21). Itaewon's image is presented as a place for selling and entertaining; removed from its historicity, the image is fragmented.

FRAGMENTED IMAGE, FRAGMENTED EXPERIENCE

What does this fragmented image have to do with the city? The most direct influence may be the way the city is consumed by tourists. For example, the following recent reviews of the city by tourists[6] show that the way they consume the city is closely related to the image presented in tourist books:

> Itaewon: Lots of Shopping. There are shops and a district for almost every imaginable type of product and some are open until very late at night […]. (October 20, 2002)

> Itaewon: Capital of Kitsch. [. . .] filling up with good restaurants and chain stores. You can find Nike outlets selling all manner of shoes and sports gear, Body Shops filled with makeup and luxurious bath products, and dozens of clothing stores and tailors specializing in Chinese silk dresses. (October 19, 2003)

> Itaewon: Cheap shops and street fashion. You can find bargains of any kind and a lot of the big clothing chains [. . .]. (January 28, 2004)

> Itaewon: Near military base. Itaewon does have some shops [. . .] Itaewon is located near a US military base, so don't mind the soldiers in camouflage wandering around town. At night time, Itaewon transforms itself [. . .] One of the native Koreans told me that most Korean girls do not hang around in that area, afraid to be mistaken as a prostitute. (February 22, 2005)

> Itaewon is perhaps the most famous shopping area for foreigners in Korea. (January 13, 2006)

> Itaewon: Buying a Custom-Made Suit in Itaewon. (May 6, 2007)

> Itaewon: Very Touristy and Expensive, not a Sample of Korea. The Itaewon shopping area covers a 1.4 km in length [. . .] The area has a vibrant night life scene with many bars and nightclubs. (July 24, 2008)

> Itaewon: Special Tourism Shopping Zone of Seoul (April 4, 2011)

[6] All citations are taken from http://www.virtualtourist.com/travel/Asia/South_Korea/Soul_tukpyolsi/Seoul-1058426/Shopping-Seoul-Itaewon-BR-1.html (accessed December, 2014), which is an interactive site aimed at sharing travel knowledge, which includes chat, forums, travelogues, photos, and maps.

Although one reviewer describes Itaewon as an unexpected treasure trove, most of the reviews show that tourists' experience of Itaewon is superficial and fragmented, alienated from its memories and ongoing history just like the images of the city in the tourist books. They just experience Itaewon as a non-place where things are sold and bought. Considering the general purpose of tourist books, it can be said that the translation of Itaewon that is circulated and reproduced has directed tourists' pattern of consuming the city.

The city is, of course, a place where things are traded, but it is not only a place where things are traded. As Calvino's *Invisible Cities* suggests, a city is an assemblage of memory, desire, signs, names, and other features. So what is traded is not only things but also memories, desires, signs, names, and other things, as shown by *Invisible Cities*' Euphemia:

> You do not come to Euphemia only to buy and sell, but also because at night, by the fires all around the market, seated on sacks or barrels or stretched out on pile of carpets, at each word that one man says—such as "wolf," "sister," "hidden treasure," "battle," "scabies," "lovers"—the others tell, each one, his tale of wolves, sisters, treasures, scabies, lovers, battles. And you know that in the long journey ahead of you, when to keep awake against the camel's swaying or the junk's rocking, you start summoning up your memories one by one, your wolf will have become another wolf, your sister a different sister, your battle other battles, on your return from Euphemia, the city where memory is traded at every solstice and at every equinox. (Calvino 1972/1974, 36–37)

Itaewon is also a place that has its memories, desires, signs, and names, and is the place where those memories, desires, signs, and names are traded; thus it deserves to be known for various reasons, not just as a selling place. So the experience of the city could be more complex than simply trading things.

The fragmented experience together with the reproduced image has produced a negative image about Itaewon, so that it loses its attraction as a tourist site. Furthermore, as neighboring commercial areas are created, Itaewon has also lost its merits as a shopping area. Realizing the risk, the government designated the area a special tourism district in 1997 and decided to hold the Itaewon Global Village Festival twice a year in an attempt to revive Itaewon as a site of dynamic cultural exchanges.

CONCLUSION

In the tourism industry, cities are rearranged according to the economic principles of commercialism in a capitalist society. Cities can be classified as a sacred city, a fashion city, a commercial city, and so on, and this classification is translated spatially or verbally, creating a representative image of the city.

3.
Different views
of Itaewon

Tourist books are one of the media where cities are verbally translated. Itaewon has been verbally translated as a shopping and entertainment area in tourist books, and such a translated image has been consumed among tourists. However, this image has been fragmented, and so has been the experience of tourists.

The experience of cities may be more multiple and more multilateral than the one the tourist books can produce as shown in the description of the city of Irene in *Invisible Cities*:

> If you saw it, standing in its midst, it would be a different city; Irene is a name for a city in the distance, and if you approach, it changes. For those who pass it without entering, the city is one thing; it is another for those who are trapped by it and never leave. There is the city where you arrive for the first time; and there is another city which you leave never to return. Each deserves a different name; perhaps I have already spoken of Irene under other names; perhaps I have spoken only of Irene. (Calvino 1972/1974, 125)

4.
Itaewon, historical view

Therefore, cities cannot be fixed to a single image or translation. The various translations of the name of Itaewon itself—foreigners' village, village for being pregnant with a foreigner's child, village for pear trees—show that the area cannot be translated into one fixed image. The inherent and unique properties of Itaewon have been formed by the totality of geographical and historical moments. Itaewon has been a place for travelers and trading, a space of trauma caused by the conflictive history of Korea, a foreigners' village, a foreign land within the country, a colonized space, a space of freedom and resistance, a deterritorialized zone, a window onto Western culture, a space of conflicts and solidarity, a space for cultural translation, and so on. The area has accumulated its memories throughout history while being repeatedly rewritten, functioning as "a culture-generator."

Indeed, regarding cities as "culture-generators," Lotman says:

> The city is a complex semiotic mechanism, a culture-generator, but it carries out this function only because it is a melting-pot of texts and codes, belonging to all kinds of languages and levels. The essential semiotic polyglottism of every city is what makes it so productive of semiotic encounters. The city, being the place where different national, social, and stylistic codes and texts confront each other, is the place of hybridization, recodings, semiotic translations, all of which makes it into a powerful generator of new information. (Lotman 1990, 194)

Itaewon has been, to use Lotman's words "the place of hybridization, recodings, semiotic translations" (Lotman 1990, 194). However, a selective translation of such a city in the tourist books has focused on the fragmented image in the process of the commodification of the city as a tourist site. This fragmented image has been reproduced during past decades, fixing the image to Itaewon and obstructing cognition of the totality or the whole nature of the

city. This way, translation may be damaging to cities especially when a distorted image obtains authority through reproduction. As a culture-generator, a city deserves its proper translation.

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Of Translational Spaces and Multilingual Cities: Reading the Sounds of Lagos in Sefi Atta's *Swallows* and *Everything Good Will Come**

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<Abstract> Over the last few years, there has been an increasing number of Nigerian authors who in their writing have centered on portraying the different sounds and accents of one of Nigeria's most diverse and vibrant cities, Lagos. This article aims to analyze the way in which Sefi Atta, a leading voice in what has come to be known as "the third generation of Nigerian writers," describes in her novels *Swallow* (2005) and *Everything Good Will Come* (2010) the manner in which some of Nigeria's vernacular languages, such as Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba, as well as Nigerian English and Nigerian Pidgin, permeate this incredibly plural and multilingual city where varying ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups have been made to live together in the same translational space as a result of the colonial era.

As Achille Mbembe (2010) has underlined, one of the main bequests of colonialism has been the unequal development of the different countries and regions of Africa. This situation has led to an uneven distribution of people within multiple spaces. In this way, cities such as Lagos, Dakar, Accra, or Abidjan have actually become major metropolitan centers where interaction and negotiations among diverse peoples are commonplace and transcultural forms of different elements such as modes of dress, music, or language are constantly emerging. Without a doubt, translation is a main feature of coexistence in Lagos given its multilingual environment and the way in which various ethnic and linguistic communities share everyday life.

"Language is part of the audible surface of the city."
(Cronin and Simon 2014, 120)

IN TRANSLATION: READING THE SOUNDS OF THE CITY

Over the last few years, there has been an increasing number of Nigerian authors who in their writing have centered on portraying the different sounds and accents of one of Nigeria's most diverse and vibrant cities, Lagos. In this

regard, as Toni Kan Onwordi has underlined in a brief description included on the cover of Sefi Atta's second novel *Swallow*, "no contemporary Nigerian writer is better than Sefi Atta at evoking the smells, sounds and the sheer madness of this sprawling cosmopolitan city of Lagos." Along with Chris Abani, Helon Habila, Maik Nwosu, Jude Dibia, and Akin Adesokan, and other members of what has come to be known as "the third generation of Nigerian writers," in her narrative Sefi Atta ably describes the way in which diverse peoples negotiate everyday life on the city's populated streets.

Although there are many ways in which one may try to understand the workings of urban reality, analyzing "the practice of everyday life" (see De Certeau 1984) in a postcolonial city such as Lagos through language and translation can offer new and interesting perspectives in various fields of study. Indeed, Atta's novels *Everything Good Will Come* (2005) and *Swallow* (2010) provide the reader with a valuable linguistic experience of Lagos through the inclusion in her texts of the multilingual transactions that permeate the city.

As Simon interestingly points out in her book *Cities in Translation*,

> Much of the abundant literature in recent decades has emphasized the visual aspects of urban life. And yet the audible surface of languages, each city's signature blend of dialects and accents, is an equally crucial element of urban reality [. . .] "hearing" introduces the observer into layers of social, economic and cultural complexity. (Simon 2012, 1)

Thus, reading in Atta's fiction the sounds and diverse range of accents that characterize the city brings the reader closer to the complexity of its linguistic reality, in which translation appears as an indispensable tool which has gradually allowed for the emergence of what McLaughlin has termed "new urban language varieties":

> The burgeoning growth of Africa's cities that began during the latter part of the colonial period and continues with increasing momentum into the twenty-first century has given rise to a multiplicity of innovative and often transformative cultural practices that are associated primarily with urban life, not least of which is the emergence of new urban language varieties. (McLaughlin 2009, 1)

Lagos is, without a doubt, a multilingual and multiethnic city that can actually be defined as "a translation space [where] the focus is not on multiplicity but on interaction" (Simon 2012, 7). Therefore, given its multilingual environment and the way in which various ethnic and linguistic communities have come to share its everyday life, translation can clearly be considered one of the main features of activity in Lagos. In this way, beyond dichotomist understandings, translation becomes an indispensable medium through which a common coexistence may, although not always successfully, be negotiated:

> Multilingual contexts put pressure on the traditional vocabulary of transfer and its concepts of source and destination. Communities which have had a longstanding relationship inhabit the same landscape and follow similar rhythms of daily life. Facing one another across the space of the city, they are not "foreign" and so translation can no longer be configured only as a link between a familiar and a foreign culture, between a local original and a distant destination, between one monolingual community and another. [. . .] The Other remains within constant earshot. The shared understandings of this coexistence change the meaning of translation from a gesture of benevolence to a process through which a common civility is negotiated. (Simon 2012, 7)

LAGOS: A MULTILINGUAL AND MULTIETHNIC MEGACITY

In his book *Sortir de la grande nuit* (2010), Achille Mbembe recently underlined the fact that one of the main bequests of colonialism has been the unequal development of the different countries and regions of Africa. In fact, "[n]o major coastal cities existed in Western Africa before the colonial period. However, as a result of the mostly maritime-based logistics of colonialism, countries in the sub-region began an urbanization path strongly associated with the coast" (United Nations Human Settlements Programme [UN-Habitat] 2014, 99). This situation has gradually led to an uneven distribution of people within multiple spaces, hence cities like Lagos, Dakar, Accra, and Abidjan have actually become major metropolitan centers where interaction and negotiations are commonplace and transcultural forms of different elements such as modes of dress, music, or language are constantly emerging. It becomes apparent, therefore, that in many African cities such as Lagos

> attaining even the minimum often requires complex styles of staying attuned to the shifting intersections of gestures, excitements, languages, anxieties, determinations and comportments enacted across markets, streets and other venues. The city is a field of affect where specific dispositions and attainments are contingent upon the ways actors' bodies, histories and capacities are mobilized and enacted. (Simone 2007, 237)

As Ato Quayson explains in regard to Oxford St., in the Ghanaian capital of Accra the streets in many African cities may be seen as archives, rather than just geographical locations, where it is possible to find "a rich and intricate relationship between tradition and modernity, religion and secularity as well as local and transnational circuits of images and ideas" (Quayson 2010, 72).

Lagos is a burgeoning city, the largest in Nigeria (Falola and Genova 2009, 202), and, according to the figures published by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) in its 2014 report *The State of African Cities 2014. Re-imagining Sustainable Urban Transitions*, it "has recently joined the ranks of the world's megacities" (2014, 17). Lagos has undoubtedly been shaped by its history, not only as one of the most important ports
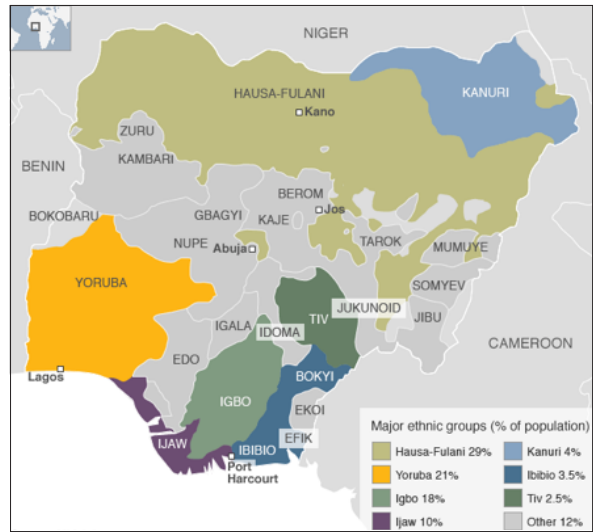
in West Africa from the eighteenth century onwards, but also as the federal capital of Nigeria (1914–1991). In this respect, although Abuja has been the federal capital of the country since 1991, Lagos, whose population is expected to rise to over eighteen million by 2025 (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 23–25), is now the center of one of the largest urban areas in Western Africa and continues to be a main hub in the southwestern region of Nigeria for the circulation of peoples as well as goods. Growing urbanization and rural–urban migration are responsible for the cultural heterogeneity of this major Western African city, which was at one point described "as an ancient city inhabited by the Awori and Ijebu people, both subgroups of the Yoruba" (Falola and Genova 2009, 202). Nevertheless, as a result of Nigeria's national history, Lagos is currently populated by varying and distinct ethnic groups. Although there is still a Yoruba majority, it can be said that "Nigeria's myriad ethnic and religious identities are found throughout the city's neighborhoods, usually managing to coexist, though periodically sparking tensions" (Lewis 2009, 115).

The artificial boundaries which were drawn when Nigeria was created by British administrators in 1914,[1] have given rise to an incredibly heterogeneous space both in ethnical and linguistic terms. As can be seen in the map below, there is an extremely wide range of ethnic groups which, as a consequence of colonialism, have come to inhabit the same nation; this has often provoked ethnic and religious tensions, the Biafran War (1967–1970) being a case in point:

> The Nigeria of today […] is a relatively new creation, dating back to the early 20th century. Boundaries prior to that time included numerous chieftaincies and empires that expanded and contracted geographically without regard to modern Nigeria's boundaries. For the early peoples of Nigeria, only geographic boundaries, such as the Sahara Desert or Atlantic Ocean, might have kept them in place. Western European powers competing for territory and political control in Africa during the late-19th century determined Nigeria's boundaries to suit their needs. Much of Nigeria's western, eastern, and northern borders are the results of rivalry and compromise by European powers. As a result, ethnic groups and former kingdoms straddle boundaries. […] Modern-day Nigeria is a conglomeration of hundreds of ethnic groups, spanning across different geographical zones. […] To identify a single Nigerian culture is difficult. (Falola and Genova 2009, xxx-xxxi)

[1] The name 'Nigeria' is credited to the colonial editor of the *Times of London*, Flora Shaw, who later married the new entity's governor, Lord Frederick Lugard. The name stuck. But the new name was not accompanied by any sense of national unity. [. . .] The British yoking together of so many different peoples into a huge state [. . .] shaped the future of about a fifth of Africa's sub-Saharan population" (Campbell 2013, 2).

Major ethnic groups (% of population)

Hausa-Fulani 29%	Kanuri 4%
Yoruba 21%	Ibibio 3.5%
Igbo 18%	Tiv 2.5%
Ijaw 10%	Other 12%

From a demographic point of view, within Nigeria the Hausa-Fulani, the Igbo, and the Yoruba can be considered to be the largest of the ethnic groups. According to Iyoha (2010, 169), around 29% of the population is Hausa-Fulani who live mainly in the northern regions in cities such as Kano, Sokoto, and Kaduna. The Yoruba, more or less 21%, are based primarily in the southwest of the country, in cities such as Ife-Ife, Lagos, and Ibadan. On the other hand, the Igbo, approximately 18% of the population, inhabit the areas situated in the southeast of Nigeria, for example in Port Harcourt, Owerri, and Enugu. These aforementioned groups can, however, be said to live all around the country. Other, numerically smaller ethnic groups include the Tiv, the Nupe, the Igala, and the Jukun in the Middle Belt region and the Ijaw, the Itsekiri, the Urhobo, the Ogoni, and the Ibibio in the Niger Delta. They have long been demanding greater political and economic representation within the national space, as Saro-Wiwa has pointed out on many occasions in regard to the Ogoni people:

> Colonialism is not a matter only of British, French, or European dominance over Africans. In African society, there is and has always been colonial oppression. In my case, the Ogoni had never been conquered by their Igbo neighbors. But the fact of British colonialism brought both peoples together under a single administration for the first time. And when the British colonialists left, the numerically inferior Ogoni were consigned to the rule of the more numerous Igbos, who always won elections in the Region since ethnic loyalties and cultural habits were and continue to be strong throughout Nigeria. (Saro-Wiwa 1992, 155)

Not only is Nigeria diverse in terms of its ethnicity, but it also boasts an enormous variety of languages and dialects—more than four hundred according to Garuba (2001, 11) and more than five hundred according to the

Ethnologue database (Simons and Fennig 2017). As Adekunle (1997) and Adegbija (2000, 2004) highlight, multilingualism is a common feature of many West African regions, and Nigeria can be said to be the country where the largest number of different languages is spoken. Together with English, which is used as an official language and is employed in diverse forms, Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba have become the three major national languages.[2] Moreover, a wide range of languages and dialects spoken by the different Nigerian ethnic groups is to be found:

> Apart from the indigenous languages, which are the mother tongues of Nigerians, there also exist non-indigenous languages. They include English, which has become a second language; Nigerian Pidgin (the language in Nigeria with probably the largest number of speakers), which derives from the contact between English and the indigenous languages; Classical Arabic, which is learnt by Muslims; and other foreign languages such as French, German, and Russian, which are taken as academic subjects at the secondary and tertiary levels of education. (Igboanusi 2002, 13–14)

Faced with this highly complex web of languages, many Nigerians have resorted to both English and Nigerian Pidgin (NP)[3] as a way of favoring communication with each other:

> Originally mainly restricted to trade, Pidgin has spread to become the language of market places, sports, the army and police force, taxi drivers, playgrounds, university campuses, and generally of interethnic discourse in lower-class and informal contexts. In recent decades it has therefore been utilized for mass communication—in advertising, political campaigning, government propaganda, announcements, and mass media, e.g. news broadcasts on the radio [. . .] It is labeled "the most widely spoken language in Nigeria" [. . .] Though the language still carries a strong stigma in the eyes of many educated Nigerians, many others have come to use it in informal conversations, also in banks, offices, and businesses, utilizing its ethnographic role as a code of friendliness and proximity. (Schneider 2007, 205–206)

Nonetheless, it is interesting to take into consideration that whilst NP and the vernacular languages are normally used in informal and familiar conversations, administrative and educational matters are mainly dealt with in English: "For a great many speakers from different groups, English is [...] valued as a language of prestige, a sign of education, and a mark of modernity"

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2 "The dominance of English in the Nigerian Constitution continued until 1979, when the Constitution that emerged under a military regime specifically provided for the use of the three major languages (Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba) in addition to English for proceedings in the National Assembly: 'The business of the National Assembly shall be conducted in English, and in Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba when adequate arrangements have been made therefore (Section 51)'" (Bamgbose 1996, 358).

3 It is important to bear in mind that, as Igboanusi points out, "Nigerian English" (NE) and "Nigerian Pidgin" (NP) are considered to be different languages: "Nigerian Pidgin is different from Nigerian English (the variety of English used in Nigeria). However, the line between them is sometimes difficult to draw, particularly at the lexical level" (Igboanusi 2008, 78).

(Simpson 2008,194). According to different critics (Bamgbose 1971; Bamgbose 1996, 366; Igboanusi 2002; Gut 2004, 813), only a small percentage of the Nigerian population may understand or speak English, but, despite the fact that in recent years there have been repeated attempts to increase the importance of the vernacular languages, it continues to be used on a regular basis, especially by the local elites:

> As ex-colonial people, Nigerians hold English in great awe. They so overrate English that literacy in English is considered the only mark of being an educated person. For example, for them science and technology are not within the reach of any person who cannot master the English language. Not surprisingly, therefore, the language, unlike any of the Nigerian mother tongues, is regarded as being politically neutral for adoption by the people. [. . .] Consequently, political expediency makes the English language the ready language for adoption for national literacy today. (Afolayan 2001, 83)

Just as in other African countries, the increasing use of new technologies such as the Internet and cable TV among specific sectors of Nigerian society has resulted in a growing interest on the part of the younger generation in learning the English language. This situation has been skillfully described by the widely acclaimed Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie who, on many occasions, has stated that English is no longer considered by some as a "foreign" language, but rather as a Nigerian language adapted to the Nigerian cultural context:

> I'd like to say something about English [...] which is simply that English is mine. Sometimes we talk about English in Africa as if Africans have no agency, as if there is not a distinct form of English spoken in Anglophone African countries. I was educated in it; I spoke it at the same time as I spoke Igbo. My English-speaking is rooted in a Nigerian experience and not in a British or American or Australian one. I have taken ownership of English. (Adichie, quoted in Uzoamaka 2008, 2)

The general trend encountered in multilingual communities consists in usage gradually determining the role each language has in particular domains, and Nigeria is no exception. Although English remains the most important language in education and matters pertaining to government and administration, the vernacular languages—such as Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo as well as NP—are used primarily in informal contexts. Taking these matters into consideration, it is important to underline the "diglossic," or rather "poliglossic," relations that, as Zabus (2007) and Bandia (2008) point out, have been established between the different languages that are employed in many of the countries in West Africa, including Nigeria:[4]

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[4] It is interesting to mention here that, according to Warren-Rothlin, in Nigeria digraphia is also a social reality which can result in social divisions (Warren-Rothlin 2012, 6–7). There also exist multiple orthographies and writing scripts within the country (ibid. 7).

For our purposes, the sociolinguistic concept of diglossia needs to be expanded to include not only Ferguson's genetically linked "high" and "low" varieties (to which he erroneously attributed scripturality and orality, respectively) but unrelated languages as well. Indeed, in a country like Ghana, Ewe is not a dialect of English and has a written literature of its own but, functionally, Ewe is to English what a dominated or subordinate language is to a dominant or superordinate language. [...] Also, the West African auxiliary languages resulting from languages in contact such as pidgins have a diglossic relation to the dominant European language that is similar to the more conventional relation between a prestige or power language and its regional dialect. Conversely, a statistically dominant language like Wolof in Senegal can be considered as being hegemonic like French and would thus be in diglossia with a minor language like Ndût. (Zabus 2007, 14)

In the case of the Nigerian linguistic landscape, English has gradually come to be accepted as the dominant language in some domains while specific forms of some of the vernacular languages such as Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba have been gaining ground in others. In many instances, however, these vernacular languages are in a diglossic situation in relation to the English language. Likewise, although it is now defined as "the most widely spoken language in Nigeria," NP appears to be in a diglossic situation with respect to English. It is also important to bear in mind that the three major vernacular languages can be categorized as hegemonic *vis-à-vis* those considered as minor. Thus, faced with the linguistic variation characteristic of a territory like Nigeria, it may be said that, in Zabus's own words, "[w]e can therefore advance the notions of 'triglossia' or even 'polyglossia,' and 'intertwined diglossias'" (Zabus 2007, 14).

The Nigerian cultural and linguistic situation that we have been describing, although very succinctly, is reflected in the city of Lagos where, as illustrated by the different examples that follow, diverse languages, and therefore translation, are used on a daily basis, not only in the ever-changing "discourse ecologies" (Quayson 2010) that exist on its streets, but also in the conversational exchanges that take place in its crowded markets, "motor parks," taxis or buses. In this regard, in their work both Adedun and Shodipe have underlined the fact that, although most people in Lagos use Yoruba and Nigerian Pidgin in their daily interactions, Hausa, Igbo, and other vernacular languages together with English are also a common feature in this cosmopolitan African city:

The nature of Lagos, which accommodates various ethnic, and religious groups, accounts for the present state of its language repertoire. [...] Without any doubt, Lagos is a potpourri of different peoples and tribes and these have had a noticeable impact on the linguistic repertoire, language choice, and language shift in the area. (Adedun and Shodipe 2011, 131)

One of the main characteristics of Atta's work, as mentioned previously, is the accuracy with which she manages to portray the city of Lagos and the wide range of sounds that fill its streets and buildings. Both in her first novel, *Everything Good Will Come* (EG in the citations, below), and in her second novel, *Swallow* (SW in the citations, below), in addition to other works, Atta describes different parts of the city along with its diverse languages and accents:

> Our continent was a tower of Babel, Africans speaking colonial languages: French, English, Portuguese, and their own indigenous languages. Most house help in Lagos came from outside Lagos; from the provinces and from neighboring African countries. If we didn't share a language, we communicated in Pidgin English. (EG, 212)

> Sheri's younger siblings greeted me as I walked across the cement square.
> "Hello, Sister Enitan."
> "Long time no see."
> "*Barka de Sallah*, Sister Enitan." (EG, 247)

> Street hawkers sat behind wooden stalls in a small market . . . They were Fulani people from the North. The men wore white skull caps and the women wrapped chiffon scarves around their heads. [. . .] They talked loud in their language, and together they sounded like mourners ululating. (EG, 198)

> Baba came to collect his monthly salary [. . .]
> "Compliments of the season," I said. "How are you?"
> I spoke to him in Yoruba, addressing him by the formal you, because he was an elder. He responded with the same formality because I was his employer. Yoruba is a language that doesn't recognize gender—he the same as she, him the same as her—but respect is always important. (EG, 312).

In her fiction, Atta includes many instances in which translation appears as an indispensable tool and a necessary medium through which everyday life may be negotiated in Lagos, a place where diverse peoples and languages have come to share a common space. For instance, when Enitan, the main character in *Everything Good Will Come*, is sent to Royal College in Lagos and encounters girls from varying ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, cultural and linguistic translation becomes indispensable on a day-to-day basis:

> I met Moslem girls [. . .] Catholic girls [. . .] Anglican girls, Methodist girls. One girl, Sangita, was Hindu [. . .] I learned also about women in my country, from Zaria, Katsina, Kaduna who decorated their skin with henna dye and lived in *purdah* [. . .] Uncle Alex had always said our country was not meant to be one. The British had drawn a circle on the map of West Africa and called it a country. Now I understood what he meant. The girls I met at Royal College [in Lagos] were so different. I could tell a girl's ethnicity even before she opened her mouth. Hausa girls had softer hair because of their Arab heritage. Yoruba girls like me usually had heart-shaped faces and many Igbo girls were fair-skinned; we called them Igbo Yellow. We spoke English, but our native tongues were as different as French and Chinese. So, we mispronounced names and spoke English with different accents. Some Hausa girls could not "fronounce" the

letter P. Some Yoruba girls might call these girls "Ausas," and eggs might be "heggs."
Then there was that business with the middle-belters who mixed up their L's and R's.
(EG, 44–45)

Moreover, when Enitan meets one of her neighbors, a Muslim girl named Sheri, they are each faced with both cultural and linguistic translation. Since they come from different ethnic communities and religious backgrounds, Enitan, who is Yoruba, and Sheri, a "half-caste" with Hausa roots, need to understand one another's cultural and linguistic circumstances before they can become friends:

[Sheri] was funny, and she was also rude, but that was probably because she had no home training.
She yelled from our gates. "I'll call you aburo, little sister, from now on. And I'll beat you at ten-ten, wait and see." (EG, 16)

The woman in the photograph by [Sheri's] bedside table was her grandmother. "Alhaja," Sheri said. "She's beautiful." [...]
There were many Alhajas in Lagos. This one wasn't the first woman to go on hajj to Mecca, but for women like her, who were powerful within their families and communities, the title became their name. [...] She pressed the picture to her chest and told me of her life in downtown Lagos. She lived in a house opposite her Alhaja's fabric store. She went to a school where children didn't care to speak English. After school, she helped Alhaja in her store and knew how to measure cloth. I listened, mindful that my life didn't extend beyond Ikoyi Park. What would it be like to know downtown as Sheri did, haggle with customers, buy fried yams and roasted plantains from street hawkers, curse Area Boys and taxi cabs who drove too close to the curb. [...] Sheri was a Moslem and she didn't know much about Christianity. [...] I asked why Moslems didn't eat pork. "It's a filthy beast," she said, scratching her hair. I told her about my own life. (EG, 33–34)

As Enitan mentions in several parts of the novel, although Hausa resonates in the streets and markets of Lagos, without translation into other languages it is not always understood by the Yoruba majority or by people from other ethnic communities. That is why, in many cases, people from diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds who live in the city translate their vernacular languages into Pidgin English or English:

Our gate man unlocked the gates. His prayer beads hung from his wrist. I realized I must have disturbed his prayer. Soon it would be the Moslem fasting period, Ramadan. "*Sanu, madam*," he said.
"*Sanu, mallam*," I replied in the only Hausa I knew. (EG, 201)

In my first year of marriage, there was a hawker who sat by the vigilante gates of our state. She was one of those Fulani people from the north. We never said a word to each other: I could understand her language no more than she could mine. (EG, 243)

This situation is also underlined by another Nigerian writer, Buchi Emecheta, in her well-known novel *The Joys of Motherhood*:

The early market sellers were making their way to the stalls in single file. [Nnu Ego]

in her haste almost knocked the poor man down [. . .] There followed a loud curse, and an unintelligible outpouring from the mouth of the beggar in his native Hausa language, which few people in Lagos understood. (Emecheta 1994, 9)

In the colorful markets of Lagos and other African cities, peoples from varied ethnic and linguistic environments constantly mingle and interact. Markets, as Simone puts it, are "the site for incessant performance, for feigned connections and insider deals, for dissimulation of all kinds, for launching impressions and information, rumors and advice" (Simone 2008, 81). Hence, given the mélange of languages and cultures, "[t]he resulting confusion about what is really going on breeds its own makeshift interpreters, who pretend to have real skills of discernment and can steer customers to the best price, quality, or hidden deal" (Simone 2008, 81).

In the extract below, taken from *Everything Good Will Come*, Enitan, who was brought up in Ikoyi, one of Lagos's affluent neighborhoods,[5] highlights the fact that class differences are extremely important in the city and can greatly influence the way in which people talk to one another:

Pierre, my present house boy, began to wash the vegetables [. . .]
I needed Pierre to place the okras on the chopping board.
"*Ici*," I said pointing. "Over there, please."
Pierre raised a brow. "*Là bas*, madame?"
"My friend," I said. "You know exactly what I mean."
It was my fault for attempting to speak French to him. [. . .]
"I beg, put am for there," I said [in Nigerian Pidgin]. [. . .]
The general help we called house boys or house girls. [. . .] They helped with daily chores in exchange for food, lodgings, and a stipend. Most were of working age, barely educated. [. . .] (EG, 212)

In this particular situation, because Pierre, the house boy, comes from the neighboring Republic of Benin, Enitan tries to translate her orders into French. Nevertheless, in the end, she resorts to a translation into Pidgin English, which, as stated earlier in the article, is the language normally used as the medium of communication among peoples who belong to different ethnic and linguistic groups in Lagos.

On other occasions, however, depending on the educational level of the speakers and the specific context in which interaction takes place, when

[5] According to Fourchard (2012a, 68), this comes as a direct result of the colonial era, when the city of Lagos was divided into a residential area reserved for Europeans (Ikoyi) and a commercial area in which Europeans lived, worked, traded, and interacted with Africans (Lagos Island). In this regard, Lagos, like other contemporary African cities, may be described as what Triulzi (2002, 81) refers to as "the 'site of memory' of colonisation, with its divisions (the colonial city was conceived and grew opposite to and separate from the native town), its visible remains (buildings, town plans, statues) and its obligatory 'synthesis' of tradition and modernity."

people whose ethnicities differ speak with one another, they translate their vernacular languages into English, instead of Pidgin English:

> We [Rose and Tolani] always spoke in English because she couldn't speak Yoruba and I couldn't understand her own language, Ijaw. (SW, 8)

Enitan and Tolani, the main protagonists of *Everything Good* and *Swallow* respectively, recount their stories in English yet, as Atta herself has pointed out (quoted in Rodríguez Murphy 2012, 107–108), it actually consists of a transcultural form of English (Rodríguez Murphy 2015b, 72), which is inscribed with Nigerian vernacular languages and expressions as well as with Nigerian cultural markers: "[Nigerian readers] tell me they enjoy seeing those kinds of Englishes in my work. They come up to me and say: 'Oh, you really *do* know Nigeria, you really *do* know Lagos very well.' They enjoy it" (Atta quoted in Rodríguez Murphy 2012, 108). In her work, Atta manages to reflect the different varieties of English used in Lagos. These varieties have come to be defined as NE, and now form part of the wide range of "World Englishes" (see Kachru 1992 and Kachru, Kachru, and Nelson 2006) or "New Englishes" (see Crystal 2003), in reference to local adaptations of the English language which suit specific cultural contexts. This can be seen in the following examples:

Yellow
Sheri's afro was so fluffy, it moved as she talked [. . .] She had a spray of rashes and was so fair-skinned. People her color got called "Yellow Pawpaw" or "Yellow Banana" in school. (EG, 18)

Peter Mukoro tapped my arm. "I was calling that lady, that yellow lady in the kitchen, but she ignored me. Tell her we need more rice. Please." (EG, 125–126)

I'd heard men say that women like Sheri didn't age well: they wrinkled early like white women. It was the end of a narration that began when they first called her yellow banana, and not more sensible, I thought. (EG, 206)

In diverse passages of Atta's novels, we may observe that the word "yellow" has come to acquire a specific meaning in NE: "a NE way of describing a fellow Black who is fairly light-skinned" (Igboanusi 2002, 303).

Area boys
"You won't believe. We were having a peaceful protest, calling on the government to reconsider our demands, when we noticed a group in the crowd who did not belong to our union. [. . .] They were shouting insults and acting rowdy [. . .]"
The people she was talking about had to be area boys. They waited for any protest so they could misbehave. (SW, 133)

In this extract taken from *Swallow*, Atta uses the term "area boy," a phrase now commonly heard in urban settings, which, in NE, makes reference to a job-

less young man who participates in criminal acts and is often involved in criminal activities. Such a term is one of many linguistic reflections of what, according to some critics (Fourchard 2012b, Lewis 2009), is now happening in the streets of the city where, for several decades, criminal activity has been on the increase.

High-life music
As he spoke, I fell asleep dreaming of him, an eleven-year-old boy with khaki shorts holding a rifle made of sticks, dancing to high-life music with his mother and learning how to drink palm-wine from his father's calabash. (EG, 116-117)

"High-life music," sometimes referred to just as "highlife," is a very well-known musical genre in the Western regions of Africa,[6] "a brand of music style combining jazz and West African elements, popular in Nigeria and other West African countries. In BE, 'high life' denotes a style of life that involves spending a lot of money on entertainment, good food, expensive clothes, etc." (Igboanusi 2002, 138). As Igboanusi remarks, it is important to take into consideration that there is a difference between the way the term is used in British English and the meaning it has come to acquire in Nigerian English.

Not only "Highlife," but also other types of transcultural Nigerian music such as apala or juju music are often mentioned in Atta's novels. Along with language, another element that permeates daily life in Lagos and many Nigerian cities is music that, as in other countries on the African continent, has been adapted and translated to suit diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds:

Through the fence we heard Akanni's juju music. Sheri stuck her bottom out and began to wriggle. She dived lower and wormed up. (EG, 15)

The street was narrow and juju music blared from a battered cassette player perched on a wooden stool. Street hawkers sat around selling boxes of sugar, bathing sponges, tinned sardines, chewing sticks, cigarettes, and Bazooka Joe gum. (EG, 89)

Lagos. The street on which we lived was named after a military governor. Our neighborhood smelled of burned beans and rotten egusi leaves. Juju and apala music, disco and reggae music jumped from the windows, and fluorescent blue cylinders lit up the entire place past midnight. (SW, 21)

In her writing, Atta includes both NE and NP, and also the vernacular languages with which she was brought up, Yoruba and Hausa. This helps situate the reader in Lagos's translational spaces, where the sounds of different accents and languages share a common linguistic environment:

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[6] Although "highlife music" is a popular genre in West Africa, it is necessary to emphasize that each region has managed to maintain its own specificity: "Generally, as the music and its accompanying highlife dance spread across West Africa, each region maintained its ethnic specificity by composing songs in the local language, and some bands, especially the multinational ones, created compositions in English or pidgin English" (Ajayi-Soyinka 2008, 526).

He pronounced his visions between chants that sounded like the Yoruba words for butterfly, dung beetle, and turkey: *labalaba*, *yimiyimi*, *tolotolo*. (EG, 10)

Yoruba people believed in reincarnation. The Yoruba religion had a world for the living and another for spirits. There was a circle of life and other complex concepts regarding deity, royalty, and fate that I couldn't fully understand. For anyone to understand the Yoruba cosmos was a challenge without the wisdom and guidance of a *babalawo* [. . .] (SW, 88)

On the day of the Moslem festival, *Id-el-fitr,* I left home for the first time that month to break fast with the Bakares. [. . .] As I drove through their gates, I heard a ram bleating in the back yard of the Bakare's house. It had been tied to a mango tree for two weeks and would be slain for the Sallah feast. (EG, 245)

"How's your husband?" Mama Gani asked. Her gold tooth flashed.
"He's fine," I said [. . .]
"Still nothing about your father?"
"Still nothing," I said.
She clapped her hands. "*Insha Allah*, nothing will happen to him, after the kindness he's shown us." (EG, 245)

The multilingualism which is typical in Lagos makes communication based on translation and transculturation inevitable. The following dialogues from *Everything Good Will Come* and *Swallow* clearly illustrate this point:

We heard a cry from the road.
"*Pupa*! Yellow!"
A taxi driver was leaning out of his window. [. . .]
"Yes, you with the big *yansh*," he shouted.
Sheri spread her fingers at him. "Nothing good will come to you!" [. . .]
"And you, *Dudu*," the taxi driver said.
Startled, I looked up.
"Yes you with the black face. Where is your own yansh hiding?"
I glared at him. "Nothing good will come to you."
He laughed with his tongue hanging out. "What, you're turning up your nose at me? You're not that pretty, either of you. Sharrap. Oh, sharrap both of you. You should feel happy that a man noticed you. If you're not careful, I'll sex you both."
Sheri and I turned our backs on him. (EG, 135-136)

There was a strong smell of simmering palm oil in the flat. Rose was in the kitchen. [. . .] She laughed at my expression.
"My sister," she said. "You think say I no know how to cook or what?"
"I've just seen Mrs. Durojaiye," I said, shutting the door.
"I saw her too."
"She says you visited her?"
She clucked. "The woman done craze [. . .]" (SW, 135)

On my way to the bus stop, I passed a group of women selling roasted corn under a breadfruit tree. [. . .] I heard two men discussing women. "Statuesque," one of them said. "The first one is black and skinny, the second is yellow and fat. I can't decide. I love them both. You think say I fit marry both of them?" (SW, 236)

At the bus stop, an army officer with his stomach protruding over his belt parted the crowd to board a bus. "Single-file line," he repeated and lifted his horsewhip to warn those who protested. [. . .]
"Those who give orders," I said in a voice loud enough for the others to hear. "Question them. You can't just obey without thinking."
[. . .]
"Oh, I hate people like this," [a] woman said. "What is wrong with her? Move your

skinny self, sister."

[. . .]

"Sister [. . .]. Move before I move you to one side, oh!"

"*Abi* she's deaf?"

"Maybe she done craze."

"Sister, 'dress oh!"

"Yes, address yourself to the corner and continue to *tanda* for dat side with your body like *bonga* fish."

"*Tss*, keep shut. Don't start another fight." (SW, 188–189)

Enitan's and Tolani's stories take place in a particular context which Atta succeeds in describing in great detail through a specific use of language that evokes, in the mind of the reader, the smells, images and languages which define the city of Lagos, where it is possible to come across interesting contrasts and a wide range of lifestyles as well as "cultural inscriptions [. . .] seen in mottos and slogans on lorries, cars, pushcarts and other mobile surfaces that may be encountered on the street" (Quayson 2010, 73):

> Millions lived in Lagos [. . .] Most days it felt like a billion people walking down the labyrinth of petty and main streets: beggar men, secretaries, government contractors (thieves, some would say), Area Boys, street children [. . .] There was a constant din of cars, popping exhaust pipes, and engines, commuters scrambling for canary-yellow buses and private transport vans we called *kabukabu* and *danfo*. They bore bible epitaphs: Lion of Judah, God Saves [. . .] There were countless billboards: Pepsi, Benson and Hedges, Daewoo, Indomie Instant Noodles, Drive Carefully, Fight Child Abuse [. . .] a taxi driver making lurid remarks; people cursing themselves well and good; All right-Sirs, our urban praise singers or borderline beggars, who hailed any person for money. Chief! Professor! Excellency! [. . .] My favourite time was early morning, before people encroached, when the air was cool and all I could hear was the call from Central Mosque: *Allahu Akhbar, Allahu Akhbar*. (EG, 98–99)

In the different examples cited above, one can appreciate to what extent Atta accomplishes a very creative and engaging use of language in her novels. She skillfully manages to transmit the specific characteristics of the cultures that have come to constitute her identity;[7] similarly she also succeeds in representing the diverse range of accents that define the city of Lagos as a translational space, where "[a]ccents, code-switching and translation are to be valued for the ways in which they draw attention to the complexities of difference, for the ways in which they interrupt the self-sufficiencies of 'mono' cultures" (Simon 2012, 1).

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[7] "I had an unusual upbringing [. . .] and was surrounded by people from other ethnic groups and religions. Many Nigerian writers I meet feel that they are Yoruba, Igbo or something else, but I actually feel Nigerian and it comes out in my writing. I write about people who don't have any strong ethnic allegiance or people who are in mixed marriages. [. . .] What I have picked up is language from different parts of the world and it comes out in my writing. I have to be very careful when I am writing in the voices of people who have not had my experiences. My second novel, *Swallow*, is written in the voice of a Yoruba woman, for instance. I couldn't use language I had picked up here or in England" (Atta as cited in Collins 2007, 7).

CONCLUSION

As several critics (Bandia 2008, Bandia as cited in Rodríguez Murphy 2015a, Gyasi 1999, Mehrez 1992, Inggs and Meintjes 2009) have rightly emphasized, the high rate of multilingualism or "polilingualism" (Bandia 2008, 136–137, Bandia as cited in Rodríguez Murphy 2015a, 149) which characterizes many of the African postcolonies,[8] including Nigeria, is of great importance for translation studies in this day and age. Without a doubt, taking into account the ever-growing transculturation and transnationalization of cultures in our present-day global world, multilingualism can be considered an increasingly relevant feature both in literature and society:

> As a corollary of colonization, the displacement and migration of peoples brought about changes that would challenge the notion of a national language and a homogeneous culture paving the way for understanding language and culture from the point of view of a transnational experience. According to Bhabha, hybridity, a main characteristic of the postcolonial condition, disrupts the relation between national language and culture, and points to a culture of difference, of displacement of signification, of translation. (Bandia 2008, 139).

In this regard, in many African cities new transcultural and hybrid forms of diverse elements are being created every day. Ranging from transcultural types of music (Osumare 2012), such as afrobeat or highlife music, to other transcultural phenomena, including the Azonto dance in Ghana (Jakana, 2012) and the Nollywood film industry, which is now a major influence in Lagos's streets and markets (Haynes 2007, Fuentes-Luque 2017). In the specific case of language, and as we have seen in the examples quoted from Atta's novels, the prominence of the multilingualism that permeates African cities in general, and the continuous emergence of new hybrid linguistic forms and new semantic associations, which are typical features of the discourse employed in situations involving interaction in urban areas, are, and will continue to be, compelling topics when analyzing issues related to translation and translatability in the twenty-first century.

[8] Here "postcolony" (Mbembe 2010) refers to the postcolonial context which, according to Bandia, is part of the colonial space: "Colonial space is 'the postcolony' itself, but it is also that space where people with postcolonial experiences, people with postcolonial backgrounds, exist" (Bandia as cited in Rodríguez Murphy 2015a, 149). This "colonial space" should not be understood as a static entity, but rather as characterized by ongoing translation, translocation and transculturation.

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Translation and Asymmetrical Spaces, the Strait of Gibraltar as a Case in Point

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<Abstract> As a geographical location, defined by Paul Bowles as "the center of the universe," which separates continents—Europe in the North and Africa in the South—but also world views, cultures, religions, and languages, the Strait of Gibraltar was and remains an authentic translation space. At present, the metaphor of the separation that the Strait evokes incessantly continues to be valid every day, taking into account, for example, events such as the succesive waves of African immigrants who have been arriving on the European coasts for several years "illegally." In addition to these tensions, there are cities located in the Strait, such as Tangier and Gibraltar, that are by themselves multilingual and multicultural places and therefore spaces of translation and conflict that deserve specific sections in this paper. While Tangier, during the second half of the twentieth century was a unique "interzone" characterized by cosmopolitanism and the coexistence of spaces and multiple and confronted texts, Gibraltar is now a territory reinvented as a result of its past, in which hybridity would be a fundamental part of its complex and young identity.

INTRODUCTION

> Spaces can be real and imagined. Spaces can tell stories and unfold histories.
> Spaces can be interrupted, appropriated,
> and transformed through artistic and literary practice.
> (hooks 1991, 152)

Human beings access reality by means of translations, of provisional, relevant, interesting or interested versions of realities which are continually being contextualized, rectified, and translated. With the hermeneutic and ethical journeys of each individual, we come to realize that translating is an inevitable means of encountering the other. Not only of encountering the other, but also of coming face to face with immigration and national identities, the global and the local, the problem of marginal groups, difference, or encountering what we sometimes agree with and sometimes detest. And we come across all of these things because when we translate we invade spaces, we occupy alien, far-away spaces which overlap and clash. When we translate, we shape these spaces and walk over the tracks we find on the way; but, on occasion, when we move around in others' spaces, our aim is also to rewrite them and translate them. Translating is shifting smells, flavors, or passions from places that are

not ours. Translation is movement, flow, and passage between spaces that are not, and should never be, unidirectional or closed.

Our starting-point in this paper is that all cultural experience arises at the crossroads between *language*, *topos*, and *identity*, and that precisely the experience of what is different is produced by the destabilization of these crossroads (Robinson 1998, 24). Our point of departure, therefore, is that translating, and more specifically translating spaces, is a very political activity which is certainly not neutral—it is the *locus* where the coexistence of heterogeneity becomes possible, and as a result space must always be under construction (Massey 2011, 9).

As an example of this way of understanding translation, we aim to focus on the Strait of Gibraltar, with the cities of Tangier and Gibraltar at opposite sides of its coast. It is a fascinating area because it is the space that joins Africa and Europe, a space of cultural encounter that espouses the concept of hybridity, a hybridity distinct from syncretism, creolization, and métissage, which would suggest that the dynamics of cultural encounters give rise to new, long-lasting identities. On the contrary, these are spaces in which the hybrid is that space in construction just mentioned that problematizes binary oppositions since each is part of the construction of the other. Within this context, translating in these spaces means offering a culturally constructed version away from dualisms.

The analysis of this space, which includes the Strait, Tangier, and Gibraltar, will lead us to reflect on the fact that translating is today the condition of living of many cities with a double or triple history behind them. The study of these spaces will make clear that translation, far from being a benevolent act of hospitality toward a guest from another space, is a relentless transaction (Simon 2003, 77), a hybrid act which does not mean a new synthesis but a zone of negotiation, dissent, and exchange, a locus that short-circuits patterns of alterity in order to express the drift of contemporary identities (Simon 1999, 39–40).

The Strait of Gibraltar, which is in turn a clash space between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, is the starting point of this essay; it is here that all stories—those that go to the North and those that remain in the South—begin and it is also the narrative constructions on the Strait that make this space such a complicated, multicultural space, because "places without stories are unthinkable" (Price 2004, xxi).

In fact, the Strait of Gibraltar and the stories shaping it throughout the centuries make it a space of conflicts, silences, discontinuities, and exclusions that turn it into a place which is unstable and multilayered, never finished, never determined, processual, porous (Price 2004, 5). Because although the Strait of Gibraltar is currently a natural border between two continents (Africa and Europe) and two countries (Morocco and Spain), and it is unique

in that it also has Gibraltar (an overseas territory of the United Kingdom), and Ceuta (a Spanish city with its own statute of autonomous government) on opposite sides of its shores, the truth is that, throughout history, both sides have been united longer than they have been separated. They were governed as one territory by the Romans and also during the eight centuries of Muslim occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. In 1492, after the fall of the Kingdom of Granada, the two shores separated forever, a separation that was only occasionally interrupted during the time of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco (1913–1956). Since 1956, when the kingdom of Morocco became independent, the two shores have once again become administratively, politically, and culturally independent.

The waters of the Strait are, therefore, a palimpsest accumulating well-known stories and also, unfortunately, other stories we will never hear about because they were lost forever with the bodies that have sunk to the depths. The waters of the Strait are "a layered text of narratives of belonging and exclusion, always negotiated, always struggled over, never finished" (Price 2004, 7); they are the intermediate, imaginary zone between Africa and the West that every culture *needs*: "Somewhere every culture has an imaginary zone for what it excludes, and it is that zone we must try to remember *today*" (Cixous and Clément 1986, 6). And that imaginary zone is the line that joins the two "dual cities" (Simon 2012, 3 and following pages) we shall go on to examine in detail, Tangier and Gibraltar.

Currently, communication between both sides of the Strait is in the form of fast or traditional ferries between Tarifa, Algeciras, and Gibraltar on the European side and Ceuta and Tangier in Africa. Crossings take between thirty and ninety minutes. Sometimes crossings cannot be made due to storms or strong winds, especially in winter. One of these ferries is called "the whale," a carrier of unknown treasures which, with a curious symbolism reminding us of Captain Ahab's quest to hunt down Moby Dick, is pursued by an old fisherman from Tangier in the film *Moroccan Chronicles* (1999) by the Moroccan director Moumen Smihi. The journey between the two shores is made legally by almost three million people a year and illegally by more than ten thousand, who use their own means to get across in "*pateras*." The Strait of Gibraltar is the only gateway into and out of the Mediterranean for all marine traffic. It is estimated that more than 82,000 ships cross it every year. As Alfred Chester points out in his short story "Glory Hole": "The hills of Spain are there like civilized laughter across the narrow water; two ferries a day, or six, or ten—who can remember anymore? Spain is on the other, the inaccessible side of Styx" (Chester 1990, 221).

The possibility of building a bridge or a tunnel between both shores

has often been discussed. From the technical viewpoint, the tunnel option would appear to be the most feasible, even though the depth of the water of the Strait would make it the deepest (and most expensive) tunnel in Europe. However, the existence of a tunnel or bridge across the Strait would be a huge improvement in traffic and mobility between both sides, something which, from a symbolic and political point of view, would not seem to be totally acceptable at this moment in time: the idea of a tunnel or bridge, ultimately a metaphor of union and communication between the two shores, clashes with other well-known metaphorical narratives about the Strait which focus more on the idea of battle and separation. One is the familiar mythological tale of the "columns," identified fairly vaguely as the Rock of Gibraltar and Mount Hacho in Ceuta, which Hercules separated to open up a passage for the Atlantic Ocean. Another is the myth surrounding Julian, Count of Ceuta, a Visigoth governor of the city who is alleged to have facilitated entry of Muslim troops into the Spanish mainland in 711, enabling them to put an end to the Visigothic rule established after the fall of the Roman Empire. This act changed the history of Spain forever. It is said that Julian did this out of revenge after his daughter was raped in Toledo by Rodrigo, the last Visigothic king of Spain who would finally be defeated and killed by the invading army in the Battle of Guadalete. In this sense, the fact that it was a question of honor that caused the Muslim invasion of Spain has led to numerous interpretations. In his novel *Reivindicación del conde don Julián* (1970), Juan Goytisolo identifies with the main character more than one thousand years later in his desire to put an end to the essential, homogeneous, and nationalist–Catholic Spain of the Franco regime, in the same way that the Visigothic count had indirectly helped to put an end to Christian Spain and, ultimately, promote miscegenation and the fusion of races. We must not forget that the last significant act of war in the Strait took place in August 1936, when around eight thousand troops from the rebel Spanish army in Morocco were transported by sea to the Spanish mainland to join the rebel troops once the Civil War started.

The history of the Strait, therefore, has been, and continues to be, a history of conflict involving the clash of two different civilizations, established on the two continents located on either side of this stretch of water, which also economically represent two very different zones—Europe on the north side and Africa on the south, which are profoundly asymmetrical in economic terms. It is, in this sense, perhaps the most unequal border in the whole world, and crossing the Strait was, and perhaps still is, travelling to another reality. This is how it was described by the Spanish traveller and spy Ali Bey when he said in 1814, on crossing from Tarifa to Tangier, that whoever crosses the

Strait goes "en tan breve espacio de tiempo a un mundo absolutamente nuevo, y sin la más remota semejanza con el que se acaba de dejar, se halla realmente como transportado a otro planeta" (Bey 2009, 147). Nowadays, the most visible aspect of this conflict is that of illegal migrants, who, as we have pointed out above, use the Strait to enter Europe, and who in recent years consist mainly of people from sub-Saharan countries. This is why this intermediate space that is the sea is the space in movement that, although in the middle, is the space of the beginning and the end, the space of the in-between which necessarily has to be crossed by these fragmented lives. It is the only space in which, unfortunately, they will be full citizens. However, there are other conflicts in the area, including claims from other countries for territories they consider to have been illegally occupied for centuries. This is the case, above all, of Spain and Gibraltar, but also of Morocco and Ceuta.

Exile, or immigration for political or ideological reasons, is also linked to the history of the Strait of Gibraltar. Many historical diasporas have traversed it, including, for example, the Jews (around 80,000) or the Moriscos (around 300,000) when they were expelled from Spain in the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively, who abandoned Spain and crossed over to Africa. Some Spanish Jews settled in towns in the north of Morocco, where they lived for centuries with a largely Muslim population. Many migrated to Israel shortly after the new state was founded and now form part of the Sephardic community, one of the most visible and well-known communities of that country. The Spanish Moriscos who took refuge in Morocco, on the other hand, contributed their *andalusí* character to Moroccan culture and it is now one of its signs of identity.

And not only that, but the space we will examine below is, as well as being a multicultural space, or perhaps precisely for that reason, a multilingual space. Four languages live side by side on both shores: Spanish on the Spanish side in Ceuta, in Gibraltar, and to a much lesser degree throughout North Morocco; English in Gibraltar; and French and Arabic in Morocco. The two most used languages, Spanish and Arabic, correspond to diatopical dialect forms, Andalusian Spanish in Spain and colloquial Moroccan Arabic or *d ri a* on the Moroccan coast of the Strait. The Andalusian variant is also used by the citizens of Gibraltar, which immediately makes them Andalusians for the rest of Spain when they speak Spanish, although they do in fact speak a hybrid variety called "llanito," a kind of small-scale European Spanglish. Moroccan Arabic, on the other hand, has a strong Berber substrate and influences from French and Spanish and is an identitarian dialect, far removed from modern standard Arabic and unintelligible to many Moroccans. Due to their own particular history, a number of coastal towns on the Strait, such as Tangier

for example, can be considered to be multilingual spaces where it is possible to be understood in three or four languages. Others, like Gibraltar, are clearly bilingual. Ceuta is similarly an interesting example, as it is also becoming a bilingual city due to the increasing Muslim population, to which we must likewise add a significant Hindu community which is completely bilingual in Spanish and Hindi.

These multicultural and multilingual spaces will allow us to better understand the Strait's coastal "dual cities"—to use Sherry Simon's terminology—which we will examine below.

TANGIER, A DUAL CITY

> The place [Tangier] was counterfeit, a waiting room between connections,
> a transition from one way of being to another…
> (Bowles 2006, 382).

> Tangier is not part of Morocco. It's international.
> Paul Bowles interviewed by Abdelhak Elghandor
> (Elghandor 1994, 16)

From the end of the 1940s until Moroccan independence in 1956, the city of Tangier, located to the extreme west of the African coast of the Strait of Gibraltar, had a unique political status, that of being an "international zone." But it was, at the same time, a multilayered space where many languages existed, and still do exist, at the same time, a space where translation was never a mere language transfer but a practice of writing that took place at the crossroads (Simon 2012, 8). Perched on the northern tip of Morocco with its eyes trained across the Strait of Gibraltar toward Spain, "Tangier certainly has long been at the crossroads, a point of intersection of various civilizations, notably African/Islamic and European Christian" (Hibbard 2009, 1). This is why Tangier is a space that has always generated multiple discourses; it is a city that has always "spoken," because it is a site of representation. However, the discourses it has generated have been different translations of reality, rewritings of a space that some, Westerners, exoticized, and others, Moroccans, understood differently, as a way of "writing back to the West" (Elkouche 2008, 1).

Tangier was, on the one hand, a space of rich British expatriates and, on the other, the receiving space of many expatriates from Paris during the years between the World wars, artists and writers who sought in the "internationalized" Tangier what the Lost Generation had searched for in the French capital a few years earlier, a space open to less conventional ways of life. The era during which both artists and writers lived in Tangier was especially rele-

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View of Tangier

vant with regard to political and social change, because during these years the Maghreb moved on from being an area under European colonial control to one of postcolonial independence

Halfway between nations, cultures, and languages, Tangier became an "interzone," to use Burroughs's word—that is, "a place of intermediacy and ambiguity, a place that remains outside standard narratives of nationhood and identity. It proved to be an expedient location for [writers] to sort out the multiple crises of identity, desire, and loss that motivated their writing" (Mullins 2002, 3). In this sense, we must not forget that, as Tangier's legal situation allowed moral permissiveness with regard, for example, to sexuality and drugs

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at a time when homosexuality was still illegal in Britain and was considered to be a mental illness in the United States, it was logical that this unorthodox space should attract many gay artists of the time, from Jean Genet to Robert Rauschenberg, William Burroughs and Paul Bowles (who lived in Tangier for over fifty years, from 1947 until his death in 1999).

To these names we could add a long list of intellectuals who spent time in Tangier, such as Gertrude Stein, Francis Bacon, Djuna Barnes, Brion Gysin, Samuel Beckett, Alfred Chester, Truman Capote, Tennessee Williams, Gore Vidal, Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, Aaron Copeland, Juan Goytisolo, Ian Fleming, and many others. Because Tangier was the promised land of the bohemian Diaspora and refuge of many rich, eccentric Westerners (see Pulsifer 1992 and Walonen 2011) who sought ways of life that constituted an alternative to the orthodoxy of their countries of origin. This is something that, in spite of everything, the city is still proud of and still attracts a lot of tourists. A recent tourist brochure, *Tangier in Morocco*, published by the Moroccan National Tourist Office, states: "The streets of Tangier are teeming with artistic and literary memories. Countless painters, novelists, playwrights, poets, photographers, actors, filmmakers and couturiers from every nation under the sun have stayed here a while or made their home here, inspired and bewitched by the city's magic" (Moroccan National Tourist Office n.d., 12).

Truman Capote, in a 1950 article entitled "Tangier" (Capote 2013), reminds us of the radical heterogeneity and idiosyncrasies arising from this huge amount of freedom. Tangier was the space on the border between Europe and Africa, between Islam, Judaism, and Christianity; a place where nationalities, cultures, and languages mixed to the point of promiscuity. In fact, in Morocco translation is still a means of survival today. Although the official language is Arabic, the economic and cultural life of the country has always been carried out in several languages. The educated classes speak and write standard Arabic and French, while the majority of people use varieties of Moroccan Arabic or Berber variants. In the north many people speak Spanish and also English, particularly those involved in tourism and commerce. Therefore, "no single Moroccan language can universally speak to and for all Moroccans; rather, Moroccans must daily translate among themselves, or in the formation of literary narratives, both written and oral" (Sabil 2005, 176). It is no surprise, then, that this open *locus*, especially that of Tangier when it was an International Zone, should have been so attractive a place for writers whose lives and works were considered unorthodox in Western circles. Tangier was a space where for many years national structures and rigid codes of ethics were deconstructed and where confusion of all binary logic was favored.

However, the spaces inhabited by Westerners in Tangier were gen-

erally separate from those inhabited by Moroccans. We see this in the case of Bowles, whose descriptions of the spaces his characters are situated in speak of class, race, or cultural differences. Moreover, Bowles describes in many of his translations the horror of not having a place in space, in *For Bread Alone* by Choukri (2010), for example. The above-mentioned rich British expats created a series of separate places that reflected English ways of life, places of worship like St. Andrew's Church, tea parties and lavish parties with film stars (Finlayson 1992, 271 and following pages), although it is also true that the density of the population and the physical and social distribution of the city led to inevitable contact between the communities. The center of Tangier had been designed initially for around 12,000 people and it remained unchanged when population numbers increased. So, the streets were always full of people, cultures, and religions as reflected in the pages of Burroughs's *The Naked Lunch* or Bowles's *Let it Come Down.* The narrow streets in the center showed multiplicity and the two main axes of the town, the Boulevard Pasteur running from east to west, and the Rue du Statut running from north to south, crossed at Place de France, "a bustling roundabout ringed by popular cafés frequented by the diplomatic community and Moroccan nationalists" (Edwards 2005, 130).

In Tangier, the European powers were initially the producers of spaces, the power groups who designed, distributed, *named*, and built spaces and who also established the rules for the use of these spaces. This divided spatiality is typical, as Fanon reminds us in *The Wretched of the Earth,* of colonizing processes: "The first thing which the native learns is to stay in his place, and not to go beyond certain limits" (Fanon 1968, 52). The space of colonial order is always one of luxury, cleanliness, and entertainment; the other formed of wretched places, as we see, for example, in Choukri's *For Bread Alone*.

Without a doubt, for Bowles and many other writers and artists, Tangier was a "third space," in Edward Soja's sense of the term—that is, "the space where all places are capable of being seen from every angle, each standing clear; but also a secret and conjectured object, filled with illusions and allusions, a space that is common to all of us yet never able to be completely seen and understood" (Soja 1996, 56). Perhaps this is why Bowles never considered himself to be Tangierian but, rather, a vocational stateless person. In March 1992 he said in an interview, "I am not American and I am not Moroccan. I'm a visitor on earth. You have to be Muslim to really be accepted in Morocco, to be a part of it" (Choukri 2008, 304).

Bowles was also against the Westernization of Moroccan spaces after independence—for him geography was a way of reading identity. Spaces were texts and the scenery was the reflection of his characters' inner self, some-

thing the critics have discussed in detail (Pounds 1985; Olson 1986; Hassan 1995; Caponi 1998; Patteson 2003; Walonen 2011) and that he himself recognized in some of his travel writings such as *Their Heads are Green and their Hands are Blue* (1963), and in his novels and several interviews. Characters like Thami in *Let it Come Down* identify with the place and the space, but when they are taken somewhere else like New York many of his characters feel out of place. It was in his translations of oral texts by Moroccan narrators (Ahmed Yacoubi, Layachi Larbi, Abdeslam Boulaich, and Mohammed Mrabet, among others), however, that he rewrites in that contact zone that is no good to imperialism, like many other postcolonial translations, but comes from within the Other('s) space, "involves a much looser notion of the text, interacts intensely with local forms of narrative and is a revigorating and positive global influence [. . .] a continuous life-giving and creative process" (Simon and St-Pierre 2000, 10).

After October 1956, when Tangier was no longer an International Zone (in 1961 it became part of Morocco), people came to suspect that "the good times, the high-living years for foreign residents with substantial assets in Tangier, might be ending" (Finlayson 1992, 75). In 1957 the British Post Office closed its offices; the Spanish Post Office did the same in 1958. In addition, many banks and companies closed and transferred their branches to other countries. The luxury goods shops on Boulevard Pascal were replaced by shops selling local crafts and clothing. But one of the most revealing details of the change was "a new edict banning the sale of liquor within a certain distance from a mosque" and another determining the places that stayed and those that did not: "There were a great many mosques, and a great many Spanish, Jewish and other foreign-owned bars. The mosques stayed open, the bars closed" (Finlayson 1992, 75). That is, the places that Lefebvre calls "representations of space" (1991, 33) closed, that experience of space referring to hegemonic ideological representations, to space constructed by professionals and technocrats (engineers, architects, urban planners, geographers, etc.), a space where ideology, power, and knowledge are invariably linked to representation. Besides, when it was no longer an International Zone, many Moroccans living in the country moved to Tangier, which changed the city space.

The clean, luxurious Tangier of today is Muslim, the best areas belong to citizens of countries in the Persian Gulf and to Moroccans who have made their fortune from drug-trafficking between Africa and Europe, trafficking in which the city is a crucial point (Walonen 2011, 127). The city and its population have evolved and so has their interaction with the first world, to such an extent that the essentialist vision of the Muslim population, which today reproaches the former foreign residents of the Tangier of the International Zone, might have changed. The foreign residents and tourists currently in

Tangier (many attracted by the literary past of the city) still mix with the local people, but probably in a different way to that of the foreign community of the Tangier of the 1940s and '50s. Despite this, it is curious that in the tourist brochure mentioned above, *Tangier in Morocco*, Tangier's special character, compared to that of other Moroccan cities, is highlighted in the following words: "Today, the city still has its cosmopolitan side, with a wide variety of outside influences contributing to its cultural diversity and unique personality" (Moroccan National Tourist Office n.d., 7). Or with these other puzzling words: "There is something altogether unique about the town, something impalpable, indefinable –a sense of freedom that hangs in the air like the scent of orange blossom" (Moroccan National Tourist Office n.d., 5).

Tangier, with its linguistic and cultural contrasts and the social and classist inequalities reflected in its spaces, is therefore the living example that spaces are socially created entities, political constructions that reveal prejudices, asymmetries, and inequalities. But, in addition, the places are "practiced" spaces (De Certeau 1988, 117). De Certeau compares spatiality, place and narrative, and, for him, the narrative ends up "transforming places into spaces or spaces into places" (De Certeau 1988, 130). The writer and the translator take the reader by the hand when they describe an apartment, a street, a country, or a border.

GIBRALTAR, A TRANSLATIONAL CITY

> [...] dual cities have their origins in conquest, when a stronger language group comes to occupy or impinge upon a pre-existent language which may itself have displaced another before it.
> (Simon 2012, 3)

The city of Gibraltar (Jebel-al-Tariq, or "the mountain of Tarik," an Arab leader who led the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 711 CE), resting on its Rock, has been, as we all know, a British colony since the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1704 Gibraltar was occupied by an English fleet involved in the War of the Spanish Succession and included in the Spanish territories ruled by the Archduke Charles of Austria, one of the pretenders to the throne (the other was Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XVI of France and legitimate heir according to the last will and testament of the last king of Spain, Charles II, who had died in 1700). However, the detachment that expelled the citizens from the city—they founded the town of San Roque, whence an irate stone lion stills looks threateningly over at the Rock—never left, not even when the war ended and Philip V was proclaimed King. One of the conditions of the famous Treaty of Utrecht (1713) was that Spain should recognize British sovereignty over the Rock of Gibraltar, the city, and the

port. The Treaty, which has never been revoked and is, therefore, still in force today, continues to be invoked by Spain today on the grounds that, among other things, the land occupied by Gibraltar Airport is in a neutral area that had never been signed over to the British and, therefore, was occupied illegally during the First World War.

More than three hundred years of British sovereignty have made Gibraltar a unique enclave. It is located on the southern tip of Andalusia and its only land border is with Spain. This Lilliputian territory is 5.8 square kilometers in size and has a population of almost 30,000 inhabitants, making it one of the most densely populated places in the world (4,290 inhabitants per square kilometer). As the original Spanish population of the city abandoned the Rock after the British occupation, it soon filled with immigrants from several places—Genoa, Portugal, India, Malta, Morocco, and Spain, among others—and also had a significant Jewish community, who had migrated to Gibraltar to "serve" the British troops and their families. As we have mentioned above, the city is also practically bilingual, English is spoken, as well as "llanito" or a kind of Spanglish spoken on the Rock which the locals call "suichito" or "switch," a hybrid language where code switching is constantly used. Many Gibraltarians also speak fluent Spanish with a marked Andalusian accent.

Relations with Spain have never been easy. In Spain, whatever the ideology of the ruling party, Gibraltar is always considered to be a colonized territory which should be returned to Spain as it was taken by force in an act of war. Today most Gibraltarians think that the Treaty of Utrecht is obsolete, that history has shown that Gibraltar is a territory demographically, linguistically, and culturally different from Spain, and that the current autonomous status of the territory, approved by all its inhabitants, is proof of its democratic nature. Although the United Nations declared in 1964 that Gibraltar should be "decolonized," under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht it could never be an independent country—it could only be British or, should the latter abandon the territory, Spanish. At that time, the United Kingdom refused to enter into any kind of negotiation with Franco's Spain, and the Spanish government, in retaliation, closed the land border between Gibraltar and Spain, leaving Gibraltar isolated via land from 1969 to 1985. Recent attempts to set up negotiations to try to reach an agreement of British and Spanish cosovereignty of the territory have met the refusal of almost all the Gibraltarians.

In any case, there is still a problem between Gibraltar and Spain which is visible, especially at the moment, in the "queues" of cars and people that have been forming at the Spanish border crossing every summer since 2013, when the Spanish government decided to periodically tighten the con-

trol of vehicles and persons, which only adds to the active conflicts in the area of the Strait. In this case, however, it is a political conflict more than a social or cultural one, but it affects the daily life of people who live in the area and have become hostages, in a way, of decisions taken very far away for reasons they often do not understand. This "distance" from the centers of power can be seen in the references to the population of Gibraltar in the media.

Therefore, while the Spanish government said these queues were "necessary" to stop smuggling, Gibraltar's Chief Minister, Fabián Picardo, denounced the "passivity" of the British government in this affair for fear of worsening relations with Spain (Ayllón 2014), and the Spanish workers on the Rock expressed their disagreement with the measures put into place by their own government (Romaguera 2013).

This is, therefore, a deep-rooted problem with no easy solution. Gibraltar is a prosperous place with a high standard of living—it is, in fact, the second most prosperous territory in the European Union, which is in stark contrast with the Spanish region surrounding it. The Campo de Gibraltar is a depressed area with a high level of unemployment and is still far behind other areas of Spain. But, this prosperity is due, above all, to the fact that it is a tax haven where companies and financial institutions pay hardly any taxes, which would explain the huge amount of investment and increasing number of companies registered on the Rock. From Spain it is argued that this prosperity is largely due to fiscal rules and regulations, which are very different to those in Spain and prevent investment, for example, reaching Campo de Gibraltar, the area around the Rock. The Gibraltarian stereotype as seen from Spain is that of a smuggler on a motorbike who takes advantage of his situation as an islander with respect to Spain to obtain economic benefits, but who, deep down, is just an Andalusian in denial. From the Gibraltarian point of view, Spaniards are considered to be provincial individuals anchored in the past who have never been able to understand that Gibraltar is not a part of Spain, that its population is more heterogeneous in comparison to that of Spain, and that it is so prosperous. Whatever the case, we cannot forget that currently more than seven thousand Spaniards work in Gibraltar and that many Gibraltarians have invested large amounts of money in properties in Spain.

This "insularity" or impermeability of Gibraltar, even though it is not an island as such, has led to it being a place of stability and freedom in contrast with the turbulent history of its neighbor. During the nineteenth century, the Rock was a refuge for Spanish exiles who had to abandon their country for political reasons and were making their way to the United Kingdom or other European countries. During the twentieth century the Rock, as a British territory, maintained standards of religious freedom and tolerance which were un-

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Views of Gibraltar

known in Spain, especially during the Franco regime, and this would make it a more advanced society in all aspects. We cannot forget the famous wedding of John Lennon and Yoko Ono which took place in Gibraltar in 1969, a media event highlighting the "modernity" of the Rock, which was much closer to the "swinging London" of the 1960s than backward, conservative Spain. In any case, the closure of the border crossing in 1969 made communication between Gibraltar and Spain almost nonexistent.

Today, Gibraltar (or "Gib" as it is known in Britain) could be any town on the southern coast of England, or perhaps the Channel Islands. There are typical references found in British territories, red telephone boxes, "bobbies" and the Union Jack, which continues to fly in many places. The supermarkets and shops belong to British groups—Marks and Spencer, BHS, Boots, Morrisons, and so on—and the pubs are authentic. However, this translation of a southern space to a northern one does not include all the codes or elements: in Gibraltar people drive on the right, as they do in Spain; the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, the most "British" space in the whole area, is built in an oriental style with horseshoe arches over doors and windows; at the entrance to the city the Muslim fort, which could never be seen in an English town, is still standing strong; and the Andalusian accent of the inhabitants when they speak Spanish or "llanito" assimilates them to their neighbors in Campo de Gibraltar. There are two theories regarding the origin of the term "llanito," both related to the clash between languages. According to one theory, "llanito" was coined in Gibraltar in the early twentieth century by Andalusian workers who would hear Gibraltar mothers call their "yanitos" (the Spanish diminutive for Johnny—Johnnito) and began to call all Gibraltarians "yanis" (Johnnys), which led in turn to the current "llanitos"

or "yanitos." The other theory is that the word derives from the large number of "Giovannis," or "Giannis" as they are familiarly called, in the large Genoese colony which settled on the Rock. The simultaneous use of Spanish and English can often be very amusing. Main Street, the commercial artery of the city, is also called the "Calle Reá," and Gibraltar is "Gibrartá," both in "llanito" and Andalusian Spanish. Manuel Leguineche (2002, 2) mentions his surprise when a Gibraltarian bobby replied "Zí, zeñó" to the question "Do you speak English?"

This way of speaking is only the reflection of the coexistence of asymmetrical spaces where at least two cultures live side by side or occasionally clash. It is a way of speaking that, as Susan Bassnett states (in Simon 2012, n.p.), shows the fundamental importance of languages shaping cultural, geographical, and historical space. In effect, the particular language used in Gibraltar demonstrates the power of language to mark the urban landscape, to understand it, and how important it is to *listen* to cities (Simon 2012, xix and 1), especially these types of cities which are contact zones (see Pratt 1992), noisy streets of polyglot neighborhoods.

These are very clear examples that language is an area of negotiation, a space where connections are created through rewritings and where ideas circulate, converge, and clash in the translational city, which imposes its own patterns of interaction and these emerge out of their spaces and their own narrative pasts (Simon 2012, 2). But in Gibraltar, as in Tangier or the Strait, languages share the same terrain but rarely participate in a peaceful and egalitarian conversation. And there is some, albeit not a great deal of, Gibraltarian literature, written mostly in Spanish by authors like Héctor Licudi, Alberto Pizzarello, or Elio Cruz (see Yborra Aznar 2005). More recent writers, however, write in both languages (Mario Arroyo, for example) or only in English. One of the most interesting current Gibraltarian authors is Trino Cruz, a poet who writes in Spanish, translates Moroccan poetry from Arabic, and defends the multiethnic and multilinguistic character of the territory. These and many other authors allow us to see that translation (or self-translation, depending on your point of view) "can no longer be configured only as a link between a familiar and a foreign culture, between a local original and a distant destination, between one monolingual community and another. [. . .] The Other remains within a constant earshot. The shared understandings of this coexistence change the meaning of translation from a gesture of benevolence to a process through which a common civility is negotiated" (Simon 2012, 7).

As we have seen, given its history and the composition of its population, Gibraltar is now also a hybrid or "dual" city whose complex, young identity is based, above all, on the wishes of its population to maintain their

status as a British overseas territory and not be absorbed in any way by Spain in the long term. It is clear that the friendly relations between the two parties at the beginning of the twentieth century collapsed, probably permanently, when the border crossing was closed from 1969 until 1985, isolating the two peoples and provoking in Gibraltar both anti-Spanish feelings and a lack of proficiency in the Spanish language. Even so, certain data (Grocott and Stockey 2012, 125) show that the inhabitants of the Rock consider themselves to be more and more Gibraltarian and less British, although it is not clear what this feeling, whose signs of identity are still fairly vague yet real, consists of, the city now celebrates a "National Day" on September 10 to commemorate the date of the first referendum, held in 1967, to reject annexation to Spain; the red and white flag of Gibraltar can be seen more and more often flying over the territory, "llanito" is sometimes used in the local press instead of English, and the project to publish the first local paper *Calpe Press* is already under way. This nationalist feeling would only assimilate Gibraltar to tiny European nations such as Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, and San Marino, which are historically much older. If this "national" sentiment were to become consolidated, which does not appear to have happened yet, Gibraltar would be an example of a relatively new "heterogeneous," hybrid, multilingual community, seeking to define its own identity, composed in turn of hybrid elements from different cultures.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

> Living in different places means growing separate selves, learning other languages and ways of being, and looking at the world from different vantage points, without ever quite belonging to any of them. The state of being of a foreigner wherever I am has become second nature to me. It is a condition that sharpens the eye and the ear, that keeps awareness on its toes, and that takes nothing for granted. It means also that whatever I am, the ghosts of other places and other lives are hovering close.
>
> (Reid 1994, 3)

The linguistic forms used in a space like Gibraltar cause us to reflect on how difficult it can become to find or create equivalent idioms for local, nonstandard languages, but in general everything mentioned above in relation to other spaces such as Tangier and the waters of the Strait of Gibraltar confirms that "the translator's dilemmas are not to be found in dictionaries, but rather in an understanding of the way language is tied to *local* realities [. . .] and to changing identities" (Simon 1995, 10). This is why nowadays, in a global and transcultural society, translation is a transversal and interdisciplinary activity that has much to do with geography, while only a few years ago they were both considered to be fields of research far removed from each other (Bassnett 2011; Vidal 2012).

By examining in this essay spaces such as Tangier and Gibraltar, cities of ethnicities with shifting centers and peripheries, sites of transitory events, movements, memories, open spirals of heterogeneous collaborations and contaminations, heterotopic, multiform and diasporic realities, spaces which undermine the presumed purity of thought (Chambers 1994, 93 and 95), we hope to have shown the need to access both space and translation in a different way, to have questioned what we understand today by space and why translation has forced us to very seriously analyze how ideology and power interfere in the creation of a space and a translation, what cultural contact points we have seen between peoples whose spaces become joined or clash in translations of those texts that define them in this way; what role is played by cartography of the places understood as texts; and how this concept of knowledge is instrumentalized in asymmetrical and multidirectional contexts.

From this point of view, translating in the hybrid spaces studied here, spaces like the Strait, Tangier, or Gibraltar that are sites of displacement, interference, and constructed and disputed historicities (Clifford 1997, 25), has shown itself to be a border experience able to produce powerful political vision, the subversion of binarism which makes us wonder how translatable these places/metaphors of crossing are, how like and unlike diasporas. What does it take to define and defend a homeland? What are the political stakes in claiming a "home" in hooks's (1991) sense? How are ethnic communities' "insides" and "outsides" sustained, policed, subverted, crossed by historical subjects with different degrees of power (Clifford 1997, 36)? Considered from this state of things, translation is a foundational activity, an activity of cultural creation that takes into account the unstable and liminal identities it transforms and that partakes of the incompleteness of cultural belonging in spaces informed by estrangement, diversity, plurality, and already saturated with a logic of translation (Simon 1996, 152, 165, and 166) and dual cities may not serve only to impose an alien and oppressive presence but also to be part of a process of exchange which involves "an active chain of response, a vivifying interaction" (Simon and St-Pierre 2000, 10).

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Lviv Refashioned: the Canvas of Translation/Mistranslation in a Contemporary City

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<Abstract> This paper is an attempt to read the Western Ukrainian city of Lviv as a palimpsest, a combination of multiple "texts" across genres and disciplines. The analysis ranges from reading architectural landmarks and discussing the city's *imageability* to mentioning the projects that reconstruct the city's history and engage with the politics of memory around its monuments and commemorative practices. It is also an itinerary through mostly contemporary literary texts, such as short stories and essays by Igor Klekh, Yuri Andrukhovych, and Natalka Sniadanko that create their very diverse images of the city. Sniadanko's book market, Klekh's city streets, and Andrukhovych's imaginary Lviv are juxtaposed with street corners, city panoramas, and ruins of buildings. Various techniques of *translating the city* into the new *language* of marketing and tourism, including heritage tourism, as well as effects of the current Ukrainian political crisis on the city are also mentioned. The questions of the city's past, present, and future are intertwined with nostalgia, lost cosmopolitanism and new multilingualism, and the city's overarching concern of placing itself both on the map of the world, both the real and literary one. In its multiple identities, Lviv provides a possible model for reading other cities in translation.

Where there are tongues, they will be stilled [. . .]
(1 Cor. 13:8, NIV)

"La cité est un discours, et ce discours est véritablement un langage :
la ville parle à ses habitants, nous parlons notre ville,
la ville où nous nous trouvons, simplement
en l'habitant, en la parcourant, en la regardant."

(Barthes 1985, 444)

This paper is an attempt to look at my native Western Ukrainian city of Lviv as a real city and as a textual city. I argue that reading or translating the city is possible through texts, since the "real" city cannot be experienced without linguistic mediation. Through linguistic mediation it becomes legible. Read as urban text, urban space is comprised of buildings, communities, maps, memories, languages spoken, written, and read, all making the *tactile*, *textile*, and *textual* fabric of urban tectonics. The paper will be structured as an itinerary, a pastiche mixing genres; an analysis of cultural phenomena, such as architecture, will go hand in hand with the literary analysis of the short stories and essays. This itinerary is constructed in a Benjaminian sense of method

being a detour, providing not an ossified, yet a coherent image of the city with its recognizable landmarks, nodes, and pathways, and at the same time individual psychogeographies that show multiple agencies at play in writing and rewriting the space. Kevin Lynch's concept of the city's "imageability," or "the quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer" (Lynch 1960, 9) will also be deployed. It is linked not only to the organization of the urban space, but also to the complexity of its perception by the observers, whether those of visitors or those of the city's inhabitants.

The search for the "real" city will be fragmentary, by reflecting on how it presents itself to the world in its promotional logo, stopping at the street corners, walking through its passages, and looking at the central Market Square. In her recent article, Irene Sywenky reflects on the discontents of framing the urban space in the post-1991 (the year of Ukrainian independence) Lviv, situated between the engagement with the discourses on cosmopolitanism, post colonialism and postcommunism in Eastern Europe and the ever increasing pressures of redefining the city for the global tourist consumption and "new" as well as "old" geopolitical agendas (Sywenky 2014, 154). Her approach blends the literary reconstructions of Lviv in autobiographical, essayistic, and poetic narratives that border on nostalgia and projections of futurity, as well as an analysis of discourses on Central and Eastern Europe, with a special focus on the post-1991 print and digital cultures including an overview of the tour guides, maps, and heritage tourism, to name only a few. Our approach is slightly different. It entails textual *flâneurism* throughout the city that will be mapped mainly by close readings of the works of three authors—Igor Klekh, Yuri Andrukhovych, and Natalka Sniadanko—with a brief mention of other texts as well, along with the above mentioned readings of the architectural and cultural fabric of the city. Two of these contemporary authors writing in Ukrainian (Andrukhovych and Sniadanko) have been translated into other languages. They are also translators of fiction in their own right, which makes them double cultural mediators. Klekh is a translated man himself, a Russian writer of Ukrainian origin who writes his experiences in a way that gives the Russian language a Gogol-like sound. His prose has also been compared to Borges, Eco, and Pavych. Andrukhovych maps the city in a similar manner to Milosz's *ABC*, and, much like Cortazar, he invites the reader to traverse the narrative in a "hopscotch-like" fashion. Sniadanko is a collector in the Benjaminian sense. She reads universal landmarks as points in her cartography of mind and memory.

All these texts take the recognizable city sights as points of departure for individual readings of the city; the sights being not only Lynch's "use-locations,"

but also possibilities of exploring relations between the persona, images of the city, and the actual visual reality (Lynch 1960, 13). When Igor Klekh writes about the cathedral by the train station or Natalka Sniadanko explores the treasures of the open air market, the sites they talk about can be found in reality. Though they are "public images," or "common mental pictures carried by large numbers of a city's inhabitants," their importance in the mental maps of city dwellers may vary and these sites would not necessarily be indicated among the first ones of the list of things to see for tourists or among the places that most of the city inhabitants frequent on a regular basis (Lynch 1960, 7). These spaces are external sites and, at the same time, internalized places, accessible to a multiplicity of readings. The city, thus, becomes a construct of individual and collective readings, not a number of set signifiers that are read the same way. The nature of the spaces described is shifting, and these shifts are semiotic and translational. Translation is a carrying over, a shifting from one place to another. Translations have mostly been considered from a temporal perspective—how they are positioned in time (diachronically and synchronically with respect to the original). However, translation does not only happen in time. It happens in space as well, and this spatial aspect suggests placement or displacement, shifting of the planes of *impression* and *expression*. The search for urban experience is present in both real and imaginary encounters with the city.

MAPPING THE "REAL" CITY

Imagination is fervently at work when the tourists receive maps and brochures in one of the city's tourist information centers. Brochures in different languages list the names of the city: Lemberg in German, Lwów in Polish, Lvov in Russian, and Lviv in English. Upon request, tourists can also be provided with maps of the old names of the streets in Lviv. However, navigating these "parallel" streets, which have been renamed countless times, is not always easy with multiple maps. As Michael Stanislawski, who came to Lviv to do research, remarks:

> The helpful Lviv city tourist office can provide one with a Polish-language map of the city with the old pre-1939 street names in place […] and with a well-meaning pamphlet titled "Jewish Heritage of Lviv"—but these are at best as dizzyingly disorienting as was the German-language map from 1910 Baedecker guide to "Austria," which I brought with me. (Stanislawski 2007, 126)

And yet, there is no single map that could reflect and reconcile all of these street names. In the past, street names were points of division for the city's inhabitants. The name one used depended on the language one

spoke, for instance, despite the name "Lemberg," designated as official by the Habsburgs, the Poles, and a part of assimilated Jews speaking Polish would persist calling the city "Lwów," while the German-speaking assimilated Jews and Austrian officials would call it by its official name. Now the city's names are translated into the languages of the tourists. Irene Sywenky also mentions in her article the striking differences between the tour guides published in English and Polish; the Polish tour guides, for instance, are being catered towards a more "politically sensitive" readership implicated in the historical Polish past of the city, while the English ones have to address a more global audience (Sywenky 2015, 159). The multiple languages of the city that used to mark its ethnic, religious, and cultural makeup have changed from the languages of the others within the city, the languages of its inhabitants, familiar *strangers*, to the languages of *strangers*, tourists, *foreign* languages. Translation of the city starts from translating its name from the abstraction of "Lviv," not easily locatable on the world map, to the name that can be understood, since it can be *placed*.

Lviv, Leopolis, Lemberg, Lwów, and Lvov are all names of the same city. These contentious namings are city chapters in the turbulent history of the crowns (Polish and Lithuanian), empires (Habsburg), unions and Reichs (Soviet Union, Hitler Germany), ethnic territories (Jewish, Polish, Ukrainian, Armenian), and nationalist struggles (Polish, Ukrainian). The city was founded in the mid-thirteenth century by Prince Danylo Halytsky and named after his son Lev. Lviv was located at the intersections of the routes between the Baltic and the Black Sea, making it an important trade and cultural hub. The city's history spans dominations by Poles, Austrians, Germans, and Soviets. Lviv's vibrant cosmopolitanism also has a tragic side. One of the largest Jewish populations in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and later in pre-World War II Poland, was obliterated by the Nazis. The Polish residents of the city were forcefully resettled in Poland after Lviv became a Soviet territory. Ukrainians from the surrounding rural areas, along with Ukrainians from Eastern Ukraine and Russians, resettled the city, significantly changing its character.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of Ukraine as an independent country in 1991, Lviv is seen as an important Ukrainian city in the project of building a nation–state. It is a city at the border, once the eastern border of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, then at the border between Poland and the Soviet Union, and most recently, a city at the border with the European Union. In Ukraine's troubled project of integration with Europe, which caused recent political unrest in the country, Lviv gathered the most pro-EU protesters in any single Ukrainian city, with more protesters only in the capital. After the annexation of Crimea by Russia and the military conflict in Eastern Ukraine, the demographics of the city changed significantly. Due

to the conflict, Lviv received around 10–12,000 internally displaced persons, and the Lviv region around 20,000, according to unofficial statistics. This is a relatively small fraction from the pool of more than half a million displaced persons overall in Ukraine, according to the UNHCR[1]. This has significantly changed the landscape of languages and identities (there are many ethnic Crimean Tatars and mostly Russian-speaking Ukrainians from Donetsk and Luhansk regions among those who settled in the city, even if temporarily).

Such an influx of internally displaced people, for which the city was in many ways unprepared, has caused a major shift in rethinking how to accept those who are different in terms of language, culture, and often also political sympathies. It also stimulated thinking about how to deal with new political, economic, and social realities of dramatic changes, such as the crisis in job and housing markets, the economic crisis, the depreciation of the Ukrainian currency, political instability, and the "oligarchization of power," both Presidential and Parliamentary elections in one year, loss of soldiers' and civilians' lives in what is called the "Anti-Terrorism Operation" in Eastern Ukraine, and hostility towards the internal "refugees," to name only a few issues. These issues, which have only intensified in the current situation, need not be considered in isolation. They are part of the difficult transition process that started after the collapse of the Soviet Union and Ukraine's independence in 1991, including the consequences of a bulky planned communist economy with its uneven industrialization and various social issues such as unemployment and poverty that have become acute after the transition to the market economy, along with uneven development in different parts of the country and lack of societal dialogue in articulating aspirations, whether they be pro-Europe or a desire to remain within the orbit of Russian influence. The generalized destruction of infrastructure and losses among civilians and the military are now the horrific reality of the Eastern Ukrainian cities, where war actions brutally negotiate space. The cities in Western Ukraine, such as Lviv for example, also experience the reality of funeral processions and wounded and disfigured soldiers returning from "the East." The events of 2013–2014 in Ukraine problematized even further the unresolved issues of identity, the politics of memory and belonging, and also visions for the future, which the country at large and local communities on a smaller scale have to deal with. My hope in this essay is to provide only a glimpse into the complexities of this process through the readings of symbolism in the cityscape and in literary productions that reflect on the Lviv of the past, the present, and the future.

[1] http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=49533#.VKQFb3u4u18.

The attention of scholars to the aftermath of totalitarianism and post-communism and its discontents in Central and Eastern European "postsocialist" cities, including Lviv, is explained by these cities' entrance into new world economic systems after the fall of communism (see Hentosch and Tscherkes 2009, for example). Furthermore, cities such as Lviv are seen as defining the "face" of a new Europe, which has especially become relevant after the recent Euromaidan protests in Ukraine. The "old Europe" is confronted with the passionate embracing of the "idea of Europe" in unprecedented form. The cities that are not quite "new Europe," such as their Polish neighbors for example, but nevertheless possess equal measure of "old Europe" heritage, often in its haunting guise of imperialism and cultural hegemony, have defined their encounter with Europe on their own terms in this protest movement. These Ukrainian cities that are not part of the shared economic space of the EU but remain on its borders translate their history in terms of their future. The longing for integration into common space is not exactly an unproblematic longing for a transnational political and economic entity, but rather a Euro-longing of sorts that is more sober than nostalgia for belonging and for the "good old times" in its aspiration not to be politically and economically marginalized in the world of confining borders and harsh market realities. Despite the media and at times scholarly attention to a neat, clear-cut division between East and West, which proves artificial in many cases, the more complex reality is that of cities across Ukraine and reactions of their citizens that defined the course of events in the country. A few telling examples of this would be the mass toppling of Lenin statues (the so-called "Leninfall") that differed from city to city; shows of patriotic feelings and rallies for the unity of Ukraine on the one hand, and, on the other, concerts or rallies against it, infused with local sentiments of restorative nostalgia for the Soviet times in many cities. Irene Sywenky notes the two forces at play in configuring the city, namely the "centripetal" (the role of Lviv in national identity discourses in Ukraine) and "centrifugal" (the way the city defines itself or is defined for the West) forces (Sywenky 2014, 156). These two kinds of forces are only briefly mentioned here, and even though they remain beyond the scope of this paper they undoubtedly deserve scholarly attention in the future. But let us return to the example of Lviv as a city in transition and translation that helps explain some of these phenomena.

The complex processes of the city marketing itself under the new socio-economic conditions are immediately obvious in Lviv's promotional logo, only a small part of the complex strategy of creating a "city brand." Lviv, arguably the most European city in Ukraine, attempts to present itself as "open to the world," a mix of genuine impulse and an attempt to attract financial investment

and tourism at the same time, characteristic for many Eastern European cities. As pointed out by the literary historian Iryna Starovoyt in a discussion about Lviv's multiculturalism that took place in July 2015 as part of the Jewish Days in Lviv, the question is "[w]hat and who is Lviv open to? Is it also open to the people that were forcefully displaced from the city, those who wanted to return and those who did not, and whose descendants returned to it, if only to visit?"[2] In other words, is Lviv open to its public or only to commercial interests that reconfigure the understanding of its public space and ideas about its heritage (the question of "whose heritage?")? Is it open to its past as well as its future? And what exactly is its envisioned future, as well as its imagined past?

It can be argued that Lviv's logo is one of the attempts to assert the city's identity on a European and a global scale, a version of "thinking globally, acting locally." The logo necessarily plays on the idea of "openness" under new economic and geopolitical conditions after decades of the city's Soviet past, and emphasizes a sense of discovery for Westerners who are yet unfamiliar with the city. One can nonetheless ask if this is also the case with those who are all too familiar with the city's often traumatic history and who come to Lviv in order to revisit it, perhaps as part of their family's past. The logo can also be read as positioning the city within the framework of cosmopolitanism, which is not always unproblematic, considering that "cosmopolitanism is a product of colonial modernity," as pointed out by Sywenky, and poses challenges from the postcolonial perspective (Sywenky 2015, 163). The idea behind the logo largely relies on turning to and capitalizing on the city's past, which is already "overdetermined," layered with a multiplicity of historical meanings. In the logo, Lviv is returning to its "more distant" past, namely its European origins, which retain more charm as the city is translating itself away from its "more recent" Soviet past, which is also a symbolic gesture considering the current tensions between Ukraine and Russia, where Russia is seen as "imposing" nostalgia after this particular "Soviet" past, with which some other Ukrainian cities and citizens arguably feel closer affinity than Lviv and its inhabitants. Lviv distinguishes itself as a city with a European heritage, a past that is seen as surely defining the city's and the country's future.

The emblem "Lviv, open to the world" is a stylized depiction that provides a panoramic experience of five prominent buildings or, to be more precise, the towers that serve as anchors of high visibility and imageability

1.
Lviv logo

in the city. These towers that spatially dominate the cityscape could be seen from the city's highest point, a hill called the Highcastle, a favorite tourist destination with a view that is a "staple of urban enjoyment" (Lynch 1960, 44). According to Yuri Krokevych, the designer of the logo, the "five colorful towers symbolize rich architectural heritage of the city, and cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity that has existed in the city since its origins. [. . .] In the ancient depictions of Lviv, towers always dominate in the urban space. This tradition is continued in the modern emblem of the city."[3] Four out of five towers are steeples of churches representing various religious communities in Lviv. The City Hall tower is the only administrative building in the logo. The green steeple of the Armenian Cathedral symbolizes the Armenian diasporic community of Lviv (the cathedral, dating from 1370, is one of the oldest places of worship in the city). The bell tower of the Church of Dormition in red symbolizes the Ukrainian Orthodox community of Lviv. The tower represents the Renaissance style of the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries. The Latin Cathedral in blue symbolizes the Polish and Catholic presence as well as the fact that Lviv used to be the seat of the Polish archbishopric. The Bernardine monastery in purple is a sample of architecture from the seventeenth century. It also used to house a large Roman Catholic congregation and is now part of a Ukrainian Catholic church (a typical transfer of the places of worship to other ecclesiastic communities after the independence of Ukraine and the dwindling Polish presence in the city).

Lviv's logo, however, does not include a landmark that would account for the considerable Jewish presence in the city for centuries before the World War II. Lviv used to be a city with one of the largest Jewish populations in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and later in interwar Poland, with its Jewish inhabitants comprising at different times nearly one third of the population of Lviv. The destruction of the synagogues, centrally located in Lviv's Old Jewish Quarter, adjacent to Rynok Square, was carried out by the Nazis in 1943. Only two walls survived the wartime bombing of the Golden Rose Synagogue, and only one wall with two arcs remains of the Great City Synagogue. Several other synagogues further away from the old downtown area have survived, as well as other Jewish historical sites, which were transformed for other uses, their Jewish origins often deemphasized or simply forgotten, reflecting the politics of memory and forgetting during various historical pe-

[3] Yuri Krokevych on the design of the city's logo on Lviv City Council portal. (Online at: http://city-adm.lviv.ua/lmr-news/rubrics/government/13556-u-lvovi-prijnato-brend-buk-mista). Translation mine.

riods in the city.

      A telling example of such politics at play was the way that the square with the aforementioned ruins of the two synagogues was presented in the Soviet era, with a plaque installed at the site mentioning to visitors the Renaissance characteristics of the remains of the building that once stood there. While it is undoubtedly true that the northern and western walls that were preserved indeed exhibit unique elements of Renaissance as well as Gothic architectural styles, the plaque omitted the story of the Jewish community in the city, allowing for a "selective" commemoration marked by certain erasures. After Ukraine's independence, a fence was erected around an almost empty site, and the walls significantly dilapidated without proper maintenance. The restaurant bearing the name "The Golden Rose" located nearby in the 2000s gestured towards the Jewish heritage of the place in ways that were not always unproblematic. Here the visitors can learn about the presence of the Jewish community in Lviv, albeit in a commercialized and often stereotyped way, which raises an issue of the need for alternative commemorative practices that would rethink public space and the possibilities of its engagement with the past.

      The discussion/debate titled "What Monuments Does/Doesn't the City Need Need,"[4] organized by the Center for Urban History in East Central Europe in conjunction with the Lviv City Council, the Honorary Consulate of Israel in Lviv, the German Society for International Cooperation GIZ and other partners, in the framework of the program "Jewish Days in Lviv City Hall:Common Heritage and Responsibility" dealt with the uneasy question of how "to commemorate Jewish history, understand the tragedy of Holocaust, preserve common heritage and reconsider the significance of memorial educational spaces, as well as create new attitudes to such spaces in Lviv."[5] The project for the Synagogue Square, presented during the discussion, is one such space where commemoration can take place. The project, which started in 2010 with an international architectural competition, aims to preserve the ruins of the Synagogue and "to combine it with the spiritual quality of the place as it once was."[6] It proposes a "laconic urban space" with green areas filling in the outlines of what used to be a Beth Midrash, and a sophisticated square

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[4] Discussion in Ukrainian and in English can be accessed here: http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/videoarchive/1778-15-08-05-synagogue-square/.

[5] The Synagogue Space project can be found here: http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/chronicle/news/?newsid=1778.

[6] According to Liliya Onyshchenko, the head of Office for Preservation of Historical Environment of Lviv city council; see http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/videoarchive/1778-15-08-05-synagogue-square/.

of whiteness, paved with local building materials, such as marble and cement, by local subcontractors.[7] The idea is that the contrast of the square, white as a "sheet of paper,"[8] would mark it distinctly from the rest of the city environment with its cobblestones, facades and various shades of grey. A rather empty square would represent the loss but also an openness and an invitation to explore. An open contemplative space with the preserved walls and an installation of sixteen textual fragments in three languages (Ukrainian, English, and Hebrew) describing the life in the city before World War II, the Holocaust experiences, and post-Holocaust memories, would create a "vulnerable"[9] site that "speaks a modern language, not absolute or authoritarian language."[10]

Given the recent controversies surrounding another project of how to commemorate the legacy of an important Ukrainian religious figure (the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky who had a Polish background, played a major role in building the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC), and saved thousands of Jews during the Nazi occupation), sensitivity and openness to various points of view, as well as striking a balance in how the site is presented to the public, was important to the Space of Synagogues Project. In the controversy surrounding the Sheptytsky monument and structural changes to the nearby square and park,[11] concerns were raised about what was seen by the activists, interested in preserving the park, as "the sacralization" of a public and secular space,[12] and a sculpture that reminded one of the Soviet-style monuments, among other arguments. Those in favor of the project appealed to the importance of commemorating the legacy of Sheptytsky and reinscribing him into the national and religious iconography after decades of repression against the UGCC. Both sides of the argument employed the techniques of "othering"

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[7] According to Yuri Stoliarov, an architect, chief project architect of the Mistoproekt state design institute, Institute of Architecture at the National University Lvivska Politekhnika, board member of Lviv Regional Organization of the National Union of Architects of Ukraine (http://www. lvivcenter.org/en/videoarchive/1778-15-08-05-synagogue-square/).

[8] See http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/videoarchive/1778-15-08-05-synagogue-square/.

[9] Jason Francisco, a photographer, critic, curator, professor of Emory University (Atlanta) and Stanford University (Palo Alto) in the USA; see http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/videoarchive/1778-15-08-05-synagogue-square/.

[10] Iris Gleichman, an architect, manager of the Municipal Development and Renovation of the Old Part of Lviv project implemented by the German Society for International cooperation (GIZ) and Lviv city council; see http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/videoarchive/1778-15-08-05-synagogue-square/.

[11] For more information about the controversy and the consensus reached regarding the monument, see (in Ukrainian) http://zaxid.net/news/showNews.do?pamyatnik_sheptitskomu_konsensus_znaydeno&objectId=1351184.

[12] Articles dealing with the controversy rather than simply acknowledging the fact of the monument opening ceremony, are virtually nonexistent in English; see, however, http://zaxid.net/news/showNews.do?pristrasti_za_sheptitskim&objectId=1343798 (in Ukrainian).

the opponents and various other activities, such as protests, awareness campaigns, an so on. Yet, after a range of consultations, involvement of the city administration, misunderstandings, and various degrees of success in communication, a consensus among the parties was reached, and the monument was unveiled at a ceremony on July 29, 2015.

Similarly, discussions around the synagogue space have been ongoing since 2010 (though they actually began even earlier than this). Professionals and city inhabitants alike have argued that instead of preserving the remnants of the walls on the site, the synagogue should be rebuilt completely, conforming to the appearance of the original building, while the present-day inhabitants of the Jewish quarter who come from all kinds of ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds were largely in favor of the seemingly "less ambitious" idea of the square rather than a building that would be an accessible, non-commercial "space about people and for people."[13] The city council decided to fund the project, showing an important commitment to presenting it to the public as a common historical heritage for all, rather than merely Jewish heritage (although not in any way obfuscating the latter), while also allowing for a crowdfunding campaign and involvement of nongovernmental organizations and other donors. This proposed project was inaugurated as the "Space of Synagogues"[14] and was eventually opened, currently serving as one of the central sites of memory in the city.

The project of the Synagogue Space itself reconciles different ideas of what it means to "reconstruct" the space and the memories associated with it, and to practice an ethics of remembrance that would illuminate presences and absences, and allow one to enter the past and hear "the voices of those that are not there,"[15] by engaging with the space visually and reading the texts in the installation. One of the "voices" is that of Debora Vogel, a high modernist Yiddish writer, critic, and poet who perished with her husband and son in the Lviv ghetto in 1942. The following quote, appearing in the installation, was taken from a Vogel text written in the 1930s: "The streets are like the sea. They mirror the color of sorrow and the heaviness of expectation."

The synagogue, now an invisible landmark, in a sense "a ghost of what used to be there" (Lynch 1960, 45), haunts the space, and the square makes the invisible visible in a way that provokes a journey into the cultural "texts" that have been obliterated, made illegible. By being imagined, they

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2.
Vogel text, Synagogue
Space installation

become legible. The project attests to the shifting politics of memory in present-day Lviv, where the city inhabitants seem to be actively engaged in the way commemorative practices are shaped for them and by them.

A CITY AS A PALIMPSEST

There are not many places in the city where the languages that marked the "polyglot humanist city" (Ulam 2002, x) of Lviv have survived. Despite the most recent change in the linguistic makeup of the city, with more Russian speakers now coming to live in the city that was previously almost exclusively made up of Ukrainian speakers, the multiplicity of languages of the city's inhabitants proper, not the tourists, is no longer a constant *aural* dimension of the city. The presence of Russian undoubtedly makes the city a more interesting bilingual hybrid, like the majority of other Ukrainian cities, for which such bilingualism has long been the norm. Russian was also more of a presence in Soviet Lviv, where it was the language of official communication in institutions and where many ethnic Russians and Russian-speaking people from other parts of the Soviet Union resided and continue to reside even today, although to a lesser degree. Now there are only a few schools that teach the Russian language, the once obligatory Russian literature has been changed into courses on World Literature, and the younger generation is not always familiar with Soviet history; the educational priorities are now set to educating youth in the spirit of patriotism and appreciation of Ukrainian history and culture, a view that often tends to exclude competing historical narratives and gloss over the complexities. The fact that Lviv is moving toward no longer being an exclusively Ukrainian-speaking city has both its champions and detractors, as it always has. Educating the city populace in the languages and cultures of its past (Armenian, German, Polish, Russian, Yiddish, and many others), which

is done to varying and inconsistent degrees and often by the representatives of the remaining ethnic or linguistic communities, brings forth much contested histories and claims to space. Such claims are made manifest, for instance, in heritage tourism and tour guides that "guide" their users only to certain places and not to others and tell the history of only "these" communities and not "those," among many more examples. The city's architecture, however, as a visual marker of space, a "total environment made visible," tells a more complex story that might not often be heard at a particular point in time and place (Lynch 1960, 13). Various locales in the city, such as Market Square and street corners, as well as street names all testify to a difficult cultural dialogue, as well as transactions and negotiations that have been ongoing since the city's inception. The places, filled with *aural dimensions* of the spoken languages of yesterday and today, are also *visual* places, where languages were written and can now be seen, the city's street corners, the places of intersections, and mediations *par excellence.*

One such street corner is at the intersection of Kurbas and Tyktor streets, two narrow streets in the downtown center area close to the central Svoboda avenue with its famous Opera Theater. This corner serves as a node, "a point, the strategic spot in a city into which an observer can enter, and which [constitutes] the intensive *foci* to and from which he is traveling" (Lynch 1960, 47). Located in one of the back streets, it is usually not visited by tourists even though it is known to the city inhabitants, and is a point they may pass occasionally on their way downtown. The façade of building number 10 features its original inscriptions in three languages, Polish, German, and Yiddish: "MLECZARNIA," "MILCHHALLE," and "עללאהכלימ." This building used to be a milk shop where one could buy the wares listed in the clear, minimalist, yet visible advertisements, translations of the items that used to be available for the buyer inside: "MLEKO," "KAWA," "'HERBATA," "PIECHYWO," "MASŁO," "SER," "MILCHSPEISEN," "BUTTER," "KÄSE," "GEBÄCK," "SAURE MILCH," "KAFFE," "וועזייפּשרעלימ", "עעהט רעלימ", "עפאק", "זעקרעטטוב לעבענ", "רעלימרעיוח" ("milk," "coffee," "tea," "baked goods," "butter," "cheese," respectively, in Polish, German, and Yiddish). The words can be read on a horizontal (like words with their respective translations in the dictionary) as well as on a vertical axis, since each language occupies a separate space on the wall; the languages are not mixed. These separate sections on the walls are combined into a syntactical whole of the building's architecture, which can hardly be captured in one photograph. The gray shade of the original wall with these inscriptions contrasts with the freshly painted upper-floor façade. A coexistence of multiple languages that were competing for prominence in the urban space is preserved in the city in the form of a few other architectural narratives similar to this

3.
Multilingual façade, Lviv

street corner. Reading Lviv's architecture suggests a reading of the city as a palimpsest, as poetry in stone that has either washed off or been painted over: a striking combination of recent façades of the buildings and the older inscriptions "bleeding through" the new layers of paint. A synchronic diachrony of the building's canvas is communication of belonging and presence as well as absence at the same time.

The milk shop at the corner served as the middle ground, a site of trade and exchange, a site of using languages as media for pragmatic ends. The only business to be done here now is the business of a photographer, not even a tour guide (this building is rarely a stop on conventional tours). Trade in the city is presently conducted in a very different way than in this old shop. The globalized "phantasmagoria of marketplace" (in the Benjaminian sense) is the Opera Passage, an upscale mall *(*one of the entrances to which is nearby), truly a "center of commerce in luxury items" (Benjamin 1999, 3), with its fashion boutiques, conference rooms and glass-roofed ceilings culminating in a dome. Its name and structure mirror the city's spectacular Opera House and the once-extant passages in the city. The glass structure projects the past (Lviv's Mikolash passage with its early-twentieth-century movie theaters and shops) and the future (strategies of managing the "Lviv" brand discussed in conference rooms on the top floor of the *Opera Passage*).

One of the exits of the Opera Passage is found on central Svoboda avenue, where the majestic Opera House stands. The grandeur of the Opera Theater, built in the early twentieth century, is a stark contrast to the poverty and neglected buildings just a block away. In an open-air marketplace behind the Opera, farmers from the neighboring villages bring their produce and sell it often "out of the bag" right on the sidewalk. Poverty and wealth exist side by side. Gentrification and commodification of the "postcard places," such as the Opera House, are all the more noticeable in open-air markets like this one, surrounded by shabby buildings, historic in the same way as the more privileged restored buildings, and just as visible. One does not need to wander far from the fully renovated façades of the "landmark" buildings to see the partial, chaotic renovations of the rest of the façades. Such renovations sometimes consist of the "new appearance" of the entire first floors with businesses, while the top floors, where city's residents live, are untouched by the "beautification." Sometimes the façades are painted in patches, such "renovations" performed by the building's residents themselves. Irene Sywenky remarks on the changes in the physical appearance of the city after Ukraine's independence, due to foreign capital investment, investment from Ukrainian diasporic communities, investment by local businesses, and development of tourism, when many, though not yet all, of the older buildings are being re-

4.
Lviv, Market Square

constructed (Sywenky 2015, 162-163).

The inconsistencies in the image of the city could also be traced in the city's Market Square, an "introverted" ensemble of buildings and statues, which serves as a "core" and as a "skeleton" for the image of the historic downtown. Market Square with its Renaissance trade houses dating from the sixteenth century, and four sculptured fountains around the City Hall, a nineteenth century addition, is, perhaps, the most recognized landmark in the city. Each of the buildings has a distinct character, yet altogether they provide for a "thematic unity" of the square. Market Square would be considered an "internal landmark," according to Kevin Lynch, as it can be entered and not simply observed from the outside. Historically, the square was a place where trade and mediation in different languages took place. It attracted tradespeople from as far afield as the Venetian Republic (the lion of St. Mark, a symbol of Venice, can be found on one of the houses that belonged to a Venetian tradesman). The streets around Market Square still bear the names of some of the old city quarters (Jewish, Serbian, Ruthenian [Ukrainian], and Armenian). The trade that takes place here now is trade in cultural meanings and in competing claims to the city. This is a site where most of the tours of the

city start, including the heritage tours with their divergent narratives. The first floors of buildings are occupied by local businesses and restaurants, frequented by tourists and locals alike. The square is also an important space for social gatherings and cultural events.

The four statues of the Greek god Adonis and the goddess Amphitrite, as well as of the Roman Neptune and Diane, are dressed in embroidered Ukrainian shirts during one of the city's many festivals, a celebration of the Ukrainian national costume. The shirts cover the folds of the statues' togas. Since translation has often been characterized as a process of "dressing" meaning, we could say that this symbolic act of "dressing" is indeed an act of translation. The language of this "translation" could be characterized in Walter Benjamin's terms as "enveloping the content like a royal robe with ample folds," changing the original unity of representation in an organic relationship like that of a "fruit and its skin" to something artificial and foreign (Benjamin 1968, 75). This annual practice seems to point to a shift towards a more Ukrainian cityscape where, despite the city's multicultural heritage, the statues of the gods are never dressed in other ethnic costumes. The cosmopolitan character of the city in the past seems to fade away in a drift towards "monoculture" (Simon 2012, 156) and monoethnicity, which is being more and more contested in actuality.

LITERARY ITINERARIES: NATALKA SNIADANKO'S BOOK MARKET

In the previous section, the real city on the world map was only fragmentarily introduced. We looked at the commodification of some of the city's buildings, such as the Opera House and Opera Passage that are mediated through the capital. The city's churches and the City Hall appeared not as actual buildings but as mediated symbolic signs on the city's emblem. The musings about the distortions of the city's representation of diversity, which claims to be comprehensive, followed with the description of another act of translation, "dressing" the statues of Greek gods in the Market square.

The squares and streets of the city are public spaces that are externally perceived and later internalized by writers in the form of the literary reflections. Our literary itinerary will include Natalka Sniadanko's personal adventure in one of the city's squares, the site of an open-air book market, and Igor Klekh's narrative about the square and the streets near the *église* by the train station. These writings reflect on the city's past, present and future in illuminating ways.

Natalka Sniadanko is a contemporary Ukrainian writer and translator

and one of the editors of the trilingual journal *The RADAR*. Czeslaw Milosz, Günter Grass, Franz Kafka, and Zbigniew Herbert are among the authors she has translated. Her own works have been translated into German, Polish, Spanish, and Russian. She is a well-traveled writer, a "translated" woman, and her writing is marked by her own cosmopolitanism.

The title of her short story in Ukrainian is, literally, "A Small Shanghai near Fedorov," translated by Jennifer Croft into English as "Book Market (Lviv)." It appeared in *the Buenos Aires Review*, a bilingual online journal, "a dedicated space to present the best and latest work by the emerging and established writers from the Americas, in both Spanish and English."[16] "Book Market (Lviv)" appears under the section "the Bookstores we love, a review of intriguing places to get books worldwide."[17]

The square chosen for the book market is named after Ivan Fedorov, one of the first printers in this part of the world. Ivan Fedorov was a cosmopolite and a mediator. He was one of the fathers of printing in Eastern Europe, and worked in Moscow and moved to the then Lwów of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1572, where he founded a printing house in one of the monasteries. Only two years later, in 1574, Fedorov printed his first books, *The Apostle* and *The Primer*.

The small square is read by Sniadanko as highly legible, combining a mixture of the narrator's immediate sensations and observations as well as engagement with the city's past. The space is marked and determined by "the great stone figure of Ivan Fedorov, who in the sixteenth century printed the first Ukrainian book" (Sniadanko 2013) towering above the open-air "bookstore," where the books are sold and bought chaotically out of "those classic partly plaid bags on wheels that old folks cart their groceries in" (Sniadanko 2013). The trade is underway as in one of the city's open-air markets; however, the commodities are not fresh produce, but books. This landmark is both public and personal. Sniadanko reflects on its importance for herself as both a resident of the city and a bibliophile; its importance for different categories of book sellers, such as a particular "geezer wearing the typically Soviet hat with the visor, synthetic leather sandals, an untucked shirt, and pants that haven't been washed in ages" (Sniadanko 2013), or those other booksellers who not only "sit back in their folding chairs reading whatever they happen to have gotten their hands on" (Sniadanko 2013), but mediate what books are being sold, their choice influencing the nature of the place. The landmark is also

[16] See The Buenos Aires Review website at http://www.buenosairesreview.org/about/.
[17] See http://www.buenosairesreview.org/about/.

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traversed by the "brides in long white dresses who climb the stairs to have their pictures taken in front of the monument" (Sniadanko 2013), and by tourists who are invisible in the story yet elusively present in "this current array" of book covers, "geared toward" the tourists' tastes (Sniadanko 2013).

The interaction in the story happens only in two languages—the Russian in the brisk reaction of the bookseller to the narrator taking pictures of the books, and the Ukrainian of the narrator. Languages that remain unheard, but are nevertheless present, seem to coexist peacefully, albeit chaotically, among books and other collectible items, all far from neutral fragments of the history of the city. Different linguistic "pasts" intersect in one space: "a shoddy photocopy of an abridged *Mein Kampf* in the very center, and next to it a treatise of similar quality on the Ukrainian liberation movement of the 1920s, both against the backdrop of a generous assortment of Komsomol, Young Pioneer, and World War II symbolism: badges, photographs, belts, and Soviet-style cockades" (Sniadanko 2013).

The languages that "spring" from the book covers intermingle in this, one of the few, *loci* where multiculturalism survived in contemporary Lviv. "The Polish guidebook to Lviv originally published in 1920" (Sniadanko 2013) is capitalized upon as its "terrible-quality photocopies" are sold "at exorbitant prices" (Sniadanko 2013). Translation is ubiquitous, not only in books in the original language and in translations, such as "Polish detective novels from the 70s in the original language as well as Polish writer Henryk Sienkiewicz in Russian translations" (Sniadanko 2013), but also in reproductions (which are copies, or "translations") of artworks by the Russian painter Surikov and rare editions (or publishers' "translations") of Stus's poetry, collections of a Ukrainian poet, "censored yet nominated for Nobel Prize" (Sniadanko 2013), and in the toolkit of a cartographer and a tourist, "maps of the Bieszczady Mountains in Polish and a guide to Krakow in Russian" (Sniadanko 2013). The trade of translating or bringing over is epitomized in "Ukrainian literature forbidden in the Soviet era" (Sniadanko 2013), transplanted or brought from the diaspora back to Ukraine. Translation is, in this case, contraband, and translators (that is, diaspora publishers around the world) are smugglers. Sniadanko recognizes the function of both visible and invisible mediators who play the role of "gatekeepers" of memory and identity. Whether they be ever-present booksellers or archivists emerging from the gates of the city's central archive nearby, they mediate presences and absences in the city's spatial discourses.

Naming is inherently a political action. It reflects the power of those who have the ability to name, and how the name becomes a sign of power. Street names are often, as in the case of Lviv, examples of *intersemiotic* translation, translation between two sign, and note necessarily linguistic, systems. Names are signs with a simulacra-like quality; they are transient and ephemeral.

Igor Klekh is interested in the problematic nature of naming. This interest is often reflected in his works as a favoring of the city's old imperial pasts and critiques of the recent Soviet past (Sywenky 2015, 161). Born in southern Ukraine, Klekh came to Lviv to study Russian in the Slavic department at Lviv University. He lived in Lviv until he relocated to Moscow. In 1995 he was "nominated for the Russian Version of the Booker Prize" (Klekh 2004, ix). Igor Klekh writes exclusively in Russian and is "part of that phenomenon of marginalized colonial writing in which the literary culture of the colonized parts of the empire, with its unique perspectives, seemingly overtakes and influences the center" (Klekh 2004, x). Though he is geographically connected to western Ukraine, Klekh is not a "regional writer" (Casanova 2004, 100), but rather a European one. Klekh transcends the limits of a national identity and literature; he is a truly "international" writer in Pascale Casanova's terms (Casanova 2004, 108).

Klekh's short story "The Église by the Station: A Galician Motif" is the story of one of the churches in the city and the transformations it undergoes during the brief Nazi and later Soviet presence. The real and linguistic battles for the "territory" ricochet from the walls of this neo-Gothic cathedral. The names of the streets around the square on which the cathedral stands are changed in the blink of an eye. The *église*'s symbolic location near the train station invokes the image of arrivals and departures, comings and goings. The cathedral is a metaphor for the human body and the changes that take place from birth through childhood and into adulthood. The body of the building is written by the generations that pass, and it remains in place albeit not intact. The cathedral first appears as a newborn child "in steamed, starched napkins, among the clots of placenta, of slaked lime, of frozen clay" (Klekh 2004, 89). Later the *église* is initiated into a "working" adult life:

> laboring by the sweat of its brow, rolling up its sleeves, it baptized and gave communion, listened to confession, performed marriage rites and held burial services, and glorified the name of God, constantly finding itself in contact- with the antennae of crosses capturing the rustles in the ether in the bell-shaped spires, capturing and strengthening them, breaking-off, lonely voice of a man- all a single internal ear, a single diaphragm, caving in from breathing in and out. (Klekh 2004, 91)

The cathedral's body is later violated with tanks "bouncing off its walls" (Klekh 2004, 92). After the church is turned into a warehouse for the storage of cement, its cross was eventually removed. The story of the cathedral serves as the story of the city in miniature. Torn by various world powers, the city was a space of conflicting claims and names. The renaming of Lviv's streets is depicted in the thick of the war between the Nazis and the Soviets, as a way to show supremacy and claim rights over the territory, renaming as reclaiming:

> The new masters without any consultations renamed the former Novy Svet, the former Sapiegi, the former—for a short time—Stalin Street, in their own style: into Führstenstrasse. Or perhaps, it was Fürerstrasse. But the Russians dislodged them after three years and later renamed it back into Stalin Street. (Klekh 2004, 91).

The tempestuous history of renaming did not end there: "Stalin Street had suddenly turned back into Peace street" (Klekh 2004, 93), and the translation went back to the original, albeit not for long. The most recent renaming is Stepan Bandera street to commemorate a controversial figure leading the nationalist struggle for Ukraine's independence during World War II. The street name change affects not only the public dimension but also the realm of the private: the address appearing on correspondence. "The envelopes sparkled with new colors: 'St. Petersburg–St. Bandera–poste restante'" (Klekh 2004, 96).

The names of the streets "continued to glimmer falsely, like the magic inscriptions on the sabres, presented by genie" (Klekh 2004, 96) even into the city's present. The "false glimmer" of the street signs reflects globalization: the appearance of McDonalds in the historical downtown is part of the same process of naming the streets after American presidents in the residential neighborhoods built in the Soviet era, an example of which would be Washington street. In his short story, Klekh also mentions that he was asked to give directions to Lincoln street, which he was simply unable to do. About this particular textual instance, Irene Sywenky says that it provides evidence that Klekh feels a stranger in present-day Lviv and prefers to dwell in his memories of the Lviv of the past, filled with nostalgia and melancholy. Although not entirely disagreeing with this reading, I would propose that if we venture past the nostalgic surface elements of his writing we become aware of the larger issue at stake—namely, the politics of memory and belonging and claims to the city. The new reality of present-day Lviv sometimes overwhelms and puzzles and makes one feel lost in the labyrinth of the new identit(ies) the city assumes, competing with older historical narratives, which can be alienating not only to writers who no longer live in the city but also to its present inhabitants.

In his *Lexicon of Intimate Places,* Yuri Andrukhovych, a Ukrainian writer, traverses both "real and imaginary places" (Andrukhovych 2011)[18], among them his native Lviv. Andrukhovych is considered to be one of the most well-known contemporary Ukrainian writers. He also writes poetry and essays and translates fiction into Ukrainian. Andrukhovych is popular not only in Ukraine but in other countries, and his works have been translated into English, German, Russian, and Polish.

His *The Lexicon of Intimate Places* is a collection of 111 cities that have personal significance for the writer. He calls the practice of compiling such a lexicon an "autobiography that overlays geography," an "autogeography" or an "autogeobiography" (Andrukhovych 2011). Andrukhovych provides an alternative terminology for his personal landmarks, calling them "intimate places" or "erogenous zones" (Andrukhovych 2011). Despite being personal or "intimate," these places are also universal landmarks: cities on the maps of the world.

The cities are classified according to the dictates of the ABC. However, this is not a hierarchical ranking. The author claims that the only possible order of the letters (which become signs) in the alphabet gives them the weight of symbols. Lviv, starting with the letter L, is symbolically situated in the middle as a sign that has its place in the world system of signs. The middle position is assigned by virtue of being a subjectively "meridian" city for the author. Lviv is listed among the constellation of cities such as New York, Kyiv, Moscow, Munich, and Prague.

The city chapters in the Ukrainian city alphabet start with Aarau and end with Yalta. Lviv appears in the middle (not *geographically* but *autographically*) between London and Lublin. Besides the Ukrainian alphabet of cities, the order of cities also appears the way it would be listed according to the English alphabet. Andrukhovych here translates between the alphabets and subverts his own list. In English, the list starts with the same city as in the Ukrainian version, Aarau, but ends with Zurich, not Yalta. This confusion of geographical places and borders makes the cities imaginary *spaces* rather than *geographical places.* The proximity and distance are shuffled as the "city–neighbors" change. In the English version of the alphabet of cities, Lviv now finds itself a neighbor to Lublin and Mainz as opposed to London and Lublin, its "neighbors" in the Ukrainian listing. This prominently points to the fact of the arbitrariness of such "linguistic" mappings.

[11] All Andrukhovych translations mine, unless otherwise stated.

Andrukhovych gives Lviv a marker of "always" (Andrukhovych 2011). "Lviv, always" is not necessarily a temporal marker or an answer to the question, "What time is this place?" It is, rather, a marker of the continuity of space. Here Andrukhovych might be echoing Stanislaw Lem's musings about time and space in his "Highcastle" novel:

> Space is, after all, solid, monolithic; it contains no traps or pitfalls. Time, on the other hand, is a hostile element, truly treacherous, I would even say against human nature […] I had great difficulty, for years, with such concepts as "tomorrow" and "yesterday." I confess—and I never told this to anyone before—that for a very long time I situated both of them in space. (Lem 1995, 22)

"Lviv, always" has the following sections on the city tropes: City–Port, City–Intersection, City–Circus, City–Charlatan, City–Executioner, City–Victim, City–Patriot, City–Dissident, City–Cemetery, City–Simulacrum, and City–Phantasm. In each of these sections, the author either refers to existent literary works or films about Lviv. At other times, Andrukhovych provides short outlines to future novels that have yet to be written about this city. Reflecting on these novelistic possibilities, Andrukhovych creates "his own literary Dublin" (Andrukhovych 2011), paying homage to the city, due to which his writing is at all possible. Lviv is the city he left many times—the first time as a young boy imagining Lviv as a train station in "the suburb of Prague" (Andrukhovych 2011). But, just as Joyce never left his Dublin, Andrukhovych could never truly leave Lviv, constantly returning to it and arriving at its new meanings.

CONCLUSION

The anecdote of Gershon Shofman's train journey from Lviv, the then capital of Eastern Galicia, a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to the metropolis of Vienna (Pinsker 2011, 1) is a good metaphor for writing that comes from the "peripheral literary spaces" and travels to the "core" (Casanova 2004, 122). Shofman was asked to present his travel documents, which, like other Jews, he did not have. Instead, he presented a postcard with his photograph and information about him as a writer in Hebrew. The official reluctantly accepted Shofman's "literary passport" (Pinsker 2011, 2) and allowed him entrance into the city.

Lviv's literary history is marked with writing that reflects the in-between character of the city at the border that gravitates towards various centers in both a geopolitical and literary sense. Lviv has supplied "literary passports" to such writers as Leopold von Sacher Masoch, Joseph Roth, Bruno Schultz, and Stanislaw Lem, among others. Writing in German and Polish, they found

their audiences in Europe. Igor Klekh, who belongs to the Russian literary tradition, seems to be a phenomenon of the same order. In an attempt to find not only their own sense of belonging but also to reflect on the city's multiple identities, the writers, whose work has been discussed in this essay, translate Lviv's public spaces into their fictionalized cartographies and render the real city legible through them.

As a "real" city, Lviv has never been a metropolis, a world city. However, as a vibrant cosmopolitan urban space, it has always been a *city world*. Since just as it is impossible "to traverse [all] the streets on maps or around the bend" (Wirth-Nesher 1996, 8), it is hardly possible to look at the city in its totality (and the research in question hardly does that). The nature of the city is to "promise plenitude, but deliver inaccessibility" (Wirth-Nesher 1996, 8).

Although not a comprehensive and universal model, Lviv can serve as a possible reading of cities. Looking at the city's architecture, history, literary scene, and its projections of the future as a literary critic, reading the "text" offers potentially intriguing insights to existing discourses on urban experience and the ways it is mediated and interpreted.

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The 1960s, "hors-Montréal," and translating mobility

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<Abstract> This article looks at representations of spatialized and embodied translations in two lesser-known examples of the 1960s Québécois novel in French. *Le texte national*—Québec's nationalist fiction—tends to be identified with a number of characteristics. These include a mapping of Montreal as split between a poor francophone east and wealthy anglophone west, and an insistence on tensions between the city's two ethnolinguistic majority groups. In this literature, engagement with English typically signals economic, social, and/or sexual oppression for the francophone antihero. In contrast, some noncanonical novels give us a fascinating representation of an ethnically and socially diverse Montreal—and, in rarer cases, "regional" Québec—in which French and English coincide in nonbinary ways. Places of work, leisure, and consumption become settings for language exchanges that prefigure the more relaxed informal interactions of contemporary Montreal identified by Sherry Simon (Simon 2006, 10). This article considers how Yvette Naubert's *La Dormeuse éveillée* (1965) and Claire Mondat's *Poupée* (1965) represent linguistic translations as signposts for a cultural translation (Cronin 2000, 23), which in turn marks Québec's embracing of a particular kind of modernity.

As a number of critics and theorists highlight, the contemporary city is a space of encounters with difference (Smith and Hetherington 2013, 7). Whilst differences will almost certainly be related to language as well as ethnicity, gender, age, class, able-bodied-ness, sexual orientation, and other identity markers, how these elements are mapped out will likely vary significantly from one city to the next. It is important to retain a sense of the specificities of individual cities if we are to avoid constructing a false set of so-called "universal" conditions. Montreal is a city where translations—active and passive—are, and have historically been, a part of everyday life for many of its inhabitants. This is due to the legacies of the city's positioning within settler histories of French, and then British, expansion.[1] According to Sherry Simon, Montreal is one of a number of "translational" cities (Simon 2012, 3), cities where there are "two

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[1] Prior to European claims on what is now known as the island of Montreal and the surrounding area, it is thought by some historians that these were seasonal meeting places for Iroquoians or the site of an Iroquoian village. See, for example, Paul-André Linteau, *Brève histoire de Montréal*, revised edition (Montreal: Boréal, 2007), 16.

historically rooted language communities" (Simon 2012, 3), with exchanges between these being marked by inequalities of power.[2] Simon describes her native city as a colonial one, due to the historical segregation that has existed—and continues to do so to some extent—between linguistic communities living there (Simon 2006, 22); notably the majority ones of English and French and, until the middle of the twentieth century, Yiddish (Simon 2006, 14). For those unfamiliar with Montreal, the city is popularly imagined as being split between a French-speaking east side and an English-speaking west side, with boulevard Saint-Laurent, Montreal's north–south axis and Main, marking the dividing line between the two.[3] Writing in 2006, Simon reminds us that "in Montreal, travel means translation" (Simon 2006, 6); drawing on her personal experiences to illustrate the point and offering up the image of herself as a young woman cycling east across her native city (Simon 2006, xiv) in what is figured as a somewhat daring move in the cultural climate of the time. Identifying the "crosstown journey" (Simon 2006, 271) as a key motif in Quebec literature in English and French, she argues that "the direction [. . .] often indicates the emotional temperature" (Simon 2006, 4).

In what follows, I shall consider how urban and exurban mobility, travel, and translation come together in, through, and around particular places as represented in Yvette Naubert's *La Dormeuse éveillée* (1965) and Claire Mondat's *Poupée* (1963). In these novels, active and passive linguistic translations become signposts for a particular kind of cultural translation (Cronin 2000, 23); marking an entry into modernity at a time when Quebec sought to situate itself on the "modern" world map. As Kathy Mezei and others argue in relation to Canadian—and, by implication, Québécois—cultural contexts, "many of the translation activities most vital to [. . .] cultural life take place in zones that lie outside the realm of government and mobilize energies of a very different nature" (Mezei, Simon, and Flotow 2014, 3).[4] Positioned outside Quebec's nationalist canon, *La Dormeuse éveillée* and *Poupée* dramatize embodied everyday translation practices occurring in places of work, leisure, and consumption, such as the café and department store. The texts are striking for their choice of settings and their sometimes seemingly relaxed mediation of French and English interactions at a time when many examples of *le ro-*

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[2] Simon claims that "languages that share the same terrain rarely participate in a peaceful and egalitarian conversation" (Simon 2012, 3).

[3] For an account of the basis of this mapping in historical fact, see Linteau, 65–66.

[4] The topics under consideration in the collection edited by Mezei et al. include Robert Lepage, translations of Michel Tremblay and October 1970 as well as cultural translations of Acadie and translations of indigenous authors.

man montréalais are highlighting clashes between these. While not wishing to contribute to the kind of forgetting of the very real tensions that existed in Quiet Revolution Quebec described by David Leahy (unpublished),[5] this article explores how *La Dormeuse éveillée* and *La Poupée* can be seen as mediating a certain spectrality in their prefiguring of many of the everyday interactions between French and English in contemporary Montreal.[6] As such, they offer important pointers as to the possibilities of negotiating differences in the recent contexts of the now defunct Charter of Quebec Values and discussions around reviving some of the debates around this (Gagnon 2015).

Traversing the urban space—usually, but not exclusively in the form of walking—is a trope of writing on cities; from Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du mal* (1857), which celebrates the experiences of the poet often seen as the original *flâneur*, through to James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) and Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925); more recent texts like Sarah Waters's *The Paying Guests* (2014) and, in the Quebec context, Francine Noël's *Babel, prise deux, ou Nous avons tous découvert l'Amérique* (1990), Gail Scott's *Heroine* (1987), and André Carpentier's *Ruelles, jours ouvrables* (2005). Given that we read urban fiction through the lenses of other examples of the genre, any lack of mobility potentially signals a problem. Several examples of Quebec's nationalist novel of the 1960s and early 1970s insist on their protagonists being subject to a certain stasis in the Montreal context so as to draw attention to francophone oppression under what was figured as British linguistic, economic, and social colonialism. This stasis is implicitly figured as a pathology which is in contrast to the "health" of other comparable cities and, by extension, nations, since Montreal functions as a metonym for the whole of Quebec in this writing. Typical features of the literature that has come to be identified with Quebec's nationalist canon include: a male francophone—and often working-class—antihero, a representation of Montreal as split between a poor francophone east and wealthy anglophone west, a suppression of ethnic and linguistic diversity, and a mapping metaphor in the shape of said antihero's walks around the city, with numerous references to streets, parks, and other notable landmarks familiar to a domestic audience. These walks are often restricted for the most part to Montreal's east side, with boulevard Saint-Laurent functioning as a barrier, rather than a threshold.

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[5] The period that saw the publication of Naubert's and Mondat's novels also witnessed the emergence of the terrorist nationalist and socialist organization Le Front de Libération du Québec.

[6] Kathy Battista and others point out that cities are to be understood in terms of their positioning within multiple, and simultaneous, temporalities. See Kathy Battista, Brandon LaBelle, Barbara Penner, Steve Pile, and Jane Rendell, "Exploring 'an area of outstanding unnatural beauty': a treasure hunt around Kings Cross, Lonon," *Cultural Geographies* 12 (2005): 439.

While much of the literature associated with the nationalist canon contains a desire to roam the whole of Quebec, this frequently goes hand in hand with an insistence on the impossibility of moving beyond the neighborhood of origin. Simon Harel underlines how this tension can be envisaged as between Michel de Certeau's mapped city—synonymous with the workings of power—and the walked city that emerges in the path or "parcours" (Harel 1989, 154). In a piece that has become ubiquitous in urban studies, de Certeau compares walking with the "speech act," arguing that "it is a spatial acting-out of the place (just as the speech act is an acoustic acting-out of language)" (de Certeau 1984, 98). For him, the path can offer subversive challenges to the map in that, composed by street level walking as part of a set of "tactics" (de Certeau 1984, xix) based on "ordinary" practices (de Certeau 1984, 93), it escapes representation (de Certeau 1984, 97). This is because only the route of the path can be recorded, rather than the action of walking itself: "surveys of routes miss what was: the act itself of passing by" (de Certeau 1984, 97). Consequently, the path eludes the panoptical gaze of those associated with the map. The English "map" can be clearly identified in Jacques Renaud's classic nationalist text *Le Cassé*, where we have references to entrances and exits to a bar visited by the antihero as being marked "In" and "Out" (Renaud 1982, 59). The novella thereby reminds us that at that time Montreal appeared from street signs, public advertisements, and so on to be an English-speaking city. For its part, the French "path" is often doomed to failure; kept within a delimited area associated with poverty, filth, and violence (Major 1989; Jasmin 1965) or else caught in a cycle of historical and political disappointments (Aquin 1968).

As critics such as Pierre Nepveu point out, the insistence on the horrors of the urban in this literature was at odds with much of the enthusiasm and optimism which characterized projects associated with national—and municipal—assertion (Nepveu 1988, 59). These included the construction of new, multipurpose buildings in the international style, the building of the metro, and the hosting of the world fair in 1967 under the enthusiastic leadership of Jean Drapeau, the technocrat mayor of Montreal. However, *La Dormeuse éveillée* and *La Poupée* belong to a body of lesser-known fictional works from the period that do, in fact, celebrate the modern city—again, almost exclusively identified with Montreal.[7] In these, places associated with modernity—notably downtown, or else commercial arteries and entertainment hubs such as

[7] Examples include Normand Robidoux's *Hippie de cœur* (c. 1968); Lucile Vallières's La Fragilité des idoles (1964); Hélène Ouvrard's *La Fleur de peau* (1965); and Jean-Claude Clari's *L'Appartenance* (c. 1968).

rue Sainte-Catherine, rue Saint-Hubert, and boulevard Saint-Laurent[8]—offer possibilities for linguistic, cultural, social, and economic exchanges bound up in encounters with Others. Whilst these are not always happy, they at least go beyond the binary divisions featured in the more canonical works of the period. Although it seems intuitive that such places will, by their very nature, lead to instances of linguistic—and potentially—cultural translation; with the exception of boulevard Saint-Laurent, they tend not to be represented as what Cronin and Simon term "translation zones" (Cronin and Simon 2014, 119). These are described as "spaces defined by an acute consciousness of cultural negotiations and often host to the kinds of polymorphous translation practices characteristic of multilingual milieus" (Cronin and Simon 2014, 119–120). Indeed, several are not even particularly present in Québécois fiction, creative nonfiction, and criticism. Especially up until 2000, these latter tended to focus on key areas such as Westmount, the east side of Montreal, the Plateau, the Main, and, to a lesser extent, the Latin Quarter, with other places becoming important as they embody political flashpoints (Morgan 2012). One such example is Mirabel airport; the contention around the decision to expropriate farmland to build this facility being at the center of Louis Hamelin's *La Rage* (1989).

We get an engagement with several "modern" spaces in *La Dormeuse éveillée*, where the setting comprises places of work and leisure frequented by the young female protagonist, a francophone woman in her late twenties. Due to her rejection of sexual censure, her free movement around the city and her familiarity with English as well as French, Estelle can be seen as a cultural and linguistic translator. In *Translation and Globalization*, Michael Cronin highlights the importance of tools for the translator (Cronin 2003, 10). Estelle's body acts as one such translational tool, which is used—not always with her consent—to navigate between past and present gender conventions and mappings of Montreal's majority languages. In the course of the narrative, Estelle abruptly leaves her job as a live-in maid after realizing she has fallen in love with her employers' nephew, Hans Herzberg. Traumatized by the loss of his parents during the Holocaust as well as his guilt at having survived, Hans is incapable of returning Estelle's affection. Estelle goes to live for a while with her cousin Bertha, a widow with no surviving children. A key theme in the

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[8] As Michael Cronin cautions, there is more than one model of modernity, even in Western contexts (Cronin 2003, 33–34). Sherry Simon discusses some of the different and competing understandings of the modern in Montreal on the part of visual artists and literary practitioners in the postwar period (Simon 2012, 117–132). The urban modernity embraced in the fiction described in this article is primarily identified with social density, department store consumerism, high rise office buildings, and neon signage; that is, one which has many of the characteristics attributed to so-called "world" or "global" cities (Sassen 1991).

novel is the fractured family, with Estelle's own emotional development represented as having been hampered by the premature death of her mother and her father's subsequent unhappy second marriage (Naubert 1965, 15–16). Her brother Georges is equally affected, entering into low-level criminal activities and taking his former stepmother as his sexual partner, partly in order to have a place to live (Naubert 1965, 83). They have a sister from their father's second marriage who, while happier and apparently a little more materially successful than her siblings, cannot conform to the role of traditional wife and mother. Nicole is having an affair and wishes to give up her son so that she can pursue her professional and personal adventures more easily. Late in the novel, Hans commits suicide, out of remorse at having made a deal with Georges. This involved Georges's robbing the Herzbergs' store and then sharing the spoils with Hans so that the latter could return to Europe in a futile attempt to find out more about his past. Estelle denounces her brother to the police after he refuses to help her move Hans's dead body, which she discovers after returning to the Herzbergs' home. The end sees her caring for Bertha, whose health has deteriorated to the extent that she requires constant attention. Estelle is returned to the half-sleeping state in which she has spent much of her life and to which the title refers. The final pages see her contemplate using Georges's revolver; although it is not clear whether she intends to use it on her cousin or herself.

Estelle's job as a maid means that she has been employed for a number of years by wealthy clients living on Montreal's west side. We do not learn where Estelle grew up, but references to the father's social status allow us to infer that it was likely in a lower middle-class neighborhood elsewhere in the city. Naubert's novel does not contain the typical east–west, French–English divide found in many examples of Quebec's fiction of the period; even if in some cases, middle-class francophone characters substitute for anglophone elites and English is suggested by a class attitude rather than an actual linguistic trace (Major 1989; Parizeau 1967).[9] Unlike many Montreal novels of the 1960s and 1970s, Westmount is not included in the text. Rather, the francophone former municipality of Outremont is cited as the location for the home of the Herzbergs—first-generation Jewish immigrants from Germany. Estelle's former employer—a British man called Ingleworth—also lives there, in a sumptuous residence that is in marked contrast to the run-down apartment on rue Atwater in which her stepmother lives (Naubert 1965, 57). Estelle

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[9] Even in *Le Cassé*, possibly the most important nationalist fictional work of the period, non-joualized English is only found on street signage and there are no anglophones in the narrative—just one richer francophone and another, middle-class one, both of whom are able to circulate around Montreal's streets with ease due to their material wealth.

recalls her first day at the Ingleworths' home: "sa femme lui dit: 'Our new maid is here'. Il répondit: 'Oh! How is she?' sur un ton indifférent mais je cessai de travailler" (Naubert 1965, 62). In this instance, English can be seen as functioning to underline anglophone power. Indeed, it is possible to read Naubert's novel as a national allegory (Jameson 1986, 69); the themes of the broken and dysfunctional family fitting perfectly with the Oedipal ones taken up elsewhere in publications such as Pierre Maheu's now classic "l'oedipe colonial" in *Parti pris* (Maheu 1964). Naubert's heroine is raped by Ingleworth, who warns her that "you'll do what I say, what I want, or I'll kill you" (Naubert 1965, 63). Throughout this episode, Estelle dissociates from her body by looking at a landscape portrait of an English hunt on the wall, thereby drawing attention to the "colonial" struggle taking place via sexual-linguistic coercion. The quotation from Camus's *La Peste* reproduced on the novel's flyleaf invokes anticolonialism, since Camus's novel is informed by the 1849 cholera epidemic in Oran, Algeria.[10] In this sense, although Estelle claims to have been "woken" from her existential slumber—induced by her familial and sexual traumas— by her unexpected love for Hans, we can also read her development in terms of a coming to national consciousness.[11]

This interpretation is undercut by a number of factors. First, English in Naubert's novel is neither translated into French nor italicized. Consequently, it is not signaled as an example of what Michael Cronin terms "lexical exoticism" (Cronin 2000, 41), which he describes as "a palpable written trace of the foreign for the reader" (Cronin 2000, 41). In not being marked as different from the French "norm" of the main text, English is rendered part of the everyday; and therefore not necessarily alien. Indeed, it can be argued that it is subject to the authority of the French that is the dominant language of the narration and dialogue: as Catherine Leclerc argues in her work on "cohabiting" languages, while plurilingualism is celebrated in many cultures today as a desirable marker of "global" citizenship, literary works that contain more than one language tend to organize these according to particular power hierarchies

[10] It also points to an empathy with the sufferings of European Jews at a time when World War II was a past closely linked with the present. This empathy is evoked in an association made between Estelle's rape by Doucereux and Hans's past, whereby his survival is due to his having miraculously climbed out alive and unnoticed from what was effectively a mass grave. All the same, Naubert's novel acknowledges the differences in degree between the personal and collective traumas: "[. . .] cela ne se compare pas à la sortie du tombeau. [. . .]. Ils étaient empilés les uns sur les autres, tassés les uns contre les autres, dans une intimité parfaite, une entente absolue, et tous ensemble, peut-être qu'ils ont poussé le petit garçon dehors" (Naubert 1965, 44). Andrée Maillet's *Les Remparts de Québec* (1965) also makes a parallel between sexual trauma and the Holocaust.

[11] This reading is also enabled by the fact that, although almost all the novel takes place during winter, the final pages refer to a sort of "prélude du printemps" (Naubert 1965, 183).

(Leclerc 2010, 26). Second, *La Dormeuse éveillée* does not establish a blanket dichotomy between French and English, good and evil. Ingleworth is not the first to rape this young woman, since Estelle was forced to have intercourse at fifteen with her first employer, the appropriately named Doucereux. She became pregnant and left the office in which she worked, subsequently giving up her child for adoption. It is implied that Estelle's own father facilitated this first attack so as to protect his own job and secure a promotion (Naubert 1965, 43–44, 84). Of course, Doucereux could be seen as a kind of symbolic anglophone identified by Harel, who argues that the absence of real anglophones in much of the nationalist fiction of the Quiet Revolution only serves to accentuate their power (Harel 1999, 104). Third, however, *La Dormeuse éveillée* suggests that Ingleworth is in many ways an anachronistic figure, with his English car and inadequate wardrobe: "il va nu-tête par tous les temps, il ne met jamais de couvre-chaussures comme s'il ne trouvait aucune différence entre l'hiver anglais et le froid canadien" (Naubert 1965, 65). As such, he is out of place in the modern urban setting; in contrast to Estelle, who moves freely unaccompanied around the city—including at night (Naubert 1965, 102). The young woman is identified with modernity through her mobility, her refusal of the roles of mother and wife (Naubert 1965, 76), her sexual independence and sexual experimentation (Naubert 1965, 128–130),[12] and her open rejection of religion (Naubert 1965, 11).

Fourth, translation does not only travel in one direction in *La Dormeuse éveillée*. As might be expected, several of the spaces of translation in the text overlap. Estelle's most recent place of work—and residence—might sometimes be a space of passive translation for her, but it is also a space of passive and active translation for her employers, for whom it is their home. This can be seen in the phone conversation Estelle carries out with Madame Herzberg when she lets herself back into the Herzbergs' home towards the end of the novel: "—Where is Hans? Nous venons d'être volés au magasin. Un homme masqué with a revolver" (Naubert 1965, 172). In this way, the novel does not associate English only with individuals of British origin or their symbolic representatives. In addition, Estelle's exchanges with Monsieur Herzberg and Hans are made exclusively in French; presumably the men's third or fourth

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[12] In a somewhat fantastical episode, Estelle visits Nicole at the request of her stepmother, who is afraid that she is dying of cancer and wishes to be reunited with her biological daughter, from whom she is estranged. The visit prompts a return of the anger and hatred Estelle felt towards Nicole as a young child, when the latter seemed to monopolize their father's love and attention. She physically attacks Nicole, but the fight turns into a positive sexual encounter and becomes an expression of love and reconciliation with the past.

language, given their family background and the period in which the novel is set (Naubert 1965, 22–23, 172–173). This is particularly interesting as Outremont is not usually represented in this way in francophone Québécois fiction, which tends to associate the municipality with a French-speaking—and often French—privileged class, or else with the Hassidic communities living there.[13] Indeed, Outremont has been represented as a space of noncommunication at times, most famously, perhaps, in Francine Noël's *Babel, prise deux, ou Nous avons tous découvert l'Amérique* (1990), which expresses a degree of frustration at the lack of interaction between the Hassidim and other residents.

There is a class consideration at play in *La Dormeuse éveillée*, with the comfortable residences Estelle services in Outremont, some of which are home to well-established immigrants to Quebec, being contrasted with the neighborhood on rue Atwater in which her stepmother Germaine lives—presumably the former working-class and ethnically and linguistically mixed pointe Sainte-Charles. Until the later decades of the twentieth century, this was an industrial heartland of Montreal and home to francophone and anglophone workers, as well as others, including musicians who worked Montreal's jazz clubs during US Prohibition. Germaine's neighborhood is represented as a space of transition associated with popular immigration:

> On a l'impression que dans les appartements, les malles et les valises doivent rester faites et que les locataires sont toujours sur le point de partir, d'aller ailleurs, qu'ils sont là en attendant autre chose. Au bruit de mes pas, une porte s'entrouvre et le visage ardent d'une émigrée, italienne, polonaise, que sais-je, apparaît une seconde dans l'entrebaillement. (Naubert 1965, 37)

The pattern of the wallpaper in her apartment shows through despite having been painted over (Naubert 1965, 37); highlighting this layering of pasts, people, and languages.[14]

Leisure spaces are also places where translation happens in Naubert's novel—at least in terms of listening. Tired after shopping on rue Sainte-Catherine, Estelle enters a restaurant on the same street, where she encounters

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[13] There are some exceptions, the most famous being Régine Robin's classic novel of migrant dislocation, *La Québécoite* (1983). This has a section entitled "Outremont," which is the setting for a degree of positive linguistic and cultural exchange. However, as some critics have pointed out, the "Outremont" in Robin's novel appears to include Mile End—the neighborhood adjoining Outremont on the other side of avenue du Parc, which is more usually associated with linguistic and ethnic diversity.

[14] Sherry Simon referred to a similar kind of palimpsest in a paper given in London, UK ("Montreal and the City as Translation Zone," Society for Francophone Postcolonial Studies: The Postcolonial City conference, Institut français, London, November 19, 2011), where she referenced the traces of the old English language ads painted on the sides of Montreal buildings in order to frame her discussion of translation in the city.

Ingleworth for the first time since she left his employ. The two have a conversation involving passive translation:

— Where are you going?
— Je vais à Outremont.
— I am going there too. Wait for me. I'll give you a lift. (Naubert 1965, 64).

In this way, spaces of consumption—of food, drink, goods, and services—offer opportunities for passive and active linguistic and cultural exchanges. The Herzbergs' linguistic competence is attributed to their owning a luxury fur and jewelry store on rue Saint-Hubert (Naubert 1965, 21), where the majority of the clientele speaks French. Monsieur and Madame Herzberg speak French with near-native and passive fluency respectively, and both seem to have an excellent passive knowledge of French. This dexterity is not necessarily linked to class, even though the degree to which it is enjoyed might be. For example, Estelle takes a taxi to Outremont after Bertha asks her to remove from her house a bag Georges had asked her to safeguard and that she has come to suspect contains criminal goods. Having opened the bag to find it contains a gun and stolen jewelry, Estelle is so distressed and distracted that she almost leaves the bag behind in the car. The driver calls it to her attention in a way that demonstrates his very good, if not total, command of French, which, as a linguistic slip reveals, is not his first language: "—Oubliez pas vot'sac. Vous êtes nurse? Vous en aurez besoin" (Naubert 1965, 113).

The modernity of the cityscape and of Naubert's heroine's rightful place within it is confirmed by the allusion Estelle makes to Baudelaire (Naubert 1965, 157): in common with many other protagonists of the Montreal novel, Estelle yearns to be a writer (Naubert 1965, 135). Her rejection of traditional female roles and her freedom of movement around the city are represented positively. Indeed, *La Dormeuse éveillée* figures the past as something that needs to be escaped: a failure to manage this, as in Hans's case, leads only to death. All the same, the embracing of modernity is not entirely wholehearted. Shopping may have overtaken religious practice, as suggested by the description of Eaton's department store as "un temple" (Naubert 1965, 57). However, Estelle is rather sickened by the displays of enthusiasm for mass consumerism on the part of the multiple shoppers around her (Naubert 1965, 57–58). Unlike some other examples of cultural production of the period and subsequently (Mondat 1963; Monette 1995), Naubert's novel does not engage in an explicit critique of an embracing of a mass consumerism associated with the United States, and therefore new forms of cultural and linguistic imperialism. Nevertheless, from today's perspective, it appears prescient in sounding a note of warning as to the possible linking of a form of consumption with

the advancing of English as a global language (Venuti 2008, 20). In this context, the ending can be read in two ways. First, as outlined above, Estelle's personally traumatic past can be seen as a symptom of colonialism, with a "foreign" ancestry usurping the "natural" family order. Georges's failure to be able to speak the childhood language he and Estelle shared when he arrives at the Herzbergs' home after robbing their store to discover her with Hans's corpse sounds a warning as to this potential linguistic and cultural amnesia: "vivi, Gégé, [. . .] vivi m'aidarer. [. . .]. [I]l ne parle plus le langage qu'il a lui-même inventé, parce que son imagination est maintenant paralysée par la peur" (Naubert 1965, 176). In this reading, the close of the novel, which sees Estelle contemplating using Georges's revolver, points to her future suicide. This would keep her in the cycle of historical violence and failure that is taken up in, for example, Hubert Aquin's *Trou de mémoire* (1968). Second, the close of Naubert's novel can be interpreted as an embracing of the future. In this context, Estelle's manipulation of the gun signals her preparedness to use it on her cousin Bertha, whose paralyzed body and mind represent the "dead weight" of francophone Quebec's Catholic past.

Claire Mondat's *Poupée* also brings together the themes of translation, modernity, and the female body. The novel is especially striking in that much of the translation that occurs in it takes place outside of Quebec's main urban center, thereby disrupting popular imaginings of "the regions" as cultural—and, frequently, monocultural and monolingual—backwaters.[15] A good deal of the narrative is given over to the description of a regional tour undertaken by the Montreal troupe of whom Catherine is the only female member. Modernity is signaled in a variety of ways, notably in the sexual freedom enjoyed by Mondat's heroine and in her high degree of mobility, which includes the use of her own car. During her travels, Catherine has sex with several men, including a long-term lover, Jack, coactors Wilson and Krieg, and a young *collégien*. She refuses a number of offers of marriage and although she agrees to marry Krieg in the course of the tour, she does not remain monogamous. The end sees her effect an impromptu escape from her new husband by driving away on her own, leaving Krieg waiting outside a guesthouse in Quebec City: "si je vois dans la rue une dame portant un chapeau vert… non, vert c'est trop commun pour un chapeau… Si je vois une dame, avant cinq minutes, une dame avec un chapeau… jaune, [. . .] je retourne au *Soulier de Satin*" (Mondat 1963, 139).

In one respect, *Poupée* represents translation as a marker of cultural capital. The ability to pass between French and English becomes a marker of

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[15] Nationalist discourses of the Quiet Revolution associated modernity with the urban.

urbane sophistication; available to those fortunate enough to enjoy passing between various social spaces in the Montreal setting. This can be seen in the following exchange between Catherine and Jack, when the actress takes a day away from the tour to return to her beloved Montreal:

> — Tu restes?
> — Je ne peux pas. J'ai promis. Je les mettrais dans un beau pétrin.
> — Il y en a bien un qui est votre amant?
> Vous et tu, il passe de l'un à l'autre, comme avant. Moi, je le vouvoie toujours.
> — Oui. Et cette fois-ci, j'ai pris le plus beau.
> — A Frenchman? (Mondat 1963, 25–26)

This sophistication is taken on the road when the troupe undertakes its tour. In Mondat's novel, the road becomes a space of modernity, or even, properly speaking, postmodernity. Descriptions of the snow-covered roads stretching out before Catherine gesture towards a postmodern simulacrum, with Catherine bemoaning: "l'habitude de ces routes blanches et désertes, de ces villages ennuyeux, semble m'engourdir" (Mondat 1963, 32). The various anonymous bars and hotels she and her colleagues visit during their tour suggest the North American landscape described by Jean Baudrillard in *Amérique* (1986) and that can be found in later Québécois novels, such as Monique LaRue's *Les Faux-Fuyants* (1982).

In some senses, Montreal is the only real place, in that, with the exception of one or two places such as Quebec City, the novel represents "hors-Montréal" in winter as an undifferentiated mass of surface whiteness, punctuated by "[des] bars de campagnes [. . .] vides mais bruyants" (Mondat 1963, 51). As in LaRue's novel, "hors-Montréal" is subject to what is represented as a crass Americanization through exposure to US cultural products such as popular cinema (Mondat 1963, 55). In another respect, however, Quebec's exurban spaces and secondary towns and cities stand as the real through retention of aspects of popular cultural and social practices. They offer potentials for intralingual translation, as indicated when Catherine asks to speak to the chef of one of the hotels in which they are staying to arrange a little surprise celebration to mark the mid-point of the tour: "Un petit rouquin me dévisage puis appelle: 'Eh! Léo! viens icitte.' Paraît un gros monsieur sans âge qui rit sous mon nez avec le rouquin. Je n'aime pas ces gens qui ne parlent aucune langue" (Mondat 1963, 49).

The fetishisation of "le peuple" and the vernacular is nevertheless undercut by Catherine's wistful remark, "j'admets que je voudrais bien leur ressembler un petit peu" (Mondat 1963, 50), pointing to the affective power of language (Cronin 2000, 15–16). More surprisingly, perhaps, "hors-Montréal" offers the possibility of interlingual translation, as represented by the Greek Docteur Pa-

padakis in Saint-Marc, on whom Catherine has a brief crush (Mondat 1963, 106–108). This represents a challenge to popular mappings of Quebec's "regions" as homogenous; homes only to francophones of European descent.

The sex acts Catherine performs with the Jewish anglo-Quebecker Jack, the American Wilson, and the Polish Yan constitute examples of the "baise bilingue" (Morgan 2007) which, not surprisingly, is frequently found in francophone Québécois fiction. Mondat's semiautobiographical novel can be seen as primarily concerning itself with celebrating feminine desire and reclaiming women's bodies for pleasure as opposed to the ideals of marriage and repeated childbirth celebrated in earlier examples of cultural production such as the novel of the land.[16] However, in the course of doing so, it offers up the possibility of one kind of embodied translation. Catherine's fucking can be compared to de Certeau's "speech act" (de Certeau 1984, 98) with which he equates walking in the city: while the trace of intercourse, speaking, and steps taken can be represented, the actual actions of all three escape representation. Mondat's novel does not offer a utopian promise of male and female, francophone and nonfrancophone harmony, however. Catherine agrees to have intercourse with Wilson only under pressure; and the violence she occasionally elicits from Krieg is not represented as something she positively enjoys, even if she is represented as receiving a certain degree of satisfaction in prompting it. The loss of her vernacular is a survival strategy. In the same way that she had to forget about her first love, Christopher, because he was too poor to provide satisfactorily for her financially (Mondat 1963, 27), she embraces a language use in which standardized international French is employed alongside English to be able to ensure she attains a degree of economic comfort and the freedoms this allows.

In many respects, Naubert's and Mondat's protagonists are unwitting "languagers" (Phipps 2011, 365). Alison Phipps offers the following definition for the term she coined with her colleague Mike Gonzalez:

> "languagers," for us, are those people [. . .] who engage with the world-in-action, who move in the world in a way that allows the risk of stepping out of one's habitual ways of speaking and attempt to develop different, more relational ways of interacting with the people and phenomena that one encounters in everyday life. (Phipps 2011, 365)

Although their movements are not always intentional and are sometimes the results of limited choices, Estelle and Catherine can nevertheless

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[16] The protagonist and the author share the same initials and the flyleaf has the following témoignage: "Je m'appelle Claire Mondat, je suis née à Montréal, je veux être comédienne et écrire des livres. J'ai 21 ans."

be seen as articulating models of femininity outside of francophone Catholic mores that are ultimately beneficial to women. In turn, these are set in a more complex linguistic landscape than is generally represented in the better-known fiction of the period. Consequently, *La Dormeuse éveillée* and *La Poupée* offer "partial" celebrations of modernity for the personal freedoms it might bring. They both represent translation as a practice demanded by the modern city— and nation. This is not unequivocal. On the one hand, translation facilitates a mobility associated with feminine assertion; allowing escapes from, or challenges to, the social constraints of the past. On the other hand, it sounds a note of warning as to the possible advancing of English as a global language (Venuti 2008, 20); through an association with a form of mass consumerism in *La Dormeuse*, and a postmodern blankness in *La Poupée*.

While cities are inherently sites where differences meet, certain spaces might be particularly suited to provoking such encounters. These include borders between neighborhoods, such as Montreal's boulevard Saint-Laurent and avenue du Parc, but also spaces of leisure and consumption where individuals with shared culinary, musical, artistic, or other tastes and identities come together. Of course, although they tend to be contrasted with the city for offering less socially and linguistically diverse social models, nonurban spaces and places can also be sites of linguistic and cultural translation. Imaginary geographies as rendered in oral histories, newspapers, novels, television and radio programs, cinema, music, the visual arts, museum exhibitions, and so on, are informed by, and contribute to, understandings and experiences of places in general (Burgin 1996; Donald 1999). In any case, the rise of global and more instant forms of communication enable the seeming erosion of some of the distinctions between city and region, the country and the urban (Cloke 2006). Like cities, like novels about cities, like "walking histories" such as the recent reflections on nonurban walking by writers such as Rebecca Solnit (2002) and Robert E. Macfarlane (2012), translations are palimpsests. More accurately, they point to what Cronin describes as the palimpsestic nature of language: "the scandal of translation is to show that the origin is fragmented, that monoglossia is always provisional, that other languages precede, ghost or compete with the dominant idiom in any society" (Cronin 2000, 28). Although their celebrations of the modern city–nation and the language use it promotes are not without tensions, some noncanonical novels from the 1960s such as *La Dormeuse éveillée* and *Poupée* represent the kinds of everyday language exchanges that are very familiar to numerous contemporary inhabitants of Montreal (Simon 2006, 10). As such, they gesture towards a positive haunting when thinking about Quebec identity and its relation to alterity. In a piece on Quebec's Bouchard-Taylor Commission (2007–2008), which was

established to look at accommodations to cultural differences, Renée Desjardins describes how translation has been taken up within a range of disciplines to refer to cultural, as well as—or instead of—linguistic exchanges (Desjardins 2014, 142–143). Acknowledging that "harmonious 'understanding' between cultures is not always possible," Desjardin claims that "at the very least, the contact can open up a space for *potential* transformation" (Desjardins 2014, 143). Naubert's and Mondat's heroines point to these possible spaces, in their inhabiting of a kind of messy middle created by their employing of the "tactics" described by Phipps as "always [. . .] partial, provisional and broken" (Phipps 2011, 375). Moving inside and outside the city, they connect us with Simon, that more contemporary "languager" (Phipps 2011, 365) putting foot to pedal;[17] embodying a translation practice beyond representation and vital to a "relational" (Bondi 2006) being in the world.

[17] In *Translating Montreal,* Simon highlights how a number of translators, practitioners, and commentators have played a key role in enabling such possible transformations in the city through attempting to deconstruct or reach across linguistic, social, and other boundaries (Simon 2006). While she refers us to the work of individuals such as Malcolm Reid, F. R. Scott, and Pierre Anctil, Simon neglects to acknowledge the importance of her own research in enabling thinking about language relations in Montreal in ways that go beyond the binary divisions of French versus English (and vice versa).

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Relocating the Past:
The Case of the Bronze Soldier
of Tallinn

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<Abstract> Memorials are built forms with commemorative as well as political functions. They can articulate selective historical narratives, focusing attention on convenient events and individuals, while obliterating what is discomforting for an elite. While articulating historical narratives, memorials can set cultural agendas and legitimate political power. Elites thus use memorials to convey the kinds of ideals they want citizens to strive towards. Design strategies are available to entice users along a specific interpretation of memorials. Nevertheless, individuals can differently interpret and use memorials in ways designers might have never envisioned. There is a significant geographical and semiotic literature on the multiple interpretations of memorials. This literature is grounded in two main distinctions: between material, symbolic, and political dimensions; and between designers and users. This paper aims to overcome these distinctions by connecting the cultural, geographical, and semiotic perspectives on the interpretations of memorials. This connection provides a broader theoretical and methodological framework for the study of the multiple interpretations of memorials in regime change. To develop this framework, this paper presents a case study: the relocation of a Soviet war memorial in Tallinn, the capital of Estonia. After regaining independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, Estonian national elites used memorials as tools to culturally reinvent the built environment. Cultural reinvention is the process of filling the built environment with specific cultural meanings through practices of redesign, reconstruction, restoration, relocation, and removal. As the relocation of the Bronze Soldier shows, these practices have sparked broad debates and have resulted in civil disorder in Estonia. Controversies have arisen because each individual and each group interprets memorials differently and, on this basis, develops specific patterns of behavior within the space characterized by memorials.

INTRODUCTION

After the Second World War, the Soviet Union annexed Estonia, the northernmost of the Baltic countries in northeastern Europe.[1] In 1947, Soviet authorities unveiled a memorial to celebrate the third anniversary of the entrance of the Soviet Army in Tallinn, capital of Estonia. According to Soviet-Russian historical narratives, the victory of the Soviet Army on the Eastern Front

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[1] Several cultures and nationalities have been considered as "Baltic." After the First World War, the terms "Baltic states/countries" have more commonly referred to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (Haas 2006, 4).

during the Second World War paved the way for the liberation of Tallinn and Estonia from Nazism. For this reason, the memorial was officially named *Monument to the Liberators of Tallinn* (Smith 2008, 422). Estonians nicknamed this memorial the "Bronze Soldier" (*Pronkssõdur* in Estonian) because it featured a two-meter bronze statue of a soldier in Soviet Army uniform (fig. 1). Throughout this paper, "Bronze Soldier" will be used to refer to this memorial, following the practice of the scientific literature available in English on this topic. The Bronze Soldier was originally located in the city center of Tallinn, the capital of Estonia (fig. 2). This park was a focal point for the practices of war commemoration in Soviet Estonia because some Soviet Army soldiers who served during the Second World War were buried here.

Estonian independence was restored on August 20, 1991. Although referring to Soviet aesthetics, the Bronze Soldier survived the tearing down of Soviet monuments and memorials after the restoration of independence. In independent Estonia, the Bronze Soldier continued to be an important memorial for many and especially for the Russophone community living in Estonia. In this study, the term "Russophones" refers to Estonian citizens who speak Russian as their first language and who do not define their ethnic identity as "Estonian." According to the *Population and Housing Census 2011* (Statistics Estonia 2011), Russophones are 24.82% (321,198) and Estonians 68.75 % (889,770) of the overall Estonian population, which is 1,294,236 (Statistics Estonia 2011).

However, many other Estonian citizens linked the Bronze Soldier to the experience of the Soviet regime, the loss of national sovereignty, and deportation. By promising to remove the memorial, national–conservative parties gained exceptional popularity and won the parliamentary elections in 2007 (Tamm 2013, 666). Once in power, they honored their promise, and removal began on April 26, 2007. As a result of this, two nights of rioting broke out in Tallinn, during which a twenty-year-old Russian was killed. The Bronze Soldier was finally relocated in a military cemetery in the outskirts of Tallinn.

The Bronze Soldier has attracted much attention from different research communities. Scholars in different disciplines have agreed in seeing the relocation of the Bronze Soldier as a "benchmark" moment in the contemporary history of Estonia (LICHR 2007, 7). They have tended to focus on the Bronze Soldier as a site of conflicting memories and identities (see, for example, Wertsch 2008). This paper outlines a new approach, considering the relocation of the Bronze Soldier as a practice of cultural reinvention implemented by the Estonian government to convey dominant cultural meanings and thus legitimate the primacy of its political power. In this paper, "cultural reinvention" refers to the process of filling the built environment with specific cultural mean-

1.
The statue of the
Bronze Soldier in its
current location in
the Tallinn Military
Cemetery (picture
taken by the author on
October 29, 2015.)

2.
The original location
of the Bronze Soldier
(picture taken by the
author on June 5,
2015.)
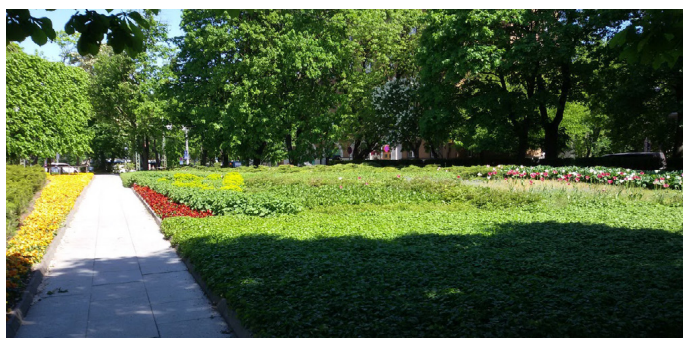
ings through practices of redesign, reconstruction, restoration, relocation, and removal. In transitional societies, cultural reinvention can be seen as a process of translation, the aim of which is to transfer the meanings of nonlinguistic texts such as monuments and memorials to new cultural contexts. By analyzing the relocation of the Bronze Soldier, this paper aims to develop a theoretical and methodological framework in order to provide a broader understanding of the multiple interpretations of memorials in regime change.

This paper is divided into two parts. Part One outlines the theoretical and methodological basis for the study of the multiple interpretations of memorials. Section 1.1 begins by reviewing the geographical and semiotic literature looking at the cultural and signifying aspects of memorials, highlighting limitations and future recommendations. Cultural geography has assessed the role of memorials in perpetuating cultural norms, social order, and power relations; semiotics has analyzed memorials as communicative devices able to promote a specific understanding of the past. Section 1.2 develops a theoretical framework based on the connection of cultural geography and semiotics to understand how different individuals and groups interpret memorials differently. Section 1.3 applies this framework within the context of transitional and changing societies, with a focus on Estonia.

The theoretical and methodological framework outlined in Part One is then applied to the analysis of the Bronze Soldier's relocation in Part Two. Section 2.1 introduces the process that led to the relocation of the Bronze Soldier. Section 2.2 completes a review of previous research on the Bronze Soldier and the troubled events following its relocation. Finally, section 2.3 proposes an analysis of the marginalization, relocation, and removal of the Bronze Soldier as a practice of cultural reinvention implemented by Estonian elites to articulate specific cultural and political positions.

The final section summarizes the conclusions and highlights the potential for analytic generalization of the theoretical and methodological framework presented in Part One. It then indicates directions for future research.

1. THE CULTURAL GEOGRAPHICAL AND SEMIOTIC PERSPECTIVE ON THE MULTIPLE INTERPRETATIONS OF MEMORIALS

1.1 Two limitations of the geographical and the semiotic perspectives on memorials
Monuments and memorials celebrate and commemorate significant events or individuals. Young (1993) defined "memorial" as a general term for commemorative texts, as distinguished from "monuments," that is particular types of memorials fixed in material forms and normally associated with public art. Throughout the

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paper, the terms "memorials" and "monuments" are used interchangeably to refer to built forms erected to commemorate individuals who died due to war, ethnic cleansing, mass violence, or other disasters (Kattago 2015).

Several publications have appeared in human and cultural geography and in semiotics looking at the interpretations of monuments and memorials. Cultural geography has assessed the role of memorials in perpetuating cultural norms, social order, and power relations. Semiotics has analyzed memorials as communicative devices able to promote specific discourses on the past. This section presents an overview of the geographical and semiotic literature on memorials, highlighting two key limitations: first, that the connection between the material, symbolic, and political dimensions of memorials has been often overlooked; and second, that the relationship between designers and users has remained mostly undertheorized.

Since David Harvey (1979) analyzed the political controversy over the Sacré-Coeur Basilica in Paris, several publications in human and cultural geography have appeared documenting the cultural and political significance of memorials (Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz 1991; Hershkovitz 1993; Johnson 1995; Peet 1996; Withers 1996; Atkinson and Cosgrove 1998; Osborne 1998; Dwyer 2000; Whelan 2002; Hay, Hughes, and Tutton 2004; Benton-Short 2006). Despite variety in empirical analysis, this geographical research has been based on two common assumptions: first, memorials play an important role in the definition of a uniform national memory and identity; and second, memorials are tools to legitimize and reinforce political power. These two assumptions can be seen as interdependent—in practice, the national politics of memory and identity embodied in memorials can legitimize and reinforce political power.

Geographers have demonstrated that political messages are wittingly or unwittingly attached to the commemorative function of memorials (Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz 1991; Peet 1996; Withers 1996; Osborne 1998; Dwyer 2000; Hay, Hughes, and Tutton 2004; Benton-Short 2006). Following this view, memorials can fix in space a particular understanding of the past, focusing attention on convenient events and individuals while obliterating what is uncomfortable for an elite (Hay, Hughes, and Tutton 2004, 204). Hence, elites can design memorials to educate citizens about what to remember and what to forget of the past (Tamm 2013, 651). Scholars in the humanities have recently conceptualized memory as the basis for identity building (Tamm 2013, 652; Withers 1996, 328). Articulating dominant historical narratives, memorials can create and spread principles of national belonging. Drawing on this assumption, geographers have sought to reveal the ways though which memorials shaped and reinforced sentiments of national distinctiveness (Johnson 1995; Withers 1996; Atkinson and Cosgrove 1998; Whelan 2002).

Many geographers has recognized that national elites have more power and resources to erect memorials and thus to convey their political and cultural meanings in space (Till 2003, 297). Hence, national elites use memorials as tools to legitimate the primacy of their political power and to set their political agendas.

> Monuments are the most conspicuous concrete manifestations of political power and of the command of resources and people by political and social elites. As such, they possess a powerful and usually self-conscious symbolic vocabulary or iconography that is understood by those who share a common culture and history. (Hershkovitz 1993, 397)

While assessing the role of memorials in perpetuating power relations, geographers have rarely discussed how the materiality of memorials can effectively convey political messages and thus legitimate political power. Despite the efforts of elites to convey dominant meanings, the interpretations of memorials are never enclosed once and for all. In recent years, an increasing number of geographers has recognized that the interpretations of memorials are "mutable and fluid" (Hay, Hughes, and Tutton 2004, 204). According to this view, users interpret memorials in ways that can be different or even contrary to the intentions of those who have them erected: "It is apparent that any intention to express a fixed and discrete set of collective meanings in the material landscape is inevitably altered, rendered mobile and open to alternative and even contrary readings" (Atkinson and Cosgrove 1998, 30).

However, geographical research on memorials has tended to focus on the elite intentions, while underestimating how memorials are interpreted at nonelite levels. By inviting questions on "readership," semiotics has sought to overcome the restricted focus on the designers' intentions that has characterized the geographical approach. Inspired by the debate around the conflation between memory, history, and place (see, for example, Nora 1989), semiotics has begun to analyze memorials as communicative devices to promote selective "discourses on the past" (Violi 2014, 11; translation mine). Discourses on the past always present a "partial vision" focusing attention on selective histories while concealing others (Eco 1976, 289–290). As a consequence, discourses on the past can affect present and future identity as well as the ways in which individuals represent themselves and relate to each other (Violi 2014, 18).

Semiotics has recognized that the production of political meanings through memorials is "often but not necessarily" led by elite (Montanari 2012, 2). In practice, individuals and groups can interpret differently the same discourse of the past. Despite the efforts to focus attention on "readerships," the key limitations identified in the geographical perspective persist. In fact, semiotic analysis of memorials has largely considered nonelite interpretations

as spontaneous reactions to more prominent elite meanings. Moreover, semiotics has scarcely discussed how the materiality of memorials actually conveys political meanings.

1.2 The geographical and semiotic perspective on the interpretations of memorials
The limitations of the geographical and semiotic perspectives on monuments and memorials identified in section 1.1 can be overcome through a holistic perspective conceiving the interplays between the material, symbolic, and political dimensions of memorials on the one hand, and between designers and users on the other. As for the former, the material, symbolic, and political dimensions are useful analytical concepts for the study of memorials, but at the empirical level they equally contribute to a better understanding of how the meanings of memorials are constructed and negotiated. There is thus the need for a theory that conceives the material, symbolic, and political dimensions as interacting in the interpretation of memorials. As for the interplay between designers and users, a set of strategies is available to designers to entice users along specific interpretations of memorials. Nevertheless, not all users conform to the designers' intentions. As for the interpretation of texts, the interpretation of memorials lies in an intermediate position between the designers' intended meanings and the users' interpretations (Eco 1990; Eco 1992). Hence, there is the need for a theory that conceives the interplay between designers and users.

This paper argues that connecting cultural geography and semiotics provides a broader theoretical and methodological framework for the study of the multiple interpretations of memorials in regime change. Cultural geography is a multifaceted discipline using different theoretical perspectives and methods to analyze concepts such as space, place, landscape, built environment, and power. Since the 1980s, a "new cultural geography" has conceptualized landscape as a construction to perpetuate social order and power relations (Cosgrove 1984; Jackson 1989; Duncan 1990). Despite using different approaches, most "new" cultural geographers converge on two assumptions: landscape has power and it can be seen as a text that communicates meanings (Boogart 2001, 39). These assumptions have been extended specifically to urban landscape (Duncan 1990).

Semiotics has been generally understood as "the study of signs and sign systems as modes of communication" (Waterton and Watson 2014, 15). Semiotics analyses have explored the concepts of space, place, and landscape using different paradigms ranging from the semiological tradition associating spatial forms with texts (e.g. Marrone 2009) to more ecological understanding of landscape (e.g. Lindström, Kull, and Palang 2014). Contemporary semiotic

research has progressively moved to the concept of "textuality" to reconceptualize the traditional notion of text as a closed product with fixed borders and defined by internal coherence (Stano 2014, 61). Textuality has been considered a methodological concept that allows the researcher to periodically redefine the borders of the texts so as to include the "signifying practices" considered as relevant for the analysis (Eco 1984, 35). Looking at the textuality of memorials has thus given appropriate methodological basis for analyzing the relevant material, symbolic and political practices that continuously redefine their multiple interpretations (Eco 1984, 35).

Umberto Eco (1984) showed that research on textual interpretation had polarized those stating that text can be interpreted only according to the intentions of the authors and those affirming that text can support every possible interpretations of the readers. Later, Eco (1990, 50) suggested that textual interpretation lies at some point between the authors' intentions and the total arbitrariness of the readers' interpretations. This proposal has overcome the idea that "appropriate" interpretations occur only when readers follow the intentions of authors and thus semiotic analysis has begun to include interpretations deviating from the intentions of the authors. However, Eco explained that texts necessarily impose certain constraints on interpretation and make certain reading more desirable than others (Eco 1990, 143).

According to Eco, textual strategies are available to authors to entice readers along a specific interpretation. Eco grouped these textual strategies under the term "Model Reader" (Eco 1979, 7–11). Empirical authors thus foresee and simultaneously construct their readership, emphasizing certain interpretations while concealing others (Eco 1979, 7–11; Lotman 1990, 63). However, texts do not function as mere "communicative apparatuses" to directly imprint meanings to readers (Eco 1984, 25). As such, texts become the place where authors and readers continuously negotiate their interpretations: while authors empirically seek to control readers' interpretations, readers interpret texts in line with their knowledge, experience, and needs. Hence, a complex interaction between authors, readers and texts themselves underpin textual interpretation. As Yanow explained, "meaning resides not in any one of these—not exclusively in the author's intent, in the text itself, or in the reader alone—but is, rather, created actively in interactions among all three, in the writing and in the reading" (Yanow 2000, 17).

The model describing the complex interaction between authors, readers, and texts can be applied to the interpretations of memorials. As textual interpretations, the interpretations of memorials are to be found in an intermediate position between the designers' and the users' interpretations. Elites design memorials striving to entice users along interpretations that con-

form to their political intentions. Paraphrasing Eco's Model Reader, Marrone (2009 and 2013) calls Model Users those individuals who conform to the designers' intentions and develop patterns of behavior that are consistent with the envisioned function of memorials. Nevertheless, not all users conform to the designers' intentions. There is thus the need for a theory that conceives the meanings of memorials as emerging from the interplay between designers' and users' interpretations.

1.3 Cultural reinvention as a translation strategy: memorials in regime change
Memorials embody the agency of generations and assume different functions in different time periods. Memorials legitimizing elite power can turn into sites of resistant political practice (Hershkovitz 1993; Whelan 2002; Benton-Short 2006). In other cases, memorials sacred for an elite become the object of scorn and ridicule (Atkinson and Cosgrove 1998). In less spectacular way, memorials of a bygone era can turn into neutral urban landmarks.

This is particularly evident in transitional societies associated with regime change (Grava 1993, 9–10). In transitional societies, memorials are often used as tools to shape specific attitudes toward the past and thus to create specific future expectations (Whelan 2002; Tamm 2013). For example, in Estonia, monuments and memorials have been used as tools to educate citizens on the current historical narratives and to set cultural and political agendas (Tamm 2013). They have thus represented a tool for the cultural reinvention of the post-Soviet built environment.

In transitional and changing societies, cultural reinvention can be seen as a process of translation. Peeter Torop considered translation as inseparable from the concept of culture (Torop 2002, 593). It is the "translational capacity" of culture that continuously includes new meanings and thus promotes cultural innovation (Torop 2002, 593). As a mechanism of translation, culture is characterized by the constant interaction between its abstract, global level and its concrete, local manifestations (Torop 2002, 593). Lotman described this interaction through the notion of semiosphere and the center–periphery hierarchy. The semiosphere was the condition for the existence and the functioning of languages and cultures (Lotman 2005). The center–periphery hierarchy was one of the mechanisms for the internal organization of the semiosphere (Lotman 1990). At the center of the semiosphere, central cultures continuously attempted to prescribe conventional norms to the whole culture. The majority of members of culture embodied these norms and perceived them as their own "reality". However, peripheral culture could always arise and variously refashion the central norms.

In this paper, "translation" is understood as a cultural mechanism

transferring the meanings of nonlinguistic texts such as monuments and memorials to new cultural contexts. As such, the concept of translation can be useful to explore the role of memorials in constructing and disseminating cultural and political meanings in space (Dovey 1999, 1). In regime change, memorials and their meanings are variously transformed so as to be in tune with the current cultural context. The relocation of the Bronze Soldier can be thus seen as a "translation strategy" (Osimo in Torop 2010, xxvi and 230) to transfer the meanings of the memorial into the contemporary Estonian society and culture. Drawing on the proposed theoretical and methodological perspectives, Part Two proposes an analysis of the relocation of the Bronze Soldier as a cultural reinvention implemented by Estonian elites to articulate specific cultural and political positions.

2. THE RELOCATION OF THE BRONZE SOLDIER OF TALLINN

2.1 Setting the scene: the context of the relocation of the Bronze Soldier
A vast number of economical, legislative, political, social, and cultural changes have characterized Estonia after the regaining of independence in 1991. In academic discourse, the term "transition" has been used to describe this turmoil of change. The regaining of independence has also determined a status reversal of ethnic communities: the Russophone community—dominant in Soviet Estonia—has suffered a decline in status, while Estonians have found new economic opportunities and political power (Riga and Kennedy 2009, 461). Russophones were assigned immigrant status since their presence was ascribed to a forced colonization and thus they were expelled from state politics and from the public sphere in general (Ehala 2009, 147–148). This situation resulted in economic and social inequality between Estonians and Russophones (Ehala 2009, 152).

Obtaining European Union and NATO memberships in 2004 provided an adequate "sense of security" in such a manner as to the redesign of the built environment and monuments and memorials specifically (Ehala 2009, 152). The cultural reinvention of the post-Soviet built environment in Estonia has evolved through two distinct yet concurrent practices: the redesign of the inherited built environment created by the Soviets and the simultaneous establishment of a new built environment reflecting the needs of post-Soviet culture and society. The general plan behind this cultural reinvention was twofold: to emphasize the differences from the Soviet built environment and to emphasize the link of the Estonian built environment with that of western and northern countries (Lehiti, Jutila, and Jokisipilä 2008).

In this context, the Estonian Government have largely used monu-

ments and memorials to educate citizens toward the current historical narratives and to set their cultural and political agendas (Tamm 2013). In 2002, a memorial representing an Estonian soldier in a Second World War uniform was erected in Pärnu, a city in central Estonia. During the Second World War, Estonians soldiers fought alongside the German army, so the portrayed soldier displayed Nazi military paraphernalia. The memorial was therefore removed even before its official inauguration. In 2004, the local authorities of Lihula, a town in West Estonia, decided to reerect this memorial to commemorate the "Estonian men who fought in 1940–1945 against Bolshevism and for the restoration of Estonian independence" (Smith 2008, 424). According to current Estonian historical narratives, the soldiers who willingly or unwillingly joined the German army are seen as "freedom fighters" against the advance of the Soviet Army in Estonia (Pääbo 2008, 13). As was to be expected, the erection of a memorial associated with Nazi symbolism elicited criticism from the European Union, the Russian Federation, and several Jewish organizations (Lehti, Jutila, and Jokisipilä 2008, 399). Following international condemnation, Estonian authorities removed the memorial two weeks after its inauguration, without any notice to the public (Ehala 2009, 142). This sudden removal sparked a debate on how to commemorate the Estonian soldiers who fought alongside the German army without displaying Nazi symbolism.

The controversy around Nazi symbolism elevated the tension toward the public display of other totalitarian material remains such as the Bronze Soldier. An increasing number of Estonians began to think that the same logic behind the removal of the Lihula memorial should have been applied to the Bronze Soldier. Promising the removal of this memorial, national–conservative parties gained exceptional popularity and won the elections in 2007 (Tamm 2013, 666). Once in power, they honored their promise and began relocation work on April 26, 2007. Some Tallinn citizens—especially belonging to the Russophone minority—perceived this as a provocation. For them, the memorial represented an important site of commemoration disconnected from the crimes of the Soviet regime. According to Soviet-Russian historical narratives, the victory of the Soviet Army on the Eastern Front during the Second World War—the event the Bronze Soldier was originally designed to celebrate—liberated Tallinn and Estonia from the Nazi regime. In Soviet Estonia, the anniversary of this victory was celebrated on May 9, still one of the most important national holidays in today's Russia, known as Victory Day. Russophone communities living in postsocialist countries spontaneously celebrate Victory Day, even if it has been suppressed as a national holiday in their country of residence. The area around the Bronze Soldier has been the main setting for the unofficial celebrations of Victory Day in Estonia. For

this reason, Russophones wanted the Bronze Soldier to remain in its original location. Nevertheless, the Estonian Government removed the Bronze Soldier and relocated it in a military cemetery in the outskirts of Tallinn.

2.2 The conflict over the relocation of the Bronze Soldier: An 'ethnic clash'?
The case of the Bronze Soldier has attracted much attention from different research communities, especially within Estonian academia. The Legal Information Centre for Human Rights dealt with the legal aspects related to the relocation and the following riots in April 2007 (LICHR 2007). Political scientists addressed the political context of the relocation, highlighting its risk of damaging the relations between Estonia and the Russian Federation (Bruggemann and Kasekamp 2008; Smith 2008; Lehti, Jutila, and Jokisipilä 2008; Pääbo 2008; Selg 2013). Social scientists investigated how the political dispute surroundings the relocation revealed social problems and ethnic divergences (Torsti 2008; Vihalemm and Masso 2007). Anthropologists described the Bronze Soldier as a site of conflicting memories and identities (Wertsch 2008). Several scholars considered the relocation of the Bronze Soldier as a typical example of those national politics aiming at dismantling the material remains of the Soviet regime (Smith 2008; Kattago 2009; Mälksoo 2009; Vihalemm and Kalmus 2009; Melchior and Visser 2011; Raun 2009; Tamm 2013).

All this diverse research agreed in seeing the relocation of the Bronze Soldier as a "benchmark" moment in the contemporary history of Estonia (LICHR 2007, 7). This relocation created a disruption in the everyday interactions between Estonian and Russophone communities in Estonia, a country where transition had evolved peacefully up to the riots following the relocation (Pääbo 2008, 5). Several scholars used war metaphors to describe the potentially conflicting interpretations of Estonians and Russophones in relation to monuments and memorials and the Bronze Soldier specifically. For example, Wertsch (2008, 46) defined Estonians and Russophones as contrasting mnemonic communities. Terms and expressions such as "memory front" (Mälksoo 2009, 65), "struggle over interpretations of history" (Lehiti, Jutila, and Jokisipilä 2008, 393), "identity threat," and "identity battle" (Ehala 2009, 139 and 142, respectively) were used to highlight the antagonism between the cultural memory and identity of Estonians and Russophones. Several scholars used the terms "War of Monuments" to refer to a series of small-scale conflicts over the interpretations of monuments and memorials starting from the early 2000s (see, for example, Pääbo 2008; Smith 2008; Bruggemann and Kasekamp 2008).

This paper argues that the narrative of two conflicting ethnic groups with opposing understanding of the past disguises the broader context in which each individual and group interpreted the relocation of the Bronze Soldier based on

their cultural traits, political views, socioeconomic interests, as well as contingent needs. In practice, the Bronze Soldier incorporated multifaceted understandings of the past as well as multiple social, cultural, and political meanings. "Estonians" and "Russophones" were rather heterogeneous groups cut across by a number of criteria: not only ethnic origins, but also age, gender, education, and profession could shape the attitude toward the relocation of the Bronze Soldier. For example, by the turn of the century, the Bronze Soldier was visited by a decreasing number of elderly people (Ehala 2009, 139), demonstrating the declining relevance it had for the new generations of Russophones living in Tallinn.

Estonians presented many different attitudes toward this memorial before its relocation. Statistics show that the majority of Estonia's population was against the relocation of the Bronze Soldier before the debate on its relocation started. At this point, the attitude to the process of integration of Estonians and Russophones was gradually improving: 40% of the Estonian population was ready to integrate Russophone communities into Estonian society (Ehala 2007 cited in Pääbo 2008, 17). In this context, the majority of Estonians conceived the gathering around the Bronze Soldier as a normal phenomenon and less than 25% considered its presence to be unacceptable (Pääbo 2008, 13–14). This situation changed when the debate on the relocation of the Bronze Soldier sparked off at a political level. In May 2006, 53% of ethnic Estonians supported the removal of the Bronze Soldier and 73% of Russophones wanted the memorial to remain in its original location (Pääbo 2008, 14). Yet, the different attitudes toward the relocation of the Bronze Soldier were not entirely based on ethnic divisions or on divergences in the understanding of the past. Rather, there were different "interpretative communities" (Yanow 2000), each with its particular way of framing the relocation of the Bronze Soldier based on cultural traits, political views, socioeconomic interests, as well as contingent needs. This supported Smith's thesis that

> To point to divergent collective memories is not to essentialize nationality or to posit the existence of two internally homogenous groups with no points of contact between them. Ultimately, memory is a matter for individuals rather than communities. Estonia's Russian-speaking population—not to speak of the Soviet immigrant population—is far too diverse a group to speak as one, displaying tremendous heterogeneity in terms of ethnicity, descent, degree of integration with Estonian culture and political outlook. (Smith 2008: 420-421)

2.3 The marginalization, removal, and relocation of the Bronze Soldier

Since 1990s, the Estonian Government has taken several measures to reduce the visibility and "soften" the symbolism of the Bronze Soldier. A competition was announced in 1995 to redesign the statue of the Bronze Soldier (Ehala 2009, 141). Most of the plans presented suggested balancing the symbolic meanings of the memorial with Estonian national symbols. However, these plans were never brought

to fruition. Only few interventions were implemented in the spatial surroundings of the memorial: diagonal footpaths replaced direct access to the memorial, new trees were planted, and the eternal flame was removed (Ehala 2009, 141). Furthermore, the writings on the commemorative plaque were amended to convey a more general sentiments of mourning: "For the fallen in the Second World War" replaced the former dedication "Eternal glory for the heroes who have fallen for the liberation and sovereignty of our country" (Smith 2008, fig. 4–5).

These interventions elevated tensions towards the permanence of the Bronze Soldier in its original location. Russophones considered the attempt to reduce the visibility of the memorial as an outrage toward an important site for their commemorations. Conversely, the Bronze Soldier started to disturb a growing number of Estonians who linked the memorial to the traumatic experience of the Soviet regime. Tensions arose so much that the memorial was the target of a number of acts of vandalism by Estonian nationalist activists—the memorial was splattered with paint several times and an attempt was made in May 2006 to blow up the memorial (LICHR 2007, 12 and 17).

Further exacerbating these tensions, national–conservative parties started to call for its removal and thus gained exceptional popularity among those who strongly wanted this memorial to be removed. After winning the 2007 parliamentary election, they honored their promise. Work on removing the statue started on the evening of April 26, 2007. On April 30, 2007, the Bronze Soldier was relocated to a military cemetery on the outskirts of Tallinn, approximately two kilometers from its original location. As a result of the relocation, two nights of disorders broke out in the center of Tallinn. Demonstrators were mainly Russophones rioting against the removal of this memorial and the exhumation of the buried bodies of the soldiers. Exhumation represented a particularly sensitive issue for the Russophones affiliated with the Orthodox faith, which does not allow exhumation. Moreover, the relocation had political consequences, potentially damaging relations between Estonia and the Federation of Russia as well as the everyday interactions between Estonians and Russophones.

Relegating the Bronze Soldier to a peripheral location had spatial as well as ideological consequences. It was not only the excision of a material object from Tallinn's city center, but also an attempt to define this memorial and its meanings as alien to what is today's "central" culture of Estonia (Lotman 1990). However, the Bronze Soldier was not completely excised, but relocated to Tallinn's Defence Force Cemetery, an official burial site for those who died in military campaigns. Placed in a military cemetery, the meanings of the memorial have today shifted to a more "open and universal sentiment of mourning" (Kattago 2012, 78). Members of the Russophone community

3–4.
The commemorative writings near the statue of the Bronze Soldier: "For the fallen in the Second World War" in Estonian (left) and in Russian (right). Two ribbons of Saint George were fastened to the Russian memorial plaque (pictures taken by the author on November 11, 2012.)

5.
Flowers and a ribbon of Saint George in the Bronze Soldier's helmet (picture taken by the author on November 11, 2012.)

still visit the relocated Bronze Soldier and use it for their commemorations. In the pictures below, one can see only Russian commemorative objects on the memorial, such as the ribbons of Saint George (fig. 4–6). For Russophones in Estonia, the ribbons of Saint George are symbols of military value linked to the commemoration of the Second World War.

3. EPILOGUE: THE RELOCATION OF THE BRONZE SOLDIER AS A PRACTICE OF CULTURAL REINVENTION

Memorials have commemorative as well as political functions. They can convey dominant cultural meanings and thus legitimate and reinforce political power. In transitional societies associated with regime change, recently formed elites spend significant resources in shaping a society's collective meanings and establishing concepts of nation in accordance with current cultural and political conditions. Here, memorials are often used as tools to shape specific attitudes toward the past and thus create specific future expectations. Howev-

er, unexpected interpretations and practices could challenge the meanings of monuments and memorials as intended by elite.

The relocation of the Bronze Soldier was analyzed as a cultural reinvention, the process of filling the built environment with specific cultural meanings through practices of redesign, reconstruction, restoration, relocation, and removal. Relocating the Bronze Soldier was a strategy implemented by Estonian national elites to translate the celebratory meanings of the Soviet war memorial into more general sentiments of mourning (Kattago 2012, 78). This relocation created a disruption in the everyday interactions between Estonian and Russophone communities in Estonia. This paper revisited the controversy over the relocation of the Bronze Soldier as not reducible to an ethnic division alone. Rather, each interpretative community had its particular way to frame the relocation of the Bronze Soldier based on its cultural traits, political views, socio-economic interests as well as contingent needs.

The analysis of this case helped to develop a theoretical and methodological framework based on the connection of cultural geography and semiotics for the study of the interpretations of memorials in regime change. This framework is based on a holistic perspective conceiving the interplays between the material, symbolic, and political dimensions of memorials on the one hand, and between designers and users on the other. The material, symbolic, and political dimensions equally contribute to a better understanding of how the meanings of memorials are constructed and negotiated. As for the interplay between designers and users, a set of strategies are available to designers to entice users along specific interpretations of memorials. Nevertheless, not all users conform to the designers' intentions. There is thus the need for a theory that conceives the meanings of memorials as emerging from the interplay between designers' and users' interpretations.

The theoretical and methodological framework can be generalized beyond the case of the Bronze Soldier's relocation. Comparisons with other case studies can be made to advance the understanding of the practices of cultural reinvention in postsocialist countries as well as in other transitional and changing societies. Future research on the cultural reinvention of the built environment in Estonia is desirable. Further analyses need to be undertaken on the cultural reinvention of the original location of the Bronze Soldier. In 2009, the Estonian Government inaugurated a war memorial less than two hundreds meters from the original location of the Bronze Soldier: the War of Independence Victory Column, a large column-shaped memorial commemorating those who laid the foundations for the Estonia's first period of independence (1918–1940). Some scholars have argued that the erection of this memorial was a direct response of the troubled events following the relocation of the Bronze Soldier (Kaljundi

2009, 44). I am currently planning to undertake further research on this case in order to investigate national politics embodied in the Victory Column and how these national politics are interpreted at the nonelite level.

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Firenze, Quattrocento: The Translational Channels and Intercrossing of the *Chaldaïca*, *Hermetica*, and *Kabbalistica* as the Matrix of Future Scientific Revolutions*

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<Abstract> Exploring the great shift in worldviews during the Renaissance, brought about by the recovery and revival of ancient texts, this essay argues for translation as key to understanding the move from a geocentric to a heliocentric cosmological perspective. The influence of the Kabbalah and ancient esoteric cosmologies was essential to the emergence of the scientific revolution and, consequently, the line between esotericism and rationalism is not as clear-cut as once thought.

INTRODUCTION

Famous for its splendor in the realm of visual arts, the *Rinascimento* is also widely recognized as being a pivotal period in the recovery and revival of ancient and mystical teachings, of which Marsilio Ficino's translation into Latin of Plato's entire corpus, published in 1484, is a prime example. What is less or insufficiently acknowledged are the rhizomatic undercurrents and intersections of translational venues that brought to light more abstruse and diverse corpora, especially from Persian, Alexandrian, and Jewish sources.

When the Byzantine scholar Gemistus Pletho arrived in Florence in 1428, he introduced his own brand of Zoroastrianism based on his commentary of the *Oracula Chaldaïca*, and inspired new ideas about heliocentric mystical cosmology that would also eventually become the source for Ficino's Orphic system of natural magic.

Ficino was still in the midst of translating Plato when his patron Cosimo de' Medici requested a Latin version of the *Poimandres*, the first treatise in the pseudepigraphical *Corpus Hermeticum*. Later, around 1486, Ficino's friend Giovanni Pico della Mirandola hired a prolific polymath, known as Flavius Mithridates, to translate an extensive corpus of Kabbalistic treatises into Latin.

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* Translated by Ardeth Neale.

In less than eighteen months, Mithridates delivered what is now known as the *Bibliotheca Cabalistica*, an incredible 5,500 pages of manuscript. Composed of dozens of treatises on the Sefirotic Kabbalah advocated by Castilian rabbis, and its various Catalonian offshoots, such as Abraham Abulafia's ecstatic Kabbalah, this collection of speculative literature challenged the single-minded creationist paradigm. These same sources directly inspired Giordano Bruno to develop his concept of a "plurality of worlds." It is also now well known that the personal libraries of Johannes Kepler, Galileo Galilei and, most of all, Isaac Newton, were well stocked with such esoteric source materials.

Our hypothesis is that the ideas of a group of Renaissance thinkers possessing the particular mindset needed to move from a geocentric to a heliocentric standpoint were nurtured through a translational matrix. The paradigm shift that led to a fruitful combination of mystical leanings and rational inquiry began with a clash of worldviews, of which Florence was the epicenter.

1. PRISCA SAPIENTIA. PLATONIZING HUMANISM: THE RETURN OF THE DIVINE CHARIOT

The "spirit of the age," or *Zeitgeist* of the Renaissance is represented by an expansive proliferation of ideas roughly corresponding to a polymorphous revival of Platonism that involved a vast array of intersecting and overlapping approaches, mystical and science-based, if not purely speculative. An extensive network of ideas with Platonic overtones developed, as much influenced by texts from the *Corpus Hermeticum* as by the Jewish Kabbalah, Pythagoreanism, the Sibyls, the *Chaldean Oracles*, or papyri containing the rudiments of alchemical practices, as well as a host of other relatively esoteric sources that would eventually make their way to Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and such others as Giordano Bruno, Jerome Cardan, Johannes Reuchlin, John Dee, or Robert Fludd.

The undercurrent of this movement could be called "Platonizing Humanism," although it was not so much a philosophy, or a school of thought with a well-defined doctrine, as it was a kind of curriculum whose core revitalization would actually extend over a greater expanse of time and space. It drew from Oriental sources, but also from the wellsprings of spiritual inspiration, more ancient than their partial discourse within the Platonic paradigm. In short, what we find is pedagogy of high culture prefiguring the German *Bildung*, a new discipline of the mind, and a revolution in attitudes and tastes not only marked by an unprecedented mimicry of Greco-Latin expressionism and culture, but also nourished by seeds buried deep within a *prisca sapientia* whose vanishing

lines paradoxically merged with the beginnings of experimental science. It was a critical phase of transformation, a time of discontentment and revaluation of existing paradigms that had, until then, maintained the foundation for the known world in an almost imperturbable framework of inertia. In the end, it was the intellectuals and artists of the Renaissance—including translators and interpreters, philologists and commentators—who, by defining the resurgence of previously unfamiliar corpora, ultimately determined our present tastes, and the criteria to which their constant refinement must answer. They also laid the foundations for what we now call "humanities," whose pedagogical framework began as the study of Greek and Latin culture, namely "classical" literature, eventually broadening in scope to encompass all the sciences of the mind based on critical historiography, the science of interpretation, and an investigation into the many facets of human behavior, both individual and collective.

The work of recovery, editing, and translation, which was performed with unprecedented philological exactness, would considerably and irreversibly alter the physiognomy of scholarly studies and the very nature of philosophical discourse in such a way that the horizon thus defined would extend all the way to the present time. Again we find a kind of liberating chiasma, uniting the colossal undertaking of gathering very ancient texts, which formed the underpinnings of the *auctoritas*, with the dawning of new modes of expression or forms of exposition—including the emergence of the first-person narrative explored by Montaigne—so necessary in the push toward experimental science. It is no less paradoxical to consider that the converging vanishing lines were set free, and launched into an increasingly vast world, one that would see the emergence of a new continent in 1492. These tribulations coincided with the greatest accumulation of ancient texts yet seen, sources of wisdom recalling the "hinterworld" of myth. For example, Marsilio Ficino's translation of the complete works of Plato, published in 1484, made it possible for the classical Greek philosopher's entire corpus to be read in Latin. In a few short years, Ficino would go on to translate all the major Neoplatonic philosophers, from Plotinus and Proclus to Olympiodorus.

In his excellent book, *Les langues occultes de la Renaissance* (1966), Pierre Béhar highlights how the Renaissance has frequently been subject to a magnification that tends toward a view of blissful optimism, whereas the omens that weighed upon the times left room for doubt, denoting a troubled period of profound disarray. This state of crisis was certainly traversed, if not seized by outbursts of enthusiasm and jubilant effervescence, but also permeated by a deep sense of foreboding that the future was anything but assured. When viewed from a different perspective—that of the history of ideas—it becomes clear that this pivotal period was approached through different av-

enues, allowing for a transition between the erosion of a scholastic nominal-ism already undergoing fossilization, and the expansion of much greater yet uncertain horizons, where divergences and convergences would both come into play: rationality, rich in coherence and conclusive experimental outcomes on the one side and visionary imagination, inspired by numerous apocrypha of Alexandrine Hermeticism, and speculations of Indian Gymnosophists and Persian Magi, on the other. As we shall see below, one of the more obscure yet fertile paths was that of Jewish mysticism: the *Kabbalah*.

An eloquent example in this regard is the discovery and circulation of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, a compilation of disparate pseudepigrapha of monu-mental significance, translated by the head of the Florentine Academy, Mar-silio Ficino. The *Hermetica* is an assorted collection of treatises attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, purported Master of Wisdom initiated into the Egyp-tian mysteries. It is comprised of esoteric writings, no doubt produced by many minds and hands, and has much in common with the Gnostic treatises from Upper Egypt written in Coptic, as with mystical Platonism, Neopla-tonic theurgy, and Stoic pancosmism. According to legend, the writings pre-date Moses; however, the great Huguenot scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) proved that the *Hermetica* was, in fact, an assortment of texts from multiple sources, including Orphism, and compiled in the third century CE, most likely in Alexandria (see *Corpus Hermeticum* (Nock and Festugière 1945–1954); *Hermetica* (Copenhaver 1992)); Lamy 1983).

This fact does not detract from the *Hermetica*'s immense value for the history of ideas and as a witness to shifts in thinking at a pivotal period in the evolution of these ideas: it was out of this opaque, Orphic, and sapiential liter-ature that the seeds of early scientific revolutions—which continue to influence us—took root and blossomed. This increasingly widespread view, along with the rediscovery of ancient sources, would come to be referred to as *prisca theologia*, or *prisca sapientia*, depending on the denominations (see Walker 1992; Heiser 2011). Pico della Mirandola, like Ficino, was receptive to this climate of spiritual emulation, the intense fervor surrounding the vibrant exchange of ideas, and the mystical teachings of many traditions. In his own singular way, he wanted to be part of the subtle and sometimes difficultly negotiated exchange between the influences of a magical universe inhabited by occult forces and the development of a scientific culture. It has become increasingly apparent, however, that the so-called "magical" dimension was never truly repudiated as scientific culture progressed, but was incorporated into the move toward the mathematization of the laws of nature. There is now ample documentation to solidly support the assertion that the likes of Kepler and Newton passionately devoted themselves to practices of astrology and alchemy (see Dobbs 1981; Verlet 1993).

The back and forth between those lines of mystical thought—residual Gnosticism sustained by yearnings for occulted tradition—and the marked urgency to wipe the slate clean of timeless archetypes in order to establish, from scratch, the principles of inductive reasoning and an experimental science in keeping with nature's laws, reveals the full measure of an age that, despite the prestige that the title of "Renaissance" bestows upon it, is nothing more than an arbitrary—and historiographically *a posteriori*— delineation in time, a bridge thrown up between delayed outbursts of medieval disputes, or even accusations of heresy, and the spirit of the Reformation, which was already beginning to emerge at the start of the Quattrocento. For those who seek to establish a solid base from which the principles for rational investigation of phenomena developed, this contiguity of the "spiritual world" can be somewhat "awkward." For the present study, however, it confirms a strong intuition—that translation played a key role, on many levels, in the negotiation of the epistemological breaks and transformations in paradigms resulting from the transfer of knowledge, as well as in the renewal of thought traditions that had long been buried in the catacombs of history. Translation was a vector of change but also instrumental in bringing together a network of influences, a dense tangle of the many branches of knowledge that had been forming in the margins of time, and that, through a sudden and frantic acceleration, converged and collided at the core of the temporal cone, thus laying down the foundations for revolutions in thinking yet to come.

2. PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA AND THE KABBALISTIC PATH. SECRET MIGRATIONS INTO THE ANTECHAMBERS OF REVOLUTIONS TO COME

> What we have lost time does not replace, eternity keeps it for glory,
> and also for the fire.
> Jorge Luis Borges, *El Aleph* (1945)

Antonin Artaud wrote, "Life consists of burning up questions." This is equally true for those lifelines openly consumed under the impulse of the "demonic excess" alluded to by Plotinus in a moment of insight, but which can be traced back to well before the canons of revealed religions. Left in their wake is a fervid florescence of pure genius because their formation, often dedicated to an ephemeral apparition of meteoric splendor, can only be glimpsed as an incandescent trail in the constellations of periods that have been confined to the ephemerides of history; their signature, glistening with the inky blackness seen in the pit of a well under a midday sun, follows the fault line cut into the ragged edge of a symbol drawn from the folds of time immemorial.

The iconoclastic work of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), so controversial in its day, decidedly belongs to a vintage that cannot be classified by some sort of *Areopagus* of aficionados, or by erudite dealers in antiquities, who dig through the backrooms of centuries past in order to reap a harvest that could transport us above and beyond the contemporary horizon of the immediate future.

Pico della Mirandola's place in the history of Western thought is largely due to the fact that his *Oratio*, written in 1486, was essentially chosen by post-Kantian historians as the manifesto, or even paragon, of the modern ideal of human liberty and dignity. This idea can be found in the works of Paul Oskar Kristeller or Eugenio Garin, although it was already present in Ernst Cassirer's formulation of the *Erkenntnisproblem*, the seed and core of Kantian epistemology that Cassirer would later expand to encompass a symbolic history of ideas. In reality, it was only toward the end of the eighteenth century that the *Oratio* was literally extracted from Pico's corpus, stripped down to a single speech, a brilliant plea meant to glorify the uniqueness of humanity as pure indeterminate will, projected into the heart of the cosmic apparatus, and devoted as such to the assumption of a freedom so unfathomable that all its dignity was to be conferred upon it. Pico's frenzied erudition and cavalier attitude made it an almost made-to-measure forerunner to the modern Kantian concept of the "Kingdom of Ends." Jacob Burckhardt would follow suit in honouring Pico's brilliant eloquence as the supreme voice of human liberty. But the image of this emblematic figure would become more complex when the great scholar and historian, Frances A. Yates, in her 1964 masterful work, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, revealed the count of Mirandola to be a beacon of a liberty steeped in the mysteries of Alexandrian Hermeticism—a syncretic jumble of Platonico-Pythagorean tradition and Gnostic theosophy from Upper Egypt. Pico's knowledge had been considerably enriched by his introduction to the Jewish Kabbalah, and his early exposure to the *studia arabum* under the guidance of Elijah del Medigo, an Averroist of Jewish origin. Yates considered—with reason, I believe—that this accelerated tide marked by an unprecedented speculative effervescence linked to the significant contribution of a critical mass of translated of works, some of a very sibylline form of esotericism, paradoxically carried with it the seeds of the scientific revolutions yet to come.

The fundamental problem with attempts to determine a specific crossing point into the Age of Enlightenment is that these views all seem to be flowing, like a fine stream of molten metal, into the mold of a predetermined romantic ideal. Such a romanticized notion deserves nothing better than to be shattered. It is incumbent upon us to dig deeper, to discover what was at

the core of the incredibly hybridized and syncretic manner of thinking of a mind that had sought to bring together an outstanding number of thought traditions. Firstly, the *Oratio,* which ultimately became one of the canons of Humanism during the Renaissance, did not initially have that title; secondly, it was never conceived by Pico for the position it later held. It was actually a prologue, meant to smooth the way for his *900 Conclusions* to be publicly presented for debate before a gathering of the upper echelons of the Roman Curia. The debate quickly degenerated, however, and brought disgrace upon the count of Mirandola. Although the *Conclusiones sive Theses* DCCC were printed in 1486, the part that later became known as the *Oratio* was never printed as such in Pico's lifetime.

If liberty was in any way to figure as the emblem of human dignity, Pico felt that the latter would first need to be modeled on archetypes requiring a mode of existence leagues away from its earthly condition and all that was connected to the corporeal exterior. He considered the human creature as essentially being left to its own devices (pure indeterminism) and it would only be through a hyperbolic leap that the neophyte, readying to turn his sights to the divine in order to rise to the top (to climb Jacob's ladder, as it were) would be able to liberate himself from the influence of fate and obligation. To this end, he would need to renounce all that which resides under the jurisdiction of the tribunal of reason, which Pico separated from pure transcendental intellectualism, a concept that he had integrated while dabbling in the teachings of Averroist monopsychism, the principle of unicity, and the universality of the agent intellect, all controversial ideas in his time.

This indisputable foundation, which was at the heart of Pico's thinking, would soon become more complex, and branch out considerably. In fact, his syncretism would bring together, in a single vision, elements as distinct and distant from each other as the Delphic writings of Plutarch, notably his *Isis and Osiris*, and Macrobius' *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, or the thirteenth-century Kabbalistic treatise of Joseph Gikatilla, *The Gates of Justice* (*Portae Iustitiae*), which Flavius Mithridates had translated into Latin for Pico, along with another great treatise by the same author, *The Gates of Light*, or the *Sha'are Orah*. Pico described the ascension of the soul through the subtle architectonics of the divine entity as it is configured by the Sefirotic tree of Castilian and Catalan Kabbalists, the conception of which was undoubtedly influenced by the Neoplatonic emanationist framework. These treatises are but a small portion of the compendium of Kabbalistic literature that Mithridates, an incredibly prolific translator, made available to Pico, who would also have had access to the *Sefer ha-Bahir*, and the treatises of Abraham Abulafia and Menahem (ben Benjamin) Recanati; moreover, Pico would have engaged

in abundant discussions with his friend Yohanan Alemanno, who had introduced him to the Kabbalistic doctrine.

Pico della Mirandola was far from being a charlatan or a harebrained schemer, and still less a visionary. He benefited from the good graces of Medici family, who, according to his friend Politian, financed the very costly operation of finding rare works from all over Italy and Greece to satisfy Pico's insatiable intellectual appetite. It was Elijah del Medigo (Delmedigo) who introduced Pico to the Averroist tradition of commentaries on Aristotle —to which he remained loyal, ruling out the charge of a presumed penchant for the irrational. Marsilio Ficino instructed Pico in the subtleties of his own commentaries on the works of Plato and Plotinus, and Flavius Mithridates (there will be more on him later) taught Pico Oriental languages and, with astounding diligence, provided him with an impressive number of translated Kabbalistic treatises. Pico also learned some Arabic and Chaldean in order to be able to delve into the mystical theology of the ancient Babylonian priests, or so he believed at the time. Chaïm Wirszubski has demonstrated, however, that what Mithridates taught Pico was, in fact, neither ancient Babylonian, nor even the Aramaic that supplements the lessons of the Talmud and Targum, but rather a hybrid of Hebrew and Aramaic, a kind of linguistic fusion of his own invention, which he transcribed with Ethiopian script. Pico nevertheless managed to learn Hebrew, the rudiments of Arabic, and a certain amount of Greek.

Thus armed, the young dilettante set about studying Kabbalistic literature in its original Hebrew and Aramaic (as much as we can ascertain, for it is impossible to verify), but with the support of the Latin translations done by Mithridates. The translations no doubt provided him with the necessary foundation for the elaboration of his vast synthesis—albeit one that is somewhat difficult to follow since it unites a host of thinkers and scholiasts, among them Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Iamblichus, Proclus, as well as medieval pedants whom Pico learned about through Elijah del Medigo, such as Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas by way of Duns Scotus. In addition to these were the finest minds of the *studia arabum*, Averroes, Avicenna, Al-Fārābī, and, of course, the great masters in Jewish thought, Isaac of Narbonne and Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides), whom Pico read through Abulafia's Kabbalistic prism. These great minds were all brought together in Pico's *Conclusiones* or *900 Theses* (Pic de la Mirandole 1999), a controversial literary work, if ever there was one. At barely twenty-three years of age, he composed his *900 Philosophical, Kabbalistical and Theological Conclusions* (*Conclusiones DCCCC*) in less than a month, between October and December 1486, while he was in Perugia and Fratta; they were published on December 7 of the same year. A quick read-through of this polemical work, which has all the appearances

of a hodgepodge of ideas, gives the impression of an unapologetic exercise in namedropping, peppered with the customary glosses, or simply, as some would have it, a random collection of theses put together *ad ostentationem numeri*. In the end, it was inevitable that this *pièce de résistance* would only generate confusion among those who could not unravel such a tangle of ideas. Furthermore, whether through naïveté or great temerity, Pico decided to submit his *900 Theses* so that they could be discussed by the philosophers and theologians gathered in Rome in 1487 for a public debate before the heavyweights of the Roman Curia.

It can be of little surprise that Pico's *Conclusiones* caused a great stir. The Roman Curia was incensed, and Pico was obliged to recant after a commission of bishops and theologians declared thirteen of his *Theses* heretical, condemned seven others, while another six were deemed suspect. He tried to explain himself through an *Apologia*, written in haste, but to no avail. He was condemned by Pope Innocent VIII's papal bull *Etsi iuncto nobis* issued on August 4, 1487, and had to flee to Paris. He was arrested near Grenoble, and imprisoned at the Château de Vincennes. He was subsequently released after his many friends, notably his direct sponsors, the Medici family and Marsilio Ficino, and theologians who knew the extent of his scholarship, intervened on his behalf. The inadvertently scandalous work—for it would become more and more apparent that it was the fruit of scholarly ingenuity and virtuosity rather than of a vindictive bent—was ripped from the hands of its first publisher, and publicly burned for fourteen consecutive days. It would later be reprinted in secret. The *Conclusiones DCCCC*, which consists of a number of enigmatic proposals that are difficult to untangle, inevitably provoked the hostility of the most intractable minds within the Roman Curia, and excited the rampant anti-Semitism of those who were not the least bit inclined to share their magisterium with what I would call the "repressed Jewishness" of the Christian Revelation. As it turns out, the talented young Pico had not hesitated to affirm in his *Conclusion 780*, the fifth thesis to be condemned, that *Nulla est scientia, quæ nos magis certificet de diuinitate Christi, quam Magia et Cabala*[1] (Pic de la Mirandole 1999, 194–95). It is no wonder that this amalgamation of theses launched all out was then kept under wraps and only republished in secrecy.

From the migratory paths that had begun to open up through the diligence of medieval messengers who had already taken stock of these shifts

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[1] Translator's note: "There is no science that assures us more of the divinity of Christ than magic and the Cabala (780)" (Farmer 1998, 497).

in thinking and anticipated the issues and impact of contact with *falsafa* (الفلسفة الإسلامية) and *studia arabum*, the Humanist of the Quattrocento emerged with a perspective of immense deference, allowing him to conceive of a merging of the Far East and the advent of a New World—the discovery of the Americas being within sight of the sextant. Revolutions in ideas, the spirit of the Reformation, and the passage from geocentrism to a heliocentric perspective followed one after the other, and expanded in a terrain still carpeted with grimoires, oracular compilations, and alchemical treatises, but also in the form of an acculturation associated with a vast treasury of thoroughly innovative and astounding writings stemming from currents as diversified as that of the Jewish Kabbalah—a mystical branch often cultivated in the utmost secrecy by rabbis, but which would ultimately proliferate clandestinely, and enrich the most inspired vein of prophetic Christianity, itself nourishing selective affinities with a Neoplatonism that had played a role in the development of Kabbalistic literature, as was shown by Gershom Scholem (2003).

The notion of "kabbalah" comes from Hebrew term הלבק (*qabalah*), which signifies "reception," and by extension "tradition," and derives its meaning from the root לבק (*qabel*), meaning "to receive." In my essay, I have chosen "Kabbalah," just one of its multiple spellings, to refer to not only the original Jewish sources, but also the diverse Christian and alternative derivatives. In scholarly writings, "Kabbalah" is often reserved solely for the foundational corpus of the Jewish Kabbalistic tradition, which includes the *Sefer ha-Bahir*, the *Sefer Yetzirah*, and the *Sefer ha-Zohar*, as well as the extensive literature of the various prophetic, devotional, or ecstatic offshoots that sprang directly from them. Although it is contested, there are those who maintain that it was Solomon ibn Gabriol (1020–1058) who introduced the term *Qabalah* and its specifically hermeneutic use. For the Christian variant ushered in by Pico della Mirandola, the generally preferred spelling is "Cabala," since it is the Latin transliteration he used in his *Oratio* and *Conclusiones*. The Christian Kabbalah, a very fertile Neoplatonic and Christological derivative of its Jewish progenitor, was perpetuated by the likes of Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), Egidio da Viterbo (1470–1532), Henry Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535), and Guillaume Postel (1510–1581). One reason I have chosen to stick with a single spelling is that, in my opinion, the Jewish Kabbalah and its Christian offshoot—largely owing to Pico della Mirandola and a critical mass of translations supplied to him by Flavius Mithridates—form a single flow of ideas. Of course, I take full responsibility for this view, knowing that it is legitimately disputable (see Elia 2009).

Elijah del Medigo picking up the pilgrim's staff of Averroism for his young disciples of Padua, or the impetuous Pico della Mirandola in Florence, could be viewed as a last gasp at what could justifiably be called Jewish

Averroism, no less important than Latin Averroism, and which, in many respects, would turn out to be a wellspring for future intuitions and theoretical developments. On the other hand, Delmedigo wasn't only a connoisseur in matters of Kabbalistic literature, which he had already deeply penetrated. This is attested to in a missive he sent to Pico in December 1486, in which he tried to convince his increasingly distant student of the wisdom of the Aristotelian *epistēmē*, and of Aristotle's eminent commentator, Averroes. At the same time, he took the opportunity to share his views on works of Arabian peripatetics and Kabbalistic writings with which he was very familiar, and of which he was highly suspicious because of their increasingly broad influence that he considered detrimental to the exercise of reason itself. According to Maurice-Ruben Hayoun (2005, 298), the works that Delmedigo cited include those of certain Muslim philosophers, such as Ibn Tufayl, author of *Hayy ibn Yaqẓān*, and Ibn Bâjja (Avempace), author of *The Regime of the Solitary.* Complying with Pico's wishes, Delmedigo also enumerated great works of Kabbalistic literature: the *Zohar*, Isaac of Acres' *Meirat Enayim*, Joseph Gikatilla's *Sha'are Orah*, Menahem Recanati's commentary on the *Torah*, the *Ma'arekhet ha-'Elohut*, and the *Sefer Yetzirah* (*Yetsirah*). But it was all for naught, for Pico was to turn his attention to a Sicilian Christian convert known as Flavius Mithridates, who, after having generously given him a crash course in Semitic languages, would subsequently provide him with an abundant harvest of Kabbalistic treatises. Pico also befriended Rabbi Yohanan Alemanno, in whose company he honed his hermeneutic skill to navigate a luxuriant ocean steeped in metaphors with great symbolic significance and terms for which codes held lines of reference going back to mother-roots bearing various degrees of interpretation.

3. POLYMATH AND WHIRLWIND TRANSLATOR: SHEMU'EL ABŪ L-FARAJ, ALIAS GUGLIELMO RAIMONDO MONCADA, ALIAS FLAVIUS MITHRIDATES

Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (ca. 1445–1489), who later adopted the name Flavius Mithridates, was a rather unusual character, almost larger than life, as were many learned itinerant translators of the time. Although he stood out as a translator of exceptional virtuosity, it is only recently that meticulous and carefully documented research has revealed the true significance and scope of his work (see Perani 2008; Perani and Corazzol 2013). An ambitious project under the direction of Giulio Busi, of the Freie Universität of Berlin is underway to publish *The Kabbalistic Library of Pico della Mirandola*, which consists entirely of Mithridates' Latin translations commissioned by Pico. So far, four volumes have been produced, and three others are in the works. Mithridates

was from a prominent and erudite family of Caltabellotta, Sicily, son of the Rabbi Nissim Abūl-Faraj/Bulfarachio. Before his conversion to Christianity, sometime around 1466, when he adopted the name Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada, his name had been Samuel Bulfarachio (Shemu'el Abū l-Faraj). Flavius Mithridates, however, was the sobriquet by which he was known to the upper crust of the Florentine intelligentsia that included the likes of Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and Pier Leon di Spoleto. These are not merely trivial details, for the astonishing plasticity of his gift for translation, and his almost instinctual sensitivity to the nuances of Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, and the other languages he would later familiarize himself with, can be traced back to the linguistic melting pot that had been the incubator for his commerce in languages.

Drawing on his invaluable linguistic background, Moncada would eventually enrich his learning by improving on his knowledge of Latin and Greek in the Italian centers of Palermo and Messina, and at the University of Naples, where he received the distinction of *doctor artium*. He then headed to the court of Aragon where he secured the patronage of aristocrats and influential prelates, facilitating his travels all the way to Rome, where he would earn the title of Interpreter of Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean for the Holy See, and obtain a teaching appointment at the *Studium Urbis*. Fascinated by alphabetical permutations, Moncada took for granted that Syriac and Chaldean, together with the Aramaic of the Bible, Targum, and Talmud, actually made up a single language transcribed with two different, though very related, writing systems. He even developed a transcription method for Aramaic using Ethiopian script. It is precisely this method that he would later teach Pico in Florence. It is also very likely that he had consulted medieval translations (in Latin) of the Koran, notably those produced by Robert of Chester and Mark of Toledo, the same ones that Egidio da Viterbo would later consult. Nevertheless, Moncada's initiative was original, and much more consistent than it appears to be. In fact, after conducting an in-depth analysis, Angelo Michele Piemontese was able to show that Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada was the author of a series of marginal and interlinear notations, written entirely in Hebrew script, scattered throughout an atypical Koran preserved at the Vatican Library (Piemontese 1996, 227–73; Grévin 2008, 45–56).

Moncada, now going by the name of Flavius Mithridates, returned Florence where, in 1486–1487, he pursued his quasi-obsessive labors of elucidation—Grévin even speaks of a kind of "textual fetish"—providing an essential channel for the penetration of Arab-Muslim culture into the learned circles of the late Quattrocento. Indeed, the annotations inscribed by many hands on the manuscript he had begun to work on in Rome, attest to live-

ly discussions regarding the Koranic Revelation, where Mithridates is plied with questions in the presence of *illuminati* and scholars of the first order such as Pico della Mirandola, Marsilio Ficino, Domenico Benivieni, Elijah del Medigo, and Abramo di Moise da Prato. Prior to that, in 1483, following a prosperous period during which he enjoyed the patronage of an aristocracy infatuated with knowledge, and the unconditional support of the Roman Curia, Moncada had been expelled from Rome, most likely regarding a moral matter related to his relatively open display of homosexuality. He then headed further north, and in 1484–1485 taught Hebrew, among other subjects, in Cologne. He subsequently returned to Florence, where from 1485 to 1487, he labored by the side of Pico della Mirandola, who generously supported him, but also swamped him with a large quantity of manuscripts, mostly consisting of the finest Kabbalistic literature available. Despite his earlier misfortunes, Mithridates was far from having lost his enthusiasm, and his prolific production of Latin versions of highly coded and abstruse texts confirms his virtuosity as a translator. Seeing in Pico a gifted student, Mithridates endeavored to teach him the rudiments of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic by initiating him into his own invented linguistic fusion, transcribed using elements from the Ethiopian syllabary. Toward the end of 1487, however, relations between the two men began to deteriorate fairly rapidly. Mithridates went to Viterbo where he was arrested for reasons unknown; meanwhile, Pico della Mirandola tried to take possession of his manuscripts. These shady events notwithstanding, the collaboration between the two scholars was one of the most fertile translational ventures to have graced the history of ideas in the West, and provided the European intellectual elite with a reservoir of ideas and symbolic patterns that found resonance in provinces of thought located many leagues from their country of origin.

In February 2009, a symposium took place at the National Library of Israel, honoring the publication of the *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library* compiled by Benjamin Richler (Richler 2008), which catalogues, among other works, numerous Kabbalistic writings preserved at the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*. Moshe Idel, who had delivered an address during the symposium, later posted supplementary remarks in his blog *Seforim* (2010), emphasizing that Flavius Mithridates' translation initiative ultimately allowed for the recovery of lost original source texts in Hebrew, in what would seem like a happy accident—history being, after all, but an agglomeration of chance events forming a moving constellation of variable geometry. For example, the codices in which Mithridates' Latin translations are assembled include Kabbalistic works by Abraham Abulafia (1240–ca. 1291) that are no longer accessible to us in their original versions. Idel starts out by mentioning that during

the summer of 1280, Abulafia, unable to resist an impulse inspired by a sudden revelation he had ten years earlier—one reminiscent of Moses' efforts to seek audience with the Pharaoh—set out to meet with Pope Nicholas III in Rome on the day of the Jewish New Year. He wanted to convince the pope that he held the keys that would reconcile the dogmas and teachings of the three branches of Abraham: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

Abraham Abulafia had devised a kind of prophetic Kabbalah based on the pronunciation of divine names, representing a more elevated and intense form of spirituality yet to be encountered within the three monotheistic religions—with the exception of the mystical Sufism that was already spreading with a most profoundly heartfelt devotion. The pope, who was clearly perturbed and not the least bit interested in being harried by this self-proclaimed visionary appearing out of the blue, withdrew to the castle of *Soriano nel Cimino,* a family residence north of Rome. But Abulafia was undeterred. He followed the pope all the way to his retreat—despite warnings that if he did not desist, he would be burned alive—only to learn upon his arrival that Pope Nicholas III had been suddenly stricken by apoplexy. Abulafia was arrested but expelled two weeks later. He found refuge in Messina, Italy, which was then part of the kingdom of Aragon. It was there that, over a period of about ten years, he undertook the writing of his most defining and very influential collection of Kabbalistic treatises. Some of these have only come down to us through the Latin versions that Mithridates produced for Pico della Mirandola. Moshe Idel highlights the considerable significance of the intermediary role of translation, which owes much to chance circumstances: "The translation of some of Abulafia's writings from Hebrew to Latin by Flavius Mithridates was one of the most important factors in the impact of ecstatic Kabbalah on the Italian Renaissance" (Idel 2010). Furthermore, while conducting an extensive investigation of Mithridates' Latin manuscripts, Chaïm Wirszubski (1915–1977), a former student of Julius Guttmann and Gershom Scholem, was able to unearth and recover one of Abulafia's entire treatises from Mithridates' Latin manuscripts, of which only fragments in the original Hebrew remain. This is a case where the *labors of translation are not only works of transmission, but of restoration as well.*

The collection and analysis undertaken by Wirszubski was, to say the least, truly monumental. His posterity is ensured by the rigor and care with which he prepared a complete edition of Mithridates' Latin Kabbalistic corpus, published posthumously (Wirszubski 1989), and further secured by the publication of the *Kabbalistic Library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, edited by Giulio Busi under the auspices of the Institut für Judaistik of the Freie Universität, Berlin, and the Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimen-

to of Florence. It should be noted that, of the nine hundred theses making up the *Conclusiones* that Pico presented in Rome, forty-seven are most likely directly derived from Mithridates' Latin translation of the "Commentary on the Pentateuch," from the original Hebrew *Perush 'Al ha-Torah* by Menahem Recanati (1250–1310) that appeared in 1523 in Venice and was republished with commentary by Mordecai Jaffe as early as 1595 at Lublin. Mithridates also produced a Latin version of the commentary on the *Song of Songs* by Gersonides (Levi ben Gershon: 1288–1344), as well as Maimomides' *Treatise on Resurrection*, first written in Arabic in 1190, and translated into Hebrew as *Iggeret* or *Ma'amar Tehhiyath ha-Metim* by Samuel ibn Tibbon (1150–1230), who was the most illustrious member of an eminent family of Jewish translators, the Tibbonides, primarily because he had translated Maimonides' great philosophical work, the *Guide of the Perplexed*, written in 1180 with the Arabic title *Dalālat al-Ha'irīn*, and rendered in Hebrew by Tibbon as *Mōreh ha-Nebūkhim.*

A smaller portion of the works edified by Mithridates comes from large extracts of texts written by Abraham Abulafia, zealous promoter of ecstatic Kabbalah, and more particularly from the *Sitrey Torah*, a mystical interpretation of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, and the *Sefer ha-Ge'ulla*, which Mithridates translated as *Liber Redemptionis*. In addition to these was Abulafia's letter to his disciple Yehuda Salmon, *Summa brevis cabale que intitulatur Rabi Jeude*, and the *Sefer ha-Sirufim* or *Sefer ha-Tseruf*, translated into Latin as *Liber combinationum*, a treatise of Abulafia's own combinatory technique for divine names using various methods involving permutation (tseruf) and commutation. Other texts include a Latin version of *Nefesh ha-Hakamah*, ("the intelligent soul") by Moses (ben Shem-Tov) de León (1240–1305), author or compiler of the *Zohar*, and the *Shekel ha-Kodesh,* the *Shekel of the Sanctuary* (Moïse/Moshe de León 1996a; 1996b), which de León penned in 1292 in his native Guadalajara under his own name, and which presents, in the Catalonian Kabbalistic traditions of Gerona, one of the densest syntheses of Kabbalistic thought, and of the system of the *Sefirot* (emanations). Mithridates' translations also cover the *Ha-Yeri'ah ha-Gedolah*—a fourteenth-century Kabbalistic treatise by an unidentified author—the *De Proportione Divinitatis*, the *De revolutione ducentorum triginta unius porte Alphabeti*, and many other Kabbalistic treatises. In addition to these are translations of three commentaries on the *Sefer Yetzira,* the oldest source in the Kabbalistic stream (see Fenton 2002): one is attributed to Eleazar of Worms, another to Moses ben Nahman (Nahmanides), and the third is no doubt by Abulafia. Also included is a fragmentary Latin version (*fragmenta libri Bahir*) of the *Sefer ha-Bahir* (Le Bahir 1983; Abrams 1994), or "Book of illumination," another foundational text of Jewish mysticism, likely from the twelfth century, dealing with the radiance

of the divine light. Topping off this initial and very incomplete estimate of the Mithridates corpus are segments of the treatise that Mithridates entitled *Portae Iustitiae* by Joseph Gikatilla, a Castilian Kabbalist from the thirteenth century, which echoed Gikatilla's more renowned treatise, the *Sha'are Orah*, or the *Gates of Light* (Gikatilla 1994; 2001). As Gershom Scholem points out, that treatise alone provided Pico della Mirandola with the most comprehensive synthesis of the evolution of Spanish Kabbalistic thinking, highlighting the importance of Gikatilla's work:

> His *Sha'arei Orah*, written around 1290, already shows the influence of certain parts of the *Zohar*, although there is no mention of it. The book, an important summary of *Sefirot* symbolism and introduction to its interpretation, became one of the major works of Spanish Kabbalah. It is worth noting that three distinct currents, the Kabbalah of Gerona, the Kabbalah of the Zohar, and the Kabbalah of Abulafia were brought together and reconciled in Gikatilla's mind, very rare for the period. (Scholem 2003, 124–125)[2]

The above list is but a small sample of the volume of Kabbalistic treatises and commentaries concerning Jewish mysticism that Flavius Mithridates translated for Pico. While the research, collation, and systematic cataloguing of the content of the manuscripts assembled at the Vatican Library and other locations are already well underway, more remains to be done. The project involving the publication of Pico's entire *Biblitoteca cabbalistica*, under the direction of Giulio Busi, has already produced exquisite and exceptionally meticulous volumes. The first, which appeared in 2004 (Busi, Bondoni, and Campanini 2004), is called the *Ha-Yeri'ah ha-Gedolah*, or the "Great Parchment," because the original was written on a large parchment scroll containing graphic depictions of the various stages of the Emanation represented in the *Sefirot*. It is a treatise of an unknown Italian Kabbalist from the fourteenth century and, like the other volumes published so far, is presented with the Hebrew text, Mithridates' Latin version, including marginal notes, and an English translation. Chaïm Wirszubski died before he had the chance to fully draw his conclusions from this major undertaking spanning over two decades that had led him to comb through all this written material. He was nevertheless able to determine that the original translations produced by Mithridates cover some 5,500 pages in folio, which he estimated to be approximately fifteen times longer than the *Aeneid*:

> Mithridates performed a remarkable feat of translation: he translated a small Kabbalistic library. The extant autographs of his translations in the Vatican Library—Codices Vaticani Ebraici 189–191, and Codex Chigi A. vi 190—do not represent the entire body of Kabbala translated into Latin by Mithridates. Three of the four manuscripts show

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[2] Translator's note: Scholem citation translated from French.

substantial losses, and a whole large manuscript which was seen and described by Gaffarel has not been recovered since. The extant four manuscripts in their present state of preservation amount to nearly 3,500 pages in folio. The extent of the losses can be approximately estimated at well over 2,000 pages of the same size. A corpus of some 5,500 pages with an average of twenty-six lines to the page and ten words to the line is roughly the size of Justinian's *Digest* and more than fifteen times the size of the *Aeneid*. It is not known, nor can it be established for want of conclusive evidence, whether Mithridates translated a chance collection of Kabbalistic books, or books selected for translation, and, if the latter, by whom the selection was made. At any rate, this impressive body of Kabbalistic literature in Latin translation comprises some forty books of varying size, quality, and interest, written by different authors, belonging to different periods, and representing different types of Kabbala. (Wirszubski 1989, 11)

The actual significance of the work produced by Mithridates, and the extent to which it may have paved the way for Pico in the six months between May and November of 1486, preceding the presentation of his *Theses* in Rome, are still open to question. Farmer points out (1998, 344) that the only plausible evidence that Pico had used Menahem Recanati's *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, which is absent from Mithridates' corpus, comes from the *Codicum cabalisticorum manuscriptorum quibus est usus Johannes Picus comes Mirandulanus index*, Paris, 1651, 19–41, a descriptive inventory compiled in the seventeenth century by Jacques Gaffarel, as noted in Farmer (1998, 557) and Wirszubski (1989, 11 n. 3); the index was subsequently reproduced by Johann Christoph Wolf in his *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, Vol. 1, Hamburg, 1715 (*Appendix*, 11–20). Farmer further suggests that the list of sources Pico was influenced by should also include his frequent contact with Hebrew scholars (see Tamani 1997, 491–530; Zatelli, Lelli, and Avanzinelli 1994, 159–91), who had begun to migrate to Italy from the Iberian Peninsula (see Bonfil 1994, 145–77; Ruderman and Veltri 2004), as Spain was becoming increasingly intolerant and inhospitable toward Jews; they too would certainly have brought new insight to an intellectual passionate about syncretism.

Toward the end of the twelfth century, a kind of fault line had begun to open up with Isaac the Blind (Yitzhak Saggi Nehor, 1160–1235), son of Abraham ben David (Ravaad III). Originally from Posquières in the Languedoc region, Isaac the Blind lived in Narbonne around the time that the *Sefer ha-Bahir*—which holds the *Ein-Sof* as the primordial source of the *Sefirot*—made its appearance. Manifestly influenced by Neoplatonic ideals, he would go on to inspire a line of disciples who were identified, in Catalogue, as being part of the Gerona Circle of Kabbalah. These included Ezra and Azriel of Gerona, who adopted his commentary on the *Sefer Yetzirah*, but also Rabbi Jonah Gerondi and Naḥmanides. A great revival under the illusory banner of a resurrection of the *prisca theologia* or the *philosophia perennis* took place during the reign of Alfonso X (1252–1284). It was led by such inspired and spirited theorists as Joseph Gikatilla, Moses de León, and Abraham Abulafia, whose

legacies rapidly spread across Sicily, making their way to Florence, and to Yohanan Alemanno and his friend, Pico della Mirandola. With Marsilio Ficino already hard at work on the heels of a Gemistus Pletho advocating of his own version of the *Chaldean Oracles*, the rediscovery of the *Hermetica*, and Orphic-Pythagorean syncretism with its marked enthusiasm for Arabian magic and the *Picatrix*—not to mention the excitement sparked by Ibn Tufayl's *Hayy ibn Yaqzān*, which began in Rome, and spread to Northern Italy—conditions were indeed ripe for a major translational movement in the Western history of ideas (see Schmitt 1966, 505–532; Idel 2001, 137–158).

It was out of this landscape of hybridization, expansion, and extractions that the Christian Kabbalah grew, and inspired the likes of Johannes Reuchlin, Egidio da Viterbo, Cornelius Agrippa, or, in the sixteenth century, Guillaume Postel and others. In almost direct opposition to this quasi-militant, and at times somewhat erratic, syncretism, and as a kind of seismic aftershock following the 1492 expulsion of Jews from Spain, a sudden resurgence of a distinctly purist Kabbalistic trend erupted in the sixteenth century, led by Moses Cordovero (1522–1570) at Safed in Palestine, and advanced by the charismatic Isaac Luria—also known as "Ari" (an acrostic of Ashkenazi (or ha-Eloki) Rabbi Yitzhak, also meaning Lion in Hebrew)—and his disciple Hayyim Vital (1542–1620) (see Fine 2003). The Kabbalists of Safed immediately and resolutely positioned themselves leagues away from the speculations of their Catalan, Castilian and Italian counterparts, and *a fortiori*, from Pico's Judeo-Christian syncretism. They cultivated a myth of their own making, asserting that the *Zohar* had been neither created nor compiled at the end of the thirteenth century in Spain; rather, it was a treatise from Galilee dating back to the second century, immediately and deliberately put under wraps—the Italian derivations then representing the height of this concealment—and it was only through the sphere of Lurianic influence that its secrets could be revealed.

Paradoxically, the powerful cosmopoetic approach developed by Luria would spread, and find unexpected posterity through an intensive assimilation at the very heart of European philosophical conceptuality. Thus, the outstanding Kabbalistic treatise *Puerta del Cielo*, composed in Spanish by Rabbi Cohen de Herrera (1570–1635), a Sephardic Kabbalist following in the Lurianic tradition (Cohen de Herrera 2010), would be ingested, digested, and metabolized thanks to the revival of the Kabbalah in Germany, as large portions translated into Latin were included in the *Kabbala Denudata*, a compendium assembled by Knorr von Rosenroth (1636–1689). Not only was Herrera's treatise cited by Hegel, and mentioned by d'Alembert in the *Encyclopédie,* but it also provided ample speculative material for Leibniz, who was influenced by Jan Baptist van

Helmont, as well as, no doubt, for Spinoza in Amsterdam, who had read it in Hebrew, and for Schelling's *Weltalter*. We now know that the personal library of Sir Isaac Newton (1643–1727), full of alchemical treatises, grimoires, and Kabbalistic works, also possessed a copy of Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata*. In fact, in 1936, at a public auction, the contents of a chest in which Newton had placed a number of his manuscripts were revealed to contain, in large part, notes relating to the mysteries of alchemy and the Jewish Kabbalah (see Verlet 1993).

This gives us an idea of the interplay between ruminations over ancient wisdom and the rise of a new *epistēmē* through the exploration and sharpening of intellectual agility between audaciousness and the dizzying effect that mastering the mathematical apparatus could engender. We can thereby witness the integration of alternating modes of attraction and repulsion—in short, an acculturation at times haunted by the restitution of ancient wisdom, while other times given over to the spontaneous blossoming of dissident currents in response to a spiritual crisis and upheavals on a larger scale, which were both interiorized and viewed from a perspective of deference. The scenario we are presenting here is very different from that of a ghettoized mindset developing within a vacuum; rather, it is one of a transversal opening of lines between of worlds that may seem to be parallel, but which, in reality, intersect. To what measure they mutually influenced one another is yet to be determined historiographically, as is a description of the gestation of initial developments nourished by private paroxysms that were occurring behind-the-scenes. It seems evident to me that the European culture of the Quattrocento, inheritor of the twin paragons of Greco-Latin legacies and Judeo-Christian magisterium was as much in crisis as it was open to the insemination of exogenous schools of thought.

The intellectual elite of Florence and Padua—to name but those two highly effervescent centers—was profoundly immersed in Arab culture, largely Averroist, but equally intent on remaining open to the influx of more esoteric approaches: Orphism, Neo-Pythagoreanism, Alexandrian Hermeticism, the teachings of Persian Magi, and even Indian Gymnosophists. So when the Jewish Kabbalah—which grew out of a great variety of Neoplatonic and Arabic traditions, and was nourished by such influential personalities as Castilians Moses de León and Abraham Abulafia, or later, Menahem Recanati and Yohanan Alemanno, of Italy—entered onto the scene, it was able to answer to the needs of a Christianity in a state of crisis for lack of convergent sources, ancestrality, and an eschatological vision that would allow it to transcend the exclusive view of personal salvation, one that could integrate itself into a cosmological dramaturgy concerned with theodicy, or the anticipation of

an *apokastasis*. Moshe Idel suggests that this is precisely why the paradigm shifts experienced within Kabbalistic circles can be viewed as an echo of, if not parallel to, broader revivalist phenomena, at times prompted or inspired, offering creative solutions to the spiritual challenges brought on by the cultural upheavals of the society at large. It goes without saying that a fabric woven of contingencies, fortuitous circumstances, and unexpected complicity enveloped this transmission of knowledge, which was accelerated and channeled by virtue of the massive transfer of translated works, conjugating an enlightened patronage, and the nomadism of knowledge brokers, manuscript dealers, translators and mentors, all converging onto a Florence that had become a magnet and free zone that welcomed enthusiasts of free thought.

4. *INTROITUS APERTUS AD OCCLUSUM REGIS PALATIUM*:[3]
"ENTER THE MATRIX AND SET THE CONTROLS FOR THE HEART OF THE SUN"

We now have the opportunity to study more closely, though perhaps not exhaustively, the material that was available to Pico through the efforts of Flavius Mithridates. Having briefly mentioned some titles already, a more detailed examination of the abundant harvest of texts that truly constituted a foundational Kabbalistic library can be provided. In his pioneering research, Chaïm Wirszubski (1989) had already thoroughly surveyed this textual terrain. Continuing where he left off, Busi's international team of researchers has begun to publish valuable editions of the Kabbalistic Library of Pico della Mirandola (see Busi, Bondoni, and Campanini 2004). Each treatise, translated into English with copious annotations supported by substantial monographs, offers a fascinating perspective on the importance of translation that will serve as a reference for the parallel evolution of the Kabbalistic tradition in the West. We now also have another precious tool at our disposal, namely the Catalogue of Hebrew manuscripts in the Vatican Library, meticulously compiled by Benjamin Richler (2008).

This impressive collation of treatises, commentaries, and fragments total some 3,500 of the 5,500 pages in folio that form the entire corpus of Kabbalistic writings that Mithridates translated into Latin. Missing, as mentioned above, is Menahem Recanati's commentary, the *Perush 'Al ha-Torah*, of which

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[3] *Secrets reveal'd: or, An open entrance to the shut-palace of the King* is the English title of a famous treatise attributed to one Eirenaeus Philalethes, pseudonym of George Starkey (1628–1665), an American alchemist and physician who relocated to England.

Mithridates' Latin translation is probably lost. Chaïm Wirszubski's painstaking examination of forty-seven (356 to 402) of Pico's *Conclusiones Cabalisticae secundum secretam doctrinam sapientum hebraeorum cabalistarum* ("according to the secret doctrines of the Jewish Cabalist sages") confirmed that Pico unquestionably made use of Recanati's *Commentary on the Pentateuch*. In fact, it was the direct source of twenty-five conclusions, and the most probable source of a dozen others. As Wirszubski notes, there could have been no one better than Recanati to initiate Pico into the secrets of Kabbalistic hermeneutics. This channel alone would have made the teachings of the Zohar available to Pico. Moreover, when Pico refers to the *Bahir*, of which Mithridates had supplied him with a Latin translation, it is through a perspective already proposed by Recanati:

> [H]is "*commentary on the Pentateuch*" is a rich storehouse of authentic Kabbala competently presented by a genuine Kabbalist. As he goes along following the order of the Scriptures, Recanati discusses a great variety of subjects, always quoting and interpreting earlier texts. He quotes *midrashim*, pre-Kabbalistic esoterics, and particularly Kabbalistic writings, notably the *Bahir* and more often the *Zohar*. It was from Recanati, not from the biblical commentary of Moses ben Naḥman of Gerona or the writings of Eleazar of Worms, that Pico learned that all peculiarities of the Masorah represented mysteries of the ten *Sefirot* (Conclusio xxxiii) [389]. (Wirszubski 1989, 55)

Through the efforts of Wirszubski's careful cross-referencing, we know that Pico's first series of *Conclusiones*, inspired by Kabbalistic teachings, also exhibits traces from other sources, although less frequently than from Recanati's writings. Joseph Gikatilla's *Gates of Justice*, for example, was the source of at least two of Pico's "Conclusions"; the title of Mithridates' Latin version is *Saare Sedech, id est Portæ Iusticiæ seu de Diuinis Nominibus* ("*Ša'arei Ṣedeq,* which is to say the Gates of Justice, or On the Divine Names"). As no original Hebrew manuscript with that subtitle exists, it is possible that it was meant as a reference to *De Divinis Nominibus*, a treatise by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. Wirszubski notes, however, that the title is not inappropriate since, according to Scholem, the Kabbalistic teachings of Gikatilla "considers the whole Torah as an explication of the name of God in the sense that the whole text of the Torah is, in fact, a texture of different divine epithets which are themselves variations of the name of God" (Wirszubski 1989, 57). It is also possible that Pico had benefited from reading the treatise *On the Divine Proportion (Ma'arekhet ha-'Elohut, De proportione divinitatis)*, which could be considered an alternative source for the *Conclusiones* xxiv [379] and xl [395]. Evidently, Pico did not have direct access to the *Sefer Yetzirah* (the *Book of Creation*), but we do know, thanks to a letter addressed to an "unknown friend" (*ad ignotum amicum*) dated November 10, 1486, that he had learned about it from reading the Latin version (*Commentum Sepher Iesirae*) of Naḥamanides'

commentary (Cod. Vat. Ebr. 191, ff. 39r–43v), in which there is mention of a rabbinic dictum on the thirty-two gates (paths) from which arise the ten numbers and the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

Gershom Scholem nevertheless demonstrated that Pico had read the oldest Kabbalistic text, *Sefer ha-Bahir*, in which Gnostic elements are interwoven with the rudiments of theosophical teachings of the *Sefirot*. The content of *Conclusiones* also suggests that Pico was familiar with *Expositio decem numerationum* (the explanation of the ten numerations) in which the question of the *Sefirot* is systematically examined. As a direct source for the *Conclusio iii* [358], Pico used the anonymous treatise *Liber combinationum*, which, according to Scholem, was a compendium dating back to the fourteenth century, popularizing Abulafia's combinational Kabbalah. For his *Conclusio ii* [357], it is very likely that Pico consulted the *Corona nominis boni* in which the author, Rabbi Abraham Axelrad of Cologne, who had immigrated to Spain, provides a synthesis of the numerological speculations of German Hasidim and the doctrine of the ten *Sefirot* devised by the Castilian and Catalonian Kabbalists.

All of the manuscripts that Pico used to learn about the Jewish Kabbalah were written in Mithridates' own hand in 1486, between the months of May and November. By his own calculations, Mithridates had translated at a daily rate of two *quinternia* (sets of twenty pages); forty pages in folio per day is a truly outstanding feat. What is not known is the order and rate that these translations were passed on to Pico. The second series of *Conclusiones*, his seventy-two "Cabalistic Conclusions According to my own Opinion," intended to "strongly confirm the Christian religion" using the very same principles adopted by Jewish sages (*Conclusiones cabalisticæ numero LXXI<I>, secundum opinionem propriam, ex ipsis Hebræorum sapientum fundamentis Christianam religionem maxime confirmantes*), seems to have essentially been inspired by Kabbalistic writings gathered into the *Vat. Ebr. 190* manuscript. The title of this second series formally states the actual aim of the *900 Conclusiones*, which was to set the irrefutable truth of the Christian Revelation against the backdrop of a distant past, where Kabbalistic science went hand in hand with the Orphic-Pythagorean stream of Chaldean wisdom, Neoplatonic speculations having arrived at their most subtle expression in Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's mystagogy.

Although the influence of Recanati's *Commentary on the Pentateuch* is still evident in this second set, it is less prominent; as mentioned, the sources Pico consulted can all be found in the *Vat. Ebr. 190*. Firstly, there is the *Liber combinationum,* an anonymously abridged version of Abulafia's theses. Next, following their order of appearance, is the epistle from Abulafia to his disciple Yehuda Salmon (*Summa brevis cabalæ quæ intitulatur Rabi Jeudæ* (ff.

120v–132v), in which Abulafia differentiates his Kabbalah from the numerational Kabbalah (*cabala numerationalis*), that is, the Kabbalah of the *Sefirot*, *numeratio* being the common Latin translation of *sefirah* (Wirszubski 1989, 60). Following that is Rabbi Azriel of Gerona's "Questions on the ten *Sefirot*" (*Quaestiones super decem numerationibus cum responsionibus suis*, ff. 165–73), a chapter from his *Scha'ar ha-Scho'el* that presents the teachings of the *Sefirot* through a series of questions and answers, in accordance with Neoplatonic rules of logic. Another book that would have been an important source for Pico is the *Liber radicibus vel terminis cabalae* (ff. 222r–275r), an elaborate glossary of Kabbalistic symbols of the ten *Sefirot*. Two other treatises echoed in the second set are Recanati's book on the secrets of the prayers and benedictions of the Kabbalah (*Liber de secretis orationum et benedictionum cabalæ*, ff. 275v–336r), recently edited by Giacomo Corazzol (2008), and Abulafia's Kabbalistic interpretation of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, his *Sitrey Torah*, or *Liber de secretis legis* (ff. 336v–469v + ms. Chigi, ff. 232–61).

It is through his study of the *Vat. Ebr. 190* manuscript that Pico became acquainted with Abulafia's prophetic Kabbalah, and the ideas that he advances in the second series of the *Conclusiones cabalisticae* mark an evolution in his understanding of the mysteries of the Kabbalah. The focus of the first series is almost entirely on issues concerning the *Sefirot*, the hypostasis governing the unfurling of the divine organism in the World of Emanation (*olam ha-atzilut* תוליצא סלוע) from which emanates the successive phases of Formation (*olam ha-Yetzirah*) and Creation (*olam ha-Beriah*), as well as the field of manifestation containing the framework of the celestial bodies and terrestrial microcosm. The second set, however, begins with the distinction between the "science of the *sefirot*" and the "science of the *semot*," which is the meditation on divine names and the many examples of figures obtained by the combinatory art, much more speculative in nature, and has the ultimate goal of a fusion with the divinity. It is very likely that this shift in focus so apparent in Pico's *Consulsiones* and *Apologia*, resulted from his having read the Latin version of Abulafia's treatises, notably the *Liber combinationum* [וּוריצה רפס] (Vat. Ebr. 190, ff. 1r–90r) and the anonymously abridged version of *Ars combinandi*, for although he essentially relied on Recanati's commentaries, the vocabulary he used and the way he expressed ideas betray an obvious respect for Abulafia's views.

In his *Apologia*, hastily written in 1487 to stave off the inquisitorial measures taken by the Roman Curia, Pico tried to delineate what he considered to be the paragon of the combinatory art (*ars combinandi*) according to the spirit and letter of Kabbalistic science, in contrast to the rather mechanical procedure put forward by the Catalan philosopher

Ramón Llull (*c.* 1232–1316). Llull's approach, which was referred to as *Ars Raymundi,* or, within the Latin world, as *Ars Magna*, was an anagrammatic process based on the rotation of "conceptual circles" arranged on a concentric axis, forming diverse mnemotechnical configurations. Llull, who was also known as *Doctor Illuminatus*, expounded upon this principle in his *Ars generalis ultima*, and in his abridged *Ars brevis* (Lulle 1991). Harvey J. Hames suggests in his excellent book, *The Art of Conversion* (2000), that Llull was likely the first Christian philosopher to conceive of the Kabbalah as a conversion device to bring Jews into the Christian fold, but he also points out that Llull "was not a Kabbalist, nor was he versed in any Kabbalistic approach" (Hames 2000, 27). Nonetheless, Llull continues to be given credit for treatises on Alchemy and the Kabbalah by less conscientious authors. A relatively minor treatise, *De Auditu Cabalistico*, had long been at attributed to Llull, whose extensive writings already included over 200 works in Latin, Arabic, and Catalan. A more scholarly investigation has shown that the treatise in question had in fact been written by Pietro Mainardi (1456–1529), a Venetian doctor who also practiced in Ferrara and Padua, both bastions of Latin Averroism. Published in 1518, in the wake of Pico's syncretism, and again in 1533, *De Auditu Cabalistico* was an attempt to not only harmonize Llull's combinatory art with the Jewish Kabbalah, but to also incorporate Ibn Arabī's Sufism, and even Paduan Averroism, to which Llull was thoroughly inimical. Originally from Majorca—a favored enclave for pedants of the three branches of Abraham, who would gather there to debate the virtues of their respective credos—Llull was a formidable advocate for the Christian magisterium, ready to use any means to promote its preeminence. Although the Kabbalah was flourishing in the Iberian Peninsula, Llull's knowledge of the Kabbalistic canons was somewhat superficial, which led him to project the concept of the Trinity onto the Sefirotic tree of derivations.

In contrast, Spinoza appears to have been influenced by Kabbalistic hermeneutics, as his well-known sayings, *Deus sive Natura* and *Amor Dei Intellectuali* would suggest. Abraham Abulafia and a number of Kabbalists after him, following a method of arithmosophic correspondence called *gematria*, had emphasized the numerical equivalence between nature and the Hebrew names for God: *elohim=ha-teba=86.* This formulation could be the source of Spinoza's expression *Deus sive Natura*, in the same way that *Amor Dei Intellectualis* may have been inspired by the expression *ahabah elohit sikhlit*, "the intellectual divine love," which is also found in Abulafia's writings. The favored channel for this relationship, which I cannot fully expand upon here, is Cohen de Herrera's remarkable treatise, *La Puerta del Cielo* (Cohen de Herrera 2010),

as well as the *Dialogues of Love* (*Dialoghi d'Amore*) by Judah Abravanel, also known as Leo the Hebrew (León Hebreo).[4]

5. BACK TO THE FUTURE: EVEN THE SKY IS NOT THE LIMIT

> The decisive moment in human evolution is perpetual. That is why the revolutionary spiritual movements that declare all former things worthless are in the right, for nothing has yet happened.
> Franz Kafka, *The Zürau Aphorisms*

We can recognize or speculate on the significant impact that the introduction of Persian and Chaldean solar theologies, and the concept of a plurality of worlds presented through the various perspectives offered by cosmological speculations of the Jewish Kabbalah, had on the evolving ideas among the intellectual elite of the Quattrocento, without necessarily attributing to them a direct influence, or a relationship of cause and effect. The translation of a critical mass of Kabbalistic and Arabian astronomical treatises—the beginnings of which far exceeded the *floruit* of translations produced under the enlightened caliphate of Bagdad between the ninth and twelfth centuries—surreptitiously established, in a very short time span, a more fertile interplay between sapiential traditions of ancient times and ideas of modern science, then *in statu nascendi.* Florence was, for several decades, the epicenter of this heightened activity around translation, which opened up a fault line that shook the geocentric status quo, and allowed for the heliocentric hypothesis to be considered with more serenity. To use an expression coined by Emily Apter, Florence was a leading *translation zone* (Apter 2005).

The word "serenity" is used euphemistically, however. The romantic ideal that depicts the Renaissance as a jubilant era overflowing with creative innovation and genius is, in many respects, an illusion considering the turmoil and uncertainty into which the souls of that period were plunged. At the same time, we must not gloss over the clear division that existed between convic-

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[4] The personal library of Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) contained a heavily annotated copy of the Dialoghi d'Amore (1502) by Judah Leon Abravanel (1460–1521), which presented a synthesis of Neoplatonism and the Jewish Kabbalah. Abravanel, a follower of Ficino's Platonism, was plunged into the crisis surrounding the Arabian philosophical model of Al-Fārābī and Avicenna that was at the heart of Maimonides' work. This careful synthesis, nourished by the exceptional rigour of Averroism, would be strongly echoed by Giordano Bruno, as well as Spinoza. The latter frequented the same yeshiva (Talmudic school) as Alonso Núñez, alias Abraham Cohen de Herrera. An abridged Hebrew version of Herrera's Puerta del Cielo was prepared and published by Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, one of Spinoza's teachers at the synagogue; this version would, in turn, constitute the principal source for Christian Knorr von Rosenroth's Latin compendium, the Kabbala Denudata that would later be carefully studied by Newton and Leibniz.

tions based on more occult interpretations of nature's genius, and the project of the mathematization of nature's laws under the aegis of a rational methodology. In this respect, *Janus Bifrons* might be a fitting image. The explosion of ideas around an expansive syncretism began at a time when the line between mysteries enveloped in an aura of a *prisca sapientia*, and the emerging canons of a knowledge based on the mathematization of the laws of nature was still blurred, and tolerated a certain amount of overlap; despite what supporters of a clear-cut, or even diametrically opposing epistemology might claim, this interaction of ideas provided a stimulus for scientific revolutions to come, by combining the heuristic potency of exploration and experimentation with an Aristotelian *epistēmē* that was losing ground.

As with Isaac Newton's obscure alchemical treatises, saturated with his speculations on theodicy, eschatological computations, and copious glosses and scolia in the margins, it has become common knowledge that Johannes Kepler "cast" horoscopes and published almanacs containing astrological predictions. It is no less paradoxical that one such as Pico della Mirandola, who could happily explore the Kabbalists' gardens, would be so antagonistic to astrology, which he considered deceitful and false; this fits in with his notion of the liberty he attributed to humans, whom he did not view as puppets to be manipulated by some mystical effluvium emanating from the movements of celestial bodies recorded in the ephemerides (see Pico della Mirandola 1946–1952). But then again, Pico embraced with enthusiasm, and an unshakable determination, the most daring Kabbalistic speculations, and made of them the pillar on which rests a complete transformation of our understanding of human faculties and their cardinal position at the convergent beam's focal point, thus bringing together the sublunary microcosm and a macrocosm whose horizons are infinite.

These are not mere details, for they are precisely the conditions that allowed for fertile speculations to interact with the beginnings of scientific revolutions, which culminated, centuries later, in a relativistic cosmology and paradoxical modeling of quantum mechanics. In fact, Giorgio Israel was able to demonstrate (1995; 1996; 1999; 2005) that Kabbalistic representations, largely inspired by the Neoplatonic schematism, was the source, or at least formed the backdrop of the heliocentric model of the universe, and its subsequent expansion on a supragalactic scale. This sudden explosion that liberated the geocentric microcosm followed a fault line with many ramifications, situating us well ahead of the great Galilean synthesis.

Now that we have entered into the catacombs of history, I will recapitulate with another look at Georgius Gemistus, alias Pletho, who received his education in an Arab-Muslim enclave, was taught by a Jewish teacher who

first familiarized him with the rudiments of *falsafa* to then immerse him in the most audacious speculations of Persian Platonists, notably the *Ishraq* philosophy of Suhrawardi. A few decades later, Pletho was invited to a council in Florence in view of laying the foundations for a unification of the two churches, an ecumenism for which he harbored some doubt. Nonetheless, Pletho had in his possession a copy of the *Chaldean Oracles*, which he had reorganized and reworked into *Logia* attributed to Zoroaster, figurehead of the Persian Magi. Marsilio Ficino, already deep into his translation of Plato, sank his teeth into this morsel, all the more vigorously after he got hold of the treatises of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, which were loaded with composite elements of astral mysticism, Neoplatonic theurgy, and were related to Gnostic teachings that would be later found in the treatises written in Coptic at Nag Hammadi, Upper Egypt (see Mahé 1978). Ficino was well equipped to considerably expand on the vast synthesis of mystical Platonism that had already taken root in his mind. He continued along these lines, first with translations of Plotinus, and of a variety of Platonists drawing from Oriental sources, such as Iamblichus Chalcidensis. For his part, Pico della Mirandola, Ficino's friend and student with whom he would later fall out, harnessed the virtuosity of a prolific translator, the pseudo-*converso* from Judaism who went by the name of Flavius Mithridates, to assemble a compendium of Kabbalistic treatises. Some of these treatises were familiar to the Franciscan Catalan, Ramón Llull known as "*Arabicus Christianus*," as well as, "*Doctor Illuminatus*," who developed an *ars combinandi* reminiscent of Abulafia's Kabbalistic configurations (Idel 1988, 170–174).

It was from the tide of this critical mass of translated Kabbalistic treatises that a major stream gradually formed, one that would feed a number of currents flowing from Pico's crucial meditations, and create a juncture between the Jewish mystical tradition and bold speculations from the likes of Johannes Reuchlin with his remarkable *De verbo mirifico* (1494), and *De arte cabalistica* (1517); or Pico and Ficino's friend Egidio da Viterbo (or Giles of Viterbo, in English) of the St. Augustine Order, who wrote *Scechina e Libellus de litteris Hebraicis* (da Viterbo 1959); and, of course, the versatile Guillaume Postel, who translated the Zohar, complementing it with a generous series of glosses; he also composed, in 1547, a *Key to Things Hidden* (*Absconditorum clavis, ou La Clé des choses cachées*) and the *Exégèse du Candélabre mystique dans le Tabernacle de Moyse*. In addition to those mentioned already, we must include Agrippa of Nettesheim and his masterwork introducing the Kabbalah, *De occulta philosophia*, originally completed in 1510, and first published between 1531 and 1533. Agrippa, who spoke at least eight languages, was a skeptic convinced of the vanity of science, giving credence only to the Revelation seen

through the prism of the Kabbalah, Alexandrian Hermeticism, and the magic handed down from Arabian tradition.

These contemporaries of Pico della Mirandola were the first in a long line of Christian Kabbalists who extended into Elizabethan England, to John Dee (1527–1608), who composed his *Monas hieroglyphica* in 1564, and Robert Fludd (1574–1637), with his monumental five-volume *Utriusque cosmi maioris scilicet et minoris metaphysica physica atque technica Historia*, published between 1617 and 1624. A second wave, crossing over the first, was set in motion when a major part of the Lurianic corpus preserved in the writings of Hayyim Vital was translated by the German Baron Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, author of the *Kabbala Denudata* (1677–1684), a very substantial synthesis of the Zohar, to which the extraordinary speculative cosmology based on teachings of the great Kabbalist Isaac Luria developed at Safed in Palestine was added. This rich compendium was completed with the help of Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont (1614–1698), who had met the baron at the court of Christian Augustus, Count Palatine of Sulzbach, and later edited the second part of the *Kabbala Denudata*, drawing directly from the Lurianic teachings of the *De revolutione animarum* ("Revolution of Souls," attributed to Rabbi Isaac Luriensis); it was, in fact, none other than Hayyim Vital's *Sefer Ha-Gilgulim*, concerned with the *gilgul* principle, metempsychosis in accordance with the Kabbalistic order of the universal transmigration of divine energy; in short, the revolution of souls across a hierarchy of worlds (see Vital 1987).

Franciscus Mercurius, son of Jan Baptist van Helmont, a Paracelcian physician, was very close with Leibniz (1646–1716), with whom he met regularly at the residence of Sophia of the Palatinate, Electress of Hanover. He was also very close with the Cambridge Platonists Henry More (1614–1687) and Anne Conway (1631–1679). Conway was likewise passionate about the principles of the Lurianic Kabbalah that she learned about through Van Helmont. Indeed, they are present throughout her only surviving treatise, *Principles of the Most Ancient and Modern Philosophy* (Conway 1996), published posthumously in 1690, in which she explores concepts that clearly foreshadow that of "monad" put forward by Leibniz. In all likelihood, it was van Helmont and his vast Kabbalistic knowledge that prepare the way for these developments (Coudert 1995; 1999). As I suggested earlier, there is little doubt that Spinoza—Leibniz's contemporary and rival—benefited from the vast body of knowledge gathered and synthesized in Rabbi Herrera's *Puerta del Cielo*, and translated into Hebrew in 1655 by the very same Rabbi Isaac Aboab da Fonseca who later signed the Herem, or ban of excommunication, issued against Spinoza. The evolving Kabbalah subsequently entered into a new incubation period following its passage through German Romanticism (see Schulte 1996), and the

Protestant theosophy inspired by the writings of Jakob Böhme, via Franz von Baader in particular, to form the matrix of Schelling's philosophical narrative, his remarkable *Weltalter* in which the Lurianic concept of *tsimtsum*—the contraction of *Ein-Sof*, or infinity—is used to describe the immanent gestation of the Godhead, the *Gottheit*, creating an opening for the abyss of human freedom, not least of which is the perplexity related to the questions of the origin of radical evil. Jürgen Habermas wrote a critical essay devoted to this chapter, which he considers to be an important milestone in the development of post-Hegelian materialism (Habermas 2004, 43–89). Like Slavoj Žižek, I consider the *Weltalter* to be one of the most important works in the history of Western thought; moreover, it considerably influenced Franz Rosenzweig in his writing of *Stern der Erlösung*, and thus indirectly, Emmanuel Lévinas, who wrote *Totalité et infini*.

The transmission channels that brought about a paradigm shift, and the sudden burgeoning of new knowledge, are at the very least tortuous. By tracing those vanishing lines I have explored, it becomes apparent that the art of translation is at the juncture of these multiple branch lines forming a "rhizome" à la Deleuze and Guattari. All these names appearing one after another at lightning speed may produce a dizzying effect, but the essential point is that this procession of influential scholars, with their various intersecting allegiances, was dependent on an arena in which translation played a key role, weaving a composite, although sometimes convergent, pattern of selected translations for which both short- and long-term outcomes enabled these thinkers to explore previously unimagined thought patterns, as yet unconnected in time and space. The Florentine *illuminati* had ringside seats to this nuptial waltz between the influx of samples of sapiential literature from ancient times, in which the mystical dimension was ever-present, and the forerunners of an intellectual mindset prefiguring the dawning of the "enlightenment." This beam of confluent elements colliding at the vanishing point of the temporal cone could be interpreted as a chance convergence, reflected through a kind of acceleration of history; but ever since history—brief trace or vestiges of time—has existed, has it not always been in acceleration?

This unexpected confluence of previously unknown tangents and free spirits transiting through Florence at the Quattrocento traced a path of a freedom that would be bitterly disputed in the centuries that followed. Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), who was no less attuned to the Kabbalah than to the echoes of Alexandrine Hermeticism (de León-Jones 1997), was burned at the stake at Rome's Campo de' Fiori after eight years of imprisonment under the inquisitorial thumb of the Holy Office, for having fought for the recognition of Copernicus' heliocentric model, as well as for his defense and illustration

of an infinite universe, and the existence of a plurality of worlds beyond the Milky Way. In 1929, Edwin Hubble (1889–1953), a pioneer in radio astronomy, succeeded in measuring the recessional velocity of eighteen galaxies, discovering at the same time that velocities increased in proportion to their distance (that of the galaxies) from Earth. He was thus able to provide direct proof of an infinitely expanding universe, an idea that had already occurred to the originators of the Big Bang theory, Russian Cosmologist Aleksander Friedmann (1888–1925) and Belgian Cosmologist Georges Lemaître (1894–1966). Liberty of the human spirit, celebrated by Pico della Mirandola, and defended tooth and nail by Giordano Bruno, is now one great playing field. And yet, gulags and concentration camps still exist.

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