Language and Translation Policies

in the Intellectual Cooperation Organization (1922-1946)

Promoting The Internationalization of the Intellectual Field

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Abstract

The Intellectual Cooperation Organization (ICO) was an organizational network created under the auspices of the League of Nations (LON) to promote international exchange in the scientific, literary, and artistic domains. Active between 1922 and 1946, the ICO featured a structure where both governments and intellectuals were represented.

Given its international scope, the ICO, like the LON and its technical bodies, explored and tested possible solutions to the challenges posed by international communication, including the use of lingua francas and the practice of translation and interpreting. As such, they constituted some of the scenarios where the "battle of languages" deployed in the interwar period, which marked the end of French linguistic hegemony and the emergence of English as an international lingua franca.

In the present dissertation, I reconstruct the languages and translation policies enacted by the ICO in the framework of its efforts to contribute to the internationalization of the intellectual field. With said policy spanning different domains of activity, I focus on institutional translation and literary translation. Institutional translation, I argue, was used by the bodies composing the ICO to manage their internal and external communication strategies and, thus, build their respective institutional identities. In the literary domain, the ICO operated with a clear understanding of the structural role of translation for the internationalization of the literary field, and for this reason, it aimed at improving its conditions of practice and its social recognition. In both domains, the ICO contributed to the early institutionalization of translation.

From a theoretical perspective, this dissertation is grounded in a Translation Studies perspective interested in the social history of translation and its relations with globalization processes. More precisely, I build on field theory applied from a relational perspective and a global studies approach. In methodological terms, I conduct historical archival research with qualitative and quantitative methods. This includes source criticism and close reading of archive material, as well as analyses conducted with tools from data science and digital humanities, for instance, the reconstruction of historical networks.

Keywords: intellectual cooperation, translation policy, literary translation, institutional translation, field theory, relational sociology, global studies, mixed methods, data science, historical networks.

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En memòria de Pilar Catalan Amatria i de Lola Hugas Ferré.

La primera em va transmetre la set de coneixement... i la segona em va advertir que tanta lectura em faria malbé la salut.

Table of contents

Overview publication overlap

The following parts of the dissertation are based on publications that I (co)authored:

1. The General Introduction, as well as chapters 2, 7, 9 and 10, contain some reworked excerpts from Carbó-Catalan and Meylaerts (2022) (published).
2. Section 1.4 contains some excerpts previously published in Carbó-Catalan (2022).
3. Section 4.3 is a reworked version of Rodríguez Casañ, Carbó-Catalan, Solé-Ribalta, Roig-Sanz, Borge-Holthoefer, and Cardillo (submitted).
4. Some parts included in Chapter 10 were previously published in: Carbó-Catalan (2023) and Carbó-Catalan (2022).

List of Acronyms

ALAI: Association Littéraire et Artistique Internationale

CUIS: Catholic Union of International Studies

DH: Digital Humanities

SSH: Social Sciences and Humanities

ICIC: International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation

ICO: Intellectual Cooperation Organization

ICIW: International Confederation of Intellectual Workers

IECI: International Educational Cinematographic Institute

IIIC: International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation

ILO: International Labor Office

IMO: International Museums Office

IOs: International Organizations

IR: International Relations

LON: League of Nations

NCIC: National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation

NGOs: Non-governmental Organizations

SNA: Social Network Analysis

TS: Translation Studies

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

General Introduction

The institutionalization of intellectual cooperation under the auspices of the League of Nations (LON) took place formally in January 1922, when the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) was set up in Geneva. It became the first stone of a complex set of national and international organizations specializing in intellectual cooperation. This process was not easy or linear, nor did it respond to a previously designed scheme. Among the decisive milestones that marked it, a qualitative change took place in 1924, when the French government proposed to the LON to create an executive branch of the ICIC thanks to a generous pecuniary contribution. After lengthy debates, the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) was officially inaugurated in Paris in 1926. Despite having been created under the auspices of the LON, it constituted an independent body vis-à-vis governments and the latter. In addition to the ICIC and the IIIC, National Committees of Intellectual Cooperation (NCIC) started being created in each country since 1923 with the aim of granting the coordination between each national field and the Geneva and Paris headquarters. The ICIC, the IIIC, and the NCIC soon grew into a complex institutional network,[1] composed by several bodies sharing aims and goals and with representation in more than 40 countries. This complex organization was formalized in 1931 under the umbrella term "Intellectual Cooperation Organization" (ICO), with its composing bodies constituting some of the most important vectors of intellectual cooperation in the first half of the 20th century.

The ICO's work went on until the outbreak of World War II, which battered the LON and its specialized bodies. The IIIC, in turn, ceased its activities with the occupation of Paris and remained dormant during the war. An attempt to resume activities was formulated between 1945 and 1946, which consisted in creating an international center of intellectual cooperation in Havana,[2] but this project never came to life. Another proposal to resume works was formulated in the aftermath of World

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[1] The ICO included as well other specialized bodies, such as the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (IECI), founded in Rome in 1928 and active until 1937, or the International Museums Office (IMO), which worked from the IICI's headquarters between 1926 and 1946. They will not be discussed because their issue-area falls outside this dissertation's scope.

[2] Corinne A. Pernet, "Twists, Turns and Dead Alleys: The League of Nations and Intellectual Cooperation in Times of War," *Journal of Modern European History / Zeitschrift Für Moderne Europäische Geschichte / Revue d'histoire Européenne Contemporaine* 12, no. 3 (2014): 342–58.

War II, but it was ultimately preferred to replace the IIIC by a newly created organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Indeed, the IIIC lacked active support from the French government, whose interests and possibilities had radically changed since the foundation of the IIIC. The international order had changed notably, with a new context emerging after the war, marked by the hegemony of the United States. A resolution that formally recognized the continuities between both institutions was signed in 1946, agreeing to "assurer, sous la responsabilité de l'UNESCO et par des mesures appropriées, la continuité de l'œuvre menée depuis 1924 par l'IICI sur le plan des avoirs, du personnel et du programme de travail de l'IICI."[3]

During its existence, the ICO worked for the promotion of educational, scientific, literary, and artistic exchange to favor a better understanding between cultures and to disseminate values discouraging the repetition of a conflict such as the First World War. Its efforts deployed in a complex and vast list of issue-areas. For example, the study of the conditions of intellectual labor in the countries affected by the war, the promotion of academic relations at a university and secondary level, the potential of radio and cinema in educational terms, the improvement of mechanisms permitting book circulation, the systematization of bibliographic references, the cooperation between libraries, archives, and museums, or the study of international relations, architecture and urbanism, or music. As can be grasped from the variety of fields of interest, the ICO's work required the participation of an equally varied list of experts and collaborators, to which were added government representatives and the ICO's staff.

Description of the Research Project

The present study examines the ICO's work in the domain of translation. The chronology it encompasses starts with the ICIC's first sessions in 1922 and ends with the outbreak of the Second World War. This means that I use the term "ICO" to refer to the collaborative effort of the ICIC, the IIIC and NCIC also in the years preceding the ICO's formal recognition as an organizational network in 1931. Also, this study focuses primarily on the ICIC and the IIIC given that said bodies concentrated decision-making

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[3] Jean-Jacques Renoliet, *L'UNESCO oubliée. La Société des Nations et la coopération intellectuelle (1919-1946)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), 178.

and execution within the ICO. Occasional reference to the role of NCIC is provided when pertinent. In correspondence to that focus, the main sources employed include the IIIC's archival funds, preserved today by UNESCO in Paris, and the League of Nations archive, hosted by UN Archives Geneva.[4]

This dissertation has been written under the co-supervision of professors Diana Roig-Sanz (UOC-IN3, ICREA, Spain) and Reine Meylaerts (KU Leuven, Belgium). My work is to be inscribed in the framework of the ERC Starting Grant project "Social Networks of the Past. Mapping Hispanic and Lusophone Literary Modernity (1898-1959)" (SNOP), led by Dr. Roig-Sanz. Within said project, I was responsible for the axis devoted to institutionalization processes. In result, here I examine the attention given to translation in the ICO's work, hence looking into the ways this international organization (IO) contributed to the institutionalization of translation. Keeping in mind the Ibero-American focus of the SNOP project, when possible or relevant, I devote especial attention to agents coming from Latin America, Spain, or Portugal.

Against this backdrop, I adopt the perspective of Translation Studies, while also approaching the history of translation policies from an interdisciplinary perspective that enters into dialogue with sociology (sociology of translation, sociology of institutions, and historical sociology), global history, and digital humanities. In this regard, I seek to offer a three-fold contribution involving the selected object, theoretical framework, and methodology. First, my goal is to contribute to the socio-historical analysis of translation policies in institutional settings. This entails a necessary reflection on the ICO's nature as an IO, hence contributing to its historiography. To articulate the different lines of work the ICO developed in this domain, I use the notion of "translation policy" as an umbrella category that can be broken down into several components, each corresponding to the domains of activity the ICO engaged in. Among them, I examine the ICO's policy in relation to institutional translation and literary translation. Second, from a theoretical standpoint, I draw on sociology, specifically, field theory, to construct my research object. My goal is to contribute to ongoing scholarly efforts to apply field theory to objects that deploy on scales other than the national one, therefore establishing a dialogue with scholarship interested in global history and, more broadly, the global turn. Third, from a methodological perspective, I explore the possibilities opened by quantitative tools,

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[4] They are hereafter referred to as "UNESCO Archives" and "UN Archives" respectively, to indicate the source of quoted archive material.

digital humanities (DH), and data science, methods that I use in combination with qualitative methods traditionally employed in the humanities. As mentioned, my work was conducted within the framework of the SNOP project. As can be implied from its name, the latter had an eminently methodological dimension interested in the reconstruction of historical networks. In this domain, I have benefited from the assistance of several colleagues, whose contribution is described in Chapter 4.

Aims and Objectives

The history of intellectual cooperation and the history of translation are fields that have benefited from growing interest in the last few years, although there is still a lot of ground to cover. My aim is to examine the historical processes that shaped the internationalization of intellectual activities in the interwar period and their institutionalization, by selecting translation within an international organization (IO) as my focus. More precisely, I aim at examining the attention devoted to translation in the ICO's work given two premises. On the one hand, the premise that translation is one of the mediating mechanisms *par excellence*, and, on the other hand, the premise that the ICO constituted a pivotal point of institutionalization of intellectual occupations, practices, and values in the first half of the 20th century.

My research has been guided by several objectives that break down the previous general aim. Said objectives include:

1) Examining archive material to reconstruct the projects undertaken in relation to translation during the ICO's functioning (and the values underpinning them).

2) Analyzing the agents and, more importantly, the relationships between agents that shaped the way those projects unfolded.

3) Examining the interplay between the institutionalization of translation and the two dominant ideologies in the period, namely, nationalism and internationalism.

4) Exploring theoretical and methodological tools to deepen the relational nature of both the ICO and translation.

This study approaches the agent and the object analyzed, i.e., the ICO and translation, from a relational standpoint. In other words, I examine relations rather than objects given the coincidence of cooperation and translation as two activities sharing an eminently relational goal. For this reason, attention to relations also resonates in the selected theoretical framework and methodology. More broadly, I argue that object and

agent are mutually constitutive. I examine what can be learned about the history of intellectual cooperation by looking into the ICO's work on translation, and what can be learned about translation and its social history by examining the ICO's work in this domain. In this framework, some of the questions I will answer include: What was the place of translation in the ICO's work? Did the latter contribute to the institutionalization of this activity? Did the ICO's work in the domain of translation contribute to the institutionalization of single cultures, languages, or literatures? What does the focus on languages and translation tell us about the ICO's functioning and on the ways it conceptualized cultural encounter? How can the focus on languages and translation help shed light on the literal, real and practical ways through which "mutual understanding" was pursued? How did the ICO's activity reflect the interplay between lingua francas and translation? What languages were promoted in incoming and outgoing communications? What weight did translation tasks have in shaping the institutional identity and legitimacy of the bodies composing the ICO? How was translation organized within the administrative structure of the bodies constituting the ICO? Who performed translation tasks within the ICO and what were their skills? Did the ICO's work in relation to the different intellectual subfields attest to the structural function of translation?

Justification of Interest

To justify the interest of approaching the ICO's history from the perspective of translation, three types of arguments can be advanced. In the first group, a series of arguments related to the ICO's specificities in terms of goal, mission, composition, and chronology. The second and third arguments, instead, are rooted in preliminary results of primary source analysis, suggesting that translation was the object of transversal interest in the work of the ICO.

Within the first group of arguments, an initial element to be noted is the affinity between cooperation and translation as activities that intrinsically pursue the establishment of new connections between previously isolated or conflictual groups, or the reinforcement of previous connections in cases where incipient or sporadic dynamics preexisted. The fact that the bodies composing the ICO worked towards the programmatic goal of promoting cross-border connections in the intellectual realm suggests a direct involvement with the material and immaterial elements enabling or hindering them. Among the latter, translation can be expected to emerge as a relevant activity given its

key function in facilitating inter-linguistic communication. The translation policies that IOs have historically enacted appear as an appealing vantage point to examine the historical relations between the practice of translation and internationalization or globalization[5] processes from a perspective that is especially attentive to the conditions of possibility shaping them. Not coincidentally, one of the expressions recurrently used to refer to the ICO's goals by its main protagonists[6] and by historians[7] is that of "mutual understanding," which has been systematically used to refer to the goals of intellectual cooperation. Other metaphors include "moral disarmament," "rapprochement des peuples," and "Ligue des esprits." Metaphorical expressions operate by transferring ideas from one lexical field to another, and thus from one social sphere to another. The use of figurative language, be it analogies or metaphors, in the definition of reality is extremely common given that "figurative analogies help us to agree or disagree on relatively intangible topics, from temporal relations (...) to international politics."[8] Figurative discourse presents a high degree of openness, as it enables the coexistence of a diversity of meanings and nuances, negotiations of meaning, and different appropriations of single expressions. To put it simply: it enables the presence of the multiple in the singular. The extensive use of metaphorical expressions to refer to the ICO's work, to what it should be, how it should be practiced, or by whom clearly reflects the lack of a consensual positive definition and the profound diversity of visions and opinions within the agents involved with the ICO. Returning to the metaphor of "mutual understanding," one of the reasons justifying the interest of my approach lies in the fact that translation is one of the activities that can facilitate mutual understanding in a very literal, real, and practical way, given its role in mitigating the linguistic difficulties arising in intercultural encounters. Analyzing the place of translation at the ICO constitutes a way to unpack the layers of meaning encapsulated in the expression "mutual understanding." Problematizing said

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[5] See Section 2.3 and 3.4 for a clarification of the difference between said terms.

[6] For example, the titles of documents and folders such as "Contribution of music to the mutual understanding between peoples - Discussion at the first session of the Standing Committee on Arts and Letters, July 1931," R2239/5B/28958/5757, UN Archive, and "Rapport documentaire et préparatoire à l'Enquête Projetée sur les Manuels Scolaires contenant des Passages Nuisibles à la Compréhension Mutuelle," AG 1-IIIC-B 1930-1931-12, UNESCO Archive.

[7] This expression can be found, for example, in the following works: Pernet, "Twists, Turns and Dead Alleys," 342–58; Alexandra Pita, *Educar para la paz. México y la cooperación intelectual internacional, 1922-1948* (México D. F.: Universidad de Colima, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 2014); Martin Grandjean, "Les réseaux de la coopération intellectuelle. La Société des Nations comme actrice des échanges scientifiques et culturels dans l'entre-deux-guerres," PhD diss., Université de Lausanne, 2018.

[8] Jörg Zinken, "Discourse Metaphors: The Link between Figurative Language and Habitual Analogies," *Cognitive Linguistics* 18, no. 3 (2007): 445.

expression means, in this case, raising questions such as the following: What did "mutual" mean in this expression? Were words such as "reciprocal" or "bidirectional" its synonyms? What are the differences and implications of its literal and metaphorical meaning? What does it take to "understand" the other? What were the concrete practices enacted and decisions made to reach said goal?

The ICO's composition adds a second layer of potential interest. The fact that its institutional structure and functioning emerged at the very confluence of international and transnational[9] circuits suggests the confluence of two institutional orders operating according to their specific logics: on the one hand, the sphere of the state and the derived official institutions, which include bodies as diverse as ministries, libraries, or universities. And, on the other hand, the intellectual sphere, where a diversity of professions or schools of thought coexist, sometimes regrouped in their own institutions such as periodicals, associations, or other types of sociability spaces. It is almost banal to state that, in historical terms, relations between the field of the state and the intellectual field have not always been fluid. And this, even though they have historically pursued similar social functions (or precisely because of that similarity). Governments and intellectuals have historically legitimized their *raison d'être* and legitimacy by alluding to their role in the defense of the greater good and to their function as social guides. However, they advanced crucially different views on visions on the ways said leadership should be exercised, as well as on the sources of said legitimacy. Relations between politics and culture have also varied in different cultural traditions. Suffice it to recall the traditional opposition between the French and the Anglo-Saxon understanding of intellectual cooperation. Criticism regarding the ways intellectual cooperation was institutionalized by the ICO was regularly expressed by representatives of English-speaking countries given that, in their understanding, intellectuals had no place in political affairs, which was directly opposed to the French understanding.[10] This difference was so profound in the two cultures that, in the opinion of representatives of English-speaking countries, the expression "coopération intellectuelle" was simply "*untranslatable* in

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[9] I am here using said terms with the meaning they generally receive in the field of international relations. "International" is here referring to interstate relations, while "transnational" refers to circuits animated by civil society (for example, like PEN Clubs or other intellectual organizations operating in different countries).

[10] Tomás Irish, "'The League Committee of Intellectual Cooperation […] has never attracted much sympathy in Great Britain': Britain and the League of Nations in the Interwar Period," In *Centenary of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations* (Geneva, 2022).

English."[11] In the Spanish-speaking domain, intellectuals such as José Ortega y Gasset also defined a position that was close to the French one. For all the nuances this debate took in different geographical and temporal coordinates, the political field and the intellectual field constitute two crucial domains where identity-building processes unfold and crystallize in specific tangible practices, from the victory of a specific political party or an ideology in an election to the development of a specific aesthetic school. Both, ultimately, reflect social tensions and needs and the search for solutions, hence the interest of putting in relation processes unfolding in the two spheres and analyzing their relations. If it is considered that any translation project constitutes the crystallization of a specific articulation between the self and the other, analyzing translation activities in an institutional endeavor underpinned by the structural cooperation of the intellectual and the political field presents a clear interest in that regard.

A third argument justifying the decision to approach the history of the ICO from the prism of translation is related to the ICO's specificities in terms of historical context. The ICO was the first body of its kind in history. In other words, it was a seminal moment. Studying the origins of social practices and formations can have a considerable heuristic potential in the sense that they constitute moments when practices that become automatized with time are not yet naturalized. In this sense, Pierre Bourdieu, paraphrasing Durkheim, stated that "l'inconscient, c'est l'histoire."[12] In his view, reconstructing historical practices and debates had a direct interest for the comprehension of present dynamics. In his own words,

> Pour débanaliser et pour surmonter l'amnésie des commencements qui est inhérente à l'institutionnalisation, il est important de revenir aux débats initiaux qui font apercevoir que là où il nous est resté un seul possible, il y en avait plusieurs avec des camps accrochés à ces possibles. (…) L'histoire détruit des possibles : l'espace des possibles ne cesse à chaque moment de se refermer (…) l'histoire d'une institution réussie implique l'amnésie de la genèse de l'institution, que l'histoire élimine des possibles et les fait oublier comme possibles, qu'elle rend même impensables des possibles.[13]

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[11] *Ibid.* My emphasis. It should be noted in this regard that the expression "intellectual cooperation" was preferred by Nitobe to avoid other expressions in use in the ICIC's early days that mentioned potentially problematic aspects. This includes names such as "International Organisation of Intellectual Work," which suggested that the ICIC's goal was to become an equivalent of the International Labour Office for intellectuals. Also, "Committee on International Education" directly referred to the tricky domain of education, in which states were most reluctant to make concessions. Grandjean, "Les réseaux*,"* 160.

[12] Pierre Bourdieu, *Sur l'État.* Cours *au Collège de France, 1989-1992* (Paris: Seuil-Raisons d'agir, 2012), 155.

[13] Bourdieu, *Sur l'État*, 199–200.

Building on this idea, historical objects (such as the history of translation, the history of IOs, etc.) acquires a new potential interest given the implicit link established with contemporary practices and institutions. In this regard, it should be considered that the ICO operated in a time when translation was not a specialized occupation. Therefore, the analysis of its translation activities can also be justified by the underlying hypothesis that said body contributed to the institutionalization of translation, be that in the domain of inter-national (read: interstate) relations or in the emergence of a global intellectual space.

Having presented three possible justifications related to general considerations on the ICO's goal, features, and historical context, I will now put forward some additional arguments to justify the interest of the selected perspective offered by a preliminary perusal of archive material. Given the role of the IIIC within the ICO, this institution's archive was used to conduct a test and evaluate if this line of research presented the expected potential. The IIIC's archive constituting an extremely vast funds, two preliminary methods have been employed to evaluate whether it contained significant materials. This includes first a large-scale key-word search in archive material to quantify mentions of translation-related words in preserved materials. Two keyword searches were conducted. In the first case, I used the search tool of the UNESCO Archives database Access to Memory (AtoM) and selected the archival funds corresponding to the IIIC.[14] Even though the latter contains vast digitized materials, keyword search can only provide results from preserved materials that have been processed with Optical Character Recognition (OCR), as I develop with more detail in Chapter 4. Since the latter excluded a good part of the archival funds, a group of researchers from the SNOP project undertook the necessary steps to enable keyword search in a part of preserved correspondence. This enabled me to repeat the same key-word search on a dataset containing the complete materials preserved in Subseries A and F from the series Correspondence (see Section 4.3 for a description of the archive, the selection of said folders, and the ocerization process). In both cases, the following keywords were searched: *"translation," "traduction," "traduit," "traduire," "traducteur," "traductrice," "translated," "translator."* As illustrated in Table 1, the results varied significantly:

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[14] UNESCO archives contain multiple archive groups, one of which is the IIIC fonds. The latter can be accessed and searched at the following link: https://atom.archives.unesco.org/iiic

	Search tool UNESCO Archives (Atom database)	**Series Correspondence OCR'd (Subseries A and F)**
traduction	256	3,494
translation	100	1,310
traduire	118	312
traduit	115	509
translated	25	146
translator	6	148
traducteur	42	580
traductrice	2	62

Table 1. Occurrences of the word "translation" (and related terms) in parts of the IIIC's fonds

The considerable presence of translation-related words in correspondence justified the decision to examine the history of intellectual cooperation from that perspective.

Second, the large-scale approach was also complemented by a preliminary small-scale exercise of close reading of some archival material. I refer to the minutes of the ICIC's first meetings. The ICIC's very first sessions, held in August 1922, was devoted to identifying the ways the ICIC could collaborate with national institutions and make itself useful for the intellectual field. In that framework, Spanish engineer Leonardo Torres Quevedo proposed that the body focus on facilitating the exchange of written communications. In his view, work on translation and distribution of information was one of the ways the new temporary committee could contribute to intellectual cooperation. The idea reappeared the following year. In December 1923, in the occasion of the ICIC's third session, a project to create a central office for scientific publications was discussed, whose tasks would include the distribution of printed works and their translation into widely spoken languages in the case of scientific works written in less-known languages. In addition to the previous questions, the legal problems tied to translation were as well soon detected by the ICIC's members. In the Summer of 1923, when the ICIC's second session took place, Louis Gallié, representative of the International Confederation of Intellectual Workers (ICIW), raised the question of authors' moral rights over their work, especially when the latter entered the public domain, and signaled the issue as one of the points of confluence between the ICIW and the ICIC. Henri Bergson quickly linked that issue with that of translation, thus proposing that the ICIC sought to "find legal means to prevent a publisher from deciding in an arbitrary manner on his translator, and to prevent

the purchase of inoperative translation rights for a given country."[15] After said exchanges, the ICIC agreed to include the question of authors' rights as regards publication, insertion, reproduction, and translation among the questions the ICIC should address in the years to come.

An additional domain in which translation was the object of early interest was the IIIC's internal organization. This was the main topic treated in the ICIC's 5th session, held in May 1925. Therein reference can be found to the fact that no specific funds had been allocated for translators and that, in result, the IIIC would need to hire bilingual stenographers.[16] This mention introduces the function of translation and language skills in the very functioning of the bodies composing the ICO, within their structure and staff.

Both qualitative and quantitative analysis of archive material confirmed that translation was the object of specific attention since the ICO's early days. The arguments presented so far constituted enough signs to formulate the hypothesis that translation was the object of transversal interest in the ICO's work. On the one hand, a preliminary analysis suggested that translation was the object of interest for varied domains of activity within the intellectual domain, among which, scientific cooperation, legal cooperation, and literary cooperation. On the other hand, translation and language policies were also relevant elements in shaping the communication strategy enacted by the bodies composing the ICO. In this framework, translation became one administrative activity that opens the door to analyzing the ways said institutions established and managed relations with other agents and the ways they constructed their individual and collective identities through representation strategies and communicative means.

If it can be posited that translation was the object of a transversal interest the ICO's work, the previous statement does not mean that translation was the central concern in the ICO's work. Translation is the central focus in this dissertation, which should not be mistaken with any pretension to assert that translation had a central role in the ICO's undertakings. Put it plainly, if translation was discussed and explored in a variety of frameworks, it was so with varying degrees of interest and treated with unequal level of

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[15] League of Nations. Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Minutes of the Second Session. Geneva, July 26-Aug. 2, 1923. UN ARCHIVES, C-570-M-224-1923-XII_EN.. 29. UN Archives, C-570-M-224-1923_FR.

[16] UN Archives, R1035-13C-44163-14297 Minutes of the Fifth Session of the International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation, May 1925. Stenography, also referred to as shorthand writing, refers to a method of writing with abbreviations and signs often used by secretaries to prepare written versions of a dictated text, minutes of meetings.

depth in each one of them, and especially, without there necessarily being a consciousness of translation's transversal or structural function.

Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided in three parts: "Part 1. A Research Project as the Construction of the Object," "Part 2. Translation Policies as Means to Shape Institutional Identity," and "Part 3. Translation Policies and the Internationalization of the Literary Field." They share the same structure: they start with an introduction, contain several chapters, in turn divided in sections and subsections, and close with conclusions for each part.

Part 1 presents an eminently theoretical character and is devoted to a thorough presentation of the elements defining my work, namely, the object, the agent, the perspective, and the method. In correspondence, Part 1 comprises four chapters. Chapter 1 is devoted to the main agent analyzed, i.e., the ICO. In Chapter 2, I focus on the object, i.e., translation, and more precisely, the concept of "translation policy," which is the notion guiding the whole dissertation. Chapter 3 presents the occasion to explicitly elaborate on the perspective adopted upon object and agent, a perspective that is shaped by field theory. Chapter 4, finally, is devoted to methods, and in that framework, I offer several considerations on the combined use of qualitative and quantitative methods and present the main steps followed for the quantitative approach.

All four chapters in Part 1 present a relatively similar structure. They begin with a short introduction to the topic in question, which is then followed by a section where I discuss existing scholarship on the pertaining topic, and I make explicit the ways said concepts or theories have been useful to approach my research object. In Chapters 1 and 2, that section contains a state of the art where I summarize current knowledge in a descriptive way, whereas in Chapters 3 and 4, given the topics covered, the literature review is less systematic and focuses on specific analytical aspects relevant for the topic examined. In all cases, that section includes the identification of several gaps, problems, or questions arising in light of my research topic and whose answers were not provided by existing scholarship. In the following sections, I adopt a more analytical stance and critically engage with the literature reviewed and put it in dialogue with my research topic. In some cases, I have examined primary sources to find the necessary answers, in others, I have resorted to complementary concepts or theoretical tools to that end.

In Part 2, I focus on institutional translation and the role translation played in the communication flows established between the bodies composing the ICO. Part 2 starts out with a short introduction to the topic of institutional translation. Chapter 5 constitutes the first chapter in Part 2, and it discusses the LON's translation policy given that the ICIC's work relied on the LON's administrative services. To that end, I investigate the official language and translation policy, translation tasks performed by the LON's staff, and translation in some events organized by the LON, or under its auspices. In Chapter 6, instead, I focus on the IIIC. I first conduct a large-scale analysis of the IIIC's communication flows through correspondence preserved in said body's funds, to then examine the presence of translation work within the IIIC's administrative structure and its workforce's duties. Finally, I broaden the focus and use archive material to reconstruct the geographies of intellectual cooperation, a topic I link to that of the ICO's translation policy through the notion of the latter's forms of political and cultural representation. Part 2 closes with chapter conclusions.

In Part 3, I delve into the ICO's translation policy in relation to literary translation, hence including the ICO's involvement in the process leading to the globalization of the literary field. Part 3 starts with a chapter introduction where I elaborate on the link between literary translation and the internationalization of the literary field. Chapter 7 retraces the first steps to designing a program of activity on the domain of literary translation. This includes a presentation of the main agents involved and the reconstruction of the first working methods, that is, the ICIC's first sessions, an ad hoc inquiry, and an expert committee. Chapter 8 focuses on translation's relational character by addressing the publication of several articles on translation in one of the ICO's bulletins and the ICO's efforts to establish collaboration with other cultural organizations. Chapter 9 is devoted to reconstructing the history of one of the most important projects in relation to translation, namely, the *Index Translationum*. In Chapter 10, I address the literary collections published by the IIIC with a focus on the Ibero-American Collection. Part 3 closes with some conclusions that are transversal to Chapters 7 to 10.

As per usual, this dissertation closes with a general conclusion and the bibliography, where employed sources are listed in alphabetical order. They are divided between primary and secondary sources. All sources drafted or published during the ICO's years of activity, or by agents directly involved in that endeavor, are listed in the first category. Additionally, the dissertation includes several appendices where I

reproduce certain articles or reports presenting a special interest for the topics discussed in previous chapters.

Notes on formal choices

The present section aims at making explicit and justifying some of the formal choices followed throughout this dissertation. A first group of questions has to do with my own translation policy. When quoting archive material, I maintain quotations originally written in English or French in their original form. Writing this dissertation has been a practical way to put the LON's language policy to the test, in the sense that the organization's official bilingualism would suggest that most documents should be available in both languages, but this was not always the case. In general terms, I have privileged quotations of English versions of official documents when both versions were available to maintain a certain coherence with my writing language. This has only occasionally been possible, and a vast number of quotations are provided in French, without providing a translation. In some cases, original sources in languages other than French and English are quoted, for example, German and Spanish. In those cases, I provide the original text followed by its translation in English. Secondary sources are always quoted in their original language and the same translation choices are applied than in the case of archive material.

The fact that main sources exist in two versions means that a good part of original sources are, themselves, translations, which sometimes blurs the distinction between original and translation. Despite the policy of the two official languages, I have encountered certain difficulties when translating some terms used in originals written in French. In those cases, I have searched for parallel texts in English to use, in my own English writing, the same word contemporaries used in English. It is necessary to mention in this regard that archival sources are not always consistent, which attests to difficulties in consolidating a common vocabulary in the two official languages.

Another type of words that required specific translation decisions were institutions' names and their appurtenant acronyms. The study of the bodies composing the ICO has been mainly developed by French-speaking scholars until recent years, for whom the organizations' names and acronyms were self-evident. This was especially acute in the case of the IIIC. It is not rare in this regard to find monographs or articles

where institutions' names are used in French ("Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle"), with the appurtenant French acronyms ("IICI"), even though their writing language is English. This dissertation has been written in a moment when the bodies composing the ICO have become the object of interest for scholars writing in languages other than French. This reflects the switch from something that in a recent past could be considered an eminently "French research object" to a global research object. Having chosen English as my writing language, it made little sense to me to maintain French names of bodies that had an international scope and that sometimes also worked in English. Also, because I mention institutions that were not based in France as well, such as NCIC, and thus it made no sense at all to translate their names into French.

In consequence, I use the English version of institutions' names and the appurtenant acronyms. The first example is the ICO itself. Known in French as "Organisation de Coopération Intellectuelle" (OCI), a search of English names in the LON's Archive and on Google provide examples of different translations: "Intellectual Cooperation Organisation," translations with different conjunctions ("Organisation of Intellectual Cooperation," "Organisation for Intellectual Cooperation," and "Organisation on Intellectual Cooperation"). Most forms could also be found with American or British English (organisation vs. organization). Knowing that the quantitative criteria is not necessarily the most accurate when it comes to translation decisions, I consulted the United Nations Archives Geneva. Following their indications, institutions' names employed in the LON official documents distributed to the Council and the Assembly should be used. In the example mentioned, the form should therefore be "Intellectual Co-operation Organisation," a form that I write without the hyphen to adapt it to modern spelling. In the case of hierarchically inferior bodies within the ICO, official documents have not always provided a single answer. For example, the "Sous-Commission des Lettres et des Arts" (later on "Comité permanent des Lettres et des Arts") can also be referred in official primary sources in French as "Sous-Commission des Arts et des Lettres," inverting the order of its components. This challenge, logically, reappears with its translation. In the case of this example, in English it was more common to speak of the "Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters/Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters" than "Sub-Committee on Letters and Arts." The IIIC's sections had different translations in English as well. For instance, the "Section de Relations Littéraires" was translated as "Literary Relations Section" or "Section for Literary Relations." Therefore, when official

documents contain different versions of a bodies' name, I have selected the translation I have found more often and used it systematically in this dissertation.

In the case of institutions not belonging to the ICO, the search engine LONSEA,[17] as well as other bibliographical sources, have been employed to examine whether a given body's name had an established translation in English. An example is the case of the International Confederation of Intellectual Workers (I.C.I.W.), for which LONSEA provides the English as well as the French name ("Confédération Internationale des Travailleurs Intellectuels, C.I.T.I.). An exception to that criterion is that of the Société (Professionnelle) de Gens de Lettres, and the related Fédération Internationale de Sociétés Professionnelles de Gens de Lettres. In this case, LONSEA provides the translation "International Federation of Professional Societies of Men of Letters." Since said translation is debatable, and I have not been able to locate contemporary sources using it, I refer to the Société with its name preserved in its French form.

In the cases where I have not been able to find an established translation, I have maintained the original name. This is especially the case of the Association Littéraire et Artistique Internationale (ALAI), a body that, still today, uses the French acronym despite being also rooted in English-speaking countries.[18] In the case of French organizations, I don't provide a translation for coherence reasons and use their names in French. For organizations located in countries other than France, I apply the same criterion and use their original name and provide an English working translation in brackets. Only when their original name has not been found they are referred in French, as mentioned in original sources.

Another group of words presenting difficulties were people's names. Archival sources often translate first names (e.g., Marika/Marie Stiernstedt, János/Jean Hankiss). Considering that contemporary uses tend to avoid the translation of first names, I have privileged the original form of names written in Latin script. For coherence reasons, I have adopted the same criteria in cases where the opposite choice could as well be defended, for example, because the agent in question spent considerable time in France and used a transcribed or translated version of her name. This was the case of Elena

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[17] Madeleine Herren et. al., LONSEA – League of Nations Search Engine, Heidelberg/Basel, 2010–2017, online: www.lonsea.org.
[18] See, for example, the description provided by ALAI-USA. Available online: https://www.alaiusa.org/about

Văcărescu (often referred to as Hélène Vacaresco). Different transliterations are also used in original sources for names originally written in alphabets other than Latin. For example, Serge Elisséeff/Elisseev, Albion Rajkumar Banerjee/Banerji, Li Shu-hua/Shou Hua, Aḥmad Luṭfī Sayyid Pasha/Ahmed Loutfi Sayed Pacha. To this, involuntary mistakes in historical documents should be added (typos, wrong orthography of names they are not familiar with, and with whom they enter into sporadic contact, etc.). In this dissertation, I follow modern transliteration uses and adopt the form generally used in English-speaking sources, irrespective of the way they are quoted in original sources. In cases where first names have not been found, I maintain the use of courtesies (Mr., Mrs., etc.) because they provide information on gender. If no first name nor a courtesy was used in original sources and I have not been able to identify a given person, I only use the last name as written in original sources.

Some formal aspects that escape the domain of translation also need elicitation. When archive material is quoted, its location is systematically mentioned in footnotes. Therein, I generally provide the reader with the title of the document under examination, its date, the archive's name, and the folder's number and name. In some cases, some of those fields are redundant given that the document's title corresponds exactly to the folder's title. In said cases, redundant information is omitted, and only the archive's name and the folder's number and title are provided.

Part 1. A Research Project as the Construction of an Object

Introduction. Four pillars of a dissertation shaped by the global turn

In the last two decades, a growing interest in supranational dynamics has manifested in the social sciences and humanities (SSH). Cultural exchange, cultural circulation, cross-cultural phenomena, and flows have been the object of growing attention, a symptom of what has come to be called the global turn.[19] The latter manifests not only in the selection of some research objects over others, but also in the revision of theoretical and conceptual tools and in the interrogation of methods and whether the latter adjust to selected objects. Said turn has unfolded in several disciplines that emerge at this dissertation's disciplinary horizon, including history, literary studies, and sociology.

In the historical domain, traditional forms of universal and world history, understood as the juxtaposition of national histories, have witnessed the complementary development of approaches to history pinpointing cross-border or supranational dynamics and connections. For all their differences,[20] practitioners of global history,[21] transnational history,[22] international history, or entangled history (*histoire croisée*),[23] share a revisionist intention synthesized in two main basic principles. On the one hand, they aim to overcome the traditional preeminence of the national frame as the main analytical category. The questioning of methodological nationalism has drawn attention to the risks of turning political borders into epistemological boundaries,[24] thus favoring a reassessment of other spatial units and the corollary disciplinary boundaries based on them. In this regard, some of the targeted domains are national histories, area studies, and imperial studies because of the ghettoizing effect inherent to their institutional structure. As such, the global turn has favored historical narratives that do not hinge upon self-contained and discrete categories imposed by methodological nationalism and by modern disciplinary

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[19] Eve Darian-Smith and Philip C. McCarty, *The Global Turn. Theories, Research Designs, and Methods for Global Studies* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017).

[20] While the first intends to leave behind the world organization in States and thus focus on social, economic and cultural movements crossing borders and continents, the latter has been understood as a term that reflects the switch from a diplomatic history to an international history, as a subfield of Global history specialized in the analysis of relations between countries and regions from all over the world. Also, their practitioners often draw on different intellectual backgrounds. See, in this regard, Robert Frank, *Pour l'histoire des relations internationales* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2012), 39.

[21] Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017).

[22] Akira Iriye, *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2012).

[23] Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 30–50.

[24] Matthias Middell and Katja Naumann, "Global History and the Spatial Turn: From the Impact of Area Studies to the Study of Critical Junctures of Globalization," *Journal of Global History* 5, no. 1 (2010): 158.

fragmentation. Comparative methods in history have as well been questioned, especially in the sense of moving away from binary comparison or what has been called traditional comparativism, which often ended up reifying the syncretism of the compared units. Global history intends to de-essentialize spatial units, not in order to dismiss the importance of the nation-state or local borders, but in order to analyze those scales in their correlation.[25] Approaching history from a global perspective should not be understood as an attempt to write the history of everything or everyone, but as a perspective attentive to the connections and complex interactions existing between units, as well as to the intertwining of spatial regimes. It could be considered that movement is at the chore of such an understanding of history, in opposition to a more ordered or Cartesian conception that hinges upon fixed, discrete structuring categories, often conceived as self-containing.[26]

On the other hand, global history advances a revisionist approach regarding the Eurocentric character of traditional historical narratives and metanarratives, such as Western exceptionalism, cultural imperialism, and the paradigm of independent origins.[27] In this background, it aims to rectify the preeminence of Europe and, broadly, the West, in the epistemic domain, and as such, it can be related to disciplines such as postcolonial and subaltern studies. Its purpose is to challenge the conventional structure of the world in which Europe acts as the subject for the construction of knowledge and other parts of the world are relegated to mere objects,[28] and better assess the historic connections to and between different parts of the world. Such a decentering project entails the questioning of the toolbox traditionally employed, starting with Western teleological metanarratives. It aims to substitute the diffusionist model for other historic accounts that attest to the fact that multidirectional exchanges and complex connections were at the core of most historic processes. Considering that aim, some central concepts in the traditional (European) historic discourse have been subject to debate. For example, the concept of modernity, to which the idea of multiple or alternative modernities is today preferred.[29] Also,

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[25] Middell and Naumann, "Global History," 159–61.
[26] For the opposition between movement and order in the debate on global history, see Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, eds., *Translocality. The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).
[27] Conrad, *What Is Global History?*, 73.
[28] Maxine Berg, *Writing the History of the Global. Challenges for the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 5.
[29] Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, Multiple Modernities (New York: Routledge, 2002); Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, ed., *Alternative Modernities* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

"circulation" is preferred to "influence," given its capacity to grasp multidirectional dynamics.

Similar debates have emerged in other disciplines in the SSH. In sociology, globalization has been a central topic since, at least, the 1990s,[30] and current discussion on global sociology is subject to debate.[31] In that regard, efforts to reintroduce peripheries in sociological thought is a project sparking considerable interest today.[32] Literary studies did not remain aloof and echoed the global turn by witnessing the renewal of comparative literature and their approximation to Translation Studies (TS), the discipline that finds its very *raison d'être* in the study of interlinguistic exchange. At the crossroads of literary studies, comparative literature, and TS emerge several approaches dealing with literary history and literary circulation from perspectives that question the field's traditional methodological nationalism. Similar to the case of history, nuances exist between those promoting the study of transnational literature(s),[33] global literature,[34] and world literature.[35] Despite their differences, they share the critique to methodological nationalism and Eurocentrism. The global turn in literary studies has found its origin in several favoring dynamics, such as "the study of minority, multicultural, and postcolonial literatures" and the latter's intersection in the "emerging study of globalization."[36] In TS, recent discussion on methodological nationalism has seen the light.[37]

The global turn has favored the confluence of the aforementioned disciplines in multiple interdisciplinary research communities brought together by shared interests. Some of the topics at the intersection of their disciplinary boundaries include "movements, intersections (and disentanglements), and their resulting effects," and

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[30] Ulrick Beck, *What is Globalization?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999).

[31] Michael Burawoy, "Challenges for a Global Sociology," *Contexts* 8 no. 4 (2009): 36–41; Gurminder K. Bhambra, "The Possibilities of, and for, Global Sociology: A Postcolonial Perspective," *Political Power and Social Theory* 24 (2013): 295–314.

[32] Arthur Bueno, Mariana Teixeira, and David Strecker, *De-Centering Global Sociology. The Peripheral Turn in Social Theory and Research* (New York, Routledge, 2023).

[33] Paul Jay, *Transnational Literature: The Basics* (Abdingdon, New York: Routledge, 2021).

[34] Diana Roig-Sanz and Neus Rotger, Global Literary Studies: Key Concepts (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022).

[35] David Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); Christopher Prendergast, ed., Debating World Literature (London, New York: Verso, 2004); Theo D'haen, David Damrosch, and Djelal Kadir, eds., The Routledge Companion to World Literature (London and New York: Routledge, 2011).

[36] Paul Jay, *Global Matters: The Transnational Turn in Literary Studies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), 2.

[37] Mattea Cussel, "Methodological Nationalism in Translation Studies," *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 16 no. 1 (2021): 1–18.

"flows of texts, ideas, artworks, concepts, practices, and people."[38] More specifically, the study of the international circulation of intellectuals and symbolic goods has kindled the interest of a growing number of researchers, as well as IOs and transnational organizations. As can be inferred from the previous examples, the global turn constitutes a general perspective that directly shapes this dissertation. This can be grasped in the way the four pillars constituting the foundations of the present work align with the global turn. Said pillars refer to the agent, the object, the theoretical framework, and the methods. The main agent discussed in this dissertation is an IO where states were conferred representation and that worked by relying on intellectuals, hence articulating international and transnational circuits, and necessarily placing us in the framework of internationalization or early globalization processes. The object analyzed is translation, i.e., an activity that thrives with the increased interest or need for cross-cultural, cross-border, or interlinguistic contact. The theoretical framework discussed is field theory, and more precisely, the application of Bourdieu's work to processes that deploy at a global scale. This means that I explicitly delve into the ways the study of global processes requires the revision of theories originally designed to analyze national dynamics. Finally, among methods, in the present dissertation I use a multi- or mixed-method approach that combines qualitative and quantitative methods to investigate micro and macro processes. More precisely, I delve into historic archival research and explore, with the assistance of several colleagues, the potential of data science and digital humanities for the study of the selected object. In sum, this dissertation is marked by contemporary interests and debates on the global, while at the same time paying careful attention to the historicity of the object and dynamics under study.

Part 1 is the result of a continuous back-and-forth between object and theory and between the different disciplines I build on. The present dissertation presents an eminently interdisciplinary character given the fact that I discuss an agent generally addressed by International Relations (IR) to examine an object, translation, that is generally overlooked by those who have devoted more attention to the nature and functioning of IOs. I use sociology to build an approach attentive to the concerns formulated from the perspective of IR, although I also keep in mind the Humanities perspective, which is the domain where I was originally trained. Additionally, some of the methods employed possess an

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[38] Neus Rotger, Diana Roig-Sanz, and Marta Puxan-Oliva, "Introduction: towards a cross-disciplinary history of the global in the humanities and the social sciences, *Journal of Global History* 14, no. 3 (2019): 325–34.

eminently innovative character. In practice, this means that I use concepts, theories, and approaches from different scholarly areas. The purpose of Part 1 is to establish a minimum common ground between them. For this reason, I offer here an explicit development of the analytical decisions through which I have constructed my research object. Inter- and cross-disciplinary research, I contend, calls for an explicit exposition of the decisions through which the researcher has constructed her research object, a practice that can be beneficial to avoid the pitfalls of naturalizing the researcher's position and, with it, her conceptual, theoretical, and methodological assumptions. The expression "construction of object" is here borrowed from Pierre Bourdieu's work. It refers to a breakdown or a rupture operation with intuitive or pre-scientific views, hence constituting one of the main steps in any process of scientific objectivation.[39] In Bourdieu's view, it constitutes a crucial step in the "conversion du regard," that is, to look upon the object sociologically (or scientifically).

Against this backdrop, Part 1 is structured as follows: Chapter 1 discusses the agent, i.e., the ICO, whereas the object, translation policy, is addressed in Chapter 2. The two elements are mutually constitutive: any (translation) policy being inevitably shaped by the features of the body, or bodies enacting it, the definition of the concept "translation policy" is tied to the latter's features. The same applies in the other direction: the reconstruction of the ICO's (translation) policy sheds light on certain aspects regarding the nature of that body and its forms of policymaking, which means that the focus on its

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[39] Despite being central and present in most of Bourdieu's work, the latter did not systematically define it. Deepening the concept's definition and mobilization, Louis Pinto has tried to systematize Bourdieu's considerations upon this operation and characterized it as a form of rupture with the myth of the given, and the myth of the substance. The first one refers to a tendency to naturalize preconstructed views based on perception, whose consequence is taking for granted the way we see something. The second, instead, refers to an excessive focus on substances or essences, that is, on concrete objects, rather than on relations. Indeed, this is one of the main points not only of the construction of the object, but of Bourdieu's whole work, in that the latter's key notions of field theory, i.e., field, capital, illusion, and habitus, must be viewed as tools to overcome such substantialist thought, as well as the derived dichotomies, long-established in the social sciences, between agent/structure or subject/object. To avoid this shortcoming, Pinto stresses the difference between the "'real' object" as preconstructed by perception on the one hand, and the scientific object on the other, which should be understood as a "système de relations construites expressément." Louis Pinto, *La construction d'objet en sociologie. Actualité d'une démarche.* (Vulaines-sur-Seine: Éditions du Croquant, 2020), 12–13. It should be added that, far from being a defense of scientism, Bourdieu's view upon the construction of the object emanated from a "constructivisme réaliste" that sought to eschew long-standing dichotomies or binaries such as rationalism vs. empiricism, pragmatism vs. constructivism, etc. In his view, to avoid scientism, scientific objectivation must also include a reflexive work, that is, the very problematization of the scientist's standpoint. For scientists, this translates into the need to "objectify their own objectifications" to avoid "ignoring or repressing in their accounts of the object of their research, the social and intellectual unconscious embedded in the analytical tools and operations of their discipline." Moira Inghilleri, "The Sociology of Bourdieu and the Construction of the 'Object,'" *The Translator*, 11 no. 2 (2005): 125–45.

(translation) policy can be considered a way to analyze the process of institutional construction through specific practices. Even though the two elements are approached separately in Chapters 1 and 2, the latter present some inevitable overlaps given the fact that the two elements are intimately related. In Chapter 3, instead, I elaborate on the main theoretical and conceptual tools employed in this work. This refers to field theory and subsequent reelaborations to apply it to scales other than the national and to deepen into the latter's relational genesis. In Chapter 4, instead, I present the methods employed, which are characterized by a combined use of quantitative and qualitative tools.

Before concluding this introduction, I would like to explicate my decision to address the construction of the object in Part 1, that is, before the chapters specifically describing the ICO's translation policy. In Part 1, I elaborate on what the ICO *was* (and how to examine it from a theoretical and methodological standpoint) and not what the ICO *did.* For this reason, the contents included in Chapters 1 to 4 could very well be read independently, or after Chapters 5 to 10. Although intrinsically related, both aspects had to be discussed separately because the ICO's features, such as its highly bureaucratic functioning and the diversity of agents involved, required vast digressions that could deviate the reader's attention. This being said, some of the contents included in Part 1 could be read as a conclusion given that they include considerations (on the ICO's functioning, on the definition of "translation policy," etc.) that are the direct result of the research process and of the work undertaken to write chapters included in Parts 2 and 3. The decision to place them *before* has several explanations. First, the consideration that the contents presented in Part 1 constitute metareflections on the agent, object, theoretical framework, and methods, rather than answers to the research questions guiding the present dissertation. Said contents can present an intrinsic interest from a historiographical, theoretical, or methodological standpoint, but in this context, they constitute the starting elements to conduct subsequent work directly addressing my research questions. Second, the fact that this dissertation's textual organization is also marked by an interdisciplinary approach and by the fact that its potential readers have contrasting backgrounds. Discussing the different pillars from the outset established a common ground, irrespective of the reader's background. Third, the desire to present my approach as a proposal to be discussed, questioned, and eventually improved. In my understanding, the construction of the object should not be a conclusion, for conclusions end conversations.

1. The Agent from a Thematic Perspective. Between Single Institutions and an Organizational Network

IOs constitute rich research objects to analyze forms of global governance and their historical particularities, relations between different constituencies and between different fields, as well as complex scalar relations. Their heuristic potential has turned them into objects awakening the interest of, primarily, scholars working in the domain of international relations (IR) and political science, then joined by historians interested in institutional history, global and international history, or intellectual history. These two groups constituted the initial chore of an emerging interdisciplinary community joined in the last years by sociologists and by scholars working in the domain of the humanities (from Cultural to Translation Studies, and from scholars interested in Language and Literature). The ICO's historiography perfectly illustrates the emergence of an interdisciplinary research community,

The present chapter is structured in five sections. Section 1.1 is devoted to discussing existing scholarship on the ICO and the LON. In Section 1.1, I offer an overview of the main strands in the historiography of intellectual cooperation as practiced by the ICO and the LON in the interwar period. It does not pretend to be exhaustive, but to situate the reader on the main sources available today and on the main topics analyzed therein. The history of intellectual cooperation has and is attracting more and more interest in the recent period, with publications multiplying in different domains and languages.[40] Martin Grandjean has done a useful work in facilitating the cohesion of the heteroclite research community emerging around intellectual cooperation by regularly actualizing a bibliography on the topic.[41] For this reason, in this section I provide an overview of works discussing a number of topics that are relevant, in different degrees and for different reasons, for the present dissertation. A similar statement applies to the LON, which is the main topic discussed in Subsection 1.1.2 given the institutional proximity between the ICO and the LON. Therein, I discuss scholarship addressing the LON from the perspective of language and translation. I also discuss scholarship dealing with the LON's history through the lens of its symbolic dimension, an aspect that is especially relevant

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[40] A graphical reconstruction of said evolution can be found in: Martin Grandjean, ed. *Centenary of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations* (Geneva, 2022), 8.

[41] It can be accessed online at the following link: http://intellectualcooperation.org/publications, as well as by subscribing to a Zotero group.

for the ICO given the intrinsic link between the cultural domain and the symbolic sphere. Section 1.1 closes by identifying gaps in current scholarship. This is why, in following subsections, I adopt a more critical perspective and elaborate on aspects of the ICO's functioning that have been relevant to conducting an analysis from a thematic perspective (in this case, translation). This includes the question of the agent in thematic approaches to the history of intellectual cooperation, which constitutes the topic examined in Subsection 1.2, and the study of the ways policymaking functioned in the ICO (Section 1.3). In Section 1.4, instead, I interrogate the relations between individuals and organizations by looking into the individuals having worked in the bodies composing the ICO. Finally, in Section 1.5, I elaborate on the ways time and change add nuance to the previously examined aspects. The chapter closes in Section 1.5 followed by the corresponding conclusions.

1.1. Historiography on Intellectual Cooperation and on the LON's Symbolic Functions: A State of the Art

The last few years have witnessed a growing interest in the LON, internationalism, and the specialized organizations created under its auspices. Such a rise in interest is attested by the number of publications as well as by the celebration of conferences, congresses, and events on the topic. For example, the following conferences: "A Century of Internationalisms: The Promise and Legacies of the League of Nations" (Lisbon, September 1820, 2019), "Britain, the League of Nations and the New International Order" (University of Edinburgh, November 20–21, 2020), and "The League of Nations: The First Global Peacekeeping Organization in the Changing World - Interdependencies and Reflexions" (Prague, November 3–4, 2022). To these events focusing exclusively on the LON, we can add a series of events with a broader scope, but where the LON and its technical bodies were largely discussed. This was the case, for example, of the conference "New Approaches to the History of Soft Power in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, December 10–11, 2020). A similar statement can be made regarding the bodies specialized in intellectual cooperation. A growing interest can be inferred from the celebration of specialized conferences, such as the international symposium "60 ans d'histoire de l'UNESCO," which took place at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris (November 16–18, 2005); and the conference "The

Centenary of Intellectual Cooperation," celebrated at the United Nations Library in Geneva (Palais des Nations) (May 12–13, 2022). In between, there were other gatherings that had broader foci but that turned into spaces to discuss the activities of the ICO, the conference "La République des Lettres dans la Tourmente (1919-1939)," hosted at Collège de France (November 27–28, 2009), and the conference "Cultural Organizations. Between the Local and the Global (1880s-1960s)," organized at Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (November 18–20, 2020).

The previous events indicate a consolidated scholarly interest, but they also bear witness to the involvement of the institutions preserving the legacy of interwar organizations in the organization of some of the previous events. This is especially the case of UNESCO and the UN, whose participation in some of the previous events attests to their interest in creating and maintaining a specific legacy and memory and the role of academia in said process. The confluence of a series of factors explains the renewed scholarly interest in the LON and its technical bodies. First, the global turn in the SSH, which favored a new interest in IOs and the diversification of perspectives upon the latter, beyond that of the defendants of a realist approach to IR. Second, the centenaries of the LON and the bodies composing the ICO in the years surrounding 2020 encouraged a moment of critical assessment. Third, the digitization of a large part of their archival records has facilitated and democratized access conditions to historical records, thus further favoring scholarly attention and opening new research possibilities. In this respect, the creation of electronic resources such as the League of Nations Search Engine (LONSEA), a project directed by Madeleine Herren at the University of Heidelberg and now maintained by the University of Basel,[42] or the project Visualizing the League of Nations Secretariat (VisuaLeague), directed by Haakon A. Ikonomou at the University of Copenhagen,[43] can be highlighted. Therefore, it can be stated that the confluence of factors, including a certain social and scholarly interest in supranational processes, an institutional interest in maintaining the institutional legacy, and the development of new technical possibilities, have come together and become the ideal breeding ground for the emergence of an interdisciplinary and heterogeneous research community constructed around intellectual cooperation as a research object.

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[42] Herren et. al., LONSEA.
[43] Available at: https://visualeague-researchtool.com/

1.1.1. The History of the ICO: Available Sources

Multiple types of sources exist today to recover the history of intellectual cooperation, including both primary sources and secondary literature. The first studies analyzing intellectual cooperation within the framework of the LON were published during the ICO's years of activities. This production can be distinguished depending on whether it was authored by contemporary agents that had no formal links to the organizational network[44] or by agents that were directly involved in the ICO's work.[45] For all their historical relevance, authors' interests in promoting one specific vision recommend their use with some precaution because they often functioned as forms of justification. From this standpoint, they occupy an ambiguous position between primary and secondary sources. A second wave of works was published after the LON's dissolution in 1946, mostly during the 1950s and 1960s.[46] Even though they advanced more critical accounts than the works published during the ICO's years of activity, most of them approached the LON's and its technical bodies from the perspective of the LON's failure to maintain world peace.

Contemporary historiography is varied in terms of the topics covered. For this reason, I propose a working classification to organize them in several thematic areas: contributions with an institutional focus, scholarship adopting specific geographical lenses, works delving into individuals, works discussing related institutions, and contributions advancing thematic approaches to the history of intellectual cooperation. The first group assembles works focusing on one of the bodies composing the ICO with an eminent interest in their institutional history. A key milestone in this framework is

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[44] Henri Galabert, *La Commission de Coopération Intellectuelle de la Société des Nations* (Toulouse: Lion and fils, 1931); Charles André, *L'Organisation de la Coopération Intellectuelle* (Rennes: Impr. provinciale de l'Ouest, 1938); Isaac Leon Kandel, *Intellectual Cooperation: National and International* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1944).

[45] Henri Bonnet, *L'oeuvre de l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle, Tome 61*. Vol. III (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1937); Henri Bonnet, "Intellectual Cooperation" In *World Organisation. A Balance Sheet of the First Great Experiment* (Washington: American Council of Public Affairs, 1942): 189–210; Julien Luchaire, "Principes de la Coopération Intellectuelle Internationale." In *Collected Courses of The Hague Academy of International Law, vol. 9* (Paris: 1925): 307–406; Julien Luchaire, *Confession d'un français moyen*. Vol. II (1914-1950) (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1965); Jean-Jacques Mayoux, *L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle, 1925-1946* (Paris: Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle, 1947); Georges Oprescu, "Souvenirs de la Ligue des Nations: La CICI." *Revue Roumaine d'études Internationales* 6 (1969): 61–74.

[46] Alvin Leroy Bennett, "The Development of Intellectual Cooperation under the League of Nations and United Nations." (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1950); Frederick Samuel Northedge, 1953. "International Intellectual Co-Operation Within the League of Nations: Its Conceptual Basis and Lessons for the Present" (PhD diss., University of London, 1953); Frederick Samuel Northedge, *The League of Nations: Its Life and Times 1920-1946* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986); Thi-Tu Pham, *La Coopération Intellectuelle sous la Société des Nations* (Genève: Droz, 1962).

Jean-Jacques Renoliet's dissertation on the IIIC, then published in monograph format.[47] His main contributions relate, on the one hand, to the reconstruction of the IIIC's foundation with special attention to the perspective of the French government, and to a comprehensive analysis of the IIIC's structure and functioning. However, such a rigid understanding of institutional boundaries has been subsequently problematized. Martin Grandjean's dissertation,[48] for example, provides vast information on the ICIC, and, as such, it offers a good counterpart to Renoliet's work from the Genevan perspective.[49] However, his primary focus is far from being the ICIC's institutional history. Rather the opposite, in the sense that he provides a relevant contribution to the study of intellectual cooperation with reference to multiple institutional bodies and multiple agents. This approach is even more explicit in subsequent contributions, some of which focus on the "pendulum swing between Geneva and Paris."[50]

A second body of works regroups contributions focusing on the history of international cooperation from a specific geographic perspective, generally corresponding to one state. It has been mentioned that Renoliet made a salient contribution to the general history of the IIIC, his work also discussed the latter from the perspective of the French government's cultural policy. The geographical foci have diversified in the last decades: Brazil,[51] Portugal,[52] Mexico,[53] Italy,[54] Austria,[55] and Japan

[47] Jean-Jacques Renoliet, "L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle (1919-1940)," (Paris: PhD diss., Université de Paris I, 1995); Renoliet, *L'UNESCO*, 178.

[48] Martin Grandjean, "Les réseaux de la coopération intellectuelle. La Société des Nations comme actrice des échanges scientifiques et culturels dans l'entre-deux-guerres" (PhD diss. Université de Lausanne, 2018).

[49] This is especially favored by the fact that he draws extensively on the LON's archive in Geneva.

[50] Martin Grandjean, "The Paris/Geneva Divide. A Network Analysis of the Archives of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations," in *Culture as Soft Power: Bridging Cultural Relations, Intellectual Cooperation, and Cultural Diplomacy* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), 65–98.

[51] Juliette Dumont, "L'Institut international de Coopération intellectuelle et le Brésil (1924-1946)" (Paris: Éditions de l'IHEAL, 2008).

[52] Jesús Manuel Bermejo Roldán, "Nationalist Interests in the Intellectual Cooperation Work of the League of Nations: The Case of Portugal," *Journal of Contemporary History* 58 no. 4 (2023): 642–57.

[53] Fabián Herrera León, "México y el Instituto Internacional de Cooperación Intelectual 1926-1939," *Tzintzun* 49 (2009): 169–200; Alexandra Pita González, "Cultural Dimension of International Relations. A Case of Study: Mexico and the International Intellectual Cooperation in the Interwar Period," *Acta Universitatis Danubius. Relationes Internationales* 7 no. 2 (2014): 117–34; Alexandra Pita González, *Educar para la paz. México y la cooperación intelectual internacional*, 1922-1948 (Mexico: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Universidad de Colima, 2014).

[54] Maria Pia Bumbaca, "Lo spirito e le idee. L'organizzazione della cooperazione intellettuale nella Società delle Nazioni" (PhD diss., Università degli Studi di Roma La Sapienza, 2011).

[55] Johannes Feichtinger, "On the Fraught Internationalism of Intellectuals: Alfons Dopsch, Austria, and the League's Intellectual Cooperation Programme," In *Remaking Central Europe: The League of Nations and the Former Habsburg Lands* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

and China.[56] In some cases, regional lenses have been adopted to discuss not single countries, but specific geographical or geocultural areas. That is the case of Latin America.[57] The interest in decentering the history of intellectual cooperation from a geographical standpoint has also favored work on the history of National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation. For example, Argentina[58] or Catalonia.[59]

The third red line guiding existing bibliography is the focus on individual agents, that is, on their careers and trajectories, the reasons behind their involvement with this institutional framework, and their intellectual biographies. Among them, the leading figures of both the ICIC, and, to a lesser extent, the IIIC, have been the object of interest. For example, François Azouvi discusses some aspects of Henri Bergson' involvement with the LON and the ICIC, especially focusing on the reasons explaining his faith in the need to pursue a moral progress through the constitution of a "communauté d'idéal moral."[60] Oswin Murray, Gilbert Murray's great-grandson, has discussed the figure of the ICIC's president between 1928 and 1939.[61] More precisely, he gave an overview of some of the organizations and events Gilbert Murray was involved with, although an

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[56] Takashi Saikawa, "Nationalism of International Cultural Exchange: The Case of Japan's Intellectual Co-Operation with the League of Nations," *Journal of Next Generation Asia Forum* 1 (2008): 11–30; Takashi Saikawa, "From Intellectual Co-Operation to International Cultural Exchange: Japan and China in the International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation of the League of Nations, 1922-1939" (PhD diss., Universität Heidelberg, 2014).

[57] Corinne Pernet, "Culture as Policy: Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Latin America in the Interwar Period," Puente@Europa 5 no. 3-4 (2007): 121–26; Corinne Pernet, "'The Spirit of Harmony' and the Politics of (Latin American) History at the League of Nations," In *Beyond Geopolitics: Latin America at the League of Nations*, edited by Alan McPherson and Yannick Wehrli (Mexico: University of Mexico Press, 2015), 135–53; Juliette Dumont, "De la coopération intellectuelle à la diplomatie culturelle : Le parcours du Brésil dans l'entre-deux-guerres," *Caravelle* 99 (2012): 217–38; Fabián Herrera León and Yannick Wehrli, ed., *América Latina y el internacionalismo ginebrino de entreguerras. Implicaciones y resonancias* (Mexico City: Dirección General del Acervo Histórico Diplomático, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 2020; Martin Grandjean, "A Representative Organization? Ibero-American Networks in the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations (1922-1939)," In *Cultural Organizations, Networks and Mediators in Contemporary Ibero-America* (London, New York: Routledge, 2020), 65–89; Alexandra Pita, "Peace? Debates on Intellectual Cooperation in America. Santiago, 1939," In *Culture as Soft Power*, 121–46.

[58] Laura Fólica and Ventsislav Ikoff, "Between the Local and the International: Enrique Gómez Carrillo and Antonio Aita at the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation." In Roig and Subirana, *Cultural Organizations,* 247–71; Leandro Lacquaniti, "The Argentine Commission for Intellectual Cooperation. The Itinerary of a Cultural Diplomacy Agency of the Argentine State (1936-1948)." In *Centenary of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. Geneva*, (Geneva, 2022): 37–44.

[59] Diana Roig Sanz, "Dues Fites en la col·laboracio catalana a l'IICI, La UNESCO i el PEN Club Internacional (1927 i 1959)." In *Lectures dels anys cinquanta* (Lleida: Punctum, 2013), 155–89; Elisabet Carbó-Catalan, "The Foreign Action of Peripheries, or the Will to Be Seen: Catalan Cultural Diplomacy in the Interwar Period," *Comparative Literature Studies* 59 no. 4 (2022): 836–54.

[60] François Azouvi, *La gloire de Bergson: Essai* sur le magistère philosophique (Paris: Gallimard, 2007).

[61] Oswin Murray, "Le repentir de Gilbert Murray," In *La République des Lettres dans la Tourmente (1919-1939)* (Paris: CNRS, Alain Baudry, 2011), 125–32.

excessively laudatory tone weakens his contribution's scope. In general, members of the ICIC, who were renowned celebrities conferring symbolic capital to the ICIC, have been generously studied. For example, Marie Skłodowska-Curie,[62] Albert Einstein,[63] Alfredo Rocco,[64] Johan Huizinga,[65] Oskar Halecki.[66] Salient members of the IIIC have been the object of some interest, albeit to a lesser extent. The clearest case is Julien Luchaire.[67] Jeannelle takes the figure of Julien Luchaire not only to reconstruct the latter's views on the reasons behind the IIIC's failure, but to discuss the differences between the Republic of Letters, understood as *respublica literaria*, and the global literary field. Some of the renowned figures having collaborated with the IIIC have been the object of scholarly interest as well. This is the case of Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski[68] and Marika Stiernstedt.[69] Gabriela Mistral, whose literary production and work as a teacher have been extensively documented, has only recently been approached from the perspective of her involvement in the work of intellectual cooperation.[70] The focus on key individuals has also manifested in the case of individuals having played a crucial role in the constitution and work of

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[62] Nadine Lubelski-Bernard, "Marie Curie et la coopération internationale," In *Marie Sklodowska Curie et la Belgique* (Bruxelles: Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1990), 79–89.; Michel Pinault, "Marie Curie, une intellectuelle engagée ?," *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire* 24 (2006): 211–29.

[63] Danielle Wonsch, "Einstein et la Commission Internationale de Coopération Intellectuelle," *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 57 no. 2 (2004): 509–20.

[64] Giulia Simone, "Il Ruolo di Alfredo Rocco alla Società delle Nazioni." *Clio* 48 no. 1 (2012): 29–48.

[65] Anne-Isabelle Richard, "Huizinga, Intellectual Cooperation and the Spirit of Europe, 1933-1945" In *Europe in Crisis, Intellectuals and the European Idea, 1917-1957* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012), 243–56.

[66] Andrzej M. Brzeziński, "Oskar Halecki – the Advocate of Central and Eastern European Countries in the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations (1922-1925)," *Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej* 48 (2013).

[67] Laurent Broche, 2005. "Julien Luchaire, itinéraire d'un Français faussement « moyen » pendant la tourmente." paper presented at the conference Déplacements, dérangements, bouleversement : Artistes et intellectuels déplacés en zone sud (1940-1944), Bibliothèque de l'Alcazar, Marseille, June 3-4, 2005. http://publications.univ-provence.fr/ddb/document.php?id=83 ; Jean-Louis Jeannelle, "Julien Luchaire: Coopération Internationale et Nationalisme Littéraire." In *La République,* 151–66.

[68] Maria Delaperrière, "Zygmunt Lubicz Zaleski (1882-1967), médiateur entre deux cultures." *Synergies* (2011): 63–70; Maria Delaperrière, "Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski, fondateur des études polonaises en France et médiateur culturel," *Revue Des Études Slaves* 91 no. 1–2 (2020): 29–43.

[69] Mickaëlle Cedergren, "La promotion d'un Nord francophile et moderne dans la France de l'entre-deux guerres – Le cas de Marika Stiernstedt (1875-1954)." *Nordic Journal of Francophone Studies/Revue Nordique Des Études Francophones* 5 no. 1(2022): 137–54.

[70] Alexandra Pita González, "América (Latina) En París. Mistral, Reyes y Torres Bodet en la Colección Iberoamericana, 1927-1940." In *América Latina*, 241–76; Elisabet-Carbó-Catalan, "Redes internacionales de cooperación intelectual: el caso de la colección iberoamericana," Paper presented at 5° Congreso de Historia Intelectual de América Latina. Un estado del campo. December 1-3, 2021, Universidad de la República, Uruguay; Elisabet-Carbó-Catalan, "Mediadoras culturales iberoamericanas en la labor editorial del Instituto Internacional de Cooperación Intelectual" Paper presented at *XII Seminario Internacional Redes Públicas y Relaciones Editoriales. Mujeres en la historia de la edición: investigación, alianzas y redes.* December 13-14, 2021, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Spain; Camila Gatica Mizala, "Cinema and Education: Translating the International Educational Cinematographic Institute to 1930s Chile" In *Culture as Soft Power*, 147–68.

several NCIC. For example, Antonio Aíta and Gómez Carrillo,[71] Miguel Ozório de Almeida,[72] Enrique Díez-Canedo.[73]

A fourth group can be delineated by contributions discussing the history of intellectual cooperation in relation to national or international organizations that did not belong to the ICO. Among them, the movement in support of the League of Nations,[74] institutions representing Catholic internationalism.[75] Of special interest in this context are a series of works discussing the links between the ICO and other cultural organizations such as the PEN Clubs.[76] In this group can also be included works looking into the (dis)continuities between the ICO and UNESCO.[77] Indeed, this is a topic whose treatment has changed in the last few years, which reflects that their relationship is not only a matter of history, but also a matter related to memory, that is, to the discourses and representations of history.[78]

A fifth group is composed by works advancing thematic approaches. Since the institutions specialized in intellectual cooperation engaged in a variety of fields,

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[71] Fólica and Ikoff, "Between."

[72] Letícia Pumar, "Universalisms in Debate During the 1940s: International Organizations and the Dynamics of International Intellectual Cooperation in the View of Brazilian Intellectual Miguel Ozório de Almeida." In *Cultural Organizations,* 291–313.

[73] Marcelino Jiménez León, "Enrique Díez-Canedo, Crítico Literario." (PhD diss., Universitat de Barcelona, 2001).

[74] Jean-Michel Guieu, *Le rameau et le glaive: les militants français pour la Société des Nations* (Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2008).

[75] Shine, Cormac. 2018. "Papal Diplomacy by Proxy? Catholic Internationalism at the League of Nations' International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, 1922–1939," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 69 (4): 785–805.

[76] Roig Sanz, "Dues fites"; Rachel Potter, "International PEN and the Republic of Literature" In Roig-Sanz and Subirana, *Cultural Organizations,* 108–26; Alejandra Giuliani, "The 1936 Meetings of the PEN Clubs and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Buenos Aires," In *Cultural Organizations,* 127–43; Hyei Jin Kim, "The World According to PEN and UNESCO: Makers of World Literature, 1921-1996" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2022).

[77] Jan Kolasa, *International Intellectual Cooperation: The League Experience and the Beginnings of UNESCO.* (Wroclaw: Zaklad Narodowy im. Ossolinskich, 1962); Denis Mylonas, *La Conférence Des Ministres Alliés de l'éducation (Londres 1942-1945). De la coopération éducative dans l'Europe en guerre à la création d'une organisation internationale* (Bruxelles: Bruylant, 1976); Chikh Bekri, *L'UNESCO : Une entreprise erronée ?* (Paris: Publisud, 1990); Jo-Anne Pemberton, "The Changing Shape of Intellectual Cooperation: From the League of Nations to UNESCO," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 58 no.1 (2012): 34–50; Ana Filipa Vrdoljak and Lynn Meskell. "Intellectual Cooperation Organisation, Unesco, and the Culture Conventions," In *The Oxford Handbook of International Cultural Heritage Law* (Oxford University Press, 2020); Elisabet Carbó-Catalan and Reine Meylaerts. "Translation Policies in the Long Durée. From the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation to UNESCO," In *Global Literary Studies: Key Concepts* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022).

[78] In light of the outbreak of World War II, it was generally assumed that the LON and its specialized bodies had failed in their mission to keep the peace. As a result, the legitimation of postwar institutions, namely the UN and UNESCO, relied on rejecting the LON's legacy from a discursive point of view. Postwar institutions needed to be associated with a fresh start to avoid being discredited. Today, emphasis is made on their continuities, for example, between the IIIC and UNESCO, to legitimize contemporary bodies by appealing to their forerunners.

different disciplinary or interdisciplinary approaches further contribute to generating decentered histories of the ICO and to shed light on the latter's historical contributions in different fields of activity. For example, in relation to academia,[79] education,[80] or in the domain of museums and international cooperation.[81] A number of contributions in the SSH put the ICO's undertakings in relation to the ongoing rationalization of the intellectual field[82] and, more precisely, the differentiation of tasks within the latter, the subsequent consolidation of specific occupation and professions, and the protection of their interests through legal tools. This includes the codification of intellectual property at an international scale,[83] and the birth of international relations, understood as the academic discipline entrusted with the study of war and peace.[84] From this standpoint it can be stated that the outputs of the ICO's policy appeared slightly different when analyzed in terms of the construction of a "histoire intellectuelle transnationale."[85] The previous examples can be considered as ways to approach the way the ICO's undertakings contributed to globalization processes and to the institutionalization of the field of cultural production. As can be grasped, its outputs in this domain acquire a new aspect if compared to the failure reproached to the ICO (and to the LON) given the outbreak of WWII, hence their incapacity to avoid the reproduction of a conflict of similar magnitude as the Great War. The ICO's activities have recently started being approached from a specifically cultural or literary perspective. Two relevant contributions have been recently published by Anne-Frédérique Schläpfer, one dealing with the history of the Ibero-American Collection, and one arguing the interest of the

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[79] Marie-Eve Chagnon and Tomás Irish. 2018. "Introduction: The Academic World in the Era of the Great War," In *The Academic World in the Era of the Great War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018), 1–18.

[80] Xavier Riondet, "L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle: Comment Promouvoir un Enseignement Répondant à l'Idéal Internationaliste (1931-1937)?," *Relations Internationales* 183.3 (2020): 77–93.

[81] Marie Caillot, "La revue Mouseion (1927-1946) : Les musées et la coopération culturelle internationale," PhD diss., Ecole Nationale des Chartes, 2011.

[82] Gisèle Sapiro, *L'espace intellectuel en Europe. De la formation des états-nations a la MONDIALISATION XIXe-XXIe siècles* (Paris: La Découverte, 2009), 112.

[83] Isabella Löhr, "Intellectual Cooperation in Transnational Networks: The League of Nations and the Globalization of Intellectual Property Rights," In *Transnational Political Spaces. Agents, Structures, Encounters*, edited by Mathias Albert (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2009), 58–88; Isabella Löhr, *Die Globalisierung Geistiger Eigentumsrechte: Neue Strukturen Internationaler Zusammenarbeit, 1886-1952* (Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 157–211.

[84] Jo-Anne Pemberton, *The Story of International Relations, Part One: Cold-Blooded Idealists*. Camden: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020); Jan Stöckmann, *The Architects of International Relations: Building a Discipline, Designing the World, 1914-1940* (Cambridge University Press, 2022).

[85] Sapiro, *L'espace*, 10.

ICO and, more broadly, IOs, for literary history.[86] Pita has also examined the history of the Ibero-American Collection from a more historical perspective.[87] The Japanese Collection has, in turn, been also examined,[88] although not from a literary perspective. Jarrety's work on *Entretiens* should be mentioned,[89] as well as some recent works inserting the IIIC in the history of translation.[90]

A sixth group, finally, is constituted by works focusing eminently on analytic problems. A consequence of an increasingly finer knowledge on the history of intellectual cooperation is that the focus has also moved from institutions, individuals, or geographies, to more analytical lenses. Among them, the relationships between nationalism and internationalism, or between self-interest and disinterest.[91]

The listed approaches delineate a rich panorama and shed light on the ICO's multifaceted character and potential as an object of study for multiple disciplines. What is interesting, in this regard, is putting in relation the conclusions drawn by scholars working from different disciplines and domains. For example, if we compare the image of the IIIC that is reconstructed in Renoliet or in Löhr's work, two extremely distinct institutions emerge. The first has an eminent intergovernmental character, with Renoliet's narrative revolving around the role of states (in this case, France) therein. The second, instead, stresses the role of professional bodies and the collaboration between governments and social agents (experts) in the making of international norms. Another example illustrating different conclusions that can even appear as contradictory

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[86] Anne-Frédérique Schläpfer, "La Collection Ibéro-Américaine de l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle (1930-1939). Un exemple de glocalisation." *Colloquium Helveticum* 51 (2022): 101–12; Anne-Frédérique Schläpfer, "L'histoire littéraire au prisme des institutions internationales." *Colloquium Helveticum* 52 (2021): 101–16.

[87] Alexandra Pita González, "América (Latina)."

[88] Lauriane Millet, "Esprit japonais et prémices du multiculturalisme. Le Japon au sein de l'Organisation de coopération intellectuelle dans l'entre-deux-guerres," *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin* 39, no. 1 (2014), 79–90; Takashi Saikawa, "From Intellectual Co-Operation," 208–38.

[89] Jarrety provides different contributions to the field. First, introducing, alongside the political crisis that marked the interwar period, the crisis suffered in the cultural field. Second, problematizing the geographical representativity of the Entretiens. Third, shedding light on the hierarchies between disciplines in the domain of Arts and Letters. If analyzed through the Entretiens, literature appears as an overrepresented field, whereas representatives of other arts (music, sculpture, pictorial arts, architecture) and sciences are less frequent. Fourth, providing relevant insights regarding historical debates on whether the ICO's work should strictly remain in the intellectual domain (it was Paul Valéry's opinion) and those who considered that it should be actively mobilized to fight fascism. Jarrety, Michel. 2011. "Les Entretiens de la Société des Nations." In Compagnon, *La République*, 97–106.

[90] Bernard Banoun and Isabelle Poulin, "L'âge de la traduction." In *Histoire des traductions en langue française. XXe siècle* (Lagrasse: Verdier, 2019), 47–54; Diana Roig-Sanz, "The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation: Translation Policies in the Interwar Period (1925-1946)," In *The Routledge Handbook of Translation History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2022).

[91] Laqua, Daniel. 2011. "Internationalisme ou affirmation de la nation ? La coopération intellectuelle transnationale dans l'entre-deux-guerres." *Critique internationale* 52 no. 3 (2011).

is found when comparing Jeannelle's and Jarrety's work regarding the IIIC's literary activities. The former argued that the IIIC's efforts in this domain

> n'ont pas conduit à des réalisations d'envergure et, comparativement aux autres activités de l'Institut, ils révèlent que la littérature en tant que telle tenait moins de place que d'autres secteurs d'activité -plus stratégiques- comme les relations scientifiques et l'éducation ou encore la presse, la radiodiffusion et le cinéma.[92]

Instead, Jarrety, describing the contents and topics of interest of the *Entretiens*, mentioned the notable absence of sciences and added:

> Le comité des lettres et des arts (...) n'accorde qu'une place assez chiche aux autres savoirs, disciplines, ou pratiques culturelles. Tout d'abord, l'accueil fait aux lettres l'emporte sur celui des arts : à Venise, même, en 1934, alors que les Entretiens ont pourtant le sujet *Les Arts et la réalité contemporaine*, la proportion de gens de lettres est considérable, même si Béla Bartók ou Le Corbusier sont présents, aux côtés de quelques peintres ou sculpteurs (...) La littérature, en effet, est toujours massivement représentée.[93]

Jeannelle was speaking in general terms, and Jarrety instead focused on the Entretiens. However, their radically different conclusions suggest certain difficulties in constructing global assessments of the ICO's activities. Different spaces of institutional activity, as well as different research questions on the side of the scholar, seem to lead to different conclusions, which complicates obtaining of a comprehensive view on the ICO's work in the different intellectual domains. The underlying challenge, relevant in the framework of an interdisciplinary research community working in different directions, is the necessity of bringing together the multiple perspectives to refine the overall knowledge about this institutional network. And this, including when different analyses seem to contradict each other. To recall to an often-quoted statement by Frédéric Vanderberghe, "The world is what it is. Though it can be analyzed from a variety of perspectives, the latter do not constitute the world, but disclose different aspects of the same world."[94] From this standpoint, multiple disciplinary and thematic approaches should lead to a polyphony that is not relativist, but relational. That is, a polyphony stressing the fact that relations were the engine sustaining the ICO's work, and, also, probably, the reason why it keeps awakening scholarly interest after a century.

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[92] Jeannelle, "Julien Luchaire", 155.
[93] *Ibid.*
[94] Frédéric Vanderberghe, "The Relation as Magical Operator: Overcoming the Divide Between Relational and Processual Sociology" in *The Palgrave Handbook of Relational Sociology*, edited by François Dépelteau (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 51.

1.1.2. Bridging the ICO's Historiography with the LON's through the Latter's Symbolic Functions

The fact that the ICIC depended on the LON's administrative and technical services, and that the latter functioned as the institutional model to which the IIIC referred, coupled with the ICO's hierarchical dependence upon the LON, makes it necessary to understand certain dynamics of the mother institution to fully unpack the ICO's functioning. Of course, bibliography on the LON is extensive[95] and it covers a number of topics that fall outside this dissertation's scope. In what follows, I only address some aspects related to the LON's functioning that, I reckon, can be useful in analyzing my research topic. I am referring here to recent scholarship interested in understanding the role of the symbolic dimension in the LON's functioning, as well as works discussing the LON from the perspective of languages and translation.

the ways the LON exercised symbolic functions is part of broader changes in the LON's current scholarship. Perfectly illustrating the latter is an article by Carolyn Biltoft that has as a starting point a dossier contained in the LON's archive entitled "Correspondence regarding presence of dogs in the League Buildings."[96] The latter offers Biltoft a pretext to describe the diversification of topics in the LON's recent historiography but also to argue in favor of its decentralization. She offers a salient contribution by delineating a research agenda in terms of decentralizing the LON's, where the latter should not only be understood in geographical terms, but also as a deep reconsideration of previous conceptualizations and epistemological assumptions. Biltoft argues, in this regard, the need to analyze IOs results and functions in different domains, as well as their interactions with different systems or sub-systems.

Among the topics that have gained interest against this backdrop is the weight of the symbolic dimension in the LON's functioning. This presents a particular interest for

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[95] Building on Pedersen, the situation can be summarized in the following terms: since the late 1980s and especially the 1990s, the LON has been the object of growing interest, with works from this period reflecting the progressive abandonment of historical accounts arguing the LON's failure in light of the outbreak of the Second World War, as well as a growing problematization of a state-centered approach. Current analyses adopt more critical lenses and discuss other aspects of the LON's functioning, composition, and social functions. Pedersen distinguishes between three narratives in the LON's contemporary historiography: one that focuses on peacekeeping, a second interested in the "shifting boundaries between state power and international authority" (1092), and a third that looks at the LON "as a harbinger of global governance" (1092). Susan Pedersen, "Back to the League of Nations," *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 4 (2007): 1091–1117.

[96] Carolyn N. Biltoft, "Sundry Worlds within the World: Decentered Histories and Institutional Archives." *Journal of World History* 31 no. 4 (2020): 729–60.

scholars working in the history of intellectual cooperation given culture's symbolic character and hence the existence of potential parallelisms regarding both organizations involvement with symbolic dynamics. As I understand it, Biltoft's main contribution is to relocate the historical discussion about the LON into the realm of the symbolic, understood not as imaginary, but as a sphere that has very real consequences and effects. In this regard, Biltoft proposes to shift the focus from the LON's policymaking functions to its meaning-making functions,[97] thus shedding light on the way this international organization contributed to consolidating a certain vision of the international order. She contends, in this regard, that the LON functioned as "one center (among many others) for the production and dissemination of 'regimes of truth'"[98] or, in other words, "as a global center for the production of symbolic capital" that "helped to produce (...) a series of representations of the world itself."[99] The production of world images constituted one of the techniques through which modern power was exercised, which illustrates the "profound connections between crafting narratives and exercising power."[100] The previous statement, I argue, can be perfectly applied to the ICO too. Given the absence of coercion mechanisms on the LON's side, it is to be expected that power followed other paths and dynamics, in this case giving more importance to symbolic power. The LON functioned as a tool for states' soft power strategies, which complemented other strategies deployed in the domain of hard power.

> The techniques of modern power functioned increasingly through the fusion of the strategies of *mise-en-scène* (producing words, images, ideas, facts, and criteria), of *mise-en-valeur* (developing and acquiring material wealth worldwide), and finally *mise-en-place* (securing political territory, populations, and above all a state's global 'position').[101]

In a world that grew more and more complex, power became also multifaceted and the means to exercise it diversified. In that complex word, the LON provided order and satisfied the desire of some truth and certainty, a truth that took the shape of a specific vision of the world. The question arises: what was the world's vision the LON contributed to disseminate? Biltoft argues that the LON consolidated and reinforced pre-existing power relations, especially by "'manufacturing consent' for the post-World War I

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[97] Carolyn N. Biltoft, *A Violent Peace. Media, Truth, and Power at the League of Nations* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2021).
[98] Ibid., 4.
[99] Ibid., 22.
[100] Ibid., 20.
[101] Ibid., 23.

capitalist and imperial geopolitical *order of things*"[102] and producing "not only truth, but also more literally symbolic capital for the post-World War I geopolitical order."[103]

Given her emphasis on the symbolic dimension, Biltoft addresses the League's practices related to language, money, and the press, all three understood as domains through which specific world pictures or versions of reality could be formulated and disseminated. The LON's capacity in terms of creating world representations and images, narratives and pictures hinged extensively on mass media. As conveyed by the idea of *mise-en-scène*, the press and, more broadly, mass media, functioned as crucial tools to shape the global public opinion and assist the LON in gaining "mastery of the whole and always potentially precarious *global public sphere.*"[104] In arming the LON with symbolic power, for example, was international public opinion. The development of mass media modified the traditional functioning of diplomacy and international politics and shaped the strategies and actions of both the LON and states. As stated by Pedersen, the LON's practices and structure reflected the centrality of information managing, especially if considered that

> the Publicity Section was its largest section, and provided copies of the Covenant, accounts of League activities, and minutes of many of its sessions to the public at minimal cost. Such efforts were supplemented by the assiduous work of a sizable Geneva press corps that included correspondents from many of the major European papers.[105]

The fact that publicity was a key aspect in the LON's activities is especially relevant to examine the ICO's history given both activities potential in the symbolic domain. From the perspective of states, publicity, public image, and public opinion became as well important. Some methodological precaution is necessary when focusing on both IOs and states declarations, as there was not a necessary coherence between what was said and what was done. A gap existed between the two domains, but the relevance of the declaratory turned it into a particular way of *doing* in the symbolic domain. From this standpoint, Biltoft arguments resonate with the conclusions reached by anthropologists that have discussed contemporary international organizations, which emphasize the renegotiation of representations as one of the main stakes in international institutions, in this case, UN:

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[102] Ibid., 10.
[103] Ibid., 14.
[104] Ibid., 12.
[105] Pedersen, "Back to the League," 1096.

The institution, far from being treated as a formal structure should be thought of as a space of confrontation between representations: in this space paths cross in pursuit of power' (Abélès 2011: 20). Images and discourses that international organizations project toward the outside world are the culmination of long processes of negotiation and harmonization.[106]

Current scholarship has also addressed the LON from perspectives addressing languages and translation. In the framework of her interest in the symbolic domain, Biltoft has addressed language symbolic functions. She addresses language as a "a force of world making,"[107] thus framing languages beyond their communicative function and in relation to dynamics such as identity building and group cohesion. She does so by reconstructing a series of debates related to languages that echoed throughout the LON's functioning: legislation on language use in the framework of the LON's Minority Treaties, projects of language reform and debates regarding an eventual universalization of Roman characters, rivalries between national languages that aspired to the status of international language, the creation of artificial languages, and requests to add languages other than English and French as the LON's official languages. A number of this topics will be complemented in the present dissertation (Part 2).

If Biltoft has approached the LON from the perspective of languages, her work complements Jesús Baigorri-Jalón's monograph on the birth of conference interpreting in the interwar period,[108] which contains a chapter devoted to the Genevan organization. Baigorri-Jalón captures the way the period following World War I was marked by the emergence of new needs related to international communication, especially in bilateral or multilateral settings. His work retraces the emergence of interpreting as a differentiated activity from translation, the progressive specialization and professionalization in a moment when no interpreting training existed, the sociobiography of interpreters, the necessary technical developments that led to the passage from consecutive interpreting to simultaneous interpreting, and quality-related issues, to name just a few of the numerous aspects he covers. Although his primary focus lies on interpreting, he provides precious information regarding translation at the LON as well. In his own words, his primary focus is on interpreters, although the distinction between interpreters and translators is not always clear cut given that "sometimes the sources do not distinguish between them

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[106] Ibid.

[107] Biltoft, *A Violent Peace*, 41.

[108] Jesús Baigorri-Jalón, *From Paris to Nuremberg. The birth of conference interpreting* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2014), 57–102.

clearly. Furthermore, in many cases, the same person might be performing one or both activities or might have done so in the past."[109] My work, in a sense, starts where his stopped.

The previous scholarship delineates a rich panorama and provides vast information on the ICO's and the LON's functioning and social functions. Building on it, new research hypothesis can be formulated to fill current gaps in our understanding of the history of intellectual cooperation. In this dissertation, I approach said history from thematic lenses. The focus on language use and translation brings us to the domain of policymaking and meaning-making. For the moment, I focus on the former and in that framework, a series of questions emerge that do not always find answer in available scholarship given their focus on what the appropriate agent is when approaching the history of intellectual cooperation from a thematic perspective. It could be one of the bodies composing the ICO, or the ICO as a whole. The topic under study prompted a question on whether the ICIC and the IIIC had a particular translation policy or, instead, if it can be considered that the ICO was cohesive enough to act according to a common implicit or explicit translation policy. The scope of the question can be extrapolated beyond translation to examine the degree of agency possessed by the different bodies composing the ICO, but also their coherence. The challenge, therefore, was to attest to the ICO's collective nature, while also paying attention to the specificities of its constitutive bodies. Rather than a return to institutional history, I approach the issue from a relational perspective interested in both institutional relations and the relations between single agents and organizations. This can be related to questions regarding the ways individual projects or strategies intermingled with institutional policies. Ultimately, from an epistemological perspective, the question was what are the epistemological consequences of the ICO's will to promote cooperation between initiatives that already existed, rather than enforcing its views upon the latter.

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[109] Baigorri-Jalón, *From Paris,* 76.

1.2. The Agent in Thematic Approaches to the History of Intellectual Cooperation: Toward a Relational Understanding of Policymaking at the ICO

In the previous section, I have discussed several contributions addressing the history of intellectual cooperation from the perspective of what I call "thematic approaches," that is, inquiries on the history of intellectual cooperation from the perspective of specific subfields (education, cinema, literature, etc.). Said case studies normally reconstruct the history of the projects the IIIC, the ICIC, or NCIC worked in in the appurtenant domain. I argue that this type of approach presents certain challenges related to the definition of the main agent discussed. Thematic approaches necessarily draw on previous research on the history of intellectual cooperation, a good part of which approaches the history of the bodies composing the ICO from an institutional perspective, that is, by looking primarily into one of the bodies composing it. In consequence, the institutional approach is often reproduced, with researchers tending to privilege one institutional agent over others, and thus overlooking the ways cooperation between different bodies and agents shaped the ICO's functioning and policymaking process.[110] When one seeks to reconstruct the work of one of the bodies of the ICO from a thematic perspective, working with rigid conceptions of institutional boundaries can generate blind spots. The reason is very simple: as I will try to show in this dissertation, the bodies composing the ICO performed different tasks, but most of their work was carried out thanks to their cooperation.

This case study illustrates some of the challenges and considerations that become necessary when approaching the history of intellectual cooperation from a thematic standpoint. Having started this research with a focus on the IIIC, it became soon evident that, to reconstruct the IIIC's translation activities, I could not work solely, nor mainly, with the IIIC's archive. The reasons were multiple: in some cases, because of preservation issues. Part of the records constituting the IIIC's archive were lost during the Second World War (see Chapter 4 for a description of the IIIC's archive). In other cases,

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[110] For example, one can think of narratives where *a* history of intellectual cooperation is narrated with a focus on the ICIC and with no, or little, mention of the IIIC's role. Something similar happens with NCIC, which are often neglected in global narratives and, instead, receive more attention when they are approached from a national perspective and in relation to national processes. This means that, in the first case, the conflictual and dynamic relation between the IIIC and the ICIC is not fully unpacked and that the ways the deliberative function of the ICIC and the executive role of the IIIC fit together are taken for granted. In the second case, the role of NCIC in the work of the ICIC and IIIC is not asserted either.

nevertheless, the reason had to do with the fact that decision-making was not happening at the IIIC, but in Geneva. In any case, crucial pieces of information were found in archives other than the IIIC's. They could be the LON's archive in Geneva, but also other archives, such as the PEN's archive today hosted in Austin, Texas, or the NCIC's documents still today disseminated all around the world (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed comment on archival sources for a history of intellectual cooperation). Shortcomings and questions derived from source availability soon acquired an epistemological or theoretical dimension. The question was to ascertain the type of agency that could be attributed to the IIIC in light of its executive function within the ICO. Since the ICIC was the deliberative body, it could be considered that the IIIC merely executed decisions taken elsewhere, thus playing a more or less passive role in the development of intellectual cooperation. As a corollary of the previous challenges, I came to problematize the epistemological autonomy of what was initially the main agent analyzed, namely the IIIC. Some of the questions I was faced with included: Did the IIIC possess a relative social autonomy, which would in turn enable a methodological autonomization? What were the epistemological consequences of the sustained and recurrent relationships between the bodies composing the ICO? How do we reconcile the acknowledgement of the IIIC's dependencies vis-à-vis external bodies without it turning into a completely passive role for the IIIC? Assigning a specific translation policy to the IIIC presupposed it had the autonomy to design and implement its own policies, something that is not completely true if taken into account that the body entrusted with decision-making was the ICIC. Questions related to agency and policymaking within the ICO seemed fundamental before delving into any thematic approach because they contained the necessary elements to determine who the agent of any (translation) policy was. To answer them, an analysis of the relationship between the IIIC and the other bodies constituting the ICO, as well as between the latter and other agents involved (governments, external organizations, and so on), was necessary.

In light of the previous suspicions, I set out to examine the ICO's functioning by paying special attention to the different agencies involved and their relationships. Existing bibliography offered a good starting point to delve into thematic approaches, but said approach required a careful reconsideration of relations between institutions. To do so, I started building on existing scholarship focusing precisely on relations between the bodies composing the ICO, as well as the diversity of agents shaping the functioning of

intellectual cooperation. For example, Grandjean's work extensively discusses the ICIC's relationship with preexisting institutions, in this case the International Union of Academies,[111] the collaborative work between the ICIC and the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section,[112] and the ways the creation of the IIIC modified the functioning of the ICIC.[113] His work also provides insights on individual agents given the author's interest in international functionaries and experts. Scholarship covering relations between the ICO and PEN Clubs was also useful.[114] Existing scholarship suggests that relational approaches to the history of intellectual cooperation are growing, but most of them focus on one institution of the ICO and its relations with external institutions, without always properly acknowledging the complex dynamics existing between the bodies composing it. This is precisely the aspect I have focused on to be able to reconstruct the translation policy they enacted.

My aim was to problematize relations between the bodies composing the ICO, examine the nature of their cooperative work, and unpack the epistemological implications of said collaboration. By focusing on the complex character of the ICO, I seek to bring to the forefront the ways decisions made by the researcher in relation to the definition of the agent and the delineation of boundaries inevitably shape her conclusions. Boundary setting, I contend, constitutes an operation that requires more thought than is sometimes given in works discussing the history of intellectual cooperation. As stated by Cilliers,

> The boundary of a complex system is not clearly defined once it has 'emerged'. Boundaries are simultaneously a function of the activity of the system itself, and a product of the strategy of description involved. In other words, we frame the system by describing it in a certain way (for a certain reason), but we are constrained where the frame can be drawn. The boundary of the system is therefore neither purely a function of our description, nor is it purely a natural thing.[115]

I argue that it is necessary to make explicit the way defining operations made by the researcher shape the conclusions she will be able to obtain, rather than operationalizing definitions as if they were ontological facts rather than epistemological decisions. Considering that narratives can change depending on the elements that are brought into

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[111] Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 115–40 and 169–74.
[112] Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 175–92.
[113] Grandjean, "The Paris/Geneva Divide," 70–93.
[114] Roig-Sanz, "Dues fites;" Giuliani, "The 1936 meetings;" Potter, "International PEN;" Kim, "The World According to PEN."
[115] Paul Cilliers, "Boundaries, Hierarchies and Networks in Complex Systems," *International Journal of Innovation Management* 5, no. 2 (June 2001): 139.

the picture, and on the boundaries the researcher delineates upon her object, I would like to warn against the risk of naturalizing institutional definitions and boundaries inherited from institutional approaches. Not all research questions necessarily entail the questioning of the interplay between bodies composing the ICO. Several reasons can be set out to justify a rigid institutional focus, among which the clear human impossibility of mastering the gargantuan quantity of documents preserved in the archives of the aforementioned bodies. Limiting oneself to one main source provides certain unity and coherence to the object studied, at the same time than it delimits the object to make it operable. Research questions can, and should, have a direct bearing on the view researchers adopt on institutional boundaries. An interest in the IIIC's internal logic will probably facilitate an institutional analysis. If the institutional perspective is broadened, the relationships between the IIIC and other bodies, such as the ICIC and the LON will come to the forefront. A case study eminently interested in the political history of intellectual cooperation will probably focus on the interactions with state representatives, be they state delegates or the diplomatic corps. An interest in the intellectual logic will instead give more place to the role of experts or intellectual organizations in the ICO's history. In other words, specific research questions favor specific definitions of what the institution was and where its institutional boundaries were. What thematic approaches to the history of intellectual cooperation illustrate is 1) the constructed character of analyzed objects, 2) the way historiographical work can reinforce or redesign the perimeters delineated by institutional boundaries, and 3) that answers to the research questions are intrinsically shaped by preexisting definitions of the analyzed institution(s). The previous aspects, I contend, should favor critical approaches to institutional definitions to avoid potential incongruities between research questions and preliminary assumptions on the researcher's side.

1.3. ICOs Form of Policymaking and its Institutional Structure from a Relational Perspective

In the previous section, I elaborated on the link between research questions and institutional definitions. In light of said concerns, in this section, I adopt a relational perspective on the ICO's work. More precisely, I now reconstruct the ICO's institutional structure and policymaking procedure to gain a finer understanding of the ways its

(translation) policies came to be. By doing so, I aim to answer questions like the following: What forms and spaces of representation had the different agents involved in the ICO's work in the latter's institutional structure? What agents produced the inputs shaping the policies that resulted from the ICO's work? What mechanisms were employed to convert inputs into outputs? What agents were responsible for implementation and what was their degree of involvement during the design of specific policies? Accordingly, in the present section I first reconstruct the ICO's institutional structure to situate a multiplicity of agents belonging to different social groups within this organizational network, with a special emphasis on the relations between them rather than on the entities per se. Then, I delve into the policymaking procedure. This means looking at the ways suitable bodies received a certain input and at the conversion mechanisms that turned that input into output, that is, into the production of specific policies.

1.3.1. The ICO: Institutional Structure

Among the bodies composing the ICO, the ICIC constituted the first stone, with a confluence of interests explaining the fact that the small advisory committee that constituted the ICIC in its early days developed into an international organization composed by different bodies only ten years later. Created in January 1922 and having hosted its last session in July 1939, the ICIC started as a temporary and advisory body with a mainly symbolic function, as proven by the limited budget it was allocated and by the fact that it met once a year, thus making it difficult to have sustained action. Over time, the means allocated to intellectual cooperation expanded, thus potentially altering the ICIC's tasks and functioning. However, the organization preserved for itself the deliberative function. It set the agenda, determined the topics to be studied, and controlled the recommendations to be issued. Organ of the LON's Council and Assembly, it worked with the assistance of the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section for secretarial tasks.[116] Within the ICIC were represented different intellectual fields of expertise. In theory, its members were leading figures in different intellectual domains, and, as such, they were representatives of the intellectual order. In the reality of practice,

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[116] The LON's Secretariat was divided into several thematic sections: Administrative Commissions and Minorities, Economic and Financial, Political, Communications and Transit, Mandates, Disarmament, Health, Social questions, Legal, Information, and the Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaux Section.

their nationalities were of primary importance too.[117] Since complete lists of the members that took part in the ICIC can be found in existing bibliography,[118] I illustrate some of them by referring to those who participated in at least 10 meetings.[119] They were: Swiss writer and historian Gonzague de Reynold, Australian-born British scholar Gilbert Murray, Polish-French physicist and chemist Marie Skłodowska-Curie, Norwegian biologist, professor, and politician Kristine Bonnevie, and Belgian politician and lawyer Jules Destrée.

The IIIC, instead, constituted the ICO's executive branch. It was active between the last months of 1925 and June 1940 and for a short period of time between 1945 and 1946. It represented the organization's arms; its main role was to apply decisions made by the ICIC. To summarize the IIIC's structure within a bureaucratic organization, let us offer an overview of the main directing instances shaping its functioning. The IIIC was directed by a Governing Body ("Conseil d'Administration"), a Committee of Directors ("Comité de Direction" in French, also called "Directing Committee" or "Board of Directors" in English-speaking correspondence), and a Director.

Formally, the Governing Body was essentially entrusted with establishing the IIIC's program of activity and the necessary budget. In addition, it was responsible for the appointment of the other managing bodies, i.e., the Committee of Directors and the Director, as well as for appointing the Chiefs of Section and Chiefs of Service. It convened once per year, just before or after the ICIC's sessions, and it was composed by the active members of the ICIC and presided over by a French member of the ICIC. Among the agents that participated in said meetings were some of the ICIC's most active members: Henri Bergson, Gilbert Murray, Kristine Bonnevie, Jules Destrée, Aloysio De Castro, Albert Einstein, Hendrik Lorentz, Gonzague de Reynold, Paul Painlevé, and Georges Oprescu as secretary,[120] which indicates that it essentially constituted a space of representation of the ICIC's leaders. This composition is especially relevant if compared with constituencies represented in the governing bodies of other technical organizations created under the LON's orbit. For example, in the ILO's case, the governing body

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[117] Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 272–85.
[118] Renoliet, *L'UNESCO*, 184–85.
[119] Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 287.
[120] Georges Oprescu was a Romanian member of the International Bureaux and Intellectual Co-operation Section who acted as the ICIC's secretary.

conferred representation not only to states, but also to employers and employees.[121] In the IIIC's case, the composition of the Governing Body was marked by the ICIC's will to control the IIIC, rather than on issues of representation and representativity of the different constituencies concerned, something that did not happen in the case of other technical bodies.

The Governing Body was assisted in its tasks by a Committee of Directors. The latter oversaw the execution of the program established by the Governing Body, appointed hierarchically inferior public servants, organized auxiliary services, and formulated recommendations to the Governing Body on the IIIC's internal organization. Given its need to oversee the IIIC's work, it sieged every two months at the IIIC, with this frequency having favored its members being French, based in Paris, or from countries close to France.[122] As stated, it was appointed by the Governing Body and approved by the Council of the League of Nations. It was composed of five members of different nationalities, in addition to the president of the Governing Body, and eventually the IIIC's Director and the LON's secretary general. Some of the agents that were members of the Committee of Directors include Gilbert Murray, Jules Destrée, Hendrik Lorentz, or Gonzague de Reynold, that is, the ICIC's central members, most of whom were also members of the Governing Body. Even though the Governing Body was hierarchically superior, the fact that the Committee of Directors gathered more frequently granted the latter a specific relevance in the sense that it permitted more direct control over the IIIC than the yearly sessions of the ICIC or the IIIC's Governing Body. The presence of relatively the same names in the ICIC, the Governing Body, and the Committee of Directors can seem preposterous, the multiplicity of governing bodies constituted an effort to legitimize the institutions discussed (even though decision-making befell upon the same figures), while at the same time enabling a very direct control from the Genevan side over the IIIC. The difference between the two bodies ceased to be relevant from 1931 on. With the IIIC's reorganization, the Governing Body and the Committee of Directors started functioning as a single body.[123]

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[121] Marieke Louis, "Une représentation dépolitisée ? L'Organisation Internationale du Travail de 1919 à nos jours," *Critique Internationale* 76 no. 3 (2017): 72.

[122] Renoliet, "L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle," 221.

[123] "L'existence simultanée des deux organes exécutifs : Comité Exécutif et Comité de Direction, a été maintenue dans le seul but de respecter les dispositions statutaires originales, tandis qu'il paraissait d'autre part nécessaire de considérer les deux comités comme une seule entité. Aussi bien, cela ressort clairement du fait qu'ils sont l'un et l'autre composés des mêmes personnes. Les deux rapports du Comité Exécutif et

The third directing power within the IIIC was its Director, who was in charge of the coordination of the IIIC's work, and for the execution of the program established by the Governing Body. He was also responsible for overseeing that work at the IIIC was carried out respecting the principles of impartiality and the values defended by the ICIC. Among his prerogatives, he also counted the appointment of minor officials and employees. During its work, the IIIC had three different directors: Julien Luchaire (1876-1962), who was the first director from 1926 until 1930. As such, he was one of the protagonists in the IIIC's early days and responsible for filling with content the ICO's ambiguous mandate. Luchaire was a French scholar, politician and public servant who specialized in Italian intellectual and political history. Friends with Henri Bergson, he was interested in intellectual cooperation before the constitution of the IIIC, and in this sense, he critically influenced the state of opinion of French government in view of granting the necessary funds to create the IIIC. With his work being quite criticized and accused of Franco-centrism at the end of the 1920s, he resigned in April 1930 and was replaced by Henri Bonnet (1888-1978). Director of the organization from 1931 to 1945, Bonnet was the director who governed this international body during most of its year of activity. French diplomat, prior to his involvement with the IIIC he fought in the First World War and worked for the League's Secretary General, Joseph Avenol. Having been appointed as ambassador in Washington in 1944, when the IIIC resumed its activities at the end of the Second World War, the post of director was occupied by Jean-Jacques Mayoux (1901-1987) between 1945 and 1946. As the last director of the IIIC, he was involved in the transition and shaping of UNESCO.

Having delineated in the previous scheme the functioning of the ICIC and the IIIC and the control mechanisms of the latter over the former, it should be added that said scheme was not stable or monolithic. On the contrary, the relationships and division of tasks between the bodies composing the ICO were the subject of not few renegotiations. Indeed, during its first years of existence, and especially under Julien Luchaire's presidency, the IIIC challenged what can be considered a dominated position within the ICO, that is, the absence of autonomy to determine its activities. Its second director, Henri

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du Comité de Direction peuvent donc être également considérés comme n'en formant en réalité qu'un seul. En effet, non seulement ces deux rapports se complètent mutuellement, mais les motifs des décisions d'un des comités reposent souvent sur les décisions de l'autre, et vice-versa." R2189-5B-29136-245 Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris - Directing Committee - Annual Report on the Work of the Committee, July 1931.

Bonnet, was much more compliant with Geneva (unsurprisingly, if taken into account that he had worked for the Information Section, part of the LON's Secretariat, from 1921 to 1931), but the evolution of events made it so that the IIIC evolved into a fully independent body. In 1939, the IIIC cut ties with a LON that, by the end of the 1930s, had failed to react in front of multiple violations of the Covenant, including the French invasion of the Ruhr in 1923, the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931, the rise of Nazism in Germany and its arms race during the 1930s, and the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935.

Collaboration between the ICIC and the IIIC had, thus, different vectors. As illustrated, the ICIC's members (or its subcommittees) were present in the IIIC's governing structure. Another structural factor that facilitated their cooperation was their mirroring internal structure. When the creation of the IIIC was approved, an effort was made to establish a correspondence between the ICIC's Subcommittees and the IIIC's Sections, so that the former could control and direct the latter's activities. The general idea was that each Section at the Institute worked in collaboration with a Sub-Committee at the ICIC, and that each Chief of Section participated in the meetings of the corresponding Sub-Committee. Their basic structure, which provides a first overview of the ICO's main domains of work, was the following:

ICIC's Sub-Committees	IIIC's Sections[124]
University Relations	University Relations
Arts and Letters	Literary and Artistic Relations
Intellectual Property (then Intellectual Rights)	Legal
Bibliography	Bibliography and Scientific Relations (also Science and Bibliography)
Tasks performed by the appurtenant sections of the LON (International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section, Information Section)	General Affairs
	Information

Table 2. Comparison between the ICIC and the IIIC's internal divisions

Three additional bodies or functions deserve mention within the ICO's institutional structure, which constituted spaces of representation for the two constituencies directly addressed by the ICO's policymaking, i.e., government and intellectual agents. Said bodies include NCIC, national delegates, and experts.

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[124] International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, Paris - Minutes of the First Session of the Governing Board of the Institute, Geneva, July 1925. UN Archive, R1071-13C-45565-37637.

The ICO comprised several NCIC, created all around the world from 1923 on, to articulate national fields with the work being done in Geneva and in Paris.[125] This meant providing input regarding the needs of each intellectual field, offering their contribution for the implementation of the decisions taken, and contributing to the dissemination of the ICO's mission and activities in each national field.[126] Over time, their functions and activities diversified and, rather than constituting an intermediary agent between the ICO and national fields, some of them also established bilateral and multilateral relations with other NCIC. Note, in that sense, the celebration of multiple gatherings of NCIC through the ICO's years of activity (Warsaw 1926, Geneva 1929, Paris 1937), as well as regional gatherings (Santiago 1939).[127] More research is necessary on bilateral and multilateral relations between NCIC. In relational terms, it should be added that in the ICO's early days, NCIC would interact with the LON's International Bureau Section given the latter's functioning as the ICIC's secretariat, but with the creation of the IIIC it was the Parisian body that concentrated relations with NCIC.[128] NCIC had different structures in each country, as well as different degrees of proximity vis-à-vis the government. A priori autonomous from governments, they constituted a space of representation for each national field's intellectual sector. However, a high degree of heterogeneity existed if the composition of different NCIC is compared. A good part offered representation to the main national institutions, which can refer to universities, libraries, and professional organizations in the different intellectual subfields. As can be grasped, the list of potentially relevant organizations was extremely broad, which in turn hindered NCIC's efficiency. In the reality of practices, other institutions that were generally not represented in the NCIC were convened in specific expert committees, which suggests all the ambiguity of NCIC as space of political or technical representation. In other cases, NCIC resulting from personal initiatives existed as well.[129] In the flexibility conceded to NCIC's composition and functioning, it is possible to see the IIIC's and ICIC's interest in expanding support and cooperation to the maximum countries possible. First created in a

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[125] A map of the NCIC with creation dates, as well as a list of NCIC distinguishing between committees from LON's members or non-member states, non-state or non-territorial committees, and countries where unsuccessful conversations were maintained to create NCICs can be found in: Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 234–35. See also Renoliet, "L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle," 373–83, and especially 376–77 regarding NCIC's representative character in contexts of multiple cultures existing within a single state.

[126] Renoliet, "L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle," 379.

[127] Pita, "Peace? Debates on Intellectual Cooperation in America," 121–46.

[128] Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 188.

[129] Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 230.

moment of weakness and lack of resources for the ICIC that opened the door to transnational methods, their strategic relevance in shaping the future of the ICO grew with the years, as reflected in the fact that NCIC outlived the ICO itself and existed as well within UNESCO's organizational network.

Governments were formally represented in the ICO's structure through national delegates,[130] also called "state delegates." They constituted a channel for direct interaction between the latter and state governments, which conferred to the IIIC certain independence from the LON.[131] Their potential functions were multiple. First, they constituted a direct communication channel with governments, a channel that could work in different directions: delegates could inform the IIIC of the suggestions and desires of each government given that, formally, they could make suggestions to the Governing Body and to the Committee of Directors. In the other direction, delegates also informed governments of the work being carried out by the ICO.[132] Second, they were considered means to improve governments' trust vis-à-vis the IIIC, thus fulfilling a strategic symbolic function to facilitate governmental support. Third, given their direct link with governments, state delegates were also seen as precious mechanisms to facilitate the execution of the ICO's resolutions or recommendations in each country. Fourth, they were means to facilitate decision-making at the IIIC, given that delegates could provide the IIIC with feedback on the reception their work would encounter in each country prior to official decision-making. For all the reasons mentioned, they constituted powerful instances within the organizational network. However, their presence and prerogatives were the object of careful consideration because they also constituted a threat to institutional autonomy. The Governing Body was very reluctant to see state delegates act as a de facto committee that could antagonize with the ICIC, a reason for which a fine equilibrium needed to be found to grant their support to the IIIC, on the one hand, but at the same time limit their power within the ICO to avoid them becoming "a second Committee on Intellectual Cooperation." [133]

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[130] Note that, at the beginning of the IIIC's work, national services existed within the IIIC. They are not the object of detailed description given that very few of them existed. Further information can be found in Renoliet, "L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle," 389–93.

[131] Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 342.

[132] Report of the Meetings of the Directing Committee, held on December 19, 1925 (Second Session, Paris). UN Archive, R1072-13C-48589-37637.

[133] International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation - Minutes of the Third Session of the Governing Board, Geneva, July 1926. UN Archive, R1072-13C-52963-37637.

The last group involved is that of intellectuals. As has been described, intellectuals were represented in the ICIC, in which context they were leading figures representing fields of expertise, and within NCIC, where the main institutions in each national intellectual field were represented. An additional form of representation was granted to intellectuals in their quality of experts who were convened at the IIIC as members of expert committees. They could be convened given their individual prestige or expertise, or as representatives of specific cultural or professional organizations. Budgetary difficulties having constituted a relevant challenge throughout the IIIC's existence, the decision was soon made to narrow the in-house personnel and convene, when necessary, experts to provide input to the IIIC in its preliminary reports or to give their opinions about the IIIC's projects. Even though they were convened primarily for their expertise, their nationality was an aspect that was never neglected.

1.3.2. Policymaking Procedure at the ICO

Having presented the ICO's main structure, let us now delve into the procedure followed to design a given policy, which makes explicit the comings and goings between the bodies composing the ICO, and between the latter and the LON. Policymaking consisted in a highly bureaucratic working procedure that is summarized in Figure 1. It started when a certain individual, generally a member of the ICIC, formulated the first initial proposition to address a specific topic or to undertake a given project. In some cases, the IIIC's director or the corresponding Chief of Section formulated the proposals. The ICIC's corresponding Subcommittee conducted preliminary work to evaluate the proposition, and then provided the ICIC with preliminary feedback. The ICIC could, in turn, adopt, reject, or complement the Subcommittees' conclusions to establish a program of activity. With the ICIC's approval of a program of activity, it was then the IIIC's turn to see it executed. Execution was a broad process that could include different types of interventions, for instance, a deeper study of the question, or the direct implementation of specific projects.

When additional information was required, the IIIC generally consulted interested parties on what the main problems were in their respective areas of work, what the solutions were, and how the ICO could contribute to reaching them. In that framework, several forms of input gathering were organized, including organization of expert

committees, contacts with individual figures distinguished in each intellectual (sub)field, and with NCIC, state delegates, or governments to obtain a clear view regarding each countries' specific needs. Two types of outputs resulted from the IIIC's exploratory work: the identification of a concrete project that could be carried out by the IIIC itself, or the formulation of recommendations to be implemented by third parties. In either case, the IIIC elaborated a report with its suggestions, which was presented to the ICIC, and then to the LON for approval. Once said bodies approved the project in question, subsequent steps depended on the nature of the project. If policy outputs could be implemented by the IIIC itself, it proceeded and started technical work. The chain previously described was also used to oversee the IIIC's execution tasks, with the process starting again to keep an eye on the way implemented projects evolved. If policy outputs needed to be implemented by third parties to being effective, the ICO or the LON issued a series of recommendations and resolutions, that the IIIC contributed to disseminate and whose implementation they tried to monitor and facilitate.
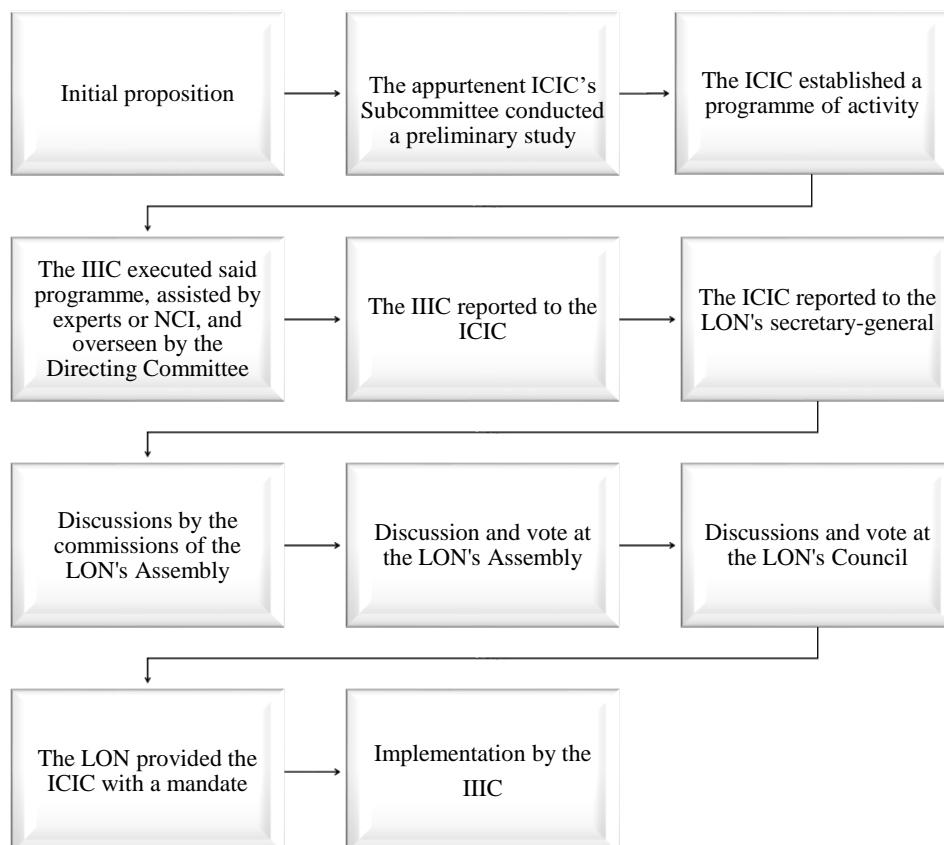
Figure 1. Policymaking at the ICO

The previous workflow constituted the standard procedure, but the present dissertation provides some examples of policymaking procedures that took alternative paths. The ICO made salient efforts to formalize its functioning in stable and standard procedures. However, unexpected reactions and possibilities opened by third parties, be they cultural organizations or state governments, shaped the ICO's space of possibility. In this regard, the most common procedure was to take the opportunity when it appeared, with institutional flexibility needed to be considered a response in the middle ground between standardizing procedures and accommodating the desires of agents whose cooperation was necessary to maintain institutional functioning.

Once the structure of the ICO has been described, together with its standard policymaking procedure, we can now move on to considering the agency of single institutions within that organizational network. The reconstruction of the policymaking procedure opens the door to formulating several questions regarding the type and degree of agency, or autonomy, that could be attributed to the bodies discussed. The challenge is to contemporaneously take into account the ICO's cooperative work and composite character, while at the same time critically considering the division of tasks between the bodies composing it, and thus their singularity. I contend that one of the factors that justifies approaching the ICO as an organizational network or as a complex system is precisely its complex functioning. According to their statutes and regulations, the ICIC was a deliberative body whose decisions and programs were executed by the IIIC. The latter, as the executive branch of the organization, was in turn assisted in its work by NCIC, other intellectual organizations, and individuals in their capacity of experts. This clear-cut division of tasks can be very helpful to simplify the work done at the ICO, but at the same time, it flattens and distorts a more complex organization.

This complexity can be examined by looking at the IIIC and its executive function. Execution can be understood as a purely mechanical process, thus devoid of any agency, or as a form of intervention enabling a certain margin of action. Several elements nuance such a passive understanding of the IIIC's role. The first is the disputed character of input tasks. The IIIC's statutes contemplated that the IIIC functioned as the ICIC's "instrument d'étude et d'exécution."[134] The first part of the sentence is significant, because stating

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[134] "Rapport du Directeur au Conseil d'Administration (Juillet 1926)." UN Archive, R1072-13C-52915-37637 International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, Paris - Report of the Director to the Governing Body, p. 2.

that the IIIC acted as a tool of study meant that preliminary work could also be carried out by this body. And, more importantly, it could be carried on on its own initiative. [135] Of course, Luchaire was especially interested in promoting the maximum autonomy for the IIIC, something that was not appreciated at the ICIC, as his subsequent resignation and reorganization of the Institute in 1930-1931 illustrate. Notwithstanding, the fact that the IIIC conducted preliminary or preparatory inquiries conferred on it a certain information advantage. If contacts were established with intellectuals to obtain a broad picture of a given situation, and the latter was then summarized in a report for the ICIC, it is inevitable to think that the role of the IIIC's personnel in the preparation of preliminary studies conferred them an information advantage they could use to influence agenda-setting. A second aspect to be commented on is the fact that the bureaucratic nature of the previous workflow, which required a continuous back-and-forth between multiple institutions, favored that superior agents in the hierarchy of power (i.e., the LON and, especially, states) sometimes only pronounced themselves on very general aspects of a project. Decision-making befell upon the LON's Assembly, that is, upon state representatives. This feature brought the ICO close to the intergovernmental sphere, in the sense that states ultimately controlled decision-making, rather than delegating it to supranational bodies. Nevertheless, the emergence of multiple possibilities in terms of execution did not reach, in general, those spheres. In the ways measures and projects were executed, other agents could intervene and profoundly shape the outcomes of institutional work. This also explains why it was relatively common that the IIIC, ICIC, or the LON received complaints from states once a project had been implemented over specific aspects or decisions that could not be anticipated in the general resolutions passed at the LON. A third example nuancing the IIIC's passive role can be found in the implementation stage. The ICO's policymaking was not legally binding, it did not formulate directives or regulations but rather produced sets of recommendations. As such, compliance with the latter was predicated upon a will to cooperate, rather than upon coercive forces. In consequence, execution in each national field was something where institutionally peripheral agents could intervene, be they NCIC, state delegates (or other government agents), or intellectuals. I contend, instead, that they were significant bodies

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[135] "Exposé sur la situation et les travaux de l'Institut international, fait à MM. les Délégués des Etats, le 21 Mai 1926, par M. Julien LUCHAIRE, Directeur de l'Institut." UN Archive, R2194/5B/3589/396, International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation - Publication of the works of the Institute during the year of 1926.

to ensure the adoption or execution of recommendations and resolutions in each country. The fact that implementation of the ICO's policy befell upon these parties is a crucial aspect to understand the kind of policymaking that can be attributed to the ICO. Conferring formal spaces of representation to governments and intellectuals meant that processes of policymaking were penetrated by power politics, by intellectuals' autonomous dynamics, and by power relations between the two of them. And, at the same time, it constituted a way to involve them in policymaking, thereby providing a mechanism for the ICO to try and maximize the chances that policy decisions would effectively be implemented by both constituencies. Understanding the IIIC's role in terms of implementation requires a study of its relations with the two potential compliance spaces. On the one hand, government agents could be expected to comply with agreements and decisions made at the ICO, given that their form of representation was granted by agents inserted in a hierarchical structure in the national political field. That is, if the national delegate was a minister, a ministry or an embassy employee, he was already positioned in a hierarchical chain upon which he could rely to exert relative power throughout the implementation process. On the other hand, the intellectual field is, by definition, less hierarchical or less prone to functioning according to an explicit institutional order. The role of cultural organizations introduced certain guarantees of collective application, but implementation in each (sub)field depended ultimately on individual decisions. A reality where the IIIC mechanically implemented the ICIC's decisions is highly problematic when elements like those listed so far are considered.

If the insights obtained by looking at the IIIC are extrapolated, the risks of conceptualizing agency in terms of separate phases (agenda setting, execution, and implementation) emerge clearly. Said simplification underscores the role of different bodies in each stage, but it also blurs the fact that factors such as the will to maximize the ICO's success generated complex relations. Each institution intervened in multiple stages of the policymaking process, and individuals acted in different qualities (representing an organization, a country, an intellectual subfield, and so on), and in ways other than those that formally constituted their explicit and main prerogative. The policymaking procedure summarized in Figure 1 can be complemented by an effort to look closer at the contributions each body made. Figure 2, in this regard, synthesizes the tasks fulfilled by each institution in different stages of the policymaking process, hence complementing Fig. 1 by emphasizing relations between involved parties.
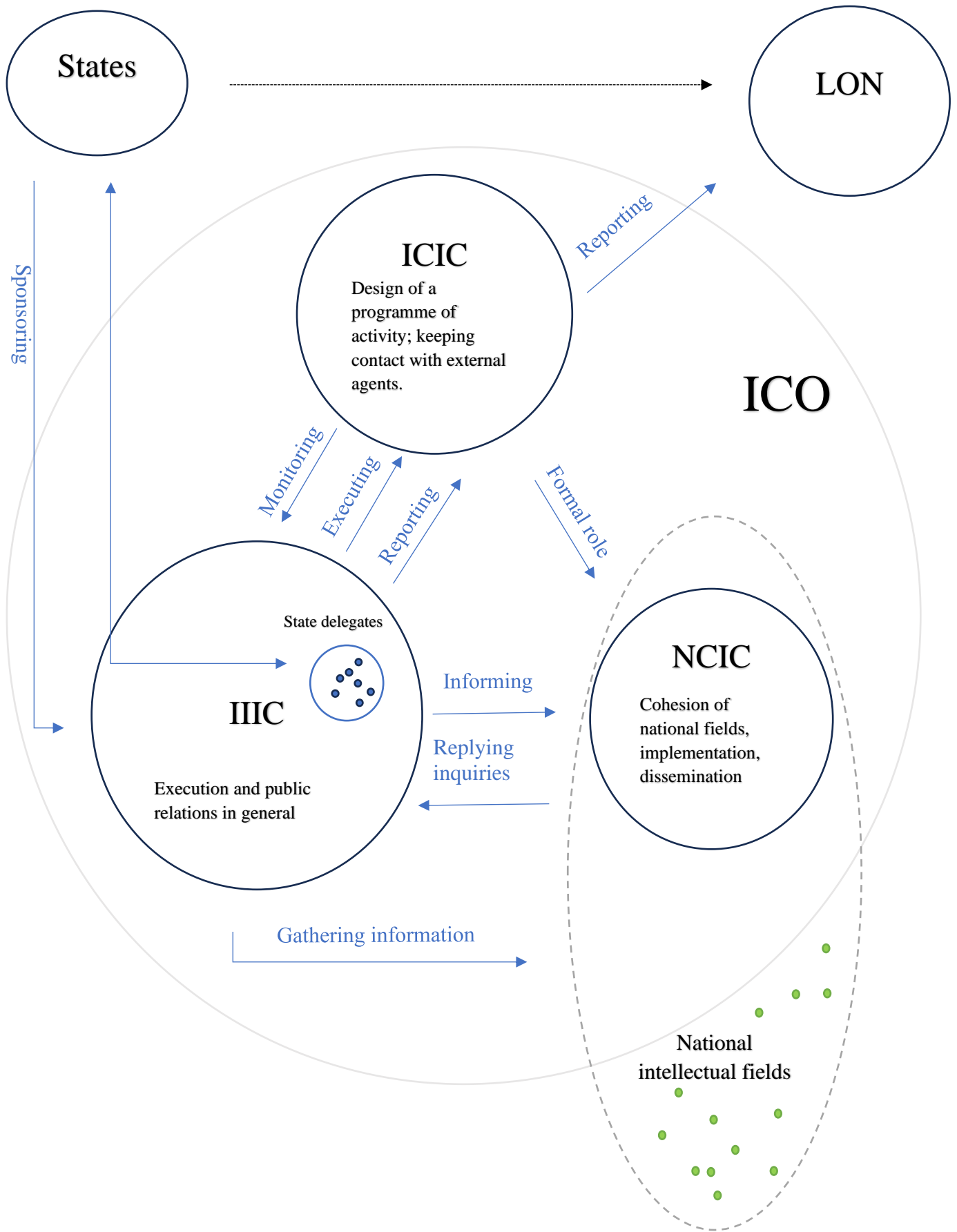
Figure 2. Tasks of the bodies constituing the ICO in its policymaking process.

In light of the previous considerations, I propose to approach the ICO as a complex system, that is, as something greater to the sum of its parts, means acknowledging the existence of a certain number of bodies composing the ICO, which possessed a relative autonomy, but also the fact that their outputs resulted from cooperative work. They possessed a relative agency, where relative is to be understood as relational. And this relative character opens the door to specificities in each case, but the latter cannot be understood without referring to the dynamics shaping their autonomy, be that to restrain or to maximize it. Also, said findings suggest:

> a) the need to examine what each body's contribution was in different projects and domains given the overlap in terms of tasks or functions (for example, when an agent working at one body possessed relevant contacts in a given domain).

> b) the need to take into account the ways their relational functioning opened doors for pressures from one body upon another

In consequence, any attribution of agency or the assignment of a specific decision in terms of policymaking requires a careful study of each case given the fact that the ICO's structure was not stable over time, neither were power relations between the different the bodies composing it. In other words, it is highly problematic to assume that the question of agency within the ICO has a stable or unique answer that would be valid in all its domains of activity and throughout all its years of existence.

1.4. Who Animated Work at Palais Royal and at Palais des Nations? Individual Agency in Institutional Endeavors

Sections 1.2 and 1.3 have covered the relations between the bodies composing the ICO and the social groups represented therein. However, the latter were not homogenous collectivities. To avoid their reification, an institutional or top-down approach needs to be complemented by a bottom-up perspective that is attentive to the multiplicity of elements shaping individual habitus. For this reason, I turn my gaze now to the agents working within said bodies. The institutions here discussed came to exist in their material and symbolic forms thanks to actions taking place at a micro level. They had a material reality that took place in concrete physical spaces, conditioning them. In the IIIC's case, work was carried out in Palais Royal, in Paris, a sumptuous building that however proved

to be highly inadequate, as preserved complaints from the IIIC's workforce suggest.[136] The ICIC and the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section operated from Geneva, first in Palais Wilson and then in Palace of Nations. Both bodies worked thanks to the daily effort of a heterogeneous workforce made up of a series of individuals, men and women. This includes the personnel of the bodies under examination, composed of officials and the administrative workforce, and more or less regular collaborators, including diplomats, government representatives, and intellectuals. From a methodological standpoint, thus, the analysis of institutional logics is to be articulated with a focus on the individuals that made said institutions, who carried with them their own backgrounds and ideas, who were affected by sociability within the analyzed institutions, and who possibly changed over time. Hence, this section's title, referring to the people who worked in some of the buildings having hosted components of the ICO, to suggest the need to combine the previous structural and institutional considerations with a grounded, bottom-up approach that recovers the role of individual agents within institutional settings. What was the weight of individual action in such complex cooperation networks? How did personal beliefs and opinions manifest in institutional policies? Who were the agents that influenced policy dynamics, either as sources of stability or change? How to ascertain whether an outcome or decision was the result of the opinions and actions of a single agent? Is it possible to track the relevance of a specific cultural mediator? Is it possible to recover the doings of eventually forgotten agents without overplaying their roles within the institution?

The agents who worked for the ICO constitute a heterogeneous community. Therein were represented different genders, age ranges, social backgrounds, nationalities, ideologies, faiths, professional profiles, and areas of expertise. Inevitably, they also had different views, opinions, and ideas about the ICO itself. Some examples can be alluded to to illustrate the multiple allegiances of single agents. A case in point are the links of several agents involved with the ICO and with Catholic internationalism, especially the Catholic Union of International Studies (CUIS). This includes Gonzague de Reynold, Oskar Halecki, and Jean-Daniel de Montenach.

> De Reynold served as the Swiss delegate and rapporteur to the CICI from its inception in 1922 until its dissolution in 1939 (one of only two members to serve on the committee for the entirety of its existence); Oskar Halecki, a Polish diplomat, historian and fellow UCEI member, served as inaugural secretary of the

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[136] For exemple, "File 23 - Local de l'Institut – Généralités," UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-IV-23.

same committee from 1922 to 1925, staying on as an expert adviser afterwards; and Jean-Daniel de Montenach, son of Baron de Montenach, worked in the secretariat from 1919 to 1939, serving for most of the 1930s as secretary of the Intellectual Cooperation Organisation.[137]

Montenach was the founder and first president of the CUIS, and De Reynold its vice-president at its foundation, and then president from 1925. Halecki was also a CUIS member. The three agents illustrate the possibility of addressing the ICO from the perspective of variable geometries. They share some features, for instance, the fact of being three white and Catholic men. But they can also be regrouped in different ways. Regarding their nationality, De Reynold and Montenach were Swiss,[138] whereas Halecki was Polish, and considered basically representative of Central and Eastern European countries.[139] In terms of age, they represent two different generations; Halecki (1891-1973) and De Montenach (1892-1958) had similar ages, but De Reynold (1880-1970) was older. They possessed different backgrounds as well when they joined the ICO, especially in terms of professional and international experience. Halecki was a Historian, and de Reynold was a professor of French literature, both with dominant positions in the academic field. Instead, Montenach was a diplomat. Halecki had already built a distinguished career at the university, and he had also started working in collaboration with international political circles as a member of a committee of experts that worked for the Polish Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. De Montenach, in turn, had been the Swiss attaché to the Paris Legation since 1917, instead, De Reynold was "probablement celui dont la personnalité est la moins internationale."[140] To conclude this list of features, their positions within the ICO needs a comment too. De Reynold was a member of the ICIC and its rapporteur; de Montenach worked at the LON's Secretariat and was the IIIC's Secretary General. Halecki was first the secretary of the ICIC until March 1924 and then continued work as an expert in the University Subcommittee, and in 1925 became head of the IIIC's Section of University Relations, with Brzeziński having also described Halecki's role in promoting bilateral relations between NCIC.[141] Formal positions can also be read against available information regarding their interactions. Thanks to Grandjean's work, we can see that Halecki and de Reynold occupied quite

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[137] Shine, "Papal Diplomacy," 792.
[138] De Reynold was the cousin of Montenach father. Both families were part of the Swiss aristocracy. Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 306.
[139] Brzeziński, "Oskar Halecki," 5.
[140] Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 165.
[141] Brzeziński, "Oskar Halecki," 15.

central (and similar) positions in the ICIC's network,[142] despite very different formal positions. These examples suggest, first, that it might not be easy to assert in what capacity someone was acting when taking a specific decision. And second, rather than understanding intellectual agents and political agents as two distinct collectivities, the agents having cooperated with the ICO are best approached if inserted in a continuum of distance or proximity to the political field and the intellectual field.

Another example can be alluded to problematize the immediate identification between agent and nationality. In this case, I will direct attention to a very peripheral agent in the history of intellectual cooperation. Joan Estelrich was a Majorcan intellectual who was responsible for the attempted creation of a Catalan Committee of Intellectual Cooperation in 1927[143] and then became one of the Spanish representatives before the ICO in the 1930s. In 1935, in occasion of Romanian poet Ion Pillat's proposal that the IIIC published a collection of regional literature in translation, Estelrich attended said event as part of the Spanish Delegation and was charged with communicating the Spanish delegation's approval. He used this knowledge, obtained as Spanish representative, to promote debate in the Catalan intellectual milieu and awaken concerns regarding the lack of representation granted to Catalan culture abroad. In a document where Estelrich addressed the "el problema de l'expansió cultural de Catalunya" (the problem of the Catalan cultural expansion), which must have been penned after 1935, he mentioned the fact that the Catalan Statute and the Spanish Constitution forbade Catalonia from undertaking international activities, including in the cultural domain. To illustrate the practical implications of this legal situation, he referred to Pillat's proposal, in which decision-making in relation to the works to be translated corresponded to NCIC and funding was assumed by States.

> Ara bé: segons això Catalunya hauria de demanar a Madrid l'establiment d'aquesta llista i la subvenció de la publicació de les obres corresponents. Segons la Constitució això correspon a l'Estat; i, naturalment, no ho farà. Què podem doncs fer?[144]
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> (However, according to this, Catalonia should request that Madrid establishes such a list and grant the necessary funds. According to the Constitution, this is

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[142] Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 189.

[143] Carbó-Catalan, "The Foreign Action of Peripheries," 846–51.

[144] Joan Estelrich, "El problema de l'expansió cultural de Catalunya és el mateix problema del catalanisme…", n.d.. Folder "Expansió Catalana 1. Informes. Documentació general diversa," Estelrich Funds, Biblioteca de Catalunya.

something reserved for the State, which, naturally, won't do it. What can we do, in this case?)

In this excerpt, Estelrich addressed a broader issue, namely, the ties between cultural and political representation and the invisibility suffered by those cultures lacking a State to bolster them. The fact that he penned said text while being the Spanish representative constitutes another example of caution before immediately identifying one agent with specific interests or ideologies, be they institutional, professional, confessional, or political. Even though this constitutes a very specific case given the relations between Catalan and Spanish cultural fields, intellectuals' representative character in national terms needs to be carefully examined given that, more often than not, they lacked directives on the side of state governments, and acted guided by their own intellectual and political views.

Considering this dissertation's goal is related to translation, it has not been possible to perform the exercise of modeling the habitus of the agents involved in the ICO's work. For all the interest in such an approach, it would require an ad hoc investigation given the vast number of individuals involved and the scattered character of the biographical information. However, the previous examples suffice to illustrate that the habitus of the agents discussed is not field-specific, but that they constitute "*complex, multi-layered* habitus (…) characterized by positions within social space, but equally by *differing* positions in *various* fields."[145] Mechanically linking the actions of one individual to her being a member of a given collectivity or understanding the latter as a homogeneous or unified social group are pitfalls that the scholar addressing the history of intellectual cooperation should try to avoid by combining a micro and macro perspective. Approaching the ICO from the perspective of inter-field relations favors, in turn, the reappraisal of the multiple elements configuring an agent's habitus, or what is the same, the multiple fields where each agent occupies a specific position, thus reasserting that "complex societies engender multiple dynamic interrelated 'we' identifications."[146]

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[145] Andreas Schmitz, Daniel Witte, Vincent Gengnagel, "Pluralizing field analysis: Toward a relational understanding of the field of power," *Social Science Information* 56 num. 1 (2017): 65.
[146] Steven Loyal and Stephen Quilley, "State Formation, Habitus, and National Character," *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 45 no. 1 (2020): 231.

In this light, it is especially interesting to see who replaced who. Lacking a systematic analysis of the habitus involved, one possibility is relationally analyzing the differences between agents occupying the same position (or structurally equivalent positions). For example, Gabriela Mistral's replacement as Chief of the Section for Literary Relations by Dominique Braga. Initial appointments had a clear, outwardly legitimizing function. Mistral's appointment fulfilled the conferred representation to Latin America, to the field of education, and to women in the IIIC's structure. However, she also had a distinguished intellectual profile that, in practice, translated into an action guided by certain intellectual freedom. Instead, his replacement was a figure of secondary order in intellectual terms. Possessing the Brazilian nationality for family reasons, he could continue the strategic function of somehow representing Latin America. But Braga had previously socialized in the LON's milieu, as the editor of *Europe Nouvelle*, a magazine founded by Louise Weiss and sponsored by the League of Nations. In this regard, an evolution can be glimpsed between profiles that legitimized the IIIC and satisfied external interests and profiles that possessed a clear *esprit de corps*. Something similar happened when Luchaire was replaced by Bonnet. Luchaire possessed social capital in the intellectual domain given his career as a scholar and as a writer. He possessed experience in international milieux and in administrating cultural organizations, given his experience as director of the French Institute in Florence. Additionally, he was inspector general of education for the French government, thus offering a guarantee to the latter that French interests would be defended within the organization. Bonnet shared with him the administrator profile, although with a slightly lower intellectual profile. Despite possessing a background in History, his professional activity had mainly developed in the political domain: he had worked for the LON's Information Section since 1920 with several ties to the French service. In other words, he was well-placed in relation to the French Government and its foreign service, and in relation to the LON, hence confirming a tendency to privilege figures possessing experience in institutional frameworks, especially from the LON's orbit.

1.5. Time and Change in the ICO's Work

In addition to the previous elements considered, the historical dimension should be added to reassert the role of time and change in the ICO's functioning. As previously stated, the

ICO was the first body of its kind in history. It built on the experience of the LON's Secretariat but was nevertheless confronted with continuous reorganization and changes throughout its years of activity. Failures, trial and error, reorganizations, reformulations, a certain inconsistency or even contradictions were part pf the daily routine. In practical terms, this means that the ICO can be understood as an institution in development, where virtually everything was subjected to change, instability, or redefinition. Concerning the ICO's institutional structure and functioning, three moments can be considered crucial given the introduction of profound changes: the first, the foundation of the IIIC, which expanded the ICIC's possibilities and the complexity of its work. The second was the reorganization the IIIC underwent in 1930-1931,[147] which led to the replacement of its first director, Julien Luchaire, by Henri Bonnet, and to profound changes in terms of internal organization, the status of its personnel, its finances, and its relations with the ICIC. The third one started in 1936, with the revision of the ICO statutes and led to the signature of an international act in 1938 whose entry into force in 1940 marked the autonomization of the ICO from the LON. A clear struggle in the three moments, and throughout the history of the ICO, was the relationships between the ICIC and the IIIC, and between the ICO and the LON. The articulation between the States was as well the object of modifications, and to consolidate the latter, biannual conferences or sessions with all the NCIC were organized. Stable Subcommittees were replaced by expert committees. Changes also took place regarding the divisions between sections. For example, the Section of Literary and Artistic Relations was split in two differentiated sections,[148] but also regrouped anew when budgetary reasons made it necessary. Bibliography and Scientific relations were responsible for separate work too. Also, for budgetary reasons, several sections operated for a certain time without a chief of Section.[149] The Legal Section became soon a service.[150] A certain disagreement remained

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[147] Renoliet, *L'UNESCO*, 109–50; Grandjean, "The Paris/Geneva Divide," 84–93.

[148] "Conseil d'Administration de l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle à Paris, Première session, procès-verbal de la troisième séance tenue à Genève le 28 .juillet à 10h30," International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, Paris - Minutes of the First Session of the Governing Board of the Institute, Geneva, July 1925. UN Archive, R1071-13C-45565-37637.

[149] "M. Luchaire pointed out that one of the decisions taken at the preceding meeting, dealing with the appointment of a Chief of Section, would not be executed if the Committee felt it to be its duty to
keep within the limits of the Budget voted…," Fourth meeting, International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, Paris - Minutes of the First Session of the Governing Board of the Institute, Geneva, July 1925. UN Archive, R1071-13C-45565-37637.

[150] The personnel of the Institute were divided into sections and services. As stated in the Institute's internal rules, "sections" corresponded to the main domains of action and "services" that carried out the technical and auxiliary activities to ensure the correct functioning of the Institute..

throughout the years on whether Chiefs of Section needed to have a bureaucratic or administrative profile, or, instead, have a more intellectual profile, thus reproducing at an internal scale doubts regarding the desired forms of agency for the IIIC.

As it could not be otherwise, changes also affected the individuals occupying specific positions. In the initial composition of the IIIC, dating January 1925, the following agents were appointed chiefs of section: Alfred Zimmern (Great Britain) at General Affairs, Oskar de Halecki (Poland) at University Relations, Gerhart von Schulze-Gaevernitz (Germany) headed the Section for Bibliography and Scientific Relations, Gabriela Mistral (Chile) that of Literary Relations, Richard Dupierreux (Belgium) was appointed chief of the Artistic Relations Section, Giuseppe Prezzolini (Italy) the Information Section and José de Vilallonga (Spain) was appointed to the post of head the Legal Section. Following structural changes, Zimmern became deputy director. In 1926, Vilallonga was replaced by Raymond Weiss, and Halecki by Werner Picht. Mistral never actually exercised her position as head of section. (The list could continue.).

Consequently, it can be stated that the prize to pay, if one can say so, to analyze the origins of specific institutions or practices is a certain instability. These moments give rise to struggles for power among a series of agents who are exploring ways of working together and, in so doing, strive to secure for themselves the dominant positions in the emerging field. Initial moments are analytically relevant because, therein, power struggles are explicit. Thus, a processual approach paying attention to the diachronic evolution of the ICO itself is necessary in that it can have changed between 1925 and 1938, for example. It has already been mentioned that the policymaking procedure presented in Section 1.3 should not be understood as monolithic. Subsequent chapters will provide examples of cases where the previously described policymaking procedure was not strictly followed, with counterexamples constituting ways to analyze when procedures were altered, for what reasons and with what effects for the institution. The workflow described constituted, thus, the ideal one according to regulations, but the present dissertation confronts it with the reality of practices to explore the way the establishment of standard procedures was combined with a flexible application to advance institutional interests.

2. The Object. Making Sense of Social Practices with the Concept "Translation Policy"

This dissertation focusing on the ICO's activities in the domain of translation, it is necessary to clarify the concept of translation employed in subsequent chapters. In general terms, translation is to be understood in this context in the sense of interlingual translation, thus leaving aside cases of intralingual and semiotic translation. I adopt an interlingual definition of translation guided by the meaning the protagonists of the history of intellectual cooperation attributed to this term. By mobilizing this definition, I adopt and accept the representations of translation underpinned by the modern regime of translation,[151] which refers to an understanding of translation as the activity taking place between languages, where the latter are considered discrete units. Sakai's work sheds light on the ways the modern imaginary has shaped our understanding of languages and translation, but also how the latter helped shape views of the modern world too. In that framework, he problematized the conception of languages as countable units. Despite reproducing an understanding of translation Sakai ultimately questions, I argue that my work is in tune with his in that my approach seeks to further historicize said mutually constitutive character, thereby contributing to questioning its naturalization.

With a focus on interlingual translation, this dissertation advances a social view upon translation. This means that it seeks to go beyond the understanding of translation as the mechanical transposition of words conveying a pre-established meaning, an idea that derives in part from a mechanical understanding of communication itself.[152] Instead, my understanding of translation draws on sociological approaches to translation that have developed in the last two decades, which have contributed to overcome an exclusive focus on texts within TS.[153] Translation is approached here as "the canary in the coalmine," an expression I borrow from Haidee Kotze[154] to emphasize that translation offers a fertile

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[151] Naoki Sakai, "The modern regime of translation and its polítics," in *A History of Modern Translation Knowledge: Sources, concepts, effects* edited by Lieven D'hulst and Yves Gambier (John Benjamins, 2018), 61–74.

[152] Rocco Ronchi, *Teoria critica della comunicazione: dal modelo veicolare al modelo conversativo* (Milan: Bruno Mondadori, 2003).

[153] Moira Inghilleri, ed. "Bourdieu and the sociology of translation and interpreting." Special issue, *The Translator*, 11 no. 2 (November 2005); Michaela Wolf and Alexandra Fukari, eds. *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2007); Gisella M. Vorderobermeier, ed. *Remapping Habitus in Translation Studies* (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2014).

[154] Haidee Kotze, "Translation is the canary in the coalmine," Medium, March 15, 2021. https://haidee-kotze.medium.com/translation-is-the-canary-in-the-coalmine-c11c75a97660

vantage point to capture pervasive social phenomena and dynamics. Given the eminently relational character of human communication, I contend that in the ways linguistic exchange takes place and in the ways translation activities are undertaken, we find crystallized a variety of aspects having to do with the organization, hierarchies and relations constituting and shaping the social space. In a nutshell, addressing translation policies, I contend, offers fruitful tools to speak about what is going on elsewhere, about broader questions that sometimes can be hard to see precisely because of their pervasive nature. From this perspective, reconstructing decision-making in relation to translation, as well as views and beliefs on languages and translation, reasserting the interventions of involved agents, identifying the weight of economic or political considerations in shaping translation practices and ideas, or problematizing the directionality of exchanges enabled by translation are questions whose answers can be read as providing additional chapters to the history of translation, but also as suitable vantage points to tackle social challenges inherent to cross-border phenomena and interactions. Within this framework, translation is approached as an activity that essentially constitutes "a social relation with otherness (..) [and that] shapes basic social processes."[155]

In the present chapter, I focus on translation in institutions as a topic that has awakened interest in the domain of TS (section 2.1). More precisely, I describe the state of the art in relation to translation and institutions. Then, in subsection 2.1.1, I focus on the concept of "translation policy" as one of the main analytical tools in the present dissertation and compare it to related concepts used in TS to clarify their distinct meanings in subsequent chapters. Subsection 2.1 closes with the identification of some unanswered issues when crisscrossing the agent and the object analyzed with existing scholarship. Moving away from the descriptive approach, in Section 2.2 I link the definition of translation policy to the ICO's features, thus providing a preliminary characterization of the ICO's translation policy. Section 2.3 presents the ways the focus on the ICO's translation policy can shed light on broader social processes, in this case, globalization processes. Chapter 2 closes with subsection 2.4, which contains the chapter conclusions.

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[155] Esperança Bielsa, "Introduction. The interaction between translation and globalization" in *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Globalization* (London and New York: Routledge, 2021), 4. See also Esperança Bielsa, "For a translational sociology: Illuminating translation in society, theory and research," *European Journal of Social Theory* 25 no. 3 (2022): 413–16.

2.1. Approaching translation in institutions from the perspective of TS: state of the art

The field of TS has witnessed in the last decades a growing interest in the analysis of the ways specific institutions address their translation needs. The concept of "institution" being polysemic, in the present context, it refers to formal or administrative entities and not to the sociological meaning referring to education of religion.[156] In this regard, it is employed as a synonym of "organization." Even if we adopt a narrower understanding of institutions, the variety of existing institutions delineates a complex field of study. The ways translation is practiced is inherently tied to defining aspects of the institution itself, including the latter's geographic scope (a national vs. an international body), its area of expertise (for example, a political vs. a cultural institution), its scope (national vs. international institution), its forms of policymaking (intergovernmental vs. nongovernmental organizations, for example), and the function of translation within that institution (for instance, if it constitutes a means toward other goals or a goal in itself). Additionally, the historical context in which a given institution operates is of extreme importance given that said context constitutes a specific moment in the long history of the process leading to the growing institutionalization of translation. The historical context can also be relevant given that it reinserts certain institutions practicing translation in specific ideological conjunctures, whose core social values can have a bearing on the activities dealing with otherness (for example, contexts marked by nationalism, transnationalism, or internationalism can foster different views on the practice of translation). An additional level of complexity is added if it is considered that that the topics that can be analyzed at the cross-roads of translation and institutions straddle multiple domains, from lexicography to the analysis of translation quality, the status of translation, or the role and agency of individual translators within institutional translation policies, to name just a few options.

Despite the described heterogeneity, in the field of TS some structuring elements can be identified that delineate the state of the art in this domain. Given this dissertation's primary interest, in what follows I will focus on studies addressing the translation practices of both political and cultural institutions. Within this framework, the distinction between political and cultural institutions should not be interpreted as clear-cut but as two

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[156] Cristina Schäffner, "Translation and institutions," in *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Politics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 204.

poles in a continuum. At one end, eminently political institutions, such as governments or intergovernmental organizations. At the other, eminently cultural organizations like literary associations, for example. In between, different degrees of independence between state powers, for example, can be a criterion to distinguish between different types of institutions. For example, national institutes promoting translation can occupy different positions in said continuum depending on their degree of autonomy vis-à-vis governments.

In TS, the translation practices of political institutions constitute the main domain of interest when it comes to crisscrossing the interest in translation and institutions.[157] Illustrating the considerable attention this topic attracts in TS are case studies analyzing the translation practices of national institutions, especially governments, for example, Canada.[158] International or supranational institutions have also sparked significant interest. Given the ICO's proximity to the intergovernmental sphere, I bracket out scholarship discussing NGOs, and instead focus on intergovernmental bodies. Considerable work exists today on the United Nations[159] and the European Union institutions.[160] Pym offered some relevant contributions that looked beyond single case studies and elaborated on IGO's translation policies.[161] In this regard, he formulated a series of recommendations and principles that should be considered when examining IGO's translation policies. Among them, 1) the fact that IGOs are directly informed by national language and translation policies; 2) that they devote funds to "symbolic

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[157] Christina Schäffner, Luciana Sabina Tcaciuc and Wine Tesseur, "Translation practices in political institutions: a comparison of national, supranational, and non-governmental organisations," *Perspectives* 22 no. 4 (2014): 493–510.

[158] Brian Mossop, Translating institutions and 'idiomatic translation," *META* 35 no. 2 (1990): 342–55; Chantal Gagnon, "Language plurality as power struggle, or: Translating politics in Canada," *Target* 18 no. 1 (2006): 69–90.

[159] Deborah Cao and Xingmin Zhao, "Translation at the United Nations as Specialized Translation," *The Journal of Specialised Translation* 9 (January 2008): 39–54; Maria-Josée De Saint Robert, "Assessing quality in translation and terminology at the United Nations" In Ciuti-forum 2008: enhancing translation quality: ways, means, methods (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 387–92.

[160] Emma Wagner, Svend Bech, and Jesús M. Martínez, *Translating for the European Union Institutions* (Manchester: St Jerome Publishing, 2002); Arturo Tosi, ed., *Crossing Barriers and Bridging Cultures The Challenges of Multilingual Translation for the European Union* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 2003); Oscar Diaz Fouces, (2005). "Translation policy for minority languages in the European Union - Globalisation and resistance" In *Less Translated Languages* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2005), 95–104; Kaisa Koskinen, *Translating Institutions: An Ethnographic Study of EU Translation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008); Mercedes García-Martínez et al., "Neural Translation for European Union (NTEU)" In *Proceedings of Machine Translation Summit XVIII: Users and Providers Track*, 316–34 (Virtual, Association for Machine Translation in the Americas, 2021).

[161] Anthony Pym, "The Use of Translation in International Organizations," In *Übersetzung Translation Traduction. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Übersetzungsforschung*, vol. 1 (Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, 2004), 85–92.

translation practices;"[162] and 3) that they are often caught up between "the pragmatic tendency to reduce the number of working languages and thus economize translational resources" and the "ideological arguments in favor of widening the number of languages used and thus promoting increased use of translation."[163] However, he also points to 4) the dangers of establishing an intrinsic or necessary connection between IGOs and translation. In his opinion, "One thus cannot assume that translation is of importance to all international organizations, or that the growth in the number of organizations means a necessary growth in the demand for translators."[164] Indeed, in several cases, efforts have been made to reduce the organization's translation needs, especially through the extension of language learning or, at least, passive multilingualism. Pym has also linked the previous aspects to the different modes of employment of translators, who can be hired on as in-house service or as external providers of service.[165]

The translation activities of institutions specialized in the cultural domain have received less interest in the domain of TS. In the middle ground between cultural and political institutions, we find institutions sponsoring translation programs, which constitute a growing line of research. For example, regarding Turkey,[166] Argentina,[167] or Georgia.[168] Translation policies enacted by international or supranational organizations that specialize in the cultural domain are instead a domain that still awaits to be fully explored. This refers essentially to UNESCO's translation policy. Mason analyzed translated articles in the UNESCO *Courier*, [169] and Codina and McMartin recently analyzed the role of translation in the construction of European literature in the framework of the EU prize for literature.[170] However, UNESCO's cultural policies and the place of translation therein awaits to be pinpointed. Illustrating the problematic distinction

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[162] Ibid., 85.

[163] Ibid., 89.

[164] Ibid., 86.

[165] Ibid., 88–90.

[166] Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar, "The translation bureau revisited: Translation as symbol," In *Apropos of ideology* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 2003), 113–30.

[167] Daniela Szpilbarg, "Las políticas de traducción de libros. El caso del Programa Sur en la Argentina," In *Actas de las III Jornadas de Investigación en Edición, Cultura y Comunicación* (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2015); Alejandro Dujovne, *Políticas y estrategias de internacionalización editorial en América Latina* (Bogotá: Centro Regional para el Fomento del Libro en América Latina y el Caribe, 2020).

[168] Ana Kvirikashvili, "State Cultural Policies in Georgia's Small Book Market. Case of the Translation Grant Programme 'Georgian Literature in Translation'(2010–2018)," *Knygotyra* 75 (2020): 92–113.

[169] Ian Mason "Text Parameters in Translation: Transitivity and Institutional Cultures," in *The Translation Studies Reader* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 470–81.

[170] Núria Codina and Jack McMartin, "The European Union Prize for Literature: Disseminating European Values through Translation and Supranational Consecration," in *Culture as Soft Power*, 343–72.

between cultural and political institutions is the fact that in most of the previous examples, considerations regarding the political uses of translation are made. Additional frameworks that have been mobilized in this context are those linking translation with nation building,[171] cultural diplomacy,[172] and soft power[173] in order to reassert the ways translation contributes or intermingles with processes of identity-building and power politics. Since it is possible to interpret states' participation in the ICO's work as potentially inserted in their (cultural) foreign policies, said perspectives are especially relevant for the case study.

2.1.1. A Conceptual Focus: Translation Policy, Institutional Translation, and Official Translation

One of the consequences of current interest in the ways translation and institutions intermingle is the existence of several concepts to approach their practices. The three main concepts identified in existing scholarship include "translation policy," "institutional translation," and "official translation." Partially overlapping but also presenting crucial differences, their meanings and use in the present work will now be unpacked.

"Translation policy" is a concept possessing a certain genealogy within the field of TS, in the sense that it was employed by some of TS' founding fathers, albeit with different meanings and nuances.[174] Even though it is possible to find examples in TS that use the term "translation policy" to refer to individual activities,[175] in this dissertation I

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[171] Brian James Baer, "Nations and nation-building," In *Routledge Encyclopedia of* Translation *Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2019), 361–65.

[172] Luise von Flotow, "Revealing the 'soul of which nation?' Translated literature as cultural diplomacy," In *In Translation – Reflections, Refractions, Transformations* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007), 187–200; Luise von Flotow, "Translation and cultural diplomacy," in *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Politics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 193–203; Jiang Mengying, "Translation as cultural diplomacy: a Chinese perspective," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 27 no. 7 (2021): 892–904.

[173] For example: You Wu, "Globalization, translation and soft power. A Chinese perspective," *Babel* 63 no. 4 (Jan 2017), 463–85; Safaa Ahmed, "Translation as a Soft Power to Westernise Local Identities: An Arab Perspective," *CDELT Occasional Papers in the Development of English Education*, 68 no. 1(2019), 385–402; Kathryn Batchelor, "Literary translation and soft power: African literature in Chinese translation," *The Translator* 25 no. 4 (2019): 401–19; Ali. M. Asiri, "The Franklin Books Program: Translation and the Projection of the American Soft Power in the Cold War," PhD diss., Binghamton University State University of New York, 2021.

[174] Reine Meylaerts, "Translation policy," In *Handbook of Translation Studies*, vol. 2 Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2011), 163–65.

[175] It is the case of Levý's and Even Zohar's use of this term, where the meaning of "translation policy" is close to that of "translation strategies." Meylaerts, "Translation policy," 163.

will use it to refer to collective endeavors. Drawing on Meylaerts,[176] translation policies can be understood as an umbrella term to refer to the activities conducted in official and non-official settings, i.e., publishing houses, with this flexibility capturing the fact that practices contribute to delineating specific policies even when there is not always a previous or explicit design of the latter. In the last decade, scholarship on translation policy has built on public policy scholarship to fine-tune definitions of the concept.[177] Meylaerts and González-Núñez propose to define it "as a series of intentionally coherent decisions on translation or translation activities made by public, and sometimes private, actors in order to resolve collective linguistic and translation problems."[178]

In parallel, the term "institutional translation" has also been the object of considerable discussion in TS. It was coined in 1990 by Canadian researcher Brian Mossop, and then refined by Kaisa Koskinen and Ji-Hae Kang. Koskinen defined it as a form of institutional self-translation, thus narrowing its meaning to refer to documents written and translated by the organization itself. She proposed to use it

> when a social body (government agency, multinational organization or a private company, etc.; also an individual person acting in an official status) uses translation as a means of "speaking" to a particular audience. Thus, in institutional translation, the voice that is to be heard is that of the translating institution. As a result, in a constructivist sense, the institution itself gets translated.[179]

From this standpoint, institutional translation would mainly refer to cases when an institution uses translation to satisfy its own communicative needs. In this framework, Merkle proposed the term of "official translation" as a subfield of institutional translation to refer to "translation and interpretation between the legislated languages within a legally constituted political entity, such as a State or part of a State, a city, or a supranational organization such as the EU."[180]

Against this backdrop, I use the term "translation policy" given its potential as an umbrella term. Rather than considering its polysemy as constituting its Achilles heel,[181] I contend that the plurality of institutions and practices to which it can be applied constitutes one of its strengths. On the one hand, the interest of the concept lies in its

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[176] Meylaerts, "Translation policy," 163–64.
[177] Reine Meylaerts and Gabriel González Núñez, "Interdisciplinary perspectives on translation policy. New directions and challenges," in *Translation and Public Policy* (Routledge, 2017): 1–14.
[178] Ibid., 3. See also: Kaisa Koskinen, "Institutional translation: the art of government by translation," *Perspectives* 22, no. 4 (2014): 479–92.
[179] Koskinen, *Translating Institutions*, 22.
[180] Denise Merkle, "Official translation," in *Handbook of Translation Studies*, vol. 4 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2013), 119.
[181] Meylaerts, "Translation policy," 167.

ability to capture different forms of human action and establish a link between them. Both Meylaerts and González-Núñez have drawn on Spolsky's work in language policies to distinguish between translation practices, beliefs or ideology, and management as three elements a translation policy can be divided into.

> The term '*translation management*' refers to legal efforts by cities to initiate, impose or refrain from translation practices. 'Translation practices" refers to the actual interlingual activity ensuring communication between authorities and citizens. 'Translation beliefs or ideology" refers to the values assigned by members of a language group to translation and their beliefs about the importance of these values.[182]

Although the previous distinction has didactic potential, it needs to be considered a working or analytical distinction rather than ontological one, given the "dialectical interrelationship" between them.[183] On the other hand, the concept of translation policy provides the conceptual flexibility necessary to reconstruct institutional translation practices, decisions, and beliefs while also taking into account institutional features that are specific to each case. In the ICO's case, said analytical category makes it possible to put in dialogue multiple institutional practices related to translation unfolding in different domains, including both administrative and policymaking practices in the cultural domain. Put otherwise, in the ICO's framework, translation was an administrative activity through which the organization made its own voice heard, an auxiliary activity for a number of intellectual subfields whose works translation helped to disseminate, and also an emerging intellectual occupation. The three domains were the object of attention on the ICO's side, hence the interest in including them within a broad analytical category.

It derives from the previous consideration that said concept can convey a certain tension between unity and fragmentation. On the one hand, it is a unifying concept; it provides an umbrella term within which it becomes possible to make sense of a series of practices, discourses, and ideas. On the other hand, however, precisely because of this unifying dimension, it can generate the illusion of a not-necessarily-existing coherence or unity between the latter. It should be clear, in this sense, that "translation policy" is not an agent category but an analytical concept that I use to make sense of a series of practices that, together, delineate a certain shared horizon. Therefore, "policy" is not here used to underscore the idea that the institution conducted an ad hoc reflection on translation in its

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[182] Reine Meylaerts, "Studying language and translation policies in Belgium: What can we learn from a complexity theory approach?" *Parallèles* 29 no. 1 (2017): 46.
[183] Ibid.

different domains of activity or that it coherently implemented a set of decisions to pursue a series of well-established goals. In the present case, understanding policy in a strict sense would mean falling into a form of simplification favored by teleological reasoning and by the illusion of retrospective rationalization.[184] Rather, translation policy is here understood as an analytical category capturing the emerging properties of social action, as a "complex and context-dependent" phenomenon that should be studied "as an emergent phenomenon, constitutive of social reality." [185]

Against this backdrop, the terms "institutional translation" and "official translation" will be used in what follows to refer to narrower aspects. According to previous definitions, I use "institutional translation" to refer to one of the components of the ICO's translation policy, more precisely, the one that has to do with the organization's decisions regarding translation in documents, correspondence, and publications. In other words, in the domains through which the ICO made its voice heard, which include its everyday communicative practices and the outputs disseminated among its audience. "Official translation," instead, will be used to refer to translation between the official languages recognized by the institution under scrutiny, in this case, English and French. In this context, the question arises whether the ICO only engaged in official translation or if it was faced with the need to translate from or to languages other than the official ones.

2.1.2. Introducing the Historical Perspective

The historical perspective is necessary to add nuance to our understanding of the concept "translation policy" and to shed light on the diversity of practices this umbrella term can cover in different geographic and chronological contexts. As stated by Meylaerts, "The *history* of translation management, practices and beliefs, on the contrary, remains largely understudied."[186] Indeed, research looking into translation policies in historic contexts prior to 1945 does not abound.[187] In the case of political institutions, Wolf's work on the

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[184] Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987), 51.
[185] Meylaerts and González Núñez, "Interdisciplinary perspectives", 8.
[186] Meylaerts, "Studying language and translation policies in Belgium", 47. My emphasis.
[187] Some exceptions include: Lieven D'hulst, Carol O'Sullivan, Michael Schreiber, *Politics, Policy and Power in Translation History* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2016); Michael Schreiber and Lieven, D'hulst, "Translation policies in Western Europe (18th-2th centuries): interdisciplinary perspectives," *Parallèles*, 29 no. 1(2017): 3–5; Meylaerts, "Studying language and translation policies in Belgium."

Habsburg monarchy[188] and Baigorri Jalón's work on the United Nations[189] contribute to historicizing said perspective. The small number of existing studies bringing together an interest in translation, institutions, and history can, at least in part, be linked to the unstable status of Translation History as a subfield within the field of TS itself.[190] In consequence, there is still a lot of ground to cover when it comes to the historization of translation policies, a gap I would like to partially fill.

In this regard, a series of challenges arise with the application of the concept "policy" to contexts characterized by a low degree of institutionalization, referring either to translation as an occupation or to the institution under study. The main challenge has to do with the ways ideas related to coherence and planned action are implied in its use. For example, in the domain of policy studies, Rochefort and Cobb[191] relate the development of policies to 1) the identification of a social problem that is in turn constructed, that is, described in a specific way, related to certain causes, afflicting certain groups and not others, and related to the imagination of potential solutions; 2) solution availability, acceptability, and affordability; and 3) the construction of institutional identity, which is also related to problem description and the institutions' interests (recognition of the organization's expertise and authority, legitimacy, etc.). Such an understanding can be useful to examine the process of policymaking, but at the same time, this approach presupposes a certain coherence between actions, coherence that may not always be that evident in historical contexts characterized by a low degree of institutionalization. How can the term "policy" be understood in this type of context? Does the term "policy" necessarily suggest previous planning implemented in coherent ways? Can it effectively be the case, or such an understanding of policy obscures the role of improvisation, accidents, unexpected outcomes, and redefining practices? How can feedback effects derived from practice problematize a previous definition of said policy? Additionally, linking translation policies to institutions that existed in the past could seem paradoxical: how could there be a translation policy if translation was not (yet) perceived as a specialized field of activity? The same question can be reformulated from a

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[188] Michaela Wolf, *The Habsburg Monarchy's Many-Languaged Soul. Translating and interpreting*, 1848-1918 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2015).

[189] Baigorri-Jalón, *From Paris*.

[190] Christopher Rundle, "Translation as an approach to history," *Translation Studies* 5 no. 2(May 2012): 232–40.

[191] David A. Rochefort and Roger W. Cobb, "Problem Definition, Agenda Access, and Policy Choice," *Policy Studies Journal* 21 no. 1 (1993): 67–68.

theoretical standpoint: What are the social forces that have historically promoted the differentiation of an activity and its evolution into an occupation or a profession? As this case study contributes to illustrate, translation policies can precede the *ad hoc* reflection on translation. In other terms, the implementation of certain decisions related to translation management, practices or beliefs often derives from instrumental reasons rather than an interest in translation *per se*. Meylaerts and González Núñez referred to the issue of coherence as well, a term they use to define the concept of translation policy,[192] but that they immediately problematize. In their view, "sometimes translation policy may be the result of decisions that are not meant to be coherent, or at least that are not intentionally so. These may be uncoordinated decisions that interact to create a policy in terms of translation."[193] As described by González Núñez, practices "help create policy in a very real way, even if this practice is not always explicitly mandated through legal rules."[194] In that regard, Meylaerts and González Núñez distinguish between implicit and explicit translation policies,[195] distinction that is especially useful when addressing contexts of early institutionalization, for which the presupposition of coherence may be anachronistic. From this standpoint, the reconstruction of historical translation policies can be linked to a social history of the activity itself, a history interested in examining the ways specific institutions reflect and enact the social forces and processes that contributed to the emergence of translation as a specialized field of activity and its subsequent professionalization.

2.2. Grounding Concepts: Features of the ICO's Translation Policy

In Chapter 1, I examined the ICO's structure and policymaking procedure, which led me to question whether the agent discussed should be the IIIC or the ICO as a whole. In the previous section, I presented the state of the art in the field of TS related to institutions and translation and examined some of the concepts that can be useful for the study of the ways translation is practiced by institutional agents. Having clarified their meanings, I elaborated on the reasons why the concept of "translation policy" constitutes one of the main analytical categories in the present dissertation. Additionally, I tackled the mutually

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[192] I am especially referring to their allusion to "intentionally coherent decisions" in Meylaerts and González Núñez, "Interdisciplinary perspectives", 3.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Gabriel González Núñez, "On translation policy," *Target* 28 no. 1 (2016): 92.
[195] Meylaerts and González Núñez, "Interdisciplinary perspectives," 3.

constitutive character of agent and object and contended that any definition of a translation policy is necessarily shaped by institutional features.

For this reason, in what follows, I build on the contents of Chapter 1 and Section 2.1 to put into dialogue the ICO's specific functioning with the notion of translation policy. More precisely, I formulate several principles or considerations characterizing the ICO's translation policy in light of the considerations elaborated so far. They are presented in the form of a short statement, that is in turn developed with more detail.

1. *The ICO's policymaking should be considered eminently relational, in correspondence with the ICO's functioning.*

The ICO's policies were eminently relational in the sense that they resulted from the cooperation between several collective and individual agents, as well as from the confluence between structures and agents. Rather than emerging from the free will of a specific set of agents, they were the product of said relational functioning. Building on Pierre Bourdieu's work, an effort is made throughout the following chapters to conceptualize and think of action in a way that overcomes the traditional opposition between subjectivism and objectivism, and as such, does not consider action as the mere realization of the subject's will nor the reflex or reproduction of material structures. This is coherent with the way Barnett and Finnemore characterized IOs: "Not only are IOs independent agents with their own agendas, but they may embody multiple agendas and contain multiple sources of agency."[196] This has a direct bearing on the study of the ICO's translation policy, in the sense that reasserting the existence of multiple agencies shaping the ICO's functioning is crucial to understanding that its translation policy is necessarily shaped by multiple agencies as well. The translation policy enacted by and through the ICO was shaped by the needs, desires, interests, and possibilities of the bodies composing the ICO itself, on the one hand, but also by the desires, interests, and possibilities of other agents, be they agents in the intellectual field or government representatives, on the other hand. In this regard, it should be considered that third parties enacted their own policies in multiple domains through the ICO. This, however, should not be understood as undermining the agency of the ICO itself but as reasserting the relational nature of its functioning. The design and implementation of a translation policy at the ICO was the result of conflict and collaboration between different agents, between intellectual

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[196] Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations," *International Organization* 53, no. 4 (1999): 705.

concerns and politico-administrative ones, which included political and economic factors, as well as between strategic considerations related to the desired forms of agency of the bodies composing the ICO and their own rivalries.

2. *The description of the ICO's translation policy should articulate an institutional focus with attention to individual agents, which includes translators, but also other agents.*

Just as any analysis of an institutional translation policy should critically consider institutional agency, the agency of translators working within the appurtenant institution should also be examined. Mossop considered that

> translators [working in institutional settings] make conscious choices to adapt their translations 'in the sense of making the translation serve the purpose of the translating institution' and that 'the translators act as agents of the institution, not as individuals.'[197]

Without there being a consensus in the field of TS on whether translators adapt their decisions consciously or unconsciously to the institutions where they perform translation tasks, it is pertinent to ask what the agency of translators was in the overall design and implementation of said translation policy. At the same time, translators are not the sole, nor maybe even the main, agents involved. In subsequent chapters, multiple examples will be provided of agents performing translation tasks, not all of which defined themselves as translators. Also, their outputs were in turn proofread by subsequent figures that were not necessarily performant in foreign languages. In some cases, they were functionaries at the ICO, whereas in other cases their expert knowledge sufficed to qualify them as reviewers. Translators and reviewers' understanding of the ICO's priorities needs to be interrogated. Given the historical context related to the institutionalization of the bodies composing the ICO, as well as the conditions shaping the exercise of translation, previous shared knowledge on the ICO's priorities and the ways the latter should reflect in translation decisions cannot be assumed. However, translation and revisions to translations offer a vantage point to examine how decisions taken at a very micro level reflect dynamics of institutional identity building, the way multiple agents intervened therein, and how power relations shaped them. Individual action is thus to be understood within its context, as an action being enabled and limited by the field, i.e., by relations with agents occupying other positions in it, as well as by relations between fields.

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[197] Brian Mossop, "Translating institutions and 'idiomatic' translation," *Meta* 35(2): 351.

3. *The different functions and compositions of the bodies composing the ICO generated different translation needs.*

The IIIC's translation needs can be expected to exceed those of the ICIC given its work as a communications office. For example, the IIIC's inquiry work made it so that this body needed to understand documents written in the national languages, such as the press, legislation, or statutes of specific organizations. However, I contend that, given that the ICO's work operated under the form of an institutional network, said translation needs cannot be fully approached separately.

4. *The ICO's translation policy needs to capture the individuality of the ICO's composing bodies as well as the existence of a collective dynamic.*

Translation needs should be examined by linking the needs of the different bodies composing the ICO. And this, for several reasons. First, because the relational character of their functioning suggests that if one piece of the chain directly assumed the translating function, this would reduce the translation needs of other pieces of the same chain. Therefore, the lack of translation on one's side, despite the existence of translation needs, can be a sign that translation was happening elsewhere. For example, the translation needs of the NCIC will directly depend upon the degree to which the Paris and Geneva bodies practiced translation themselves. Second, because there was some overlap in terms of tasks: even though managing contact with the outer world was primarily the IIIC's function, it was a transversal need, which means we shall check if the ways the different bodies addressed said need were the same or not. The analysis of the ICO's institutional structure and workflow suggests that specific translation needs could emerge in relation to the following working phases: 1) information gathering for input tasks; 2) communication throughout executive work (meetings involving civil servants, government representatives, and/or intellectuals); 3) elaboration of official documents in specific languages (and eventually their translation into other languages); 4) reporting to hierarchically superior bodies, 5) dissemination to a wider audience knowledge about the ICO's work. Although said phases could be assigned to single bodies, they could also be fulfilled by multiple agents. Third, because the analysis of the ICO's relational functioning has shed light on the existence of a sustained flow of information between the bodies composing the ICO. It can be posited that there must have been a more or less explicit language and translation policy so that the organizational network could effectively function.

5. *The ICO's translation policy unfolded in several fields of activity, which can be considered the different components configuring said translation policy.*

Considering the multiple domains where the ICO deployed translation activities, I propose to break down its translation policy into multiple components, which correspond to different domains of specialization: a translation policy related to institutional translation, which includes translation of documents, of day-to-day correspondence, and of the ICO's publications, irrespective of whether the latter covers only official translation or non-official translation. Next to institutional translation, additional components related to the ICO's fields of work: a specific policy related to literary translation in the domain of literature, a policy in relation to scientific translation in the scientific domain, and so on. In all these domains, the ICO made specific choices and carried out specific activities. Translation being an activity enlarging the possibilities for human communication beyond linguistic and often political boundaries, it is not surprising that it was the object of interest in relation to processes specific to each intellectual subfield. Using an umbrella category to regroup them all underscores translation's key mediating role in the establishment of transnational connections and networks. For this reason, I propose to use the concept of "translation policy" to muster elements related to a variety of manifestations of translation.

Given the breadth of the domains in which the ICO engaged, I do not pretend to exhaustively reconstruct all the components constituting the ICO's translation policy in the present dissertation. A selection was made to delineate a research perimeter that was feasible in the framework of a doctoral dissertation. The existence of several components constituting the ICO's translation policy entails a methodological difficulty when one seeks to reconstruct it in its entirety. In practice, it means discussing translation within the framework of several historical processes, some of which partially unfolded in and through the ICO, but others unfolded in and through other institutions. For example, when discussing institutional translation, the specific history of the ICO as an administrative body, and aspects such as the consolidation of IOs and the professionalization and specialization of international civil servants constitute the immediate context. In the case of the work carried out by the ICO to improve translation's legal framework, the relevant context was found in the history of the Berne Convention, the efforts of multiple institutions that worked to develop a regime to protect intellectual property. The study of this component would require using additional sources, such as the funds from the

International Institute for the Unification of Private Law, with which the ICO collaborated in this regard. All things considered, I decided to focus on some components over others. The decision to include or bracket out specific topics was guided by an overarching effort to try to maintain an equilibrium between the focus on translation, the reconstruction of the issue-area's specific contexts, and the quantity and quality of information preserved mainly in the archive of the ICIC and that of the IIIC. Also, I privileged the domain where my own skills could be put to better use. In consequence, I focus on two main components of the ICO's translation policy, namely, the translation policy enacted in relation to institutional translation (Part 2) and the translation policy enacted in relation to literary translation (Part 3). Despite constituting two different domains of activity, it is pertinent to analyze whether practices in one domain echo or are in coherence with other domains. By the same token, the dominant voice in each component will not necessarily be the same.

6. *The ICO's translation policy can be implicit as well as explicit.*

The fact that the ICO was the first body of its kind in history marked its functioning. Also, the low degree of institutionalization of translation in the interwar period marked the ICO's efforts in relation to this activity. Considering both elements, the ICO's translation policy is not always explicitly described in archival sources. Sometimes, it needs to be reconstructed from practices. In terms of sources, therefore, the values, principles, and decisions guiding the bodies composing the ICO in their translation activities are sometimes explicitly stated in policy documents but can also be reconstructed from other documents, such as minutes from working meetings, internal reports, speeches, and correspondence among members.

2.3. Broadening the Scope: Translation, History, and Globalization through the ICO's Translation Policy

In the introduction to Chapter 2, I have referred to my approach to translation as the canary in the coal mine. In this section, I elaborate on the way I propose to do so, which consists basically on using translation as an approach toward history and toward the analysis of globalization processes.

In an intervention that made a far from unanimous reception in TS, Christopher Rundle elaborated on the potential of "translation as an approach to history."[198] Drawing on his experience with the study of translation in Fascist Italy (or, rather, his study of Fascist Italy through the prism of translation, to formulate it in a way that is more consequential with Rundle's point), he argued that translation offers great insights to understand new aspects about historical facts, processes, and events. In other words, he used translation as the canary in the coal mine by focusing on what translation can tell us about specific historical contexts. Rundle extrapolated from his experience to formulate a series of normative arguments about what the history of translation *should* do and claimed that translation scholars interested in historical matters should engage more seriously with the historical field (using historical bibliography, participating in events with historians, and so forth). Brought to the extreme, his proposal would dilute the history of translation as a subfield in TS and see it as a perspective applicable to, probably, all disciplines (for example, translation in the history of fascism, translation in the history of science, translation in the history of education, translation in literary history, and so forth). This is of course explained by the functional dimension of translation, which makes it so that the activity is practiced in an endless list of social domains and professional activities. The challenge, ultimately, is to critically examine to what extent history constitutes peripheral contextual factors for a translation scholarship, or rather, decisive shaping factors.

As Chapter 1 illustrates, in the present dissertation, the history of the ICO could not be treated as a mere contextual factor but instead soon became a precondition to understand and interpret everything else, which is why the chapter on the agent precedes the chapter on the object. Put otherwise, the present case study illustrates the potential interest in translation for other disciplines along the lines proposed by Rundle. Of course, his intervention can be read as a debate on the institutional inscription of translation history, which is not a central concern here. However, what is instead more interesting are the insights this debate yields about the relational nature of translation. I argue that the possible double inscription of translation history emanates precisely from this relational character.[199] And also, that this is precisely the reason why translation can be used as the canary in the coal mine.

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[198] Rundle, "Translation as an approach to history."

[199] Some relevant underlying questions can be posed: how should translation's relational character be reflected in the institutionalization of TS? Should they develop into an autonomous discipline or as a

In this dissertation, translation is used as the canary in the coal mine to examine the history of intellectual cooperation, as clearly derived from Chapter 1, but also to pinpoint the relations between translation and globalization. In the present Chapter, I unpack the ways the focus on the ICO's translation policy sheds light on the preconditions of globalization processes as well as on the key position communication challenges have historically played therein. Considering the current intensification of globalization, which has led to "the internalization of globality to such a high degree that it becomes no longer visible" and to the "assumed normality of global interconnectedness, relationality and mobility,"[200] one of the goals in the present dissertation is to combine a historical and material approach to globalization processes with a thematic approach to the history of intellectual cooperation. By doing so, I triangulate the history of translation, the history of IOs, and the role of the two in the history of globalization processes.

Constituting essential tools of communication, languages and translation can be considered to have historically occupied a central role in the very existence of forms, mechanisms, and institutions of global connectivity. By reconstructing the translation policy enacted in the domains of institutional translation and literary translation, the present dissertation sheds light on the key articulatory role translation played in the establishment of transnational intellectual networks. This point is central in the sense that it justifies the potential interest of a thematic approach to the history of intellectual cooperation that places translation at its center. Examining the translation policy of an IO sheds light on the basic processes that have historically underpinned globalization from a material standpoint,[201] with globalization being here understood as an umbrella term referring to "dynamics of transnational and cross-group interaction."[202] The focus on translation as a condition of possibility for globalization can be expanded if the preconditions for translation are addressed, which straddle material aspects such as paper supply or the chemical composition of inks to other aspects such as language skills. Indeed, the ICO's work directly suffered from the shortages in the production of paper,

perspective on other fields of enquiry? Should both things complement each other? To what extent is the answer to the previous questions shaped by scholars' material interests?

[200] Bielsa, "Introduction. The intersection between translation and globalization," 2.

[201] Esperança Bielsa, "Globalisation and translation: A theoretical approach," *Language and Intercultural Communication* 5, no. 2 (2005): 139.

[202] David Inglis and Christopher Thorpe, "Translation encounters and the histories of globalization," in *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Globalization* (London and New York: Routledge, 2021), 20.

and the perishable character of paper and inks was the object of particular attention too,[203] without forgetting the ICO's efforts to promote the study of foreign languages.[204] Both aspects illustrate the very material and immaterial aspects that shaped processes of globalization in the intellectual domain (and the preservation of their memory).

The transversal interest devoted to translation in the framework of the ICO's work illustrates that languages and translation played a crucial role in the historical establishment of global flows. However, they did so under a veil of invisibility. The invisible character of languages and translation, despite their crucial relevance in globalization processes, has been developed by Esperança Bielsa, who has problematized the fact that globalization is generally understood as an abstract phenomenon. In her view, this is so because globalization theory and most definitions of globalization pay more attention to *what* rather than *how*. Such an immaterial understanding of globalization obscures the analysis of its conditions of possibility, among which languages, language skills, and translation can be inscribed.[205] Bielsa has also elaborated on the "key mediating role that translation plays in global connectivity and the movement of people and information around the world"[206] and argued that "shared languages and linguistic competencies (…) are a key, if sometimes forgotten, infrastructure of intercultural communication and interaction."[207] Against this backdrop, my dissertation proves the ways translation was key to processes of global connectivity in two main domains, one is in the institutional dynamics enabling the correct functioning of IOs (part 2) and the second one is in relation to the institutionalization of a global literary space (part 3).

As such, the present work can be inscribed in a series of contributions whose authors have argued for the potential of bringing together TS and globalization scholarship.[208] The ways globalization affects the practice of translation has been the

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[203] Organization of the Artistic Relations Section of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation - Mr Richard Dupierreux - Submits to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters a Report on this Subject. UN Archive, R1079/13C/47378/45160.

[204] See in this regard Subseries "[E.L.V.] - L'enseignement des langues vivantes" in the IIIC's funds. UNESCO archive, AG 01-IICI-[E.L.V.]. The topic of language learning is omitted in this dissertation given the necessity to circumscribe the research focus. However, the fact that the ICO delved into the foreign language learning suggests the interest, for future research, to put in relation language learning, lingua francas, and translation to examine the preconditions shaping globalization process.

[205] Bielsa, "Globalisation and translation, 2.

[206] Ibid.

[207] Ibid. 3.

[208] Michael Cronin, *Translation and Globalization* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003); Said M. Shiyab Marilyn Gaddis Rose, Juliane House, and John Duval, *Globalization and Aspects of Translation* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2010); Shaobo Xie, "Translation and globalization", in *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Politics* (London and New Work: Routledge, 2018), 79–94;

object of growing interest in TS in the last decades, with topics discussed in said framework including the use of new technologies, the ways globalization modifies the very nature of translation as an activity and turning it into rewriting, adaption, or localization, or the ways globalization favors some translation paradigms over others. However, some contributions have sought to address the relationships between translation and globalization the other way round, that is, focusing on the ways translation can help understand the "transnational movement that is globalization."[209] If globalization leads to a rise of exchanges and interactions, and translation is one form of intercultural mediation that seeks to enlarge communication possibilities, it comes as no surprise than the one sheds light on the other.

Globalization favors the creation of forms of supranational organization to give answers to problems and management needs that derive from cross-border practices, be they governmental or non-governmental organizations. IOs, thus, are the result and at the same time, contribute to consolidate globalization processes, given that they crystallize global dynamics in institutional forms and practices. Therefore, the key mediating role of languages and translation in globalization process, and the structuring function that IOs exercise in the latter, point to the interest of approaching them in relation. The translation policies enacted by specific IOs become, within this framework, suitable research objects to address the relationships between translation and globalization from a perspective that is especially attentive to the conditions of possibility that shape them both.

The use of translation by IOs, or that of lingua francas, turns our attention to another question pertaining to the relations linking translation and globalization, namely, whether one promotes or hinders the other. In other words, this case study makes it possible to historize the relations between translation and lingua francas. Did the ICO favor the institutionalization for translation? Did it also, or instead, help consolidate certain lingua francas? The scope of the question can be expanded: Does globalization provoke a rise in the need of translation? Or, rather, does it favor the emergence of an international lingua franca? Relations between translation and lingua francas and globalization have been analyzed by Pym, who has qualified this topic as the "diversity paradox."[210] According to the latter, globalization contributes contemporaneously both to

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Esperança Bielsa and Dionysios Kapsaskis, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Globalization* (London and New York: Routledge, 2021).

[209] Cronin, *Translation and Globalization*, 1.

[210] Anthony Pym, "Globalization and the Politics of Translation Studies," *Meta* 51, no. 4 (2006): 747.

an increase in the number of translations, and to the use of an international lingua franca. He explained such a paradox by distinguishing between globalization at the level of production and at the level of distribution. In his own words: "the lingua franca plays its global role as a factor of production, whereas translation plays its marketing role as a tool of distribution."[211] In the present dissertation, I will examine, *mutatis mutandis*, if the diversity paradox verified also in the framework of the ICO's work. That is, if the ICO used lingua francas in its internal functioning (equivalent to production), and instead drew on translation for its communication strategies and dissemination work (equivalent to distribution). By answering those questions in relation to the ICO and in relation to an institution active in the interwar period, my goal is to historicize the validity of the diversity paradox, or, what is the same, the relationships between translation and lingua franca.

It should be considered, from this perspective, that lingua francas and language learning constitute other structural mechanisms playing key functions in globalization processes. The principle of the lingua franca does not entail a lack of translation, but its displacement. The translation process is operated by the individual who self-translates to make use of the lingua franca and thus insert herself in an a priori global conversation. It follows that the use of lingua francas is, in turn, predicated upon knowledge of foreign languages, which is the result of a schooling process that has, in the horizon of its design and implementation, the production of internationally functioning agents. From this standpoint, both the practice of translation as an occupation more or less professionalized and the use of lingua francas on the side of either an elite or a part of the population are inextricably tied to the democratization of language skills and the development of a series of occupations specialized in their use.

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[211] Ibid., 749.

3. The Theoretical Framework. A Global and Relational Application of Field Theory

Historical research has sometimes been considered "theory resistant,"[212] a description that does not apply to the present dissertation, which unfolds from a continuous back and forth between the object and a theoretical reflection. This is consistent with the fact that TS has historically been considered an interdisciplinary field of inquiry because its theoretical elaborations often build on other disciplines' input to develop a specific approach or reflection upon translation. The analytical or theoretical perspective that played a crucial role in my epistemological construction of the research object is field theory, as elaborated by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu.

Among the aspects explaining field theory's heuristic potential across disciplines, as well as in the present work, is the fact that this theoretical model is predicated upon a relational understanding of society. The concept of field implies inserting a series of agents in a given framework, which is not the whole of society, but a microcosm created by the existence of a logic specific to it, a shared belief (*illusio*) that generates competition between several agents for the dominant positions in that field. The more a field is differentiated and possesses its own logic, the more it can be considered autonomous. Conversely, the more it is conditioned by other fields' principles of vision and hierarchies, the more it will be considered heteronomous. In each field, each agent occupies a position that derives from the forms of capital he possesses, which can be of different types: economic, cultural, social, or symbolic capital. Fields function as "field of forces," that is, they are kept together by a struggle for the better positions in the field, with said struggle being one of its main driving forces. Individuals, from this standpoint, appear to be marked by structure but also possess certain agency. This idea, that links individuals to structure in a mutually constitutive way, is captured in the concept of *habitus*, which refers to the way agents incorporate the structures in which they have been socialized in their perception of the world. Habitus, therefore, is what guides their action, understanding that the latter is the result of a mediation between agent and structure, without falling into the illusion of voluntarism, or the passivity of structuralist accounts

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[212] Peter J. Buckley, "Historical Research Approaches to the Analysis of Internationalisation," *Management International Review* 56 no. 6 (2016): 880.

of social action. Finally, each field possesses its own structure, field of forces and field of fights.

The previous outline reveals that the concept of field constitutes a powerful analytical tool to look beyond single agents and delving into a relational analysis of human action and the ways structures shape it. Additionally, the concept of "field" is of primary utility to account for the specific logic of different social spheres. For example, the literary field, the academic field, the economic field or the intellectual field, each one functioning guided by its own specific logics, possessing forms of capital that are field-specific, and retranslating in its own terms the outer dynamics. More broadly, the heuristic character of field theory to explain the dynamics at play in different social fields explains the transversal interest this theoretical framework has awakened across disciplines. This is also one of the reasons why it constitutes a stimulating theoretical framework in the present dissertation. Having been used (and problematized) by translation scholars,[213] as well as by scholars working in IR,[214] and in history,[215] it constitutes a theoretical model straddling this dissertation's disciplinary horizon.

For all its potential, in mobilizing field theory to approach this dissertation's object, I encountered certain difficulties related to the features of the main agent discussed, i.e., an international organization functioning as an organizational network bringing together government representatives and intellectuals. More precisely, two difficulties appeared. The first had to do with the fact that the main agent in the present dissertation was an international organization, which meant that I needed to conceptualize the relation between the national and the international in the framework of field theory. The second, instead, had to do with relations between the intellectual and the political fields, in which case my own scholarly position had a bearing on the ways to use the concepts of autonomy and heteronomy. My goal was not to analyze the specific logic in play in a given field (for example, the field of power or the literary field), but to examine an organization working at the crossroads of said fields. Rather than dismissing the theoretical framework in light of said difficulties, I delved into what Krause qualifies as

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[213] The umbrella term "sociology of translation" includes the work of a series of scholars who use different approaches, theories, concepts, and methods to discuss translation as a social practice. See: Michaela Wolf and Alexandra Fukari, eds., *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007); Claudia V. Angelelli, ed., *The Sociological Turn in Translation and Interpreting Studies* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2014).

[214] Rebecca Adler-Nissen, ed., *Bourdieu in International Relations. Rethinking key concepts in IR* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013)

[215] Philip S. Gorski, *Bourdieu and Historical Analysis* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

"a progressive research programme,"[216] that is, "one that that is also sensitive to provocation by empirical research and uses new findings to develop and differentiate its vocabulary and specify its hypotheses.[217] Instead of confirming field theory's usefulness and truth when applied to contexts other than 19th century France, said theoretical framework is here put to work by entering into a conceptual and theoretical dialogue with the object examined with the goal of problematize that very theory to adapt it to the object. Consequently, I have complemented Bourdieu's work with subsequent developments proposed by scholars exploring the application of field theory to the global scale and its relational character.

Chapter 3 unfolds in three sections. Section 3.1 starts by setting out current debates regarding the application of field theory to global objects. I summarize recent contributions to the debate and make explicit what my application has been to conceptualize my research object. Then, in Section 3.2, I delve into field theory from a relational perspective in order to discuss the fact that working with fields constitutes an analytical autonomization of a given social sphere, which complicates the study of field relations as such. Then, in Section 3.3, I apply the previous considerations to the ICO and combine theory and archive material to ground my theoretical approach.

3.1. Field Theory and the Global: an ongoing debate

The potential of field theory has favored the global circulation of this theoretical framework and its application to varied objects. Two main debates have marked Bourdieu's reception across disciplines during the last decades, one dealing with the application of field theory to geographic (and chronological) contexts different from the ones it was designed to describe,[218] and one dealing with its application to other scales.

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[216] Monika Krause, "How fields vary," *The British Journal of Sociology* 69, no. 1 (2017): 9.

[217] Ibid., 10.

[218] For an overview of its reception in a wide number of geographical contexts, see the entries referring to countries in: Gisèle Sapiro, ed., *Dictionnaire International Bourdieu* (Paris: CNRS, 2020). For its reception in Europe, see: Marco Santoro and Andrea Gallelli, "Bourdieu Inside Europe. The European Circulation of Bourdieu's Ideas," in *The Anthem Companion to Pierre Bourdieu* (London and New York: Anthem Press, 2016), 145–78. For its reception in Latin America, see: Hugo José Suárez, coord. *Pierre Bourdieu leído desde el sur* (La Paz: Plural, 2000); Denis Baranger, "La recepción de Bourdieu en Argentina y en Brasil," Paper read at V Jornadas de Sociología de la UNLP. Universidad Nacional de La Plata. Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación. Departamento de Sociología, La Plata, 2008; Mabel Moraña, *Bourdieu en la periferia: capital simbólico y campo cultural en América Latina* (Santiago de Chile: Cuarto propio, 2014); Ignacio M. Sánchez Prado, ed., *Pierre Bourdieu in Hispanic Literature and Culture* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018). With a general focus on peripheral literary fields, see: Elisabet

89

Bourdieu himself delved into the application of field theory to new geographies, something especially visible in his works on Belgium[219] and Japan.[220] The question of the global or other scales was, instead, less developed under his own pen, although he alluded to the possibility of an international analysis in "Les conditions sociales de la circulation internationale des idées," an article where he discussed the elaboration of a "science des relations internationales en matière de culture."[221] Even though discussing the application of field theory to geographic spaces other than France and to scales that are not necessarily national are two distinct questions, they have sometimes been explored together as part of a same problem. In what follows, I summarize the ways recent scholarship (and not so recent) has dealt, primarily, with the second aspect, although both issues sometimes overlap in discussions regarding the comparative method.

This path was distinctively developed by several of Bourdieu's disciples, among them Pascale Casanova[222] and Gisèle Sapiro. Casanova transposed field theory, and more precisely, Bourdieu's work on the literary field to an international scale. In her *World Republic of Letters*, she elaborated on a transnational literary space whose functioning she described in a work that constituted a turning point in literature, comparative literature, and translation studies. For all the novelty such an undertaking had in 1999, her work was subsequently the object of critique for different reasons, from accusations of Eurocentrism to criticism of proposing an insufficiently systematized model. Nevertheless, it continues to inspire relevant scholarship.[223] Sapiro has been a key figure in the development of several research areas as well as in the training of future scholars. She has made distinguished contributions to the analysis of translation flows and, from

Carbó Catalan, and Ana Kvirikashvili Chitishvili, "Hacia una sociología de la literatura descentralizada: notas y comentarios a la teoría bourdieusiana desde la periferia," *Theory Now. Journal of Literature, Critique, and Thought* 5 no. 1 (2022): 142–65.

[219] Pierre Bourdieu, "Existe-t-il une littérature belge ? Limites d'un champ et frontières politiques," *Études de Lettres* (December 1985): 3–6.

[220] Pierre Bourdieu, Gisèle Sapiro, and Brian McHale, "First Lecture. Social Space and Symbolic Space: Introduction to a Japanese Reading of Distinction," *Poetics Today* 12 no. 4 (1991): 627–38.

[221] Pierre Bourdieu, "Les conditions sociales de la circulation internationale des idées," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 145 no. 5 (2002): 3.

[222] Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

[223] Gisèle Sapiro and Delia Ungureanu, eds., *Pascale Casanova's World of Letters and Its Legacies* (Leiden: Brill, 2022).

this standpoint, her work,[224] and hers with Heilbron,[225] offer a mixed-method approach where quantitative methods complement qualitative research, hence offering a counterpart to Casanova's approach, which was more focused on theorizing the functioning of the international literary field. Basing on Abram de Swaan's work,[226] Heilbron and Sapiro developed a sociological model for the worldwide study of book translations, also describing their structure in terms of center-periphery and based mainly in a dynamic in which the directionality of translation flows goes from central to peripheral languages. In another domain, Sapiro has also offered salient contributions to the study of the international intellectual space, with a focus on Europe.[227] During the 2000s and especially the 2010s, she also offered some theoretical contributions addressing the application of field theory to scales other than the national one,[228] without however exhausting the topic.

Indeed, the application of field theory to the global scale constitutes a topic that has been the object of much discussion.[229] I shall now summarize some of the main problematic aspects by drawing on existing bibliography. If we focus on the modifications of field theory, one of the first moves was to use the term "space," rather than "field" to discuss dynamics beyond national boundaries, something illustrated in Anna Boschetti's use of the concept "transnational cultural space"[230] or Sapiro's allusion to the intellectual space in Europe.[231] However, additional questions remained regarding spaces' specific features and differences (and relations) with fields. Indeed, from today's lens, that

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[224] Gisèle Sapiro, *Translatio. Le marché de la traduction en France à l'heure de la mondialisation* (Paris, CNRS Editions, 2008); *Gisèle Sapiro, Les contradictions de la globalisation éditoriale*, Paris, Nouveau Monde Editions/Sociétés & Représentations, 2009; *Gisèle Sapiro,* "How do literary texts cross borders (or not)", *Journal of World Literature* 1, n°1 (2016): 81–96.

[225] Johan Heilbron, "Towards a sociology of translation: Book translations as a cultural world-system," *European Journal of Social Theory* 2 no. 4 (1999), 429–44; Johan Heilbron and Gisèle Sapiro, "La traduction littéraire, un objet sociologique,"*Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 144 (2002): 3-5.

[226] Abram De Swaan, *Words of the World: The Global Language System* (Cambridge: Polity Press and Blackwell, 2001).

[227] Gisèle Sapiro, *L'espace intellectuelle.*

[228] Sapiro, *L'espace intellectuel*; Gisèle Sapiro, "Le champ est-il national ? La théorie de la différenciation sociale au prisme de l'histoire globale," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 200 (December 2013) ; Gisèle Sapiro, Tristan Leperlier, and Mohamed Amine Brahimi, "What is a transnational intellectual field," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 224, no. 4 (2018): 4–11.

[229] Without aiming at an exhaustive summary, some examples are : Anna Boschetti (dir.), *L'espace culturel transnational* (Paris: Nouveau Monde, 2010); Diana Sanz Roig, ed., *Bourdieu después de Bourdieu* (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 2014); Monika Krause, "How fields vary," *The British Journal of Sociology* (2017); Witte, Daniel and Andreas Schmitz, "Relational Sociology on a Global Scale: Field-Theoretical Perspectives on Cross-Cultural Comparison and the Re-Figuration of Space(s)," *Forum: Qualitative social Research* 22, no. 3 (September 2021).

[230] Boschetti, *L'espace culturel transnational.*

[231] Sapiro, *L'espace intellectuel.*

operation appears to be as an eminently rescaling one. That is, an effort was made to look beyond the nation as the main conceptualizing tool, but in most descriptions of *spaces* the features of national fields were transposed to international ones without properly unpacking the consequences of the scale switch. The result presented *spaces* as something different from fields without clearly stating why or how. Implicitly, the national is considered opposed to the international, rather than reasserting the complex scalar relations between the national and the international, and therefore between fields and *space*s.[232] Also, the use of the term "space" rather than "field" could be interpreted as suggesting that fields were necessarily national, a question Sapiro directly addressed. In a context marked by the growing questioning of methodological nationalism, she defended the plasticity of the concept and provided a series of arguments explaining why Bourdieu adopted a national perspective when elaborating field theory, while also stressing that it did not necessarily need to be the case. For her, it was up to the researcher to delimit the boundaries of her object, and her contribution closed with a defense of the comparative method to advance toward supranational applications of field theory, but with insufficient elaboration on how to do it in practice.

The discussion is still open, without a consensus or dominant solution having been adopted in different disciplines. Among existing reformulations, I will now discuss some works that have been especially useful in my approach.

One of the problems I encountered when trying to implement some of the reelaborations proposed in the last decades, such as the one by Witte and Schmitz, was a certain reification of fields.[233] Interested in the comparative method, Schmitz and Witte start out by questioning the two more expanded forms of container thinking, i.e., states' analytical primacy and a herderian understanding of culture. Warning against the dangers of essentializing compared units, and drawing on the methodological principle of relationality, they argue for the need to apply the comparative method with more flexibility, that is, making room for comparison between different units, reference systems and processes of societalization. By doing so, they question the convergence between the social space and the physical space and argue that they can relate in different

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[232] Mansfield, Becky, "Beyond rescaling: reintegrating the `national' as a dimension of scalar relations," *Progress in Human Geography* 29, no.4 (2005): 458–73.

[233] Witte and Schmitz, "Relational Sociology on a Global Scale." See also Andreas Schmitz, Daniel Witte, and Vincent Gengnagel, "Pluralizing field analysis:Toward a relational understanding of the field of power," *Social Science Information* 56 no. 1 (2017): 49 –73.

ways.[234] In consequence, they propose an approach to field theory that places relations between fields at its center, while also reconceptualizing the concept of "field of power." In their understanding, the field of power should be detached from any aprioristic national anchoring and conferred an eminently relational character. In this framework, they propose to understand the global field of power as "the broadest possible frame of reference," which in turn means that the nation state loses its analytical primacy and becomes "not only as an embedding instance or frame (…) but also as being a field that itself is embedded in the field of power."[235] By addressing the state as a field that is in relation to other fields, such as the global field, they proposed to consider relations between fields as *tertium comparationis*, rather than the state per se. By the same token, understanding the state as a field sheds light on the ways the latter constitutes, maintains, or defends its contours, be they physical or territorial borders or symbolic boundaries as a field.

However, in my reading their proposal contained a certain reification of international fields. In advancing said critique, I build on Mansfield, who has stressed that the decline of the national has generally led to an

> either/or situation, much as the globalization debate did regarding the state): if rescaling is happening then the national is no longer so important, whereas if the national can be shown to still be important then rescaling must not really be happening or is limited in its effect.[236]

In other words, the autonomization of global fields in the work by Witte and Schmitz, in my view, did not take sufficiently into account the fact that national and international fields do not constitute two spaces apart but are both part of a multiscaled world. This, I argue, is not so much a defect in their work as the fact that working with the concept of field turns, in practice, in an operation of analytical autonomization that, inevitably, tends to reify the object analyzed. Therefore, in my approach it became clear, also because of states' participation in the ICO, that it could not be a question of "either/or," but one of complex scalar relations reintegrating the role of the state in a myriad of social processes, without however universalizing its functions. In so doing, I adopted Mansfield's view upon scales as dimensions of social practice, and as relational processes rather than ontological objects. This, in turn, meant approaching

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234 Witte and Schmitz, "Relational Sociology on a Global Scale, 25.
235 Schmitz, Witte, and Gengnagel, "Pluralizing field analysis, 49.
236 Mansfield, "Beyond rescaling," 459.

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> The national as constitutively implicated in other scaled activities, such that distinctions between one scale and another are not so clear (…) While decentering the national, this also serves to highlight its relevance, as it is in multiscaled interactions that the national gains its significance and gives significance to other scales and territorial formations.[237]

By drawing on her work, two additional contributions in the domain of field theory became relevant. One was that proposed by Krause, who concentrated on field variation as a precondition to any comparative endeavor, be it between national fields or between different scales (subnational, supranational, transnational).[238] The aspects she analyzed included first, varying degrees and kinds of field autonomy (which include variations in terms of degree, but also in terms of kinds of autonomy); second, variation in terms of field structures; and third, variations in terms of scale. An interesting aspect in her work is her distinction between activities deploying into a global dimension, but also to discuss activities born as transnational or global. This difference is an aspect that I posit has not been the object of necessary attention. There were indeed two difficulties related to the scale in my case: one had to do with the supranational dynamic generated by an international organization and its relations with states, and the other had to do with the nature of cooperation and translation, which are both activities that operate in between national fields

The second relevant contribution in that regard was penned by Larissa Buchholz.[239] Drawing on analogical theorizing, she proposes a scale-invariant definition of fields based on the existence of scale-invariant properties, which she identifies in relative autonomy and in the existence of specific principles of vision that create the field's own dynamic. In other words, for Buchholz, it is not sufficient that a sphere of specialized practice exists, but that it exists and "institutionalizes categories of 'vision and division' that construe its law (or logic) of competition as relatively independent from the logics of other social spheres or broader environment."[240] Following her, the latter manifest in three dimensions, namely, autonomous ideology (that becomes the specific logic of competition), autonomous principles of constructing hierarchy (i.e., the development of particular forms of symbolic capital), and specific institutions or

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[237] Ibid., 460.
[238] Krause, "How fields vary" 4.
[239] Larissa Buchholz, "What is a global field? Theorizing fields beyond the nation-state," *The Sociological Review Monographs* 64, no. 2, (2016): 31–60; Larissa Buchholz, *The Global Rules of Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022).
[240] Buchholz, "What is a global field?, 37.

organizations.[241] From there, she delves into an operation of analogical extension, i.e., transposing the model thanks to the existence of structural equivalences, and proposes the existence of global fields, in which the geographic scales have changed. Finally, her third contribution is to examine analogical differences between national fields and global fields, which leads her to revise the concept of autonomy and propose two distinctive meanings. In addition to Bourdieu's functional understanding of autonomy, which refers to the ways a given field is autonomous from other fields such as the economic or the political field, she proposes the concept of "relative vertical autonomy" to account for the different levels at which fields operate.[242] Hence, in this case, global fields are not approached as ontological units but as spaces intrinsically related to national fields that can, sometimes, autonomize and develop their own autonomous logic. More precisely, Buchholz defines global fields as a sphere of specialized practice that deploys on a multi-continental or transcontinental scale and that has functional autonomy from other fields and vertical autonomy from lower levels of organization, be that national or regional fields[243]. In sum, with her work, she sheds light on the multi-scalar architecture of social fields and the different degrees of interpenetration between levels of social organization. In my reading of Buchholz's work, the idea of fields possessing a multi-scalar architecture is especially powerful because it is aligned with work done in the social sciences to reflect upon relations between scales, such as Mansfield's approach that I have previously described.[244] It is not a question of examining relations *between* a national field and a global field (for example), a formulation that favors their reification, but understanding the ways fields deploy at different scales and, from there, examining the degree of autonomy between them, which is not exactly the same.[245] Finally, Buchholz also identifies three mechanisms that contribute to the historical emergence of multiscalar global fields: the formation of global institutions for cross-border exchange, the rise and institutionalization of a field-specific global discourse, and the rise of genuinely global evaluation mechanisms.[246] Indeed, this is precisely the approach adopted to the ICO's work, namely, that of an international organization for cross-border exchange promoting

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[241] Ibid., 37–39.
[242] Ibid., 41.
[243] Ibid., 41–42.
[244] Mansfield, "Beyond rescaling:.
[245] This being said, I will sometimes use the expression "relations between the national and the international fields" in subsequent chapters to put it briefly. Said expression is to be understood as tackling not relations between two spaces apart, but between two related poles in a multiscalar architecture.
[246] Buchholz, "What is a global field?, 44.

an incipient common discourse in the intellectual domain and, therefore, making embryonic steps toward shaping international or global fields.

3.2. Revising Field Theory from a Relational Standpoint

The second problem identified had to do with the fact that the ICO constituted an international organization operating at the crossroads of government and intellectual circuits, each driven by their respective interests and logics. Therefore, the relationship between the intellectual and the political field became of central interest. In theoretical terms, it was related to the thorny question of relations between autonomy and heteronomy. This was problematic in the sense that, despite field theory's clear relational character, the use of field theory constitutes a form of methodological autonomization of the social sphere under analysis. That is, it is primarily useful to ascertain the specific functioning of a given microcosm rather than relations between different microcosms. The concept of autonomy, referring to the field's capacity to function according to its own principles of hierarchization, is key in field theory. It is true that, according to Bourdieu's view, autonomy is never absolute but relative, which is reflected in the fact that autonomy and heteronomy constitute two principles structuring fields.

The concept of autonomy is extremely useful to understand a given field's specific functioning, but it presents several problematic aspects. The normative role Bourdieu attributes to autonomy in his definition of the field has appeared to be as especially problematic for researchers working with objects or geographical or chronological contexts that are shaped by heteronomous forces. Indeed, the French sociologist's work has been reproached a bias of autonomy,[247] which has left heteronomy in a secondary position in analytical terms.[248] Also, it has led to the assumption that autonomy is the necessary precondition to use the concept of field, which has in turn blurred the equally constitutive function of heteronomy in a number of fields. The methodological autonomization that constitutes working with field theory is not a problem per se, what is indeed a problem is exclusively putting the analytical focus on autonomous logics and the corresponding pole, thus leaving undertheorized how heteronomous logics operate,

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[247] Schmitz, Witte, and Gengnagel, "Pluralizing field analysis," 51.
[248] This does not mean that there are no case studies that look into, for example, super-politicized contexts, or into the role of the State in literary circulation, I am rather referring here to the theoretical model.

because this pole is where relationships to other fields take place. Put it plainly, an excessive focus on the autonomous pole blurs the relational character of field theory and the dialectic and constitutive relation between autonomy and heteronomy, and thus between different social fields. As stated by Papilloud and Schultze when describing Lahire's critics to Bourdieu's analyses of the field of art,

> if Bourdieu's field theory proves to be suitable for structured occupational fields, it does not seem to suit the field of art, as well as other social fields where social positions are not well-institutionalized (ibid., 85). In such fields, we encounter agents who have one foot in one field and the other in another field where they have their breadwinning job. In other words, such agents often live in more than one social universe, and they often have to switch between these fields in order to survive. They are "occasional players," "gambling addicts" or "professional players," which are roles indicating the degree of involvement of these agents in the field of art, showing their more or less important opportunities to derive benefit from their involvement in this field.[249]

And this critique, I argue, can be applied when discussing activities that have an eminently relational dimension, which includes translation, but also intellectual cooperation.

This led me to re-read Bourdieu's work from the perspective of relational sociology. In a nutshell, relational thinking argues that "the world is relational and processual"[250] and it places the emphasis on the role of relations in the constitution of social reality, as well as the latter's processual dimension. The main tenets of relational thinking include the rejection of "the idea that our universe can be understood as if it were made of 'substances', 'essences' or independent 'entities.'"[251] Instead, it bases upon the principle of interdependency and predicates that "the mode of production of social phenomena is based on relations between interactants." From this standpoint, rather than thinking in terms of existence, it proposes to think of reality in terms of co-production, or coconstitution. As a consequence of the latter, said entities are not unchanging or stable, but emergent. Processual thinking is also one of the main tenets of relational thinking, which is relevant to the present work given the ICO's changing dimension.[252]

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[249] Dépelteau, *The Palgrave Handbook*, 353.
[250] Ibid., 4.
[251] Ibid., 8.
[252] This means that "the world is not finally made of 'things' at all, if a 'thing' is something that exists over time without changing. The world is composed of events and processes." (Ibid., 9). As stated by Dépelteau, "relational sociology is the never-ending story of what A. Touraine called the 'historicity of the society' (the capacity of the 'society' to produce itself). I prefer the 'historicity of multiple human social fields' but the idea is similar." (Ibid., 7). From this perspective, a synchronic and a diachronic approach appear not as opposed but as being mutually constitutive. This also provides a suitable framework to discuss successful and failed projects, in the sense that they are both constitutive of the process. As described by Ashrafi et

The previous tenets of relational thinking are aligned with field theory. As stressed by Papillaud and Schultze, Bourdieu's work presents an eminently relational character.[253] His concepts of field, capital, and habitus seek to reconcile agency and structure and this, even though his work has sometimes been accused of being structuralist. Which is more, said concepts try to take into account the causative effect of structures and the relative freedom intrinsic in practices. Structures are thus conceived here in processual terms, that is, eternally in the making and subject to change. Power becomes relations and interdependencies when we are used to seeing it as an object (a 'capital') that we can acquire and use to achieve our goals[254]. With this in mind, I examine the ways Bourdieu himself and other sociologists working from a relational standpoint have addressed the question of field relations.

Relations between fields were the object of interest under Bourdieu's pen. Most of the time, relations between fields are considered when discussing the structure of a given field. The structure of fields in two poles, one autonomous and one heteronomous, is in this regard a form of dealing with field relations, but the perspective is necessarily located within a single field, which is different from considering relations between fields from a perspective that is external to both of them. Such an approach was explicitly tackled by Bourdieu on some occasions. To refer to "les lieux d'intersection entre les champs,"[255] he mainly used two concepts: that of interfields and that of the field of power. The two concepts appear to be intimately related given the similarities in their definitions. Bourdieu occasionally used the concept of "interfield" to refer to spaces where leading figures in different fields met and where their confluence gave rise to a power struggle related to "la gestion des hiérarchies entre les champs."[256] Among the examples he mentioned of interfields were commissions bringing together experts and politicians, but also literary salons. The interesting aspect is what happens when two collectivities, carrying specific forms of capital, different habitus and illusio, are brought together:

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al., "the meaning of an event is conditional on its position in a sequence of interrelated events that affect translation history. Some events play more important roles than others in shaping the literary history of a society, and the problem of historical explanation rests on developing a methodology for modeling complex event structures that reveals which events play critical roles in historical outcomes." Nasrin Ashrafi, Mohammad Reza Hashemi, and Hossein Akbari, *Towards a new methodological approach to social historiography of translation. A social network analysis perspective* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2019), 233.

[253] Dépelteau, *The Palgrave Handbook*, 344.

[254] Dépelteau, *The Palgrave Handbook*, 10.

[255] Pierre Bourdieu, *Sociologie générale. Volume 1*. Cours *au Collège de France 1981-1983* (Paris: Seuil, 2015), 514.

[256] Ibid.

> Une question pourrait être de savoir si le salon va se constituer en champ des champs, en terrain où les différents champs vont s'affronter par l'intermédiaire de leurs représentants, ou si, au contraire, les gens vont en quelque sorte laisser leurs champs 'au vestiaire' pour pouvoir avoir des relations neutralisées.[257]

The concept of "field of fields" will be further discussed. For the moment, the previous quotation illustrates Bourdieu's acknowledgment of a certain number of social spaces where agents' habitus and illusio could be suspended in the interest of maintaining a viable collaboration with agents from other fields, a perspective that clearly resonates with the ICO's work.

The second concept he used to tackle relations between fields is that of "field of power," which has received much more interest and discussion, both by Bourdieu himself and by subsequent scholars. The latter can be understood as

> l'espace des rapports de force entre des agents ou des institutions ayant en commun de posséder le capital nécessaire pour occuper des positions dominantes dans les différents champs (…) Il est le lieu des luttes détenteurs de pouvoirs (ou d'espèces de capital) différents qui, (..) ont pour enjeu la transformation ou la conservation de la valeur relative des différentes espèces de capital qui détermine elle-même, à chaque moment, les forces susceptibles d'être engagées dans ces luttes.[258]

In a nutshell, the agents in the field of power are the elites of the different fields and the struggle at play is "le principe de domination dominant et légitime," that is, "ce au nom de quoi il est légitime de dominer."[259] The field of power, in this regard, is to be considered a meta-field in the sense that it is "l'espace où s'établit la valeur relative des diferents types de capitaux qui procurent un pouvoir sur le fonctionnement des diferents champs."[260] As can be seen, concepts like "field of fields" or "meta-field" appear when discussing either inter-fields or the field of power, which further reinforces the proximity between the two of them.

However, the concept of field of power was ambiguous under Bourdieu's pen. First, because he sometimes used it a synonym of the field of the state, which also received the designation of "field of fields" or "meta-field". Schmitz, Witte, and Gengnagel have laid out additional weak points in Bourdieu's understanding of the field of power. For example, the methodological problem that constitutes isolating the dominant classes from the dominated ones.

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[257] Bourdieu, *Sociologie générale. vol I.*, 515.
[258] Pierre Bourdieu, *Les règles de l'art. Genèse et structure du champ littéraire* (Paris: Seuil, 1992), 353.
[259] Bourdieu, *Sociologie générale, vol. I*, 615.
[260] François Denord, "Champ du pouvoir," in *Dictionnaire International Bourdieu*, 137.

> Power, according to Bourdieu, must always be seen as a reciprocal relation of force, which means that reducing the field of power to its dominant agents and their direct successors is inconsistent with conceptual and theoretical imperatives regarding the relationality and competitiveness of the social.[261]

In order to overcome said difficulties, Schmitz, Witte, and Gengnagel argued that a there is a "an underestimation of the significance of the field of power within Bourdieu's conception of society, partially resulting from his somewhat implicit use of the concept,"[262] and claimed for the need to reconsider the relevance of the field of power within field theory to better approach "the analysis of the interdependent power relations at work both within and between fields."[263] In practice, their theoretical proposal leads to a shift in the analytical focus, which does not lie in the autonomous poles but on the interactions between fields.[264] This, in turn, leads to a reassessment of heteronomy given that the latter is what "binds a field and its agents to the structure of the societal totality."[265] Heteronomy, in this regard, recovers its constitutive function for the construction and hierarchization of all fields.[266] In their own words, "At the beginning of the construction process, the exogeneity of each specific field is to be taken into account."[267]

Given the listed ambiguities in the use of the term "field of power" especially regarding its understanding as a synonym of the "field of the state," I decided not to use it for it in my dissertation. However, I shall approach the ICO as an interfiled object, i.e., as a space where two fields interrelate and power relations between them are re-negotiated, while also keeping in mind Schmitz, Witte, and Gengnagel's work on heteronomy, which, I contend, applies not only to the field of power, but to most fields.

3.3. The ICO from a Global and Relational Perspective

Building on the previous considerations, in the present dissertation I approach the ICO as an international organization shedding light on relations between the intellectual and political field, where the latter are understood as possessing a multiscalar architecture

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[261] Schmitz, Witte, and Gengnagel, "Pluralizing field analysis," 63.
[262] Ibid., 63.
[263] Ibid., 51.
[264] Ibid., 57.
[265] Ibid., 54.
[266] Ibid., 54.
[267] Ibid., 56.

spanning the national and international scales. In consequence, the ICO also sheds light on the multiscaled character of processes of social integration that have differently affected certain parts of the world in different time periods. Building on Buccholz and applying her definition of global fields to the ICO, the latter can be examined based on the following questions:

I.   Whether the ICO managed to promote the international circulation of ideas, persons, and goods and, as such, operated as a mechanism that favored "the emergence of higher order fields out of lower-order fields."[268] In the case of the ICO, this will refer mainly to the intellectual field as a whole.

II.   Whether the ICO contributed to the dissemination of field-specific global discourses in the intellectual field. [269]

III.   Whether the ICO managed to implement "institutional practices of classifying and assessing artistic recognition and value in global (inter-national) terms."[270]

IV.   How did the ICO account for the multiscalar architecture of the political and the intellectual field (or what is the same, for relations between the national and the international).

Against this backdrop, the specific chronology in which the ICO functioned needs to be inserted in our theorization and in a clear understanding of the words "international," "internationalization," "global," and "globalization". Indeed, Buchholz argues that global fields do not constitute an opening up on national fields', but of "a process of veritable emergence,"[271] hence putting at use, in her case, the scientific autonomization enabled by the concept of field. The latter aspect is not implied in the present work. This brings us to the distinction between internationalization and globalization. Also, the ways I understand the intellectual and the political field need to be further explored, which is why both aspects are further discussed in the following subsections.

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[268] Buchholz, "What is a global field?," 43.
[269] Ibid., 46.
[270] Ibid., 47.
[271] Ibid., 55.

3.3.1. The ICO, the International, and the Global

In the present dissertation, globalization is to be understood as "the spread of ideas and imageries across space,"[272] as well as the development of transnational and international institutions and dynamics. More precisely, my perspective builds on current scholarship situating in the mid-19th century the beginning of a globalization process.[273] Rather than situating globalization exclusively in the 20th or the 21st century, I adopt a *longue durée* perspective that focuses on several processes of world integration, that in different historical periods, have involved some parts of world more directly than others. In that framework, the word "internationalization" will be generally preferred to that of "globalization" in my work for two main reasons, first, given the distinctive focus of the ICO's activities in Europe and the Western world. The emphasis, therefore, is put in the presence of a diversity of countries, rather than on a truly global scope. And second, for coherence with the terminology employed by historical sources, which refer to the "international" and "internationalization." This, however, is not considered contradictory with the use of the terms "global" and "globalization," especially when building on works theorizing the late 20th century and the 21st century,[274] as both processes are understood as related. Additionally, I "international" is to be understood as involving several countries. When wishing to emphasize the meaning this term has in IR, i.e., relations between states, it will be written with a hyphen, "inter-national" and "inter-nationalization."

Against this backdrop, I propose to approach the ICO by inscribing it in the history of the social conditions that shaped the international circulation of ideas during the 20th century. Given its quality of international organization, the ICO contributed to the internationalization of the intellectual field, and the latter's institutionalization, by encouraging isomorphism in intellectual practices in the different countries, that is, the organization of the intellectual field along harmonized practices and norms. The promotion of intellectual exchange needs to be linked, in this regard, with the circulation of models between the different countries.[275] Archive material contains evidence of its protagonists' awareness of their involvement in early globalization processes or, in a

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[272] Bielsa and Kapsaskis, *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Globalization*, 16.

[273] Alan Bayly, *La Naissance du monde moderne*, (Paris: Les Éditions de l'Atelier, 2007) ; Blaise Wilfert-Portal, "L'histoire culturelle de l'Europe d'un point de vue transnational," *Revue Sciences/Lettres* 1 (2013).

[274] Lebaron, Frédéric. "Internationalisation/Mondialisation." In Dictionnaire International Bourdieu, edited by Gisèle Sapiro, 462–63. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2020.

[275] Sapiro, Leperlier, and Brahimi, "What is a transnational intellectual field?," 8.

formulation that is more attune to the expressions used in the interwar period, the internationalization of intellectual life. Reference to the latter can be found in a lucid article by Julien Luchaire, the IIIC's director, in the 1929 issue of the periodical *La Coopération Intellectuelle. Revue de l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle*. In an article entitled "Le monde comme construction intellectuelle," the then director of the IIIC delivered a defense of cultural internationalism and elaborated on the interest of an international cooperation in the intellectual domain and the reasons why the latter should be organized on a supranational scale. He began his article by shedding light on the fact that his contemporaries could access economic and political data with an international scope, whereas the latter did not exist regarding the intellectual domain:

> Il paraît chaque année des livres où l'on fait le bilan de l'activité du monde au point de vue économique, — d'autres où l'on fait le tableau de son état politique – nous ne voyons guère d'ouvrages consacrés à une révision d'ensemble du mouvement intellectuel humain (…). L'opinion publique dans chaque pays, préoccupée à juste titre de l'avenir, se demande comment sera fait, demain, l'édifice de la production industrielle, le réseau de la circulation commerciale et bancaire, le système des rapports sociaux et celui de la justice internationale : elle n'est pas encore curieuse de savoir suivant quel plan sera organisée sur la terre la production scientifique, littéraire, artistique, et la diffusion des connaissances.[276]

However, by starting with this comparison, Luchaire was establishing a link between multiple domains where globalization processes unfolded and claiming an increased interest in what happened in the intellectual domain, just as he was establishing a parallel between the ICO and other sections and technical bodies created within the LON's orbit. Among the reasons justifying the interest said perspective presented in his view, he mentioned the link between social peace and knowledge between social groups, the role of ideas in the outbreak of wars (and thus in their avoidance), the role of science in populations' well-being, the link between education and social progress, and the crucial power of new mass media such as cinema and radio in shaping mentalities. In this framework, he also referred to the press, in which context he delved into an accurate anticipation of contemporary discussions about fake-news.[277] Luchaire's article also

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[276] Julien Luchaire, "Le monde comme construction intellectuelle," *La Coopération Intellectuelle. Revue de l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle* (April 15, 1929) : 193-196. The full article is reproduced in Appendix III.

[277] "On sait qu'une nouvelle imaginée par un journaliste, sans aucune base dans la réalité des faits, peut émouvoir en quelques heures le public de tous les pays, entraîner des ruines et faire couler le sang (…) Certains auraient voulu lui demander [á l'Organisation de Coopération Intellectuelle] d'aborder le problème de la véracité des informations dans la presse quotidienne et périodique : il n'est pas dit en effet que la liberté du mensonge ou de l'erreur soit inséparable de la liberté de parler et d'écrire, et que des mesures

hinted to the need to actively intervene in the institutions granting an international functioning to intellectual life, for example, by delving into the:

> Amélioration des conventions relatives aux droits d'auteur, accords relatifs aux expositions, aux exécutions musicales, entreprises méthodiques de traduction et d'adaptation littéraires et de reproduction graphique, ententes entre les musées (…), les obstacles à la diffusion du livre et les problèmes de la traduction, et ceux de l'enseignement des langues.[278]

The previous excerpt reflects a clear understanding of the mechanisms and projects that could promote or improve the international functioning of intellectual activity. In other words, Luchaire showed an acute knowledge of the fact that the internationalization of intellectual life was something "made, not found,"[279] and the potential contribution the ICO could offer in that regard. This is precisely the question that the double focus on translation policies at the ICO sheds light on: that of the preconditions underpinning an international functioning of the intellectual field. Indeed, Luchaire elaborates on what he calls "la question plus générale du régime de la circulation de la pensée dans le monde," and mentions three domains the LON's Assembly requested the ICO to study: "les obstacles à la diffusion du livre, les problèmes de la traduction, et ceux de l'enseignement des langues."[280] Book circulation, translation and language learning shed light on the interest the ICO had in measures presenting a transversal interest for the intellectual field, that is, in domains of action that facilitated the international circulation of ideas in the different intellectual subfields. For example, language learning is here acknowledged as a precondition for intergroup communication. Obstacles limiting the circulation of books could include the lack of international borrowing agreements and the existence of import fees. Problems encountered when carrying out translation activities could refer to technical difficulties inherent to the translation process, but also to the improvement of the legal framework organizing translation and practitioners work conditions. This explains why the ICO became interested in institutionalizing a certain number of practices that previously resulted from habit and consolidated use. The ICO's recommendations should be considered as efforts to codify them, thereby moving from practices to norms,

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prophylactiques internationales ne puissent être prises." Luchaire, "Le monde comme construction intellectuelle," 194.

[278] Ibid., 195.

[279] Stefan Helgesson and Pieter Vermeulen, *Institutions of World Literature. Writing, Translation, Markets* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 1.

[280] Luchaire, "Le monde comme construction intellectuelle," 195.

that is, operating a "passage de l'implicite et du pratique à l'explicite et à l'objectif."[281] In the horizon, an underlying goal to move from practices to rules and norms, thus to regularity and foreseeability.[282]

Derived from Luchaire's acknowledgment of the fact that processes of cultural globalization (or intellectual internationalization) were underpinned by specific practices and institutions, is the fact that they constitute processes determining what practices and agents were included or excluded from them. From this standpoint, globalization or internationalization processes are not understood, in the present dissertation, as eminently or necessarily positive. The "monde" referred to by Luchaire in his article's title, was not homogeneous, nor horizontal. Building on Bourdieu's work, it can be stated that processes of concentration, integration or unification are inherently accompanied by a dispossession process because certain practices are, instead, disqualified. In his own words, "Le processus même de constitution de ressources communes est inséparable de la constitution de ces ressources communes en capital monopolisé par ceux qui ont le monopole de la lutte pour le monopole de l'universel."[283] Drawing on the previous ideas as an analytical precaution, several forms of exclusion will be tackled in what follows, which will that be delved into by combining a commentary on Luchaire's article with additional archival material.

Without aiming to be exhaustive, some forms of exclusion encountered when examining the ICO's work have to do with class, geocultural hierarchies, structural properties (cases of cultures not having state representation), and gender. The first form of exclusion relates to the social spectrum, i.e., to class. The ICO was shaped by an elitist view of intellectual life. Culture, or rather, "civilization," was to bring generalized peace and social progress, but it would do so thanks to the leading role of elites in society. See the following excerpt from Luchaire's article:

> Il y a quelque temps, le Comité d'études franco-allemand avait mis à ordre du jour l'étude de la *formation des élites*. Autre problème de matière première intellectuelle. Il y a des procédés pour pousser *très haut* le niveau de la *culture supérieure* dans un pays, pour déterminer le nombre proportionnel de *cette élite*, pour modifier son orientation suivant les besoins : mais quelle nation peut dire qu'elle applique strictement une méthode à cela ? D'ailleurs, aucune nation,

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[281] Pierre Bourdieu, *Sociologie générale. Volume 2.* Cours *au Collège de France 1983-1986* (Paris: Seuil, 2017), 119.

[282] Bourdieu, *Sociologie générale, vol. 2.,* 121.

[283] Pierre Bourdieu, *Sur l'État. Cours au Collège de France (1989-1992)* (Paris: Raisons d'agir/Seuil, 2012), 163.

désormais, ne peut développer en elle *la haute intelligence*, sans regarder de très près ce que font autres nations dans ce sens, et de plus en plus chacune devra s'entendre avec les autres pour cela : il faut, pour préparer la paix, que *les classes dirigeantes* se connaissent, se fréquentent, aient en commun certaines habitudes d'esprit et certaines idées.[284]

Of course, this elitist bias was not specific to the ICO itself but was a response to the emergence of society of masses, as illustrated by writings such as Oswald Spengler's *The Decline of the West*, Julien Benda with *La trahison des clercs,* and José Ortega y Gasset with *La rebelión de las masas.*[285] Despite Luchaire's declaratory emphasis on elites, the following sections will provide multiple examples of a declared will to target, through the ICO's activities, the masses, thus reasserting the existence of a considerable tension between the cultural views of the carriers of intellectual cooperation, and their desired target.

The second form of exclusion has to do with the geographies of intellectual cooperation, that is, with the maps that can be reconstructed through the ICO's practices. The geographic space represented in the world of the carriers of intellectual cooperation was not truly global in practice, although it pretended to universalism. This is an aspect that will be the object of further examination. However, rather than addressing exclusions in terms of the binomial inclusion-exclusion, it is more fruitful to discuss the involvement of several agents in the ICO's work as two poles in a continuum. At one pole, dominant countries in the organization (Switzerland and France, for example) and, at the other, countries formally excluded. This was the case of colonies. But we also have more ambiguous cases, such as mandates, and cases of "passive membership," and expression I borrow from Huber and Osterhammel,[286] here understood as a form of symbolic exclusion resulting from the failure to adopt measures enabling peripheral countries to actively participate in the activities of intellectual cooperation. Indeed, several countries noted issues within the communication infrastructure used to receive IIIC's material, thus bringing up the question of the underlying material conditions that were needed to turn international cooperation into a real practice.[287] For example, in a report authored by

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[284] Ibid. Luchaire, "Le monde comme construction intellectuelle," 174.

[285] Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939 [1918-1922]); Julien Benda, *La trahison des clercs* (Paris: Grasset, 2003 [1927]); José Ortega y Gasset, *La rebelión de las masas* (Barcelona: Austral, 1999 [1929]).

[286] Valeska Huber and Jürgen Osterhammel, *Global Publics. Their Power and Their Limits, 1870-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

[287] See the report authored by librarian Kenneth Binns, from the Australian NCIC, read in the second general meeting of NCIC (Paris, 1937), where he requests that airmail be used to reach countries that were far from

librarian Kenneth Binns, from the Australian NCIC and read in the second general meeting of NCIC (Paris, 1937), he requested that airmail be used to reach distant countries and to extend deadlines when questionnaires were sent out.[288]

In other cases, inclusions and exclusions of other collectivities changed over time. This was the case of non-state cultures, in which regard the ICO's position was changing. This is illustrated by looking into the history of several NCIC: for example, the Russian emigrate academic group, whose Committee of Intellectual Cooperation was created in 1921, ceased to be recognized after 1934, when the URSS joined the ICO. Also, the recognition of the Catalan Committee was derogated in November 1928.[289] The issue of non-state cultures was addressed by the LON's Secretariat in a letter to Reynold, where they requested that Commissions be formed only in the respect of a State framework in order to avoid the multiplication of requests by an infinity of minorities.[290] Cultural representation was superseded, in this institutional framework, by political criteria. Their progressive exclusion reflects the ways in which the OCI became a setting that contributed to the inter-nationalization of the intellectual field, that is, the consolidation of the nation-state as the main unit of an inter-national system in the making, including in the intellectual domain.

Geographic exclusions also took other forms and can be attributed to other, sometimes more surreptitious, causes, such as the fact that political and economic hierarchies were retranslated into the intellectual domain in form of cultural or intellectual hierarchies. The First World War was recent, and debates opposing Kultur and Civilization, understood as two symbols opposing Germany and France, but also aristocracy and bourgeoisie, are constitutive of the imaginaries of the carriers of intellectual cooperation.[291] Switching scale, the concept of civilization, crucial in understanding the contemporary vision of the world,[292] opposed especially East and West. Laqua has stressed the relevance of the classic expertise of certain leading figures of the ICO, such as Gilbert Murray and Alfred Zimmern, and the ways the latter shaped their

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the headquarters and to extend deadlines when questionnaires were sent out (IICI-A-III-56-1). Numerous letters by Latin American collaborators requesting IICI publications (IICI-F-VI) exist as well.

[288] Kenneth Binns, "Special position of National Committees in distant countries." UNESCO Archive, 01-IICI-A-III-56-1 2e Conférence générale des Commissions nationales, Paris (juillet 1937) – 1.

[289] Carbó-Catalan, "The Foreign Action of Peripheries."

[290] Renoliet, *L'UNESCO, 33.*

[291] Juan Goberna, "Conceptos en el frente. La querella de la *kultur* y la *civilisation* durante la I Guerra Mundial," *Historia Contemporánea 28* (2004): 435.

[292] Laqua, "Transnational intellectual cooperation, 229-233.

understanding of the international order,[293] to which I shall also add their understanding of cultural hierarchies. Despite the existence of secular cultural traditions in the East, hegemonic cultural views within the ICO were eminently tied to the West, to the Greek and Latin cultural heritage, and to Christianism. Peripheral cultures were considered newcomers to a cultural space that was the prerogative of the West and potential threats to the West's monopoly.

> Il y a encore sur la terre des centaines de millions de cerveaux incultes : n'est-ce pas une honte pour notre siècle qui se prétend civilisé ? Mais si ces centaines de millions de cerveaux s'ouvrent, en quelques années, à la culture, quelle révolution, et quel danger ! En réalité, les masses chinoises et hindoues vont à l'instruction élémentaire : en combien de temps y arriveront-elles, et surtout dans quel esprit ?[294]

A third type of exclusion can be reconstructed in terms of gender. Intellectual cooperation was an eminently masculine endeavor. Certain female figures distinguished themselves, including Marie Skłodowska-Curie, Elena Văcărescu, and Gabriela Mistral. The presence of women in the following sections suggests the need to crisscross also class with gender, especially if considered the prevalence of women within the IIIC's administrative personnel, and the low number of women considered as intellectual, thus public, figures.

3.3.2. The ICO from the Perspective of Field Relations

The second analytical perspective I propose is that of field relations, in this case, relations between the political and intellectual fields. Given the ICO's multifaceted character, I address the ICO as a space where power relations between fields were negotiated, rather than embracing the perspective of a specific social field, such as the intellectual, the literary, or the political field. Therefore, my goal is to examine the ways hierarchies between fields manifested in the ICO's work, whether they were clearly defined or stable over time, and how involved agents navigated them. This is a crucial aspect in any historical account of the ICO's activities, for hierarchies between fields (and between agents) will determine degrees and forms of agency, hence directly shaping the resulting policies.

A terminological clarification is needed to explicitly tackle what could appear as a terminological contradiction. In a number of occurrences in the present work,

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[293] Ibid., 229.
[294] Luchaire, "Le monde comme construction intellectuelle,"

"cultural" and "intellectual" can be considered conceptual synonyms, with a historical nuance: "cultural" is generally used in its current sense as an all-encompassing category. It is, therefore, used in concepts coined in the 21st century, such as "cultural globalization." Intellectual, in turn, is an agent category. It has a broad and all-encompassing meaning, referring to the sciences, arts, and literature. Thus, when I refer to "intellectual field," "intellectual life" and so on, the term should be understood as a category encompassing the previous disciplines, which in some cases can constitute corresponding subfields (for example, the academic field). Said agent category has been maintained for one reason, namely, because the choice "intellectual" conveys the elitist view upheld by the protagonists of the history here narrated. Rather than being a transhistorical and transgeographical[295] category, the use of the concept "intellectual" to refer to a differentiated social group needs to be inserted in its historical and geographical context. Its use in the names of the bodies composing the ICO can be related to the meaning "intellectual" had in French cultural history since the 1890s. Constituting a neologism in that period, the concept of "intellectual" replaced a series of ancestor concepts carrying specific connotations in the social imaginary, among which the man of letters of the 18th century, the romantic poet, the artist, and the savant.[296] In that framework, "intellectual" presented a powerful capacity to refer to a new collective identity and to a social group, a unifying function favored by the concept's polysemy:

> The new collective social identity replaced earlier models for the generation in question since, by its polysemy, the result of its use in various sectors of the ideological and political field, it could be a rallying cry, a denunciation and a warning. (...) The neologism could be useful: the mark of a new elitism for those who divided their lives in two, producing creative work for their peers and rejecting the degradation of the market and hackwork; a demand for justice by those who sought a classic professional career and expected a normal reward for their work; finally, a global critique of a social situation engendering such blind alleys for those who denounced the intellectual proletariat and deployed other external survival strategies.[297]

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[295] In light of the ICO's international character, it should be noted that the category "intellectual" was not immediately translatable, which is why the names of the ICIC and IIIC were received with great reluctance, especially in English-speaking countries. In England, for example, other terms such as "public moralist," "social critic," "political theorist" would be preferred, based on "une certaine conception de l'anglicité principalement constitue contre les intellectuels théoriciens ou dissidents 'à la française.'" Clarisse Berthezene, "Intellectuels anglais : un faux paradoxe," in *L'histoire des intellectuels aujourd'hui,* (Paris: PUF, 2003), 47.

[296] Christophe Charle, *Birth of the Intellectuals: 1880-1900* (Malden: Polity Press, 2015), 12–25.

[297] Ibid., 46.

If intellectuals' collaboration or cooperation between government agents is directly addressed, the latter can be characterized as historically ambiguous. The intertwining of culture with the construction of nation-states is profound.[298] But said collaboration has not only benefitted states. If culture has historically offered symbolic resources for the construction of the nation-state, the state has also benefited the intellectual field given its capacity to promote its institutionalization and professionalization. As stated by Bourdieu, "L'État se construit comme une instance méta-champ tout en contribuant à la constitution des champs."[299] The state is a key player in the construction of markets and thus, in the professionalization of intellectual activities. In this regard, it should be mentioned that in the ICO's early days, one of the possible forms of agency was to become an "intellectual ILO," an expression used by Luchaire himself to describe the ambiguous status of the IIIC.[300] Even though this option was rejected to give more weight to the circulation of ideas, in the reality of practice, the ICO worked to improve the material conditions of a number of intellectual professions. On the other hand, the intellectual field has historically shown reluctance to direct collaboration with the political field given the way the latter can threaten its autonomy. This explains why, in the framework of the ICO, some intellectuals were reluctant to collaborate with the ICO. The prize to pay might be too high, as it would put at risk its autonomy and thus its very legitimacy. Additionally, the ways intellectuals carry with them their own national habitus should be taken into account to avoid a clear-cut identification between intellectual-autonomy and political agents-heteronomy. Instead, what I shall try to examine is the ways intellectuals retranslated in their own intellectual positionings class and political considerations.

Having acknowledged the fact that heteronomous functions have historically benefited both parties, their power relations need to be acknowledged. Even though intellectuals and politics constitute two social elites, the dominated position of the intellectual field vis-à-vis the political field has been stressed again and again. Multiple examples of intellectuals caving in in front of political interests are available throughout the history of the ICO. For example, Henri Bergson supported the Esperantist movement,

[298] Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales. Europe, XVIIIe-XXe siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 1999); Anne-Marie Thiesse, *The Transnational Creation of National Arts and Crafts in 19th-Century Europe* (Antwerp: NISE, 2013); Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La fabrique de l'écrivain national. Entre littérature et politique* (Paris: Gallimard, 2019).
[299] Bourdieu, *Sur l'État*, 318.
[300] Renoliet, *L'UNESCO*, 84.

even though he did not vote in favor within the ICO given the instructions he had received from Léon Bérard, French Minister of Public Instruction at the time the ICO discussed its eventual support for the international language.[301] However, some factors nuanced an outright dominated position. The institution's own self-preservation meant, from a practical standpoint, preserving the equilibrium between intellectuals and government agents. Once the ICIC and the IIIC were created, most parties involved had an interest in preserving the international organization of intellectual affairs, which was, at the end, their very raison d'être, and a precondition for the latter was the respect of the types of capital intellectuals and government agents brought to the shared endeavor. Therefore, the bodies composing the ICO, interested in their own preservation, acted as mediators between the intellectual field and the political field. This explains why the question of their equilibrium defines the ICO's whole history. Take, for example, the debates shaping the creation of the ICIC. Renoliet has described in detail the opposition between French representatives and the LON's Secretariat in their understanding of what the future Commission ought to be:

> Plutôt que d'avoir une Commission nommée par la S.D.N. ou par quelque association internationale, donc indépendante des États, internationaliste et fatalement hostile à l'impérialisme culturel de la France, et composée d'intellectuels, c'est-à-dire d'hommes indépendants et pas forcément soucieux des intérêts de leur Etat, Hanotaux désire un organisme composé de représentants officiels des Etats, où les règles classiques du jeu diplomatique seront respectées.[302]

Contrary to this view, the position adopted was that of an officially apolitical body, which was upheld by the LON's Secretariat and according to which members were appointed by the Council of the League and were selected for their symbolic capital in the intellectual field, thus trying to preserve the new body from State manipulation. In other terms, in this case, the international functionaries acted as protectors of intellectual autonomy, for their autonomy was also at play. Of course, this first victory of the Secretariat over Hanotaux's and French government representatives' views did not translate into the disappearance or overcoming of the political logic. What is more, the attempt to preserve the intellectual character became a double-edged sword: from the formal perspective, members represented intellectual domains and not countries or states, but the weight of a given intellectual's nationality did not disappear. The alleged

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[301] Peter G. Forster, *The Esperanto Movement* (The Hague, Paris, and New York: Mouton, 1982), 177.
[302] Renoliet, "L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle," 48.

prevalence of an intellectual logic made it so that the political weight of an intellectual's nationality became more surreptitious, but it did not disappear.

From this perspective, the ICO' role as mediator between the political and the intellectual fields is tied to the relations between states and IOs. Historically, multiple schools in IR have considered IOs as tools for states to pursue their specific goals and protect their interests.[303] It follows that, according to this view, IOs would be "mechanisms through which others (usually states) act; they are not purposive agents"[304] Such an understanding, however, is oblivious of the fact that IOs need to build their own differentiated or autonomous identity, agency, and mechanisms of legitimation to grant their survival over time. What is more, a relative organizational autonomy is also a precondition for IOs to act as a successful tool for states. Therefore, the idea that external agents pursue their interests through IOs needs to be accommodated with the recognition of the latter's pursuit for organizational autonomy, as well with the idea that each social field retranslates heteronomous dynamics in its own terms. IO's organizational autonomy can be seen as paradoxical, especially because organizational autonomy can lead to challenge state authority. And this is where rivalries between fields offer a way out of the contradiction. In their quality of institutions underpinning the international field, IOs appear as agents in their own right, with a complex and ambiguous relation vis-à-vis states given the multiscale architecture of the political field, but also as agents having their own specific interests, agendas and mechanisms to advance them.

The potential for progressive autonomization can be directly related to the development of a series of administrative bodies that grant IOs the means to carry out daily work and ultimately the capacity to fulfill the mission they have been entrusted with. Possessing their own personnel, the creation of administrative bodies leads, in turn, to the establishment of a series of administrative acts and bureaucratic practices aimed at self-preservation. Bureaucracy can also be considered the result of a need to establish objective procedures that legitimize the organization and affirm its autonomy. The interest of bureaucracy has been stressed by multiple sociologists, from Weber, who

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[303] After all, why else would states set up these organizations and continue to support them if they did not serve state interests? (…) These theories thus treat IOs as empty shells or impersonal policy machinery to be manipulated by other agents. Political bargains shape the machinery at its creation, states may politick hard within the machinery in pursuit of their policy goals, and the machinery's norms and rules may constrain what states can do, but the machinery itself is passive. IOs are not purposive political agents in their own right and have no ontological independence. Barnett and Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies," 703-704.
[304] Ibid., 700.

showed that "Bureaucracies are political creatures that can be autonomous from their creators and can come to dominate the legal authority in modern life and the bureaucracy's control over technical expertise and information,"[305] to Bourdieu, who acknowledged the crucial functions the bureaucratic field had in the construction of the modern State.[306] The latter, in turn, stresses the fact that the national field and the international field have historically used some shared mechanisms to reinforce themselves. The IIIC's work was often criticized for its excessive bureaucratic character. What I propose is, instead, to unpack the ways said bureaucratic functioning contributed to consolidating and legitimizing the ICO, and to mediate between the intellectual field and the political field when said relations encountered points of conflict. In this framework, the emergence and consolidation of a bureaucratic or administrative field is here understood as the administrative procedures and practices through which a relative institutional autonomy and the very identity of said institutions was built. A vast number of practices enacted by the bodies constituting the ICO can be read from this perspective: the elaboration and revision of internal regulations, the continual creation of technical bodies (committees and subcommittees), the use of stamped paper, or the creation of a myriad of expert meetings as mechanisms of specialization and division of labor.

By stressing the ICO's mediating role between different fields, my goal is to shed light on the correspondence existing between the ICO's social role in analytical terms and the type of agency pursued by the individuals animating its functioning. An idea that is recurrently repeated in historical documents is that "the task of international intellectual cooperation is (…), not one of centralization, but of stimulation and synthesis."[307] The ICO's aim was to bring together what already existed rather than imposing its views on a given issue-area. This can be exemplified in a number of issue-areas. For now, let's take education to illustrate this reasoning:

> (...) public education is a function which, by its very nature, must not and indeed cannot, be brought under any form of international control. If there is one department of civilised life more than another in which uniformity is death and diversity the law of life, it is that through which the younger generation is initiated into the social heritage of its community or nation. (…) An international control

[305] Barnett and Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies," 707.

[306] Pierre Bourdieu, "Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field," *State/Culture State-Formation after the Cultural Turn* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999).

[307] *The Intellectual Foundations of International Cooperation. Memorandum prepared by the General Section of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (League of Nations),* p. 19

over systems of public education is not only theoretically undesirable but practically impossible without fundamental changes in the constitutional arrangements of numerous states. *What is required, let it be repeated, is not centralisation or control but simply the cooperation of the existing authorities, with their existing powers, for recognised common purposes.*[308]

The author of the previous argumentation, Alfred Zimmern, stressed that the impossibility to advance in a centralizing vein was the result of the specificities of education, but this was not as much a consequence of how education worked, but of the type of agency the ICO adopted. Or, rather, I should say, "the type of agency they *could* adopt" in order to maintain the equilibrium between the fields involved.

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[308] Ibid. My emphasis.

4. Methods. A Combination of Qualitative and Quantitative Tools

Having extensively elaborated on the agent, the object, and the analytic perspective, it is now the turn for methods. As attested in previous chapters, the research questions guiding this work refer to both micro and macro processes because they target individuals, social groups, and structural social forces and patterns. To answer them, I have conducted historic archival research and followed a multi- or mixed-method approach that includes the combined use of qualitative and quantitative tools.

The main sources employed in this work to reconstruct the ICO's translation policy emanate from archival records. Even though several archives have been consulted, the main sources employed are the LON's archive in Geneva, especially related to the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section, and the IIIC's funds, held today in UNESCO archives in Paris. Records consulted include correspondence, official documents such as resolutions, meeting minutes, and reports, as well as publications issued by the bodies composing the ICO. The recent digitization of the LON's and the IIIC's archives has broadened the analytical possibilities offered by said sources by expanding the analysis techniques the researcher can employ. Two main analytical strategies have been employed to explore archival records, namely what can be intuitively referred to as close and distant reading. Since each analytical technique presents its own specificities in terms of required skills, potential knowledge uncovered, possible biases, and required forms of critical source-reading, they will now be developed separately.

From a qualitative standpoint, I followed traditional methods used in the SSH, such as source criticism and textual interpretation, with both actions leading to the problematization of sources' form and content. Source criticism, therefore, has included consideration of the constructed character of the archive (understood as the result of a series of operations of selection, preservation, and exclusion), document criticism (historical and immediate contextualization, with special attention to the document's purpose), as well as attention to historical semantics, or what is the same, to the history of concepts. The material aspects of single documents have also been considered. For example, the quality of paper and ink and their state of preservation has determined specific preprocessing steps. Also, typewritten and handwritten letters have been the object of a differentiated preprocessing treatment, and this distinction has been

analytically exploited, for I understand that said difference can reflect contrasting writing conditions or social positions. By the same token, the use of headed or common paper can also reflect this kind of difference. Finally, the focus on language use (Chapter 6) can also be considered a relevant aspect providing insights on power relations. Primary sources have also been examined with a quantitative approach, which includes statistics, data visualizations, and some Social Network Analysis (SNA). The ICO's main goal was to promote cooperation, and this suggests that it is more coherent to approach its achievements in terms of connectivity rather than material outcomes. For this reason, I have explored the potential offered by DH, and more precisely, historical networks, to reconstruct communicative practices in the history of intellectual cooperation with an emphasis on translation and languages.

In the present Chapter, I unpack in more detail multiple aspects related to sources and methods. I start by describing the sources available to reconstruct the history of intellectual cooperation and therefore the ICO's practices in relation to translation (Section 4.1). Within that section, I also delve into source criticism. Then, I devote a section to a discussion of the combined used of qualitative and quantitative tools (4.2). The chapter closes with Section 4.3, where I describe the workflow employed for the quantitative approach.

4.1. Sources for a History of Intellectual Cooperation

Multiple sources exist today to reconstruct the history of intellectual cooperation. Essential information can be found in the two archives containing records of the ICO's two main bodies, the ICIC and the IIIC. This includes the UN Archives in Geneva and UNESCO's Archives in Paris, with both organizations hosting the assets of their interwar predecessors. These sources are fundamental as they provide direct insights on meetings and conversations that took place during the ICO's work through official documents, correspondence, publications, and a varied list of working documents (drafts, internal notes, etc.). For all their relevance, they are not the only possible sources. In the framework of its coordination efforts, the ICO collaborated with a wide range of agents, be they independent organizations or individuals, with whom it established forms of communication. Their views on intellectual cooperation complement the history derived from an institutional approach, and therefore, in additional to institutional archives, complementary standpoints can be found in archival records pertaining to the ICO's

collaborators. This includes records from the different NCIC, from organizations that collaborated with the ICO, or from the very individuals animating work. Contrary to the Paris and Geneva archives, these sources are in most cases disseminated not only in geographic terms, but also in terms of hosting institutions. Some of them can be found in the archives of ministries of foreign affairs (or other official bodies), others in the institutional or personal fonds of agents involved. Finally, complementary information can be found in publications edited by the bodies composing the ICO, most of which can be consulted in the archives in Paris and Geneva.[309]

The previous enumeration suggests a vast panorama. No resource exists today mapping or listing relevant sources for the history of intellectual cooperation in the different countries. In my case, the Geneva and the Paris archives have been extensively consulted, both on site and online, and they constitute two key sources employed to reconstruct the functioning and main activities developed by the ICO in relation to translation. Other sources were: the personal archive of Joan Estelrich, responsible for the attempted creation of a Catalan NCIC, was consulted at the Biblioteca de Catalunya [Library of Catalonia] (Barcelona, Summer 2020). The Paul Valéry fonds, located at the French National Library, was consulted, as well as Gabriela Mistral's correspondence, a part of which is published[310] and a part of which can also be accessed online.[311]

A list of all publications edited by the bodies composing the ICO and their current location does not exist either. It would constitute a useful resource considering the internationalization of research regarding intellectual cooperation, in addition to providing insights regarding the legacy of the ICO's endeavors. To write the present dissertation, publications from the Latin-American NCIC, but also from other NCIC, were consulted in the National Library Mariano Moreno (Argentina, November-December 2021). Other publications issued by the ICO were consulted in the KU Leuven libraries (August-December 2022) and in the French National Library (February 2023).

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[309] A list of publications can be found in document "UIS.89/WS/5 Publications de l'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle, 1945," available online at: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000928/092853fb.pdf. No list exists of the volumes published by the different NCICs. The latter are not always found in said archives.

[310] Mistral, Gabriela, and Victoria Ocampo, *This America of Ours. The Letters of Gabriela Mistral and Victoria Ocampo* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

[311] See "Mistral, Gabriela, 1889-1957" in MEMORIA CHILENA. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. Available online: https://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-propertyvalue-165650.html

The access conditions to the mentioned archives are not homogeneous: the League of Nations Archive has been totality digitized in the framework of the project Total Digital Access to the League of Nations Archives (LONTAD), which also facilitates online access to the material.[312] In the case of the IIIC, a good part of the archive has been digitized and is also accessible online[313] as a result of the project Numériser notre histoire commune de l'UNESCO, financed by the Japanese Government.[314] In contrast, national sources constitute a vast but scattered source of information, offering different degrees of detail in terms of curation or indexing, time and cost of access, and which demand, on the researcher's side, means to travel. In some cases, work can require collecting said archive from sparse and fragmentary sources. Also, digitization varies a lot from one institution or agent to another. For example, a good part of Gabriela Mistral's correspondence is available online thanks to the Chilean Digital National Library (Biblioteca Nacional Digital), although little information is provided explaining what documents are published. PEN Clubs' records, for example, are hosted by the Harry Ransom Center in Austin, Texas, and a good part has also been digitized and can be consulted, in some cases, upon payment.

It is worth questioning the way differences in terms of source accessibility facilitate the recovery of certain narratives and the study of certain topics rather than others. This brings up the question of the features of the international archive, an archive that, in Hodder, Heffernan, and Legg's words, is "a scattered archipelago, which includes better known and surveyed archival 'islands' alongside many smaller, previously unexplored collections."[315] Indeed, the existence of smaller, generally unexplored islands has evident consequences on the objects that are more easily accessible for scholars. For example, it is not rare to find mentions of bilateral relations between the NCIC in the reports they exchanged with the IIIC. If it can be relatively easy to track down bilateral relations within a case study focused on two specific countries, it is much more complicated from a practical standpoint to obtain a panoramic view of the role of NCIC in the establishment of bilateral relations between countries. Uneven access conditions present the risk of suggesting that some records should be "categorized as

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[312] UN Archives Geneva - UN Archives Geneva (ungeneva.org)
[313] Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle - UNESCO Archives AtoM catalogue
[314] À propos du projet - UNESCO Archives - Digitizing our shared UNESCO history
[315] Jake Hodder, Michael Heffernan, and Stephen Legg, "The Archival Geographies of Twentieth-Century Internationalism: Nation, Empire and Race," *Journal of Historical Geography* 71 (January 2021): 1–11.

'internationally' significant whilst others not."[316] The internationalism practiced in Lima or in Cape Town, for example, is undermined from a historiographical perspective. Practices with an international scope were also the affair of agents who did not label themselves as such, and their definitions, practices, and conceptions of such feature can help overcome a narrow understanding of the international as interstate or cross-border relations.

> The scale of the international, where and what it included, and who had jurisdiction over it were hotly contested topics. Internationalism existed in productive tension with nationalism, imperialism and pan-nationalism in ways which raise significant methodological questions of the evidential authority of international organisations' archives, which exemplify only one particular interpretation of internationalism"[317]

Sources, thus, have a direct effect on the reproduction or rewriting of certain narratives and conceptions about internationalism. Decentering sources can shed light on different forms of internationalism and on the ways internationalism was practiced or questioned by single agents. Thus, even though the digitization of the Geneva and the Paris archive crucially facilitates research on the history of intellectual cooperation, their use requires certain epistemological and methodological precautions to acknowledge their partial character. Otherwise, research on intellectual cooperation runs the risk of reproducing the very critique revolved to the ICIC and the IIIC, that is, their Eurocentrism. Indeed, facilitating access conditions to "central" archives may indeed be seen as a possibility to devote more efforts, in time and resources, to locate and work with other sources. When possible, nevertheless, work can be complemented with letters or writings of the very carriers of intellectual cooperation to "capture more amorphous and practiced forms of internationalism."[318]

4.1.1. The Paris archive: a description

In the present work, IIC's funds has been the object of close attention, both in the sense of archival first-hand work and quantitative methods. The IIIC's fonds constitutes an independent archive group within UNESCO's archive, and it is divided in five series: Correspondence, Documents, Publications, Financial Records, and Liquidation Files. Given the object of the present dissertation, the main sources employed include the three

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[316] Ibid., 2.
[317] Ibid., 3.
[318] Ibid., 2.

first subseries, namely, correspondence, documents, and publications. Financial records, instead, were occasionally consulted to complement specific topics. The archive contains also two more subfonds – records of the IECI's French Committee and of the IMO – which have not been used. Series Documents mainly include resolutions, sometimes only in their final form, sometimes in their draft versions, with the appurtenant handwritten corrections. Series Correspondence comprises a wide number of letters (and telegrams, internal notes). Each series is in turn divided in several Subseries, which can also be subsequently divided in Subsubseries, a division that can be appreciated in Figure 3.
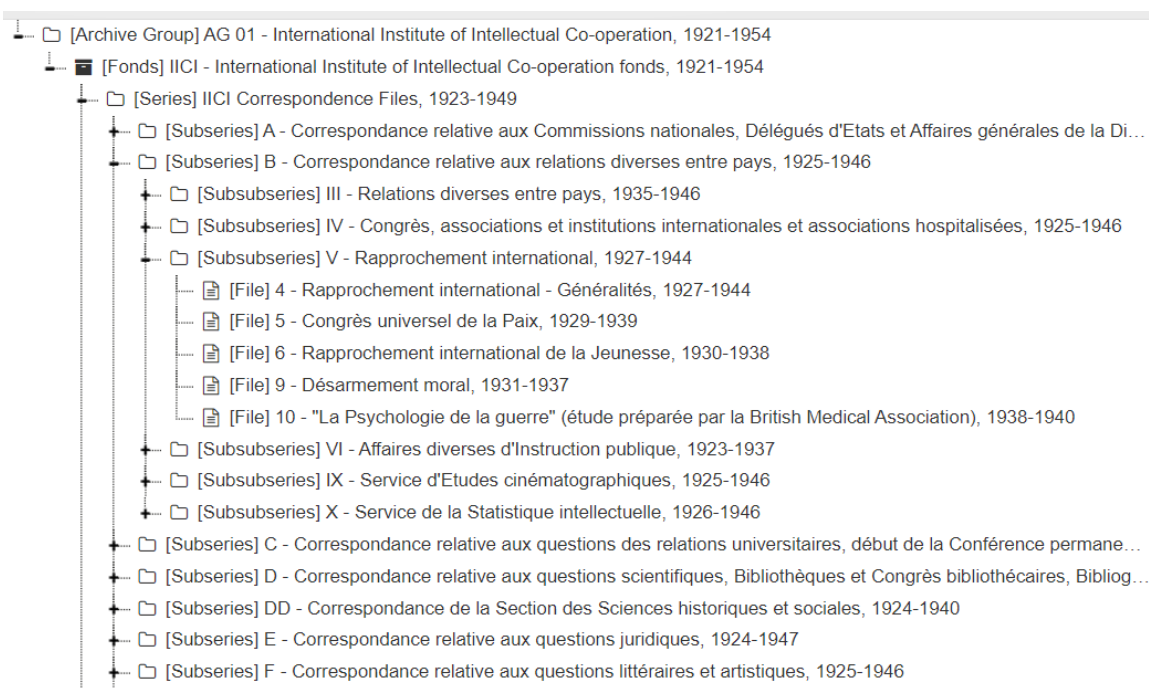
Figure 3. Structure of the IIIC's archive

Also, the IIIC's archive presents a thematic structure based on topics (university, scientific, legal, literary and artistic affairs, and so on) and, within each topic, concrete projects. This means that all correspondence related to a given project is preserved in the same folder, even if it received intervention from different Sections (the Section of Literary Relations, the Legal Service, and the Publications Service, for example).[319] In cases where a document or letter covered different topics, a number of duplicates and partial reproductions were made by archivists to maintain the archive's thematic

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[319] Instead of keeping together documents or correspondence with the same origin, which would instead have favored an institutional history (the work of the Legal Service, the work of the Documentation Service, and so on).

structure.[320] Drawing on data provided by UNESCO, Table 3 presents the volume of the different series, where it should be understood that each standard archival box is 15"x12"x10" inches.

Access conditions to the IIIC's archive have changed dramatically in the last decades, especially if we bear in mind Renoliet's mention that, when he wrote his dissertation, the archive could be consulted two afternoons a week.[321] Today, in the era of big and open data, a part of the archive has been digitized and it is open for remote consultation. Some series have also been processed with OCR, which makes said material more usable since the latter enables several operations (e.g. search) on the text. Table 3 provides also information regarding their access conditions with reference to whether they are digitized or not, and whether they are ocerized or not.

IICI Series	Volume	Digitized	OCR'd
IIIC Correspondence Files, 1923-1949	462 boxes	✓	
IIIC Documents, 1921-1945	98 boxes	✓	✓
IIIC Publications, 1918-1946	800,000 pages[322]		
IIIC Financial Records, 1925-1947	6 boxes, 12 bound volumes		
IIIC Liquidation Files, 1946-1955	5 boxes	✓	
FC IIEC – Correspondence, 1927-1939	17 boxes	✓	
FC IIEC – Documentation, 1920-1939	25 boxes	✓	✓
IMO – Correspondence Files, 1924-1946	8 boxes	✓	
IMO – Documents, 1931-1939	46 boxes	✓	✓

Table 3. Contents of the IIIC's funds and access conditions

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[320] For example, a national representative sends a letter to Julien Luchaire where he mentions different aspects related to project 1, project 2, and project 3. In this case, the original letter would probably be preserved in Subseries A (Sous-série organique A - Correspondance relative aux Commissions nationales, Délégués d'Etats et Affaires générales de la Direction), and the paragraphs where the specific projects are discussed would be reproduced (and thus duplicated) in folders pertaining to project 1, project 2 and project 3, with a reference to the fact that original letter can be found in Subseries A. This way of functioning has clear advantages for the IIIC's daily work. From today's perspective, and especially to approach said archive from a quantitative standpoint, this dynamic multiplies documents. From the same letter, we obtain four documents preserved in four different folders, which inevitably makes the archive grow exponentially.
[321] Renoliet, "L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle," 9.
[322] Number provided by the source, "based on an estimated number of publications multiplied by an estimated number of average pages per publication." UNESCO Archives, "Digitization Report: International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation," December 10, 2020.

If the archive is described in its digitized form, the total volume of digitized IIIC's archives is of 672,118 pages (or, what is the same, 4,669 files, or 661 boxes). As mentioned in Table 3, not all series have been ocerized. According to UNESCO,

> the decision whether or not to OCR documents was applied to documents at the series level, and was based on whether or not the content within a series was generally typed versus handwritten. As a general rule, series of Documents (official texts, usually typed) were OCR'd, while series consisting of Correspondence files (letters and other mixed materials, often handwritten, some typed) were not OCR'd due to the inconsistency of the textual forms of the documents. [323]

This leaves us with 169 boxes that are digitized and ocerized, and 492 boxes that are digitized but not ocerized. Finally, IIIC's Publications and Financial Records are currently neither digitized nor ocerized. [324] They comprise approx. 800,000 pages of bound publications, 6 archival boxes, and 12 bound volumes. As reflected in Fig. 3, at the archive's lower level, the user can access single PDF files. Digitization has been done at the folder level, which means that each Subsubseries contains essentially several PDF files corresponding to specific thematic files. Today, by accessing the archive's website, the user can consult or download 656 PDF files in the Documents Series and 2,296 PDF files in the case of Correspondence. PDF files can contain one single document (it is often the case in the Documents Series), or hundreds of them (mainly in Series Correspondence). For each PDF file, metadata is provided, including folder ID, folder title, date (of creation and accumulation), and physical description.[325]

Several tools exist to assist the researcher in navigating the IIIC's archive, either on site or remotely. They include the historical archive inventory[326] and an online Finding aid in PDF format.[327] UNESCO Archives database Access to Memory (AtoM) contains a key-word search tool that can be used to examine the IIIC's funds.[328] However,

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[323] UNESCO Archives, "Digitization Report."

[324] Negotiations between UNESCO and UOC took place to digitize some of the publications between October 2020 and September 2021, but the agreement could not be formalized as a consequence, first, of the impossibility to send the material outside UNESCO's premises for their digitization, and second, of incompatibilities between the economic regimes of both institutions, which hindered an economic partnership to fund their in-house digitization. As a result, the DH part of this project has focused mainly on the Subseries Correspondence.

[325] This means that, in some cases, folder metadata refers to a single document, but in cases of PDF files comprising hundreds of documents, metadata is cumulative.

[326] Document UIS.90/WS/1, "Inventaire des archives de l'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle (IICI), 1925-1946; dossiers, documents et publications aux Archives de l'UNESCO à Paris." Available online: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000086288.locale

[327] Available online: https://atom.archives.unesco.org/downloads/iiic.pdf

[328] https://atom.archives.unesco.org/

precaution is necessary when using it, as it only peruses folder titles and ocerized records. This is especially problematic when examining correspondence that is not ocerized. Also, the inclusion of hundreds of letters within a single file can make it difficult to find within it specific information or agents. A useful resource in this sense are two indexes preserved in UNESCO's archives in Paris: a subject index and a name index elaborated during the 1930s' in the format of cards, non-digitized today, which can help to locate specific topics and agents, be they individuals or organizations.

4.1.2. The Paris archive and source criticism. Working with absences

Having described the IIIC's archive, let us now move on to problematize some of its features. Indeed, prior to analytical work, several considerations are necessary on the archive's constructed character and on the hazards that jeopardized the material's integrity since the IIIC closed its doors in 1939. Also, in what follows, I engage in source criticism and discuss the ways the digitization of the archive modifies researchers' work.

Questioning the correspondence between the archive and social reality is always necessary in cases of historic archival research. However, when discussing especially extensive archives, it appears all the more necessary because their vastness can facilitate the illusion that the researcher is working with complete sources. This is a risk when working with the IIIC's or the ICIC's archives. The first and more obvious consideration to be made is that an archive is not a natural product. Its existence is the result of a series of decisions made by different agents in different historical moments, decisions that necessarily condition current scholarship. When using the IIIC's funds, it is useful to distinguish between documented and non-documented activities at the time of the ICO's activity, and, within documented activities, cases of preserved and non-preserved archival records. In other words, access to historical records presupposes that activities were documented by their protagonists, and that the resulting archival records have been preserved throughout the years. Both aspects affect the current state of the archive.

The IIIC's archive was put in place shortly after the Institute's creation thanks to the guidance of the LON's Archives Services, whose model was partially replicated in

Paris.[329] Its management was under the responsibility of the Archive Service, a small[330] service comprised within the IIIC's Administrative Services that was key in the internal circulation of information. Without providing too much detail, the main stages of information management at the IIIC were:

1) All incoming letters were sent to the Archive and opened under the supervision of the Chief of Administrative Services.

2) Letters were forwarded to the receiver, then sent back to the Archive if they had to do with the IIIC's activities.

3) At the archives, the Service of the Index classified letters in existing folders (or created new ones for new topics). The Service also summarized the letter's content and sent it to the Director, who decided what section handled each affair.

4) When letters contained printed documents (books, brochures, news clippings, etc.), the same procedure was followed. Printed material was stored in the IIIC's library.

5) Movement of documents entering or leaving the archive was kept track of in the "Index de Transit." It was forbidden that documents be passed from section to section; instead, they needed to be transferred through the Transit Section.

6) A copy of all outgoing letters was preserved within the appurtenant folder in the archive. They were supposed to receive approval from the Director, although this is something that changed with the increase in correspondence.

In addition to the archive's relevance in the IIIC's daily functioning, the latter's role was extremely important in terms of institutional memory, as they were directly responsible for documenting the ICO's activity for posterity. Also, they were responsible for deciding what did not need to be preserved. Indeed, several aspects of the work of intellectual cooperation were not documented by its very protagonists. Allusion to the existence of secret sessions within a given meeting, whose minutes were not taken, can be found in numerous meeting minutes. Of course, not documenting a given meeting can be the result of deliberate decisions, but it can also be due to the mere fact that some conversations

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[329] UNESCO Archives, AG 01-IICI-A-I-8 Organisation du service des archives de l'IICI.
[330] According to an inter-service memorandum, the service employed three people: its chief, Mrs. Birnbaumovna, an attached archivist named Mrs. Szarota, and another attaché who worked partially at the archive, Mrs. Gouzien. Subsequently, Anne-Marie Girard worked as for the service of the archive too. "Inter-office memorandum" from Marya Birnbaumovna to Giuseppe Prezzolini, June 17, 1927. UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-A-I-8 Organisation du service des archives de l'IIC. Drawing on financial records and other sparse sources, we can name some of the individuals who worked in the IIIC's archive. This includes Mrs. Birnbaumovna, who worked at the Institute between 1926 and 1928; Mrs. Szarota worked at the Institute in the same period, Mrs. A. Gouzien, from October 1926 to March 1932, and Anne-Marie Girard..

were held in person, in informal meetings, by telephone and so forth. In this sense, it should be noticed that documents and correspondence, the two main traces preserved in the archive, are just some forms of social interaction. Also, preserved traces possess their specificities depending on the type of document consulted. In a nutshell, the documentation of some information over others, as well as the very context and form of the resulting traces, shapes our views on the ICO's work. With some exceptions, meeting minutes do not include, in general, mention of disagreements between its participants, and only private letters contain some traces in that regard. However, most letters are formal and written in a very diplomatic, obliging tone that is not necessarily aligned with the personal opinions of the agents involved. The ICO's diplomatic functioning made it so that conflict was rarely made explicit and, less often, documented. Renoliet elaborated precisely on the different types of information conveyed in typewritten or handwritten sources and, more broadly, on the idea that the IIIC's archive tells as much for what it says, than for what is conceals:

> Sans nier l'utilité des documents imprimés de l'OCI, qui permettent notamment d'étudier ses réalisations et son fonctionnement, il est indispensable – comme pour toute organisation internationale censée parler au nom de tous ses États membres et donc soucieuse d'être impartiale et de n'en fâcher aucun – de confronter ces archives officielles avec les sources manuscrites, qui constituent un peu le non-dit de l'organisation et qui révèlent souvent la teneur – et parfois la force – des débats, *voilés par une sorte de langage d'une neutralité toute bureaucratique qu'on peut certes essayer de décrypter mais qui garde souvent ses secrets à travers des formules excessivement diplomatiques.*[331]

Even though Renoliet was primarily opposing official and unofficial documents and recommending the consultation of meeting minutes and other working documents, I argue that his point can be broadened. Letters are indeed more spontaneous than official documents, but in several cases, they were sent in the framework of formal relations, and, for this reason, personal opinions were not always clearly stated either. This aspect can be illustrated by comparing Gabriela Mistral's involvement with the ICO according to the image derived from her letters preserved in the IIIC's archive or in her personal correspondence. If her involvement is to be examined only with the letters preserved in the IIIC's archive, she appears to be convinced of the IIIC's work. However, said view clearly differs from the assessment of the ICO's work made in her personal correspondence:

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[331] Jean-Jacques Renoliet, "L'UNESCO oubliée : l'Organisation de Coopération Intellectuelle (1921-1946)" in *60 ans d'histoire de l'UNESCO: actes du colloque international, Paris, 16-18 novembre 2005* (Paris, UNESCO, 2007), 62. My emphasis.

I do not think that these three organizations [the LON, the ICIC, and the IIIC] have done anything for Latin America, beyond the "Collection of Ibero-American Classics" that we established, Belaúnde, the Peruvian (professor at the Univ. of Lima), and I, despite the bosses' opposition. (...) It strikes me as a very bad thing that it's never occurred to them to find other *real,* effective ways of *actually* giving back to South America all or part of the quantity of money that South America has given to the League of Nations. Those monies have only served European culture. You'll be happy, not me. [332]

As the previous example suggests, the history of intellectual cooperation would ideally benefit from consultation of sources other than the IIIC's (or the LON's) archive. The latter is, however, hindered given the extension of the IIIC's archive and the time-consuming task of understanding the IIIC functioning and its entanglements with the LON. Both things considered, in my own work complementary sources have been occasionally consulted, but the main source of quantitative analysis lies in documents and correspondence preserved in the IIIC's archive.

In some cases, it is not immediately clear if an activity was not documented or if its records have been lost. An example is that of personnel records, which include 192 folders, each corresponding to an individual and containing job application documents (such as CVs, letters of recommendation, etc.) and other documents related to day-to-day affairs (holidays, sick leaves and so on). The 192 agents' folders contrast with the more than 300 agents who received salaries from the IIIC according to financial records. The fact that personnel files' numbering is consecutive suggests that single folders have not been lost, and thus, that some agents' personnel folders were not created.

A different case is when some activities were initially documented, but the resulting documents have not been preserved. Indeed, the archive's complete character needs to be questioned in light of the history determining the current state of the IIIC's archive. The Institute closed its doors in the occasion of the German occupation of Paris. In June 1940, the personnel and the archives moved to free zone, more precisely, first to

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[332] Gabriela Mistral to Victoria Ocampo, May 29, 1939. In Gabriela Mistral and Victoria Ocampo, *This America of Ours. The Letters of Gabriela Mistral and Victoria Ocampo* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 96–99. To be noted that the same letter contains some comments on her views regarding her collaborators from a personal standpoint, views that do not transpire in the IIIC's correspondence. For example, "The sanest man in this Institute of Babel known as the Society of Nations is Bonnet. [Dominique] Braga is a polite, cold man *with ulterior motives, I believe.* I'm not capable of talking with him for more than a quarter of an hour. They tell me that Reynolds is going to replace Montenach (in the presidency of the Committee for Intellectual Cooperation). He's a count, *very pious,* refined, and insipid." (Ibid., emphasis in the original). To be noted, as well, her allusion to Babel's tower, which implicitly suggests that language diversity was one of LON's defining traits.

Guérande, and then to Bordeaux.[333] It is not rare to find mention of the fact that part of the archive was lost during this period, but less is known about the causes, if folders were lost randomly or if a certain selection was made at some point. Sources indicate that a good part of documents having to do with scientific questions were lost in that operation, for example. A useful source to identify non-preserved documentation are archive inventories, given that their contents are key to distinguishing what was initially documented from activities that were not meant to be documented. Also, they constitute a reminder of sources that were there and are not anymore, with their titles and location in the broader structure of the Institute offering precious traces of missing material. Their utility is especially relevant if it is considered that non-preserved folders do not appear anymore in the tree structure or in the online Finding Aid, although their existence can be suspected given the non-consecutive number of folders. By comparing Figures 4 and 5, the differences between the Inventory and the Finding Aid[334] can be appreciated. In the latter, no mention is made of folders between H-X-16 and H-X-37, with non-consecutive folder numeration being the only sign suggesting the existence of non-preserved material.

The distinction between documentation and preservation is especially relevant in the present work given that its main object of interest, translation, is one of the documented activities affected by file loss. In Figure 6, I reproduce traces of folders having existed devoted to some translation activities, whose contents have been lost. In these cases, the inventory offers "echoes and whispers"[335] from which work can be approached differently. On the one hand, it provides hints of information about the place translation occupied within the IIIC's activities.

More precisely, Figure 6a illustrates that Subsubseries VIII in series B (related to correspondence between countries), referred to translations in the framework of the IIIC's Documentation Service. Thanks to this information, a link can be established between documentation activities and translation, with the latter emerging as a key tool in obtaining input information upon which the IIIC's work was based.

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[333] Renoliet, "L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle," 150.
[334] Both documents can be respectively downloaded at the following links: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000086288.locale and https://atom.archives.unesco.org/downloads/iiic.pdf
[335] Valerie Johnson, Simon Fowler, David Thomas, *Silence of the Archive. Principles and Practice in Records Management and Archives* (London: Facet Publishing, 2016), 101.

H.**X.**(suite)

H.X.26	"La protection internationale du droit d'auteur"	MANQUE
27	"La propriété scientifique"	MANQUE
28	Préparation de l'édition allemande de la "Propriété scientifique".	MANQUE
29	"Echanges universitaires en Europe" .	MANQUE
30	"Institutions pour l'étude scientifique des relations internationales"	MANQUE
31	"Congrès des Arts populaires" - Résumés	MANQUE
32	"Actes et mémoires du Congrès des Arts populaires de Prague"	MAN UE
33	Relations avec les éditeurs des publications de l'I.I.C.I.	MANQUE
34	"Coordination des bibliothèques. Guide des services nationaux de renseignements, du prêt et des échanges internationaux".	MANQUE
35	"Code d'abréviations des titres de périodiques"	MANQUE
36	"Révision des manuels scolaires"	MANQUE
37	"Index translationum"	1932 - 1933
38	Correspondance avec imprimeurs de l'Index translationum"	MANQUE
39	Publicité pour l'Index translationum"	MANQUE
40	Correspondance avec les imprimeurs de "La Réorganisation de l'enseignement public en Chine"	MANQUE
41	"Entretiens"	MANQUE
42	"L'Etat et la vie économique"	MANQUE
43	Correspondance avec les imprimeurs de "l'Etat et la Vie économique"	MANQUE
44	"Echanges et voyages internationaux de la jeunesse scolaire"	MANQUE

Figure 4. Page of the IIIC's historical inventory (p. 168 in original numeration, 252 in the PDF format).

AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.23	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Flammarion, rue Rotrou, Paris	1933-1937
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.24	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Walter de Gruyter, Berlin	1931
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.25	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Feikema Caarelsenet Co., Amsterdam	1933-1946
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.26	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Direction générale des Affaires culturelles au ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris	1945-1946
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.27	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, Helsinki	1929-1949
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.28	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Agence Dechenne, Bruxelles	1935-1941
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.29	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Editions S.E.F.I., Paris	1945-1946
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.30	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Librairie Payot, Lausanne	1929-1946
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.31	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Librairie J. Carasso & Co., Sofia	1932-1940
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.32	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta	1932-1939
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.33	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Index des dépositaires	[s.d.]
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.34	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - The Clarte Bookshop, Wellington	1932-1940
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.35	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghaï	1932-1939
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.36	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Librairie Alexandre M. Poovitch, Belgrade	1932-1940
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.37	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Cartea Romanesca, S.A. Bucaresti	1932-1940
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.38	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Levin & Munksgaard, Copenhague	1932-1940
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.39	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - League of Nations Society, Canada, Ottawa	1932-1940
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.40	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Envois d'office aux dépositaires	1933-1940
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.41	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Maruzen Co. Ltd., Tokyo	1932-1940
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.42	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Maskew, Miller Ltd., Capetown	1932-1940
AG 1-IICI-H-X-11.43	File - Dépositaires des publications de l'IICI - Martinus Nijhoff, La Haye	1929-1946
AG 1-IICI-H-X-16	File - Imprimeurs	1932-1941
AG 1-IICI-H-X-37	File - "Index translationum"	1932-1933
AG 1-IICI-H-X-49	File - Dépositaires Allen und Unwin	1932-1940
AG 1-IICI-H-X-50.1	File - Dépositaires italiens : Maglione	1935-1940

Figure 5. Corresponding page in the Finding Aid (p. 90).

Therein, we find folders dealing with a project of collaboration with the Camille Bloch Institute to create an international office of contemporary documentation and correspondence with other documentation associations. Folders 4 and 5 contained records about the internal organization of translation within the IIIC, including information on the Documentation service and on stenographers' practice of translation. Finally, Folders 6 and 7 contained consultations addressed to the IIIC. Figure 6b reveals that Subfolder IV in Subseries F, related to literary and artistic matters, was also devoted to translation, in this case literary translation. Some of the folders have been preserved, but missing records refer to the project of an international translation office (Folder 2), general correspondence (Folder 3), an inquiry on translation (Folders 5 to 8), a bibliography on translation (Folder 9) and a repertoire of translators (Folder 10) (see part 3 for a partial reconstruction of said projects' history). Finally, an additional subfolder on translation was also included in Subseries G, which had to do with the Social Sciences. Entitled simply "III. Translations," no other elements have been found to support hypotheses on its contents.

For all their partiality, those archival whispers provide clues to reconstruct the specific history of the ICO's translation policy. More precisely, the inventory proves that efforts involving translation tasks were documented in several subfields of activity, either as an administrative activity in the IIIC's functioning or in relation to different intellectual activities. Therefore, inventories point toward the fact that the ICO's translation policy was deployed in, at least, the domains of institutional translation, documentation, literary translation, and translation in the social sciences. Preservation of traces having to do with institutional translation suggests also that IIIC's archive was not necessarily built with a stronger interest in the IIIC's intellectual endeavors rather than on its internal functioning, an impression that could be reinforced by its thematic structure. From a methodological standpoint, this aspect sheds light on the ways preservation can influence the possible narratives reconstructed by historians.

_6a_

B.VIII

TRADUCTIONS

B.VIII.1	Office de documentation internationale contemporaine - projet de collaboration avec l'Institut Camille Bloch, Bibliothèque de Vincennes (d.p.a. Bulletin bibliographique)	MANQUE
2		NEANT
3	Association de documentation scientifique, industrielle, etc....	MANQUE
4	Traductions - sténographie, etc...	MANQUE
5	Organisation du Service de documentation	MANQUE
6	Demandes de renseignements pour le service de documentation. Canadian Press Association, Associated Press, etc...	MANQUE
7	Demandes de renseignements n'intéressant pas l'activité de l'Institut	MANQUE
8 à 14		NEANT

- 128 -

F.IV.

Traduction

_6b_

F.IV.1	Droits d'auteur et traductions	1926-1934
2	Office de la Traduction (Comité d'Experts)	MANQUE
3	Correspondance générale	MANQUE
4	" Cahiers des traductions" - Préparation	1929-1933
5	Enquête sur la Traduction (Associations littéraires)	MANQUE
6	Enquête sur la Traduction (P.E.N. Clubs)	MANQUE
7	Enquête sur la Traduction (Ecrivains)	MANQUE
8	Enquête sur la Traduction (Statistiques)	MANQUE
9	Bibliographie de la Traduction - Enquête documentaire	MANQUE
10	Répertoire des Traducteurs	MANQUE
11	Contrats d'édition et de traduction -	1929
12	Bibliographie de la traduction -. Réunion d'experts	1931-1932
13	"Index translationaum" - Préparation .... (4 liasses)	1932 juillet-décembre 1932 janvier-juillet 1933 janvier-mai 1946
14	Enquête sur la traduction (1928) - Commissions nationales	MANQUE

Figure 6. Missing folders on translation in the IIIC's archive. Documentation Service (6a) and literary affairs (6b).

131

The previous elements raise some methodological questions on whether missing archival records impede or complicate the reconstruction of the ICO's translation policy with the IIIC's archive, with some of the relevant ones including whether preserved sources can fill some of the gaps derived from non-preserved records or if alternative sources exist. Given that the IIIC sought to make its activities known to an international audience through its publications, the hypothesis can be formulated that the latter might be used to reconstruct a part of the IIIC's practices and discussions related to translation as a way to complement official documents. The previous point can be expanded in light of the ICO's network functioning. In this case, the question would be whether the ICO's functioning in terms of an organizational network, in which different bodies worked together and informed each other about their work, opens the door to finding alternative traces of a given project despite document loss by one of the bodies involved. For example, in the case of a project whose appurtenant folders in the IIIC's archive have been lost, one can imagine that traces will be found in the reports the IIIC presented to the ICIC, which are preserved in the latter's archive. In a nutshell, source preservation becomes an additional way to test the ICO's network functioning.

4.2. Methodology: Birds and Frogs Meet in the Archives to Study Languages and Translation

Having put the focus on communication challenges and relations between agents (and fields) in the ICO's history, it is now the time to delve into my use of both qualitative and quantitative methods to conduct historic-archival research. The practice of historical inquiry has been intimately linked to a methodological reflection on the best methods and sources historians could use to reply to their research questions. Next to systematic close reading and note-taking of archival material, since the 1960s and 1970s, historians interested in social history started including quantitative tools in their work, for example, cross-tabulations, tables, maps.[336] In this vein, after an initial period of faith in qualitative methods' potential in terms of empiricism and capacity to grasp structural dynamics in the longue durée,[337] followed one of disillusionment in the 1970s that led to the return, in

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[336] Lemercier and Zalc, *Quantitative Methods,* 8.
[337] Ibid., 7–14.

the 1980s, to individual agency and detailed historical research.[338] Today, the use of quantitative tools benefits from a renewed interest in the SSH, in part favored by the explosion of the Digital Humanities. However, in the domain of historical research, where the use of quantitative methods is less recent than in, say, literary studies, a too-straightforward optimism is generally nuanced, and the main position is that of considering quantitative means as an additional tool among the long list of tools and methods that can be useful to answer historical research questions.[339] In this regard, the association of microanalysis with qualitative methods, and macro analyses with quantitative ones has been largely questioned and refuted. The same opinions are generally entertained on the side of global studies scholars, who generally advocate for a mixed- or multi-method approach that builds on both quantitative and qualitative data to examine, for example, historical-archival research or interviews.[340]

Against this backdrop, and by way of a *clin d'œil* to the colleagues with whom I have conducted quantitative work in the present project, the title of the present section refers to an article penned by physicist and mathematician Freeman J. Dyson, where the latter tackles the combined use of qualitative and quantitative tools and micro and macro approaches.[341] Therein, Dyson described the way two different types of skills and approaches to mathematics (and physics) have basically been at the origins of progress in terms of knowledge in said disciplines. The first type is that possessed by birds, which "fly high in the air and survey broad vistas of mathematics out to the far horizon. They delight in concepts that unify our thinking and bring together diverse problems from different parts of the landscape."[342] The other is that of frogs, which "live in the mud below and see only the flowers that grow nearby. They delight in the details of particular objects, and they solve problems one at a time." In Dyson's view,

> Mathematics needs both birds and frogs. Mathematics is rich and beautiful because birds give it broad visions and frogs give it intricate details. (…) It is stupid to claim that birds are better than frogs because they see farther, or that frogs are better than birds because they see deeper. The world of mathematics is

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[338] Ibid., 15–19.

[339] Ibid., 25.

[340] Darian-Smith and McCarty, *The Global Turn*, 129–75.

[341] Freeman J. Dyson, "Birds and frogs in mathematics and physics," *Notices of the AMs 56, no. 2* (Febr. 2009): 212–23. Serendipity has it that this lecture was dedicated to Albert Einstein, who, as it is often mentioned, participated in the history of intellectual cooperation. I wish to thank Alessio Cardillo for having mentioned Dyson's lecture.

[342] Dyson, "Birds and frogs," 212.

both broad and deep, and we need birds and frogs working together to explore it.[343]

Dyson's eclecticism and openness toward complementary approaches are the same that guide the present work in its articulation of history and sociology, and qualitative and quantitative methods. It goes without saying that Dyson's metaphor can be nuanced. The opposition between a bird and a frog view situates their comparison on a vertical axis, which could suggest the superiority of one over the other. Nothing further from my point, which instead is to stress the benefits of zooming in and zooming out, of combining breadth and depth. It is thus on a strictly horizontal axis that the two approaches are considered. The use of quantitative approaches does not emanate from any positivist stance or any alleged prevalence of quantitative over qualitative forms of knowledge. Nor does it suggest a preference for the alleged objectivity of quantitative approaches over the sometimes-rebuked subjectivity of qualitative research. It should not be understood that I suggest any necessary conflation between global approaches and quantitative methodologies, nor between global approaches and big data. Instead, I agree with Lemercier when she states that "quantification is a valuable addition to our investigative toolset—with standing equal to that of other methods, neither more nor less."[344] My use of DH should be considered as another arrow in my quiver, especially because solid qualitative knowledge is a precondition for an accurate application of quantitative methods. My goal is to explore the benefits of combing both, and to enrich my conclusions by looking into large-scale phenomena but also into a smaller and/or marginal process. Given the hundreds of thousands of documents included in the archives of intellectual cooperation, quantitative methods offer the potential to discover or confirm structural dynamics and patterns that can hardly be detected when exploring archive material through close reading.

Against this backdrop, in what follows, I combine the tools of close and distant reading. "Distant reading" was a term that gained use in the humanities following Franco Moretti's publication in 2000,[345] although its use was not uncommon in previous years in other disciplines. Enhanced by its intuitive comprehension, the latter has come to be used to refer to a broad range of techniques used in the field of DH. Its relations to close reading

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[343] Ibid.
[344] Dyson, "Birds and frogs," 216.
[345] Franco Moretti, "Conjectures on World Literature," *New Left Review* 1 no. 4 (Jan/Feb 2000): 54–68.

are to be interpreted in the similar vein than relations between quantitative and qualitative, or micro and macro, approaches. As stated by Underwood,

> At bottom, distant readers are not arguing against close reading. They're just pointing to a blank space on our map of the past —where questions about large samples or long timelines might be located —in order to say "none of us really know what's in there yet." A confession of ignorance is not something one can meaningfully strike compromises about; it calls for a different genre of response. Instead of interpreting distant reading as a normative argument about the discipline, it would be better to judge it simply by asking whether the blind spot it identified is turning out to contain anything interesting.[346]

Before concluding the present section, additional acknowledgement should be made of the ways material preconditions shape research. In my case, to study the ICO's translation policy by combining quantitative and qualitative tools, I benefitted from the fact that archival material was digitized, but also from a given institutional framing. The latter refers to the project Social Networks of the Past. Mapping Hispanic and Lusophone Literary Modernity (1898-1959), led by Dr. Roig-Sanz, funded by the European Research Council and hosted at Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, and more precisely, its Internet Interdisciplinary Institute (IN3).[347] The resources put at my disposal in said framework made it possible to conduct research in the form I present it in this dissertation.

4.3. Probing relationships in the history of intellectual cooperation with quantitative methods

International cooperation is an activity necessarily predicated upon the establishment or reinforcement of relations between two or more entities. This, coupled with translation's relational character, turns attention to relationships between agents into one of the pillars of the present work. In light of the above, letters preserved in the IIIC's funds constitute one of the main potential sources. In addition to close reading, a subset of letters preserved in the IIIC's funds have been examined with quantitative tools. Since the IIIC's archive possesses a vast number of letters, several tools from the domain of Computation Science can be used to examine them from a large-scale perspective, among which Informational Retrieval, Natural Language Processing, and Information Extraction.

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[346] Underwood, "A Genealogy," 10.
[347] Centre specializing in the study of the effects of the interaction between digital technologies and human activity in the knowledge society. Its research groups combine research in the Social and Human Sciences with Engineering. For more information, see https://www.uoc.edu/portal/en/in3/

To proceed in said direction, archive materials needed to be indexed, that is, to undergo "the process of creating a document representation, mainly of its topic or content, although formal representation such as authorship, title, bibliographic context, etc. is sometimes included in the term."[348] Indexing can be either manual or automatic. Manual indexing consists in associating a given document with specific indexing terms, also known as tags or descriptors. Human or manual indexing presents the benefit of equipping the researcher with deep knowledge on primary sources (its contents, formal and material features, biases, etc.), as well as a close control over indexing process and selection of descriptors. The resulting data present a priori a high degree of reliability, even though human errors might always occur. Manual indexing opens the possibility of appropriately indexing ambiguous or content-dependent words. This is, for example, the case of common names referring to positions such as "director," "secretary," "president," whose comprehension depends on previous knowledge of the name of the individual occupying a given position when said document was written. However, manual indexing also presents several disadvantages. It is a time-consuming and subjective process, which limits, too, the dimensions of the analyzed corpus. Manual indexing has been applied to the history of intellectual cooperation by Grandjean,[349] who inaugurated the application of DH methods to the history of intellectual cooperation. The Swiss manually indexed the files contained in the folders "Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaux Section (thus, in the Geneva archive) in the period 1919-1927 and explored them through SNA tools. By doing so, his goal was to examine the way information circulated in the International Bureaux Section, the LON's division that assisted the ICIC's work).[350]

On the other hand, tools of automatic indexing can as well be used, which in a sense swap the strengths and weaknesses of manual indexing. Automatic extraction considerably enlarges the volume of data scrutinized, which is why it constitutes the preferential approach used in projects dealing with massive amounts of data. It also reduces costs in terms of time and resources a priori, although these methods require possessing good first-hand knowledge of source material that is also time-consuming. Said knowledge is then used to make generalizable criteria that can be applied to the whole corpus to automatically extract different types of information. Among automatic

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[348] Dana Indra Sensuse, "A Comparison of Manual Indexing and Automatic Indexing in the Humanities," PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2004, 8.
[349] Grandjean, "Les réseaux,"
[350] Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 15.

indexing methods, we can include statistical indexing methods such as word frequency[351] or word position in a document. For example, in a relatively homogeneous corpus, if I know that the sending date is always mentioned in the first line, I can automatically retrieve dates in all correspondence by distinguishing them from mere year mentions in the body of the letter. However, automatic indexing presents certain risks too. The margin of error increases because the researcher has not necessarily read each single document and manually classified information. Also, different degrees of consistency have been detected depending on textual features and, more broadly, on whether texts belonged to the hard sciences or the humanities.[352] This, in turn, favored questioning of the claim according to which automatic indexing performs better than manual indexing when "materials are diverse, subject matter is varied or abstract, and the style is complex,[353] which is often the case in the humanities.

In the present dissertation, both manual and automatic indexing have been employed to conduct quantitative analysis of preserved correspondence. All research included in the present dissertation related to quantitative methods is the result of a team effort framed in the SNOP project, and as such, it has been conducted by several of their members under Diana Roig-Sanz's coordination. Table 4 provides a list of its members, with information regarding their positions within the project, description of the tasks realized, and their work's time frame. With said team, a pipeline combining automatic and manual indexing methods was developed to examine large amounts of data, which, with some modifications, could be applied in principle to other corpuses and case studies.

	Scholar and position within the SNOP project	Main tasks	Time frame
Automatic indexing	Marc Moreno Galimany (research assistant)	Obtention of data and preprocessing	Sep. 2020 – Nov. 2021
	Rubén Rodríguez Casañ	Conclusion and revision of Moreno's preprocessing work,	Jan. 2022- June 2024

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[351] Andreas Hotho, Andreas Nürnberger, and Gerhard Paaß, "A Brief Survey of Text Mining." Journal for Language Technology and Computational Linguistics 20 no. 1(2005): 19–62; Daniel Jurafsky and James H. Martin. *Speech and Language Processing: An Introduction to Natural Language Processing, Computational Linguistics, and Speech Recognition*. Upper Saddle River: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2009.
[352] Sensuse, "A Comparison of Manual Indexing," 4.
[353] Ibid.

		Natural language processing, image processing, preparation of dashboards and geographic visualizations.	
	(research assistant)		
	Alessio Cardillo (postdoctoral fellow)	Supervision of quantitative methods and complex systems and Rodríguez Casañ's supervision	Oct. 2021 – March 2023
Manual indexing	Ventsislav Ikoff, (postdoctoral fellow)	Data gathering and data analysis related to the Nodegoat database. Coordinator tasked with relating the data of the different research axes in the SNOP project.	Feb. 2019 – March 2023
	Helena Herrera Clapers (research assistant)	Manual indexing	Jan. 2020 – Feb. 2021, Aug. – Oct. 2021
	Alexandra Orduña (research assistant)	Manual indexing	Oct. 2021 – Oct. 2022
	Jimena del Solar Escardó (research assistant)	Manual indexing	Oct. 2022 – March 2023

Table 4. Members of the SNOP project having collaborated in this dissertation's quantitative component.

Against this backdrop, the contributions I seek to offer in the present dissertation include the following:

1) Exploratory work for the ocerization of correspondence preserved in the IIIC's archive to examine it then via quantitative methods.

2) Development of exploratory tools. Subseries A and F have been automatically indexed to detect languages and entities such as locations (e.g., countries and cities) and people's names. Three interactive dashboards enabling user-friendly exploration have been created. The first permits examination of the IIIC's correspondence from the perspective of geographies and the second one does so from the perspective of individuals.[354] The datasets employed to analyze languages, peoples, and geographies are open.[355] The third dashboard makes it possible to explore manually indexed correspondence related to the Ibero-American Collection, one of the literary collections the IIIC published.[356]

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[354] They can be acceesed at the following link: https://global-ls.github.io/int_cooperation-dataviz/
[355] R. Rodríguez-Casañ, et al. -- People, Places, and Languages in the correspondence preserved in the archive of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation -- Open dataset (2024). https://doi.org/10.34810/data985
[356] Available at: https://lookerstudio.google.com/s/kXRPSxn-qZY

3) In the framework of broader research questions than the ones guiding the present dissertation, a quantitative study has been conducted to describe countries' organization (and hierarchy) within the IIIC according to preserved correspondence.[357]

Given that OCR's accuracy is smaller than 100%, a subset of the material has been manually indexed. With said dataset, the contributions offered include:

4) A quantitative analysis of language practices in preserved documents and correspondence.[358]
5) Analysis by means of SNA of one of the IIIC's editorial projects.

In what follows, I provide a detailed description of the preprocessing word and the pipeline employed for the automatic and manual extraction of information.

4.3.1. Automatic extraction of information: general preprocessing

Correspondence exchanged between agents involved in the activities of the ICO, either individuals or organizations, constitutes a powerful source of information to track down multiple aspects of its functioning. For example, how communication flows functioned in the international network the ICO institutionalized. The analysis of correspondence flows can provide powerful insights into the geographic coverage of the ICO's activity. It can also shed light on the communication difficulties by enabling us to quantify the time that elapsed between the departure of a letter from, say, Australia, until its arrival at the IIIC's offices at the Palais Royal in Paris. It also offers a deeper insight into the challenges, difficulties, and negotiations between the agents that embodied intellectual cooperation. Instead of reconstructing their history in terms of outputs, correspondence paves the way to analyzing processes. It also attests to the involvement of a number of forgotten agents, namely those constituting the personnel of the IIIC, from the director to the short-handed typist and to the registry service. Given the potential offered by said

[357] R. Rodriguez Casañ, E. Carbó-Catalan, Albert Solé-Ribalta, D. Roig-Sanz, J. Borge-Holthoefer, and A. Cardillo, "Studying the geographical organisation of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation via network cartography," SocArXiv. January 5.

[358] Preliminary results have been presented in the following conference: Elisabet Carbó-Catalan and Rubén Rodríguez-Casañ, "Towards a Global History of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation: Challenges and Opportunities," Paper read at Workshop on Information Visualization in the (Digital) Humanities, Oct. 27-28, 2022, University of Graz (Austria). Beyond the framework of my dissertation, Rodríguez Casañ has conducted further analytical work with he IIIC's material under the supervision of Alessio Cardillo and Javier Borge-Holthoefer. See: R. Rodríguez-Casañ, "Analysis of the archives of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation," Poster presented at Conference on Complex System 2022, Palma de Mallorca (Spain), Oct. 17-21, 2022.

material but also the high volume of correspondence included in the IIIC's archive, we have sought to offer a methodologic contribution to facilitate a large-scale analysis.

The IIIC archive comprises a heterogeneous corpus of letters, both type- and handwritten. They are mostly written in French and, to a lesser extent, in English, although other languages can also be found (see Chapter 5). Most of them are in a good state of preservation, although factors such as the quality of the paper and the ink make it so that some of the letters display different degrees of readability both to the human and the machine eye. Letters can as well differ in terms of extension, including from two-sentence long telegrams to several-page-long letters. From the perspective of their content, heterogeneity reigns sovereign too, especially given the fact that they are the result of different types of social relationships, from friendship to formal exchange between collaborating organizations.[359] Some letters, such as acknowledgments of receipt or thank-you letters, are the result of rather distant and formal relationships. In other cases, the introduction and farewell forms provide rich information about the nature of the relationships between two agents, and their degree of familiarity. Also, the archive contains numerous duplicate letters (full-copies available within that same folder), variations from a letter (drafts, typewritten drafts with handwritten corrections), partial reproductions preserved in different folders, as well as translations that can be literal or be a summary.

To conduct a large-scale analysis of said material, we reached an agreement with UNESCO, which shared with us scanned versions of all correspondence. This constituted a dataset of 2,726 PDF files, containing 557,455 pages. Having started our work with the whole dataset, extensive preprocessing work was required, as well as a semi-automatic revision of some preprocessing steps that were very time-consuming. We were confronted with the dilemma of whether to work with the whole corpus or, instead, narrow it down. The pros and cons of said choice are similar to those described for manual and automatic indexing. Working with the whole corpus enabled us to formulate conclusions based on complete sources, but the close knowledge diminished given the human impossibility to read everything. This, in turn, made subsequent interpretive work problematic given that I would have been largely dependent on data, rather than on historical knowledge. Instead, working with only a part of the dataset limited the scope of our conclusions, while

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[359] Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 78.

enabling a solid first-hand knowledge of examined correspondence, which was necessary to being able to interpret the results of quantitative analysis. Additional considerations in said choice included:

1) The fact that our quantitative work was relatively experimental. Even though we built on existing scholarship in the domains of Digital Humanities and Spatial Humanities, in part our efforts consisted in testing or developing a methodology, rather than applying previously proven methods. Working with fewer data enabled better control over said process.

2) The heterogeneity in the corpus required the semi-automatic revision of some steps, which added difficulty to a preprocessing work that was already very time-consuming. Reducing the corpus implied that we could better control the margin of error in each step and obtain more reliable results.

3) This dissertation's disciplinary ascription. Although the methodological component is relevant in this dissertation, my main research questions concern translation. It was therefore of extreme relevance to be able to reach the stage of result interpretation with data I was able to interpret. Working with the whole dataset conferred more protagonism to methodology because analysis would have relied less on historical knowledge. In other words, testing methods would have taken over answering research questions.

All things considered, a choice was made to reduce the dataset. Selected series were Subseries A, which comprises correspondence with NCIC, state delegates and general affairs of the Direction, and Subseries F, which contains correspondence related to literary and artistic affairs. Those folders were selected because they were the ones better corresponding to the two main topics examined in Parts 2 and 3. Subseries A is the most suitable to examine aspects dealing with the IIIC's general functioning and its correspondence with governments, NCIC, and intellectual organizations, aspects that can provide insights on the IIIC's practices in the domain of institutional translation. Instead, Subseries F is the most appropriate to examine the IIIC's work in relation to literature, which corresponds to the focus on literary translation in Part 3.

Our decision to focus on Subseries A and F left us with a dataset of 837 PDF files (respectively, 611 for Subseries A and 226 for Subseries F). A series of preliminary steps needed to be taken to preprocess the selected corpus so that data could be automatically extracted. The pipeline followed to automatically retrieve information is summarized in

a flux diagram in Figure 7. We received the relevant dataset in the form of PDF files. The first preprocessing step (1) consisted in the conversion of the 837 PDFs into 146,561 JPEG image pages.[360] Then (2), we applied a free OCR tool named Tesseract[361] to distinguish between empty (white) and written pages. This step was necessary since the scans had been conducted at the folder level, which meant that the latter also included the back of each sheet, in most cases, blank pages. As a result of step 2, we deleted 60,594 pages predicted as empty, leaving us with a total of 85,967 pages predicted as images with text. Within the set of images predicted as empty, it has been manually estimated on a random sample of 500 pages that 1.5% of them actually contained some text, i.e., about 900 images with text are estimated to have been discarded in the total of 60,000 empty pages. However, it is worth mentioning that the vast majority of these images had low quality and it was difficult to distinguish ink and paper contrasts. Also, they were usually handwritten sheets, and, thus, they would have been discarded in the following phases. In the following step (3), several tests were made for the recognition of characters in the images. Our need was to apply OCR to a large number of images, presenting a variety of formats, colors, fonts (both handwritten and typed), and languages. Considering the heterogeneity, we tested several OCR programs, including ABBY FineReader,[362] easyOCR,[363] Transkribus[364] (handwritten, printed and typed), Tesseract,[365] and Google Vision API OCR.[366] Additionally, we also tested different preprocessing methods to maximize readability (original format, scaled colors, grayscale, scaled + grayscale, binarized and binarized + greyscale). To compare the qualities of different OCR programs, we prepared a sample of texts that we manually transcribed, sample that included sheets of different dimensions and resolutions, different languages and backgrounds, with handwritten and typed text, from different authors and layouts. Comparison was made by measuring the average Character Error Rate (CER) per

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[360] This step was done with the Poppler library. Python-poppler's package documentation. Available at: https://cbrunet.net/python-poppler/ (2022).

[361] Jeroen Ooms, tesseract: Open Source OCR Engine. Available at: https://docs.ropensci.org/tesseract/ (web-site) and https://github.com/ropensci/tesseract (devel) (2023).

[362] Sood, G. abbyyR: Access Abbyy FineReader Cloud OCR API via R (2019). R package version 0.5.5.

[363] JaidedAI. EasyOCR library. Available at: https://github.com/jaidedai/easyocr (2021).

[364] Baoguang Shi, Xiang Bai, Cong Yao, "An End-to-End Trainable Neural Network for Image-Based Sequence Recognition and Its Application to Scene Text Recognition," *IEEE Transactions on Pattern Analysis and Machine Intelligence* 39 (2017), 2298–2304.

[365] Philip Kahle, Sebastian Colutto, Günter Hackl and Günter Muhlberger, "Transkribus – A Service Platform for Transcription, Recognition and Retrieval of Historical Documents." In *14th IAPR International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR)* (IEEE, 2017), 19–24.

[366] GoogleCloud Vision API. Available at: https://cloud.google.com/vision/docs/ocr?hl=en (2023).

programand by pre-processing method. [367] We chose Google Vision API OCR as it provided a fast OCR interface without the need to preprocess the images, it correctly detected both handwritten and typewritten text in most orientations and positions, and displayed the smallest error rate.
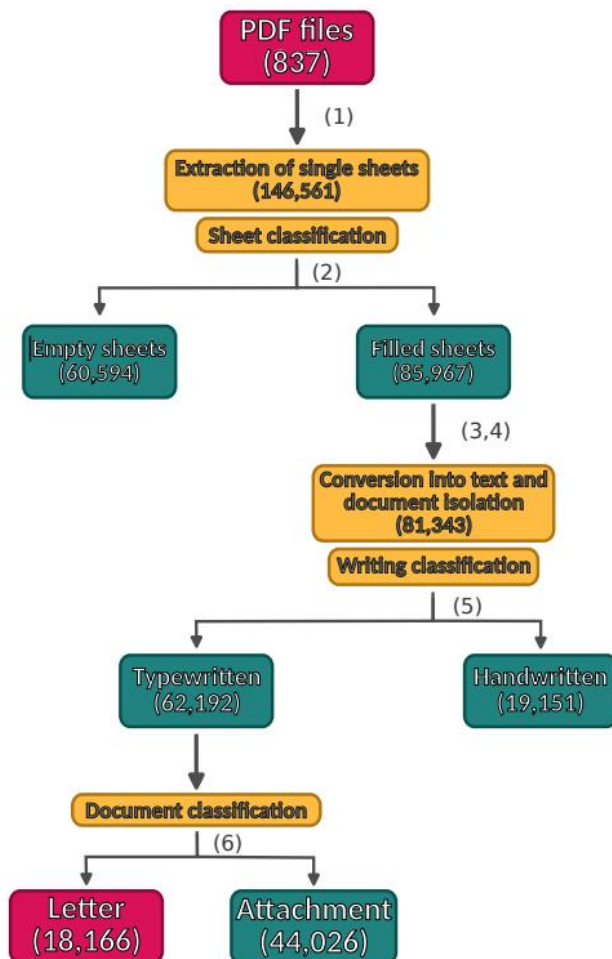
Figure 7. Preprocessing workflow

The CER value was around 8% on the subset of typewritten text, and 32% on a subset of handwritten text. According to Leung,[368] good OCR should have errors lying between 1-2%, with values between 2 and 10% being considered average or standard accuracy. Thus, the OCR applied was considered valid when working with typed material, but the CER

[367] Kenneth Leung, "Evaluate OCR output quality with Character Error Rate (CER) and Word Error Rate (WER)." Available at:https://towardsdatascience.com/evaluating-ocr-output-quality-with-character-error-rate-cer-and-word-error-rate-wer-853175297510 (2021).
[368] Ibid.

obtained with handwritten letters was excessively high. As a fourth step (4), we unified the pages belonging to the same letter to quantify our results in terms of letters and not in terms of "pages" or "sheets." A sample of three random PDFs with a total of 630 pages was evaluated. Although the vast majority of the correspondence had one page, it was estimated that about 7% of the pages were accompanied by another page. To unify this subset of files, we identified a series of patterns found at the beginning and end of each sheet referring to the continuation of another piece of writing. To define the union between two sheets, the following conditions must be fulfilled:

- The candidate page ends with one of the following patterns: './..', '....' or '-1-' and the maximum distance to the next page with text is equal to 2 pages.
- The candidate page starts with a digit between dashes other than the number 1 and is not preceded by other numbers with dashes (e.g., dates). In addition, the maximum distance to the previous page with text must be less than or equal to 2 pages.

Using these criteria, we estimated that 55% of the sheets in the subset of letters with more than one sheet were merged. Thus, our sample of 85,967 sheets was transformed into 81,343 letters. The error we calculated for this step is 2.9%. Our fifth step (5) consisted in identifying the typed images in order to discard those letters for which the quality of the OCR was insufficient. Given that we were going to work with the typewritten sample, the choice of the best model was based on its accuracy on the class of typed images, i.e., the choice was supported by an attempt to be more accurate on the class we were finally going to evaluate, typed letters, at the cost of not taking all of them. Such a technique is referred to as "One-class classification"[369] and it is usually employed when one of the two classes is poorly defined or has a small sample. The model selected was MobileNet, with an error made on the typewritten text of 0.6%, whereas for handwritten text it was 35.3%. The latter error, together with the CER value of the handwritten files, led us to decide to work exclusively with the typed material. Hence, we finally got 19,151 files with handwritten images and 62,192 files with images predicted to be typed. The latter constitutes our main dataset. A subsequent step was added, employed only for some analytical purposes related to agents and geographies. That is the distinction between letters and attached documents. Sometimes, a letter is followed by a speech or a news

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[369] Shehroz S. Khan, Michael G. Madden, "One-class classification: taxonomy of study and review of techniques," *The Knowledge Engineering Review* 29 (2014): 345–74.

article that was attached to the letter. In cases where we want to identify sender and receiver, or their location, attached documents constitute noise that basically distort our data. Thus, we applied two machine learning models, Random Forest and Support Vector Machine, to distinguish between a letter with a well-defined structure of presentation (e.g., date, stamp, sender, body, and addresses) from the rest of the documents. Both models were applied to the total set of typewritten files. A total of 18,136 typewritten letters were detected with an estimated error of 1.9%. This left us with another dataset, composed of 12,230 letters in subseries A and 5,906 letters in subseries F.

The previous steps leave us with two main datasets obtained after step 5, i.e., after having distinguished between typewritten and handwritten letters. Dataset 1 refers to typewritten letters and it constitutes the main dataset employed in subsequent analytical work. Given the successful results of OCR, techniques and models for the extraction of information can be applied, such as detection of language or specific entities, such as locations, agents (individuals or organizations), or topics. In this work, we have focused on languages, locations, and individuals. Time constraints have impeded us to investigate organizations and topics, although both perspectives would be of extreme interest for history of intellectual cooperation. Conversely, dataset 2 corresponds to handwritten letters, which we can only partially work with given the insufficient quality of OCR results. We have only used it to track language use given the topics' centrality in my dissertation. In future work, additional preprocessing work would be necessary to improve results of handwritten letters' ocerization.

In what follows, I elaborate on the interest of the selected analytical perspectives and describe the pipeline used to retrieve each type of information.

a) Tracking language use

Language detection presented a two-fold interest in the present work. On the one hand, it constituted a goal per se, given my focus on translation. Tracking language use in preserved correspondence can shed light on language use in the daily work of intellectual cooperation, which in turn attests to existing power dynamics. On the other hand, it also constituted a preprocessing step in order to be able to examine data appearing in the letter's content, including locations, agents, and, eventually, topics.

Two approaches were followed to examine language use, depending on whether the relevant dataset was the archive series comprising documents or that of correspondence (Figure 8). In the first case, documents' language is one of the informed fields in metadata provided by UNESCO. With said information being provided by the source, our contribution has been to generate several visualizations facilitating its analysis. It has not been possible, for time reasons, to test the accuracy of metadata.
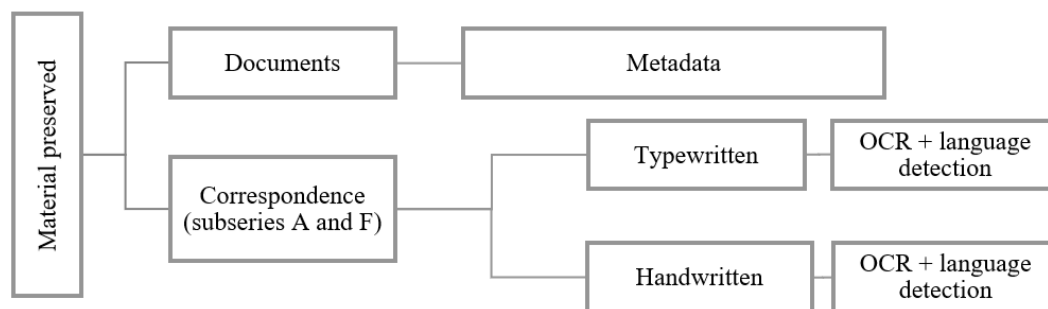
Figure 8. Methodology for the analysis of language use.

In the case of correspondence, this information was not provided because PDF files contain a vast number of letters, which means that metadata refers to the whole folder. A different approach was thus required. Several natural language detection libraries were employed to identify languages used in each letter (Fasttext,[370] Langid,[371] Langdetect,[372] Polyglot,[373] and Google Compact Language Detector 3[374]). All of them were configured to identify a reliability degree of at least 70%, which we have considered a percentage flexible enough in case OCR errors interfered with language detection, while also selecting a value that provided reliable results. Their results have been processed in comparison to maximize reliability. In the cases where different languages were detected by different libraries, the language indicated by the majority was selected. This includes cases where most language detection libraries indicated the language as "unknown,"

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[370] Armand Joulin, Edouard Grave, Piotr Bojanowski, Tomas Mikolov "Bag of Tricks for Efficient Text Classification," In *Proceedings of the 15th Conference of the European Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics, vol.* 2, Short Papers (Valencia: Association for Computational Linguistics, 2017), 427–31.

[371] Marco Lui and Timothy Baldwin, "langid.py: An off-the-shelf language identification tool," in *Proceedings of the ACL 2012 System Demonstrations* (Jeju Island, Korea: Association for Computational Linguistics), 25–30.

[372] Nakatani, S. "Langdetect: Language detection library for Java." Available at: https://github.com/shuyo/language-detection (2010).

[373] Rami Al-Rfou', Bryan Perozzi, Steven Skiena, "Polyglot: Distributed word representations for multilingual NLP," in *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Conference on Computational Natural Language Learning* (Sofia: Association for Computational Linguistics, 2013), 183–92.

[374] "gcld3: Google Compact Language Detector." Available at: https://github.com/google/cld3 (2021).

something that happens especially in letters containing lists of proper nouns (individuals, addresses). When no majority language existed, language was identified as "unknown" too. If the comparison of the results provided by the five libraries results in a tie, or if most libraries indicate the language as "unknown," it has been considered that the language could not be automatically retrieved with sufficient reliability. In such cases, the results considered as "unknown" have been cleaned manually.

In Table 6, I provide a table with the accuracy of each preprocessing step. For now, I can anticipate that the language detection model for typewritten letters has a 92.9%, accuracy according to its creators. A specific verification on the handwritten dataset was also conducted and, with a sample of 203 handwritten texts, we identified four errors, which constitutes a 98% accuracy. Errors mainly appeared in very short documents.

The results of the described pipeline are presented in Chapter 6, where I examine and compare language use in documents and correspondence. In the case of documents, a diachronic approach is possible given the fact that all documents are associated to their year of creation available in the metadata. For correspondence, such information is neither available nor easily retrievable via automatic parsing,[375] and for this reason only aggregated data will be offered. In the case of language detection, instead, I have decided to present some preliminary results for both handwritten and typewritten letters given the centrality of the topic in the present dissertation, even though it needs to be acknowledged that reliability is inferior for the first subset.

b) Tracking locations

To track entities, we used a subtask of NLP called Named Entity Recognition (NER)[376] to identify and classify named entities in the text. Named entities are specific objects or concepts that have a name, such as people, organizations, locations, dates, and other types of entities. The goal of NER is to automatically recognize and classify these named entities in text, and to extract information about them in a structured format. NER

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[375] Dates (and, thus, years) can be easily detected, but some ambiguity appears when ascertaining whether the year constitutes part of a letter's date or a mention in the text. Several attempts have been made to identify letters sharing a similar structure, which would make it possible to ascertain if a year is mentioned as part of the date or as part of the letter's body depending on its position. However, the formal heterogeneity in our corpus made this line of work inviable.

[376] Erik F. Tjong Kim Sang, Fien De Meulder, "Introduction to the CoNLL-2003 shared task: Language-independent named entity recognition," In *Proceedings of the Seventh Conference on Natural Language Learning at HLT-NAACL 2003* vol. 4 (2003), 142–47.

is usually done using machine learning techniques, such as supervised learning, where a model is trained to recognize and classify named entities. The use of NER tools to identify place names in historical sources (be they archival records, newspapers, or other types of sources), has grown in the last years and awakened considerable interest.[377] Despite the fact that considerable literature exists retracing the challenges encountered and their possible solutions, one of the main difficulties encountered in our case had to do with the fact that most existing bibliography focuses on single languages, rather than on a heterolingual corpora. Even though most correspondence in our corpus is written in French or English, we faced the challenge of language diversity regarding locations given the ICO's international scope. This means that, even though in most letters the body of the text is written in French or English, locations can be written in the most varied languages given the multiple origins of involved agents. This is precisely one of the challenges identified in existing literature on NER tools applied to historical sources.[378]

Location entity is a broad category that can include cities, countries, streets, squares, and so on, which is why I also describe the process followed to only select the entities enabling us to reconstruct the geographies of intellectual cooperation, which includes city and country mentions. Said perspective presents an analytic interest to reconstruct the geographies spanning the work of intellectual cooperation. Additionally, said information can also be used to infer potential translation needs. In what follows, I describe the pipeline followed to retrieve location entities (Figure 9).

To use NER on single letters, language detection was a necessary preliminary step, which has already been described in the previous section. Once the language was identified, we applied the TrueCasing technique to improve the reliability of words starting with a capital letter. Then, we explored several NER libraries to determine which

[377] For instance, see: Ian Gregory, Christopher Donaldson, Patricia Murrieta-Flores, and Paul Rayson, "Geoparsing, GIS, and textual analysis: current developments in spatial humanities research," *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing* 9 (2015): 1–14; C.J. Rupp, Paul Rayson, Ian Gregory, Andrew Hardie, Amelia Joulain, Daniel Hartmann, "Dealing with heterogeneous big data when geoparsing historical corpora," Paper *presented at the* 2014 IEEE International Conference on Big Data, Washington, DC, USA, 2014, 80–3; Miguel Won, Patricia Murrieta-Flores, and Bruno Martins, "Ensemble Named Entity Recognition (NER): Evaluating NER Tools in the Identification of Place Names in Historical Corpora. *Front. Digit. Humanit* 5 no. 2 (2018).
[378] Won, Murrieta-Flores, and Martins, "Ensemble Named Entity Recognition," 10.

one performed best with our dataset's features, including SpaCy,[379] NLTK,[380] and Stanza.[381] Although each pre-trained model is sensitive to detecting one type of entity or another, the category of location entities was common to all of them. The corresponding manual reviews led us to conclude that the Stanza library provided the best results.
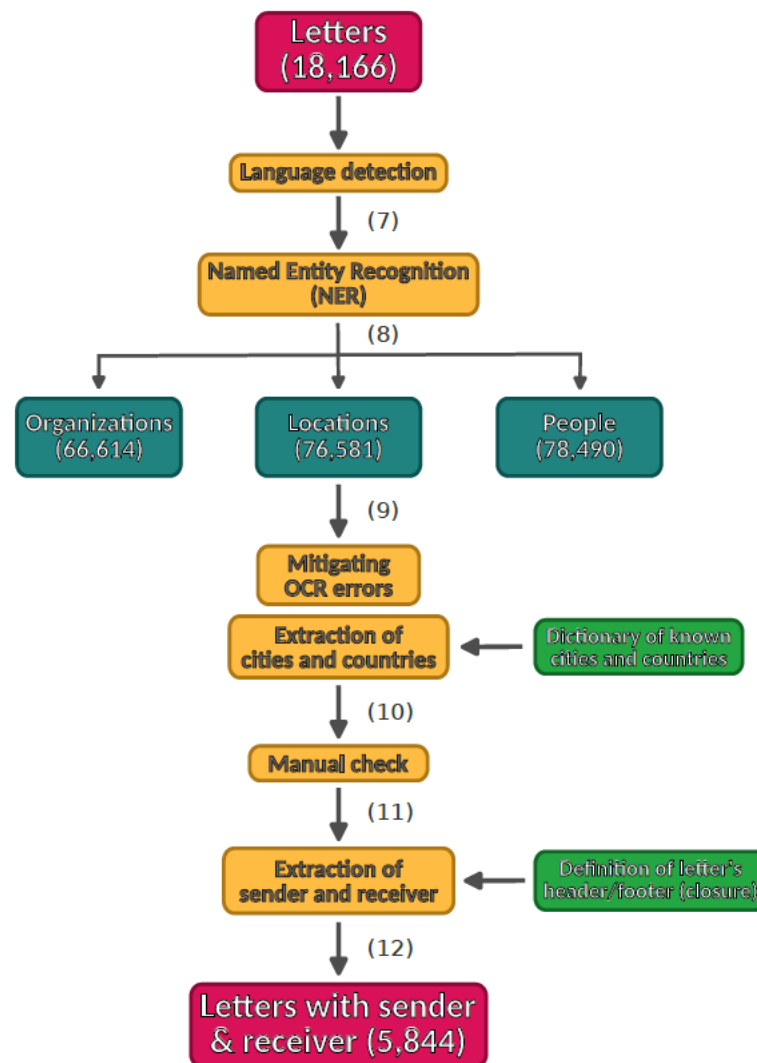
Figure 9. Pipeline used to retrieve geographical information from typewritten letters.

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[379] Montani Honnibal and Ines Montani, "spaCy 2: Natural language understanding with Bloom embeddings, convolutional neural networks and incremental parsing," (2017). Available at: https://spacy.io/

[380] NLTK: The Natural Language Toolkit. Available at: https://www.nltk.org/. (Last accessed: 01-01-2023); Steven Bird, Ewan Klein, and Edward Loper, *Natural Language Processing with Python: Analyzing Text with the Natural Language Toolkit* (Sebastopol, California: O'Reilly Media, 2009).

[381] Peng Qi, Yuhao Zhang, Yuhui Zhang, Jason Bolton, and Christopher D. Manning, "Stanza: A Python natural language processing toolkit for many human languages," in *Proceedings of the 58th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics: System Demonstrations* (Association for Computational Linguistics, July 5-July10, 2020), 101–08.

Stanza has a specific pre-trained model for entity identification for each language. Therefore, we applied the pre-trained Stanza model associated with each language (for French, the dominant language in our dataset, it has an F1 accuracy of 92.9).[382] After applying NER on the set of typewritten letters, 76,581 localization entities were identified. However, this extensive list of entities had errors due to the quality of the OCR process. To mitigate them, we designed a cleaning, normalizing and correcting process for misspelled entities. The 76,581 localization entities underwent a process of entity normalization, which included transformation to lowercase and suppression of numbers, punctuation marks, accents, unnecessary white spaces, and empty words. Subsequently, the entities were grouped, and the frequency of occurrence was counted, which left us with 2,240 unique entities. The manual check of the entities found led us to realize that some of them were just duplicates of existing ones due to typos (due to OCR errors). For this reason, we collapsed together candidates whose Levenshtein distance[383] was below a certain threshold. After this process, 2,191 mentions were corrected with an estimated accuracy of 99.5%, thus leaving us with a list of 21,049 unique entities. However, location entities cover all types of physical location or areas, including streets, squares, cities, countries, continents, etc. Since our interest is to discover the role that each state played in the functioning of intellectual cooperation, we decided to cross-reference the list of identified location entities with dictionaries of country and city names in French, English, and local languages. The dictionaries have the names of 41,000 cities worldwide and 200 countries described in the international standard ISO 3166.

In visualizations, the identified city and country names have been manually reconfigured to make a historical mapping close to the period of operation of the IIIC.[384] It has not been possible to retrieve the directionality of letters by automatic means given the diversity of formats letters present.

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[382] Qi et al. "Stanza: A Python natural language."

[383] The Levenshtein distance is a distance measuring the difference between two strings of text. Vladimir I. Levenshtein, "Binary codes capable of correcting deletions, insertions, and reversals," *Soviet physics. Doklady* 10 (1965): 707–10.

[384] One could have made a cross-check by searching for keywords (cities and countries) in the texts, however, it has been found that the available dictionaries have very diverse names, and many of the pre-established matches would have been misleading. Although the intermediate step of the NER guarantees that the mentions found in the texts refer to locations, it is true that not all the mentions found in the texts refer to locations. It is true that not all mentions are captured by the NER models. This may be due to the fact that these models require a context sentence for a correct identification of entities. For this reason, once a provisional list of 606 cities (belonging to 84 countries) and 75 countries explicitly mentioned was available, a manual cleaning was done to reject false identifications. After this manual cleaning, a search was made in the texts of the letters to enrich our dataset.

c) Tracking peoples' names

The second type of entity presenting interest in my work were individuals. Their interest has to do with the goal of investigating the central and peripheral actors in the history of intellectual cooperation. Identifying named peoples in the IIIC's archive is powerful information considered that said information can, in turn, be enriched to analyze aspects such as their nationality, gender, or occupation. Tracking people's names in our dataset required an ad hoc pipeline, summarized in a flux diagram in Figure 10 and hereafter described in more detail.

Similar to what has been described in the case of location entities, language identification was a preliminary step (7), as well as the selection of the best NER library (8). We identified people's NER using Stanza,[385] leading to the identification of 78,490 people in our dataset of correspondence (9). The following step (10) aimed at mitigating OCR errors. The long list of entities found by NER contains errors due to the quality of the OCR. To mitigate them, we have cleaned, normalised, and corrected misspelled entities. The 78,490 person entities underwent a normalisation process consisting in transforming them to lowercase, removing numbers, punctuation marks, accents, extra white spaces, and stop words. In the case of the list of persons, the traditional list of stop words from French, English and Spanish is supplemented by a manually generated list based on detected recurrent errors, which included 234 words often preceding or replacing proper nouns. This includes common nouns such as "Sir," or "Monsieur," "Madame," and their abbreviations, some adjectives ("Cher," "Dear," etc.), and some names referring to positions within organizations whose interpretation is context-dependent ("directeur," "president," "secretary," etc.). After that, identical entities were grouped together, and we extracted their number of mentions. This clustering procedure shrank down the number of unique entities from 78,490 to 38,793. Despite the considerable reduction of the list, a manual revision indicated that some of them still corresponded to the same individual. To further collapse the list, we sought to replace misspelled entities differing from one another by a few characters' permutation/replacement. To this aim, we developed a pipeline to cluster (i.e., group together) candidates corresponding to the same (correctly spelled) entity, which relies on machine learning algorithms.[386] In addition, the

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[385] Qi et al. "Stanza: A Python natural language."
[386] The algorithms used are the Chars2Vec and the AgglomerativeClustering, see: Levenshtein, "Binary codes"; chars2vec: Character-based word embeddings model based on RNN for handling real world texts. Available at: https://github.com/IntuitionEngineeringTeam/chars2vec.

OpenRefine tool[387] has been employed for a semi-manual cleansing process of individual records.
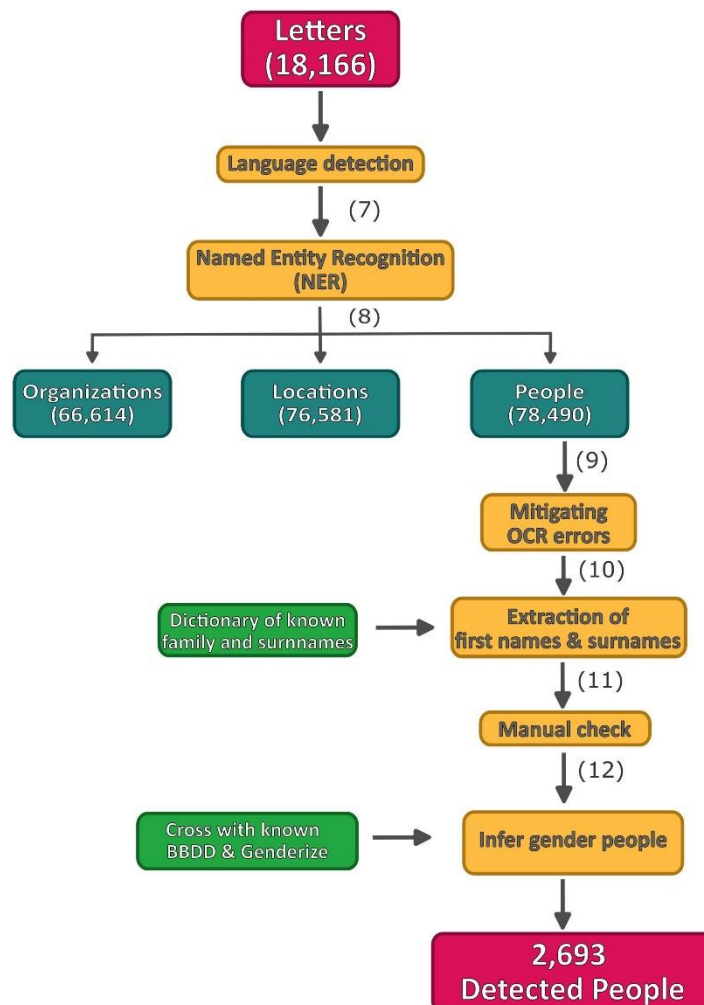
Figure 10. Pipeline used to retrieve person names from typewritten letters.

Simultaneously, instances arise where individuals are referenced with names truncated to a single letter; for example, Henri Bonnet is recurrently denoted as H. Bonnet. To address the variability in representing the names of the same individual, a standardization approach is implemented. Specifically, every individual whose first token is indicated by a single letter followed by a period is amalgamated with the most frequently mentioned candidate. This candidate is identified based on a matching surname for the second token and concordance in the initial letter of the first name between the entity and the candidate earmarked for replacement.

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[387] OpenRefine Community. Openrefine. Available at: https://github.com/OpenRefine/OpenRefine (2023).

Additionally, it should be considered that the person category within NER models can present ambiguity, often referring to individuals without specifying a distinct first name or surname. Instances, such as "President of the International Association X," exemplify this ambiguity. Despite the removal of some tokens during the text normalisation process, automatically assigning such mentions to individuals with both first and last names remains unfeasible. Consequently, our approach involved the selection of potential recognizable mentions containing at least one token that aligned with a comprehensive dictionary of surnames or first names. This was our subsequent step (11). These dictionaries encompass an extensive compilation, with over 109,000 first names and 151,000 surnames. An additional constraint was imposed, i.e., that the selected entities consisted of no more than 7 tokens and no fewer than 2 tokens.

Despite the rigorous requirements for any automated correction of entities, the refinement of the identified individuals concluded with a final step of manual verification (12), wherein researchers meticulously cleaned each entity. This meticulous manual verification proved invaluable in standardizing the order of names and in facilitating subsequent efforts to enhance each individual's information through cross-referencing with other databases. Following this step, meticulous process, a total of 17,688 mentions were consolidated into 2,693 distinct individuals.

With said list at hand, and to maximize our work's analytical potential, we enriched our database with additional information. Each identified individual was cross-referenced with four[388] selected databases that, we reckoned, could be potentially relevant given their main foci: LONSEA,[389] WikiData,[390] a repository elaborated by Martin Grandjean focusing on individuals associated with the ICIC,[391] and a repository created by the GlobaLS group in NodeGoat, featuring manually indexed individuals (see section 4.3.2 for a detailed description of our Nodegoat dataset). We leveraged the information for each entity, as the sources are sometimes complementary. For instance, LONSEA

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[388] In 2023, when this dissertation was close to completion, an additional tool was created that could potentially be added to cross-referenced datasets. This is VisuaLeague, an interactive digital research tool created by scholars from the University of Copenhagen and comprising data prosopographical data for the League of Nations Secretariat. It can be consulted at: https://internationallaw.ku.dk/research-projects/visualizing-the-league-of-nations-secretariat--a-digital-research-tool/. For more information, see: Haakon A. Ikonomou, Yuan Chen, Obaida Hanteer, Jonas Tilsted "Visualizing the League of Nations Secretariat - a Digital Research Tool" (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2023)

[389] To be noted that the LONSEA database was elaborated by building on the *Handbook of International Organisations*, edited by he LON between 1921 to 1938. More information is available at: LONSEA: Searching the Globe through the lenses of the League of Nations. http://www.lonsea.de/

[390] Ibid.

[391] Available at: https://www.wikidata.org/

provides nationality, whereas Grandjean's repository includes information about the role played in the ICIC. Additionally, this integration of data not only enhances contextualization but also adds robustness to values in variables shared across datasets, such as gender, a consistent piece of information present in all the considered datasets. Table 5 describes the degree of overlap between our dataset of 2,693 names and the four databases, with the last column indicating the percentage of our corpus overlapping with each one of them.[392]

Dataset	People in Dataset	People Overlapping with Our Corpus	Percentage of our corpus overlapping
Nodegoat	9,712	414	15.37 %
GitHub Grandjean	3,203	72	2.67 %
LONSEA	12,359	69	2.56 %
Wikidata	3,541	198	7.35 %

Table 5. Overlap between datasets

As Table 5 illustrates, the degree of overlap was rather low in most cases. Hence, we decided to dig more into the analysis of entities by inferring their gender. This is gender inference from names and other words accompanying them. Previously, we discussed entity normalisation following the removal of stop words such as courteous expressions. Nevertheless, some of these expressions, such as "Madame," "Sir," or "Mrs.," can contribute to gender inference, especially if considered that they are found in 41% of detected individuals. An additional tool employed to complete gender information was the Genderize model,[393] which predicts gender based on the given name. Even though the

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[392] This table presents certain analytic interest. It sheds light on the degree of overlap or similarity between the people having corresponded with the IIIC (our dataset) one the one hand, and, one the other, people retrieved when using the ICIC's archival records (Grandjean's dataset), the LON's (LONSEA dataset). It also sheds light on correspondent's overlap with agents having a Wikidata page. The overlap is inferior to 12% of said datasets in all cases, which is quite low, but its interpretation varies according to each database. The highest overlap corresponds to our Nodegoat database, but this can be overlooked, given that the latter was mainly elaborated by manually indexing correspondence from Subseries F in the series Correspondence, which is one of the sources employed for automatically-extracted data. The second is with Wikidata. The existence of a Wikidata page for mentioned individuals can be read as a measure of historical consecration. Therefore, the fact that only 5.59% of agents mentioned in our database appear in Wikidata suggests that, next to a small group of well-known correspondents, most of the IIIC's correspondents were not renowned figures. In the case of Grandjean's dataset, the low overlap suggests that the IIIC was key in establishing relations with external agents, agents that were not linked to the ICIC. Said 2.67 % would constitute the core community composed by individuals who, irrespective of their formal institutional adscription, had a transversal involvement with the different bodies composing the ICO. Finally, in the case of LONSEA, results are not surprising given the fact that the LON deployed its activities in a vast number of domains other than intellectual cooperation.
[393] https://genderize.io/

accuracy of this model may fluctuate depending on the origin of the given name,[394] we verified that, within the segment of individuals with gender already inferred by other databases, the accuracy under the same criteria reached 99.4%. Having been applied to the full list, we ended up with gender information being deducted for a total of 2,247 individuals, that is, 83% of the total detected individuals.

d) Linking the described workflow with subsequent analytical work: some considerations

The SNOP project has been given the opportunity to examine the application of tools involved in digitization of historical materials, manual and automatic indexing, as well as new analytical tools like those provided by data and network sciences. The workflow followed in said domain entailed a series of decisions that have appurtenant implications for the analytical work that can be done based on said materials. Several considerations are therefore necessary.

a) The decision to focus on Subseries A and F needs to be critically examined before drawing conclusions. From the original dataset contained in the IIIC's funds in its entirety, which contains 2,726 PDF files (or 557,455 sheets), we have applied several preprocessing decisions that have ultimately left us with a dataset of 62,192 typewritten letters. The dataset's representative character could be questioned given that this constitutes, roughly, 11% of the initial dataset. Even though the number appears to be relatively low, 11% of the initial dataset is even more than what is generally manually explored. Put it otherwise, manual indexing or traditional close reading works based on an inferior number of sources. From this standpoint, the conclusions are quantitatively relevant.

b) The same issue can be considered from an exclusively quantitative perspective. By choosing only a part of the complete dataset, we created a fragmentary dataset, which can pose interpretative challenges for analytical work. Of course, all preprocessing decisions have been made for justifiable

[394] Fariba Karimi, Claudia Wagner, Florian Lemmerich, Mohsen Jadidi, and Markus Strohmaier, "Inferring Gender from Names on the Web: A Comparative Evaluation of Gender Detection Methods," In *Proceedings of the 25th International Conference Companion on World Wide Web* (Geneva: Association for Computer Machinery, 2016), 53–54.

reasons (technical problems, time considerations, etc.) and to maximize result reliability.

c) In some preprocessing decisions, potential biases can be introduced. For example, the fact that we work with typewritten and not handwritten letters can introduce a bias in terms of the writing conditions. Manual indexing work also provided me with a finer acknowledgment of the material features of letters, which in this case meant problematizing who wrote handwritten or typewritten letters. People occupying more stable, distinguished, or institutionalized positions appear to be more likely to write typewritten letters, given that often there was a stenographer typing them. This is generally the case of people working for the diplomatic arena or in public institutions. On the contrary, people collaborating with the IIIC occasionally, in addition or in margin from their formal occupations, are less likely to use paper with a letterhead and to write themselves their own letters. This is often the case of university professors as well as translators, hence suggesting that a focus on typewritten letters may introduce a class bias.

It should be considered that, in each preprocessing step, the methodology employed entails a certain degree of error, derived either from the fact that letters are heterogeneous, or from limitations intrinsic to the employed methods. The error of each preprocessing step can be measured, as Table 6 illustrates. However, quantification of error is of little help for the final interpretative work on the obtained results. The question I was faced with, therefore, was when the accumulated error was high enough to question the validity of the obtained results. The answer to that question can differ depending on the researcher's goal and perspective. In my experience, a historian working with DH tools will not have the same answer as a data scientist or a physicist. In said context, and even though the initial intention was to reconstruct networks from automatically indexed data, I decided to examine the latter with statistical and visualization tools, rather than with tools of network science. Instead, I have delved into some network analysis by drawing on manually indexed materials.

Step	Estimated error	Size test	Data input	Data Output
1			837 PDFs	146,561 individual image pages
2	Class 0 - Predicted empty sheet: 1.5% Class 1 - Predicted written sheet: 0.2%	Class 0: 500 sheets Class 1: 500 sheets	146,561 individual image pages	85,967 pages predicted as images with text
3	NER - Typewritten text: 8% NER - Handwritten text: 32%		85,967 sheets	85,967 sheets
4	2.9% of pages could not be combined into one document	630 random pages	85,967 sheets	81,343 files
5	Class 0 - Predicted handwritten image: 35.3% Class 1 - Predicted typewritten image: 0.6% 1852 images	1852 images	81,343 files	62,192 typewritten files
6	Class 0 - Predicted attached file: 6.6% Class 1 - Predicted letter: 1.9%	389 files	62,192 typewritten files	18,136 typewritten letters (12,230 in subs. A; 5,906 in subs. F)
7	-	-	18,136 typewritten letters	
8	Following the Stanza documentation for French model it has an F1 accuracy of 92.9	-	18,136 typewritten letters	23,240 unique localization entities
9	5% of replacements are not correct 500 candidates for replacement	500 candidates for replacement	23,240 unique localization entities	21,049 unique localization entities

Table 6. Estimated error in each preprocessing step

The previous considerations do not mean that experimental work with automatically indexed data should be dismissed. As it is often the case, the problem lies not in the tool, but on whether said tool serves to fulfill the purpose one seeks. Given my research questions, I decided to use automatically indexed data to facilitate traditional historiographical work and eventually point toward research hypothesis, but I have refrained from proposing ambitious analytical conclusions on automatically indexed data.

4.3.2. Nodegoat, or a tool for manual indexing

As has been grasped in the previous section, automatic indexing presented several challenges. For this reason, and considering the interest in the relational dimension, I have used SNA on a subset that was manually indexed. I refer to Subsubseries VI "Collection de Culture Ibéro-Américaine" in the IIIC's archive (UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI), which contains letters sent from or received by the IIIC in relation to the publication of the Ibero-American Collection, a collection of literary translations edited by the IIIC (see Chapter 10). To model said letters, we have built a relational model using Nodegoat, a web-based research environment designed for scholars working in the humanities.[395] Nodegoat is a tool for data management, analysis, and visualization. As a data management tool, all SNOP subprojects relied on the same data model designed by Dr. Ventsislav Ikoff. Nodegoat also enables users to explore data by means of spatial and temporal visualizations and perform basic computation on data organized into networks. The data model we have used includes the indexation of the following fields: correspondents (name of sender and receiver, and whether they sent or received a letter in the name of some organization or institution), locations (city of sender and receiver), and date (and degree of certainty). It also included some additional fields, such as the language of the letter, keywords, referred people, events, organizations and publications. In our analysis, we have decided not to use the fields "keywords" and "subject" given their subjective character and the difficulties in homogenizing criteria given that letters' indexing was carried out by several people (Figure 11).

Filling most of the fields turned out to be straightforward, although some caveats deserve to be mentioned. If we first focus on the identification of sender and receiver, in most letters, they could be clearly identified. When one of the two was not mentioned, this could sometimes be solved by framing one single letter into its broader conversation, that is, its surrounding letters. Since letters were preserved and digitized in a chronological order, it is not rare to find several consecutive letters, thus facilitating the identification of sender or receiver, either because the other person mentioned the name of his or her addressee, or because a name that was written in an unclear way appeared written in another letter, etc.

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[395] Available at: https://nodegoat.net/

Figure 11. Appearance of the Nodegoat database with the designed data model.

Sometimes, a single agent held a formal position in a specific collective body, but correspondence sometimes explicitly mentions that a given letter was sent in an individual capacity. In some cases, the sender or the receiver were clearly mentioned, but a qualitative reading nuanced her identity. This was especially the case of letters sent to the IIIC as an institution or to one of its directors, which had another final addressee, such as the official working in one of the sections. However, their names do not always appear

159

explicitly mentioned and this overdimensionates the role of the directors. The participation of stenographers and other assistant figures adds another layer of information (and hence difficulty) in the identification of sender and receiver, a layer that we have not systematically tried to exploit.[396] In identifying an agent's name during manual indexing, marginalia, such as signatures, manual notes, and other inscriptions in the margins, have been useful as well. Spaces were also generally mentioned, and they did not present a specific difficulty. Instead, some challenges aroused when generating visual representations, which are mostly based on contemporary territorial regimes. Dating letters did not present great challenges either, with exceptions being found especially in incoming letters. In such cases, it is important to note that letters received at the IIIC contain a stamp indicating the reception date at the IIIC, which has been very useful to provide some clue on when the letter could have been written. In some cases, the existence of several exchanges as part of a single conversation also provided the necessary elements to infer approximate dates.

Nodegoat was also used to organize information regarding the IIIC's workforce's native and working languages. To that end, Ventislsav Ikoff, Alexandra Orduña, Jimena del Solar Escardó and myself manually perused staff folders in order to find information on language skills. This can include explicit mentions of their language skills or implicit indices enabling us to confidently assume one agent's language skills. Finally, manual indexed letters have also been used to examine the agents involved in the editorial project of the Ibero-American Collection (Chapter 10, Section 10.1.2). The idea of networks has benefited from a clear interest in the last decades in the SSH. In the field of literature and translation, its interest has been attributed mainly to the fact that it enables us to overcome strictly national boundaries and rather, reconstruct collectivities in a more deductive and less apriorist way, that is, from interactions. In other words, two agents can be completely unrelated in a social network reconstructed through the letters preserved in the IIIC

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[396] However, pursuing this line of research could provide very interesting insights for a bottom-up approach to the IIIC's history. In this sense, it is worth noting that most letters written by the personnel of the IIIC, especially from the end of the 1920s onwards, contain at the beginning the initials of the stenographer and author. See for example, Figure 12a, where the letter starts with the letters "JT," which corresponds to Dominique Braga's secretary, Jeanne Taburet. It should be noted that the IIIC's funds contains one folder with that name ("File 28.43 - Personnel de l'Institut - Taburet Jeanne") and another folder referring to J. Tabureau ("File 28.119 - Personnel de l'Institut - Tabureau, J."). The second contains only two handwritten letters from 1939, with their signature being consistent with Taburet's. Given that file 28.43 contains extensive documents created between 1931 and 1939, it is reasonable to state that "Tabureau" constitutes an involuntary mistake produced when letters were archived.

archive, but perfectly know each other and work together on a regular basis. It also means that reconstructed networks do not provide any kind of information on if, how, and when one agent met another one. This fact needs to be taken as an analytical or methodological precaution, especially in the interpretation of reconstructed networks. Additionally, it ought to be considered that said networks were not self-contained but crisscrossed with other processes and networks.
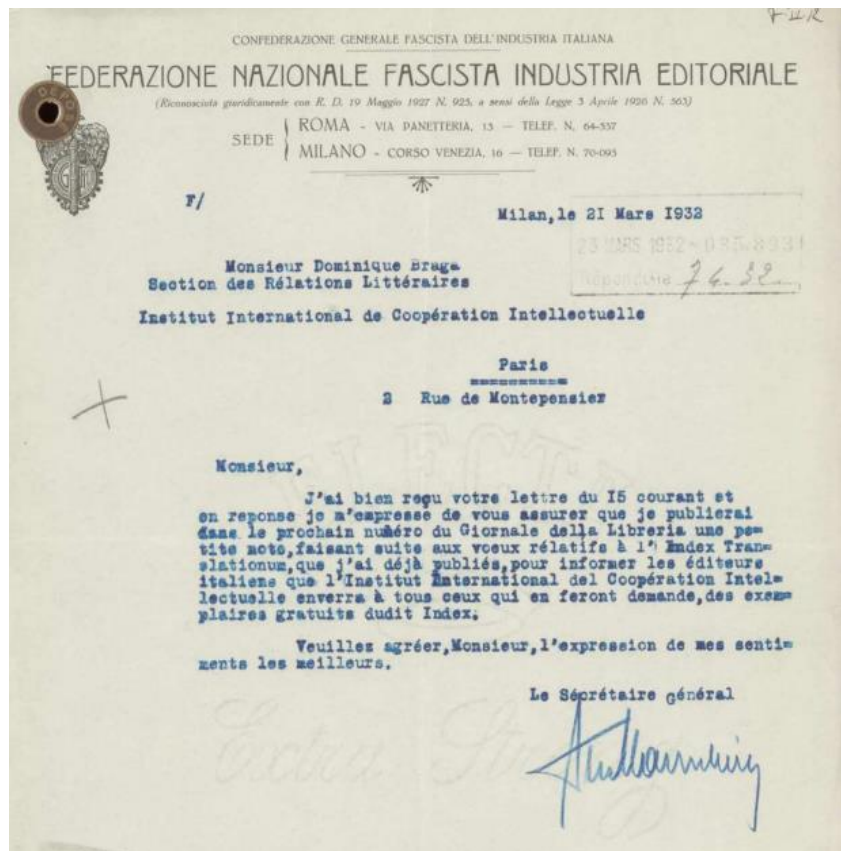
Figure 12. Letters preserved in the IIIC's archive illustrating the different position and format of sender and receiver, as well as of dates.

JT-17-12-31

Fig.12

Monsieur,

M.BRAGA craint que sa lettre du 14 ne soit arrivée à Madrid après votre départ. Il me charge donc de vous redire combien il aura plaisir à vous voir à la réunion de demain...Peut-être même cet après-midi à l'Institut, s'il vous est possible de venir avant quatre heures. En tout cas, en son absence, vous pourrez demander son collaborateur, M.JAHIER, qui vous remettra toute la documentation sur la Bibliographie des Traductions, recueillie à l'intention des Experts.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments distingués.

Secrétaire de M.BRAGA.

Monsieur Enrique DIEZ CANEDO
45 bd.St.Michel
PARIS

Mons. D. Braga,   28th October, 1931.
International Institute of Intellectual
            Co-operation,
PARIS 1,
2, Rue de Montpensier,
F R A N C E.

31 OCT 1951 - 032.910

Répondu le 14.11.1

Dear Mr. Braga,

I have deferred acknowledging the letter I received

from you a few days ago in anticipation that I should hear from

M. Louis Hachette, but I have not yet done so.

I am flattered by the suggestion that I should take

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Monsieur D. Braga,
Institut de Cooperation Intellectuelle,
2 rue de Montpensier,
PARIS.(1)

JANV 1932 - 031.380

Répondu le 7/1/33

Dear Sir,

Conclusions to Part 1. The construction of the object: crisscrossing the object with theory and methods

In Part 1, I have presented the main pillars supporting the present research, which include historiographical work, a carefully considered and problematized theoretical framework that I put in dialogue with my research object, and a methodology determined by epistemological considerations. As I have shown, this dissertation undertakes to exploit in a heuristic way the potential of multiple convergences between several disciplines marked by the global turn, which includes translation studies, sociology, history, and international relations.

In Chapter 1, I have started by examining existing bibliography on the history of the ICO, as well as some contributions addressing the LON from the perspective of language and translation and its involvement in dynamics of symbolic power. Then, I have identified a series of gaps in the state of the art related to the ICO's policymaking procedure and the different agents and agencies involved, gaps whose answers I have sought during the process of reconstruction of the ICO's translation policy. In Sections 1.3, 1.4, and 1.5, I systematized the presentation of materials providing those answers to better address the process of policymaking within the ICO. Said materials become operative in Chapter 2 to start adapting the definition of the concept "translation policy" to the ICO's specificities.

In Chapter 2, I have reframed the analysis of the ICO into the domain of TS. I have started with an overview of the state of the art addressing translation and, or in, institutions in the field of TS, with a special emphasis on the main concepts in that domain: institutional translation, translation policy, and official translation. Said overview has led me to choose the concept of translation policy as a flexible umbrella term to make sense of the ICO's activities related to translation, while also using the other concepts to refer to more concrete translation practices. Then, in Section 2.2, to ground the definition of the concept to the features of the selected agent, I have then linked the reconstruction of the ICO's functioning and policymaking to the characterization of the resulting translation policy. In the same section I have delved into the disciplinary ascription of historical approaches to translation. Finally, in Section 2.3 I have broadened the scope and linked the topic of translation policies to relations between translation and globalization given the intrinsic link between the latter and IOs. By doing so, I justify the interest in addressing the ICO's translation policy with a view to broader social processes,

in this case, globalization processes. In this way, I link my own research on translation policies to social and sociological approaches to translation.

In Chapter 3, I have presented the main analytical perspective animating my research work and my construction of the object, field theory, a theoretical framework I apply by drawing on recent revisions proposed from the perspective of global studies and relational thinking. This reinforces the step taken in Section 2.3.2 to link the ICO to the analysis of globalization processes. Against the backdrop of said approach, I have proposed to approach the ICO as a space to tackle the multiscalar architecture of two social fields, the intellectual and the political one. Rather than approaching it from the perspective of a single field, I propose to examine the ways power relations between fields can be analyzed in its functioning. The perspective of inter-field relations is beneficial to work beyond disciplinary compartmentalization. Since the disciplinary adscription of the analyst often implicitly confers prevalence to one field and one logic over the other, approaching the ICO as a space to analyze inter-field relations appears as a more suitable way to acknowledge the way different field-specific logics shaped its functioning. By doing so, I try to mobilize a revised theoretical framework to consider the ICO's peculiar structure and functioning, or what is the same, its Janus-faced and even multidimensional character. Within the ICO, intellectual and political logics and strategies coexist, as well as national and international logics and strategies.

In Chapter 4, I have elaborated on the methodology used, which consists in the combined use of qualitative and quantitative research methods. In Section 4.1, I present the main sources available to examine the history of intellectual cooperation and delve into some source criticism. Then, in Section 4.2, I have discussed the combined use of qualitative and quantitative methods. Finally, in Section 4.3, I have described the workflow followed to examine relations from the IIIC's correspondence with quantitative methods and presented this project's aimed contributions in methodological terms.

As can be grasped, the four pillars are intimately related: the ICO and translation constitute a single object, rather than agent and object, given their mutually constitutive relations. Theory, beyond the interest of this case study, constitutes a way to reconsider both the very nature of translation ad cooperation as social activities, as well as the scales of human action and their complex relations. Finally, the selection of a given methodology enters in direct dialogue with the relational reading of field theory presented in Chapter 3, hence linking methodology to theoretical and epistemological considerations regarding the role of relations in our construction of the world.

Part 2. Translation and language policies as means to shape institutional identity

Introduction. International communication as a precondition for the functioning of an international institutional network

Language and translation policies of national and international organizations are a hot topic today in the political debate. The increase in migration flows confronts national governments with new communicative needs in public services. Scholars analyzing current institutional translation practices have linked the existence of translation services with democratic participation, with the term "translational justice" being today used in that framework.[397] In the case of IOs, other types of debates exist in relation to language and translation policies. While writing the present dissertation, debates regarding the recognition of Catalan, Basque, and Galician as official EU languages became a recurrent topic in newspapers and TV news, following a result from a Spanish general election that conferred strategic relevance to Catalanist parties. Debates following said request were oriented in directions that directly echo the topics covered in the following chapters. Catalan and Spanish representatives advocating for said languages' recognition use arguments referring to equality and justice, and complain about the EU's defective representation, defining the situation in terms of "democratic anomaly."[398] Reluctant officers, instead, refer to economic costs, possible legal consequences and, in some cases, fears of a domino effect.[399] Even though all indicates that said demand will not prosper, the debate constitutes one contemporary manifestation of the actuality of the topic examined in the present dissertation, namely, IO's language and translation policies. The arguments advanced by both sides exemplify, in a nutshell, the issues at play: a question of political representation and representativity with strong bearing from a symbolic standpoint, as well as an economic and legal issue. These are the topics that will be tackled in this dissertation's Part 2 by examining the ICO's (and the LON's) language and translation policies, which includes looking at official practices and discourses but also at unofficial ones and at challenges to institutionalized dynamics.

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[397] Reine Meylaerts, "Translational Justice in a Multilingual World: An Overview of Translational Regimes," *Meta* 56 no. 4 (2011): 743–57.

[398] Aitor Hernández-Morales, "Madrid and Barcelona team up in effort to make Catalan an EU language," Politico, September 19, 2023. https://www.politico.eu/article/madrid-and-barcelona-team-up-in-effort-to-make-catalan-an-eu-language/

[399] For example, quoting several anonymous EU officials, the same journalist wrote that "If Catalan, Galician and Basque are recognized, other European linguistic groups might also demand the same official status." Ibid.

In Part 1, I have elaborated on the ICO's composite character. The latter needs to be understood as a network organization with a global horizon in which multiple institutions and social groups cooperated. The establishment of fluid communication constitutes one of the key preconditions for any process of group formation and, therefore, for any successful undertaking presenting a network dynamic and spanning across multiple geographies and linguistic groups. As history shows, multiple solutions have been practiced circumventing the challenges derived from inter-lingual communication, among them, the use of international languages, the recourse to mediating figures, or code-mixing. By metonymy, it can be stated that in the case of the LON and its technical bodies, successful communication was a basic mechanism to ensure functional cooperation between members and with third parties. It was also one of the main means through which said bodies constructed their institutional identity vis-à-vis an emerging global public opinion. Be it in order to conduct their work from a practical perspective, to obtain information about the practices in national fields, or to publicize and legitimize themselves, communication was the fundamental yet invisible cornerstone of a massive institutional structure. Approaching the LON's and the ICO's functioning from the perspective of their language and translation policies constitutes a way to analyze the very concrete practices that underpinned the functioning of said international network, as well as some of the challenges they were faced with.

If the focus is narrowed to the ICO's work, the weight of communication for said cooperative endeavor emerged in the ICIC's very first session, held in August 1922. That session was devoted to identifying future lines of work given that the latter, in practice, had not yet been defined.[400] Therein, Spanish engineer Leonardo Torres Quevedo tried to address the issue of international languages. He was a speaker of Esperanto, which situates him as somebody that had devoted considerable attention to the challenges for cross-border communication. It is hence not surprising that, in his view, languages were at the core of the ICIC's mission. However, in the first session, Henri Bergson, who chaired the meeting, squashed his proposal by referring to the fact that the LON was dealing with the matter and that the Committee would be going beyond its scope if delving

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[400] "The work of the Committee, the scope of which had not been strictly defined, either by the Council or by the Assembly, was to submit to the Assembly a report on the steps to be taken by the League to facilitate intellectual relations between peoples, particularly in respect of the communication of scientific information." "Opening Speech of Dr. Nitobe," League of Nations, Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation. Minutes of the First Session Geneva, August 1-5, 1922. UN Archives, C-711-M-423-1922-XII_EN.

into it.[401] The weight of languages in the work of intellectual cooperation appeared again a few days later, in the sixth meeting. Several Committee members had discussed the possibility of obtaining the collaboration of academies, universities, and other intellectual societies by organizing conferences where they would meet. In Torres Quevedo's view, the latter would be

> rendered impracticable by the difficulty of convening an assembly of this nature, and particularly by the difficulty which such an assembly would experience in reaching conclusions by means of discussions between a considerable number of persons speaking different languages (…). Oral discussions are not adapted to the settlement of questions the solution of which often depends upon statistical data and upon information which must be kept well in mind at the moment when a decision is taken.[402]

In Torres Quevedo's view, the difficult articulation between the complexity of discussed topics and the immediacy of oral communication, appeared as some of the main challenges recommending written communications as the main method to promote intellectual cooperation, to which he added the challenge of language diversity. In his argumentation, he defended that the ICIC's work should focus on enabling the exchange of written communications and, thus, acting as a communication center. He proposed that the ICIC printed conclusions of the main debates in the different intellectual subfields with suggestions regarding solutions to problems under study, subsequently translated them into French or English, and circulated

> these translations by sending to each country likely to be interested in any particular question a certain number of copies for distribution among the learned societies. At the same time, it [the ICIC] will request such societies to send in their replies as soon as possible, such replies to be written in any language in common use.[403]

As the previous quote illustrates, for Torres-Quevedo, inter-lingual communication challenges were at the heart of problems of intellectual cooperation and, for this reason, he identified the ICIC's mission with their reduction. With that aim, he imagined an ICIC acting as a center of international communication that would distribute and translate documents between countries. His view was, however, not dominant, as communication problems were not considered equally relevant by all participants. On that occasion, his proposal went quite unnoticed, and one of the session's conclusions approved the

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[401] "Question of an International Language," Ibid.

[402] "20. Proposal by M. de Torres Quevedo concerning the Direct Collaboration of Academies, Universities, Learned Societies, etc. in the Organization of Intellectual Work," Ibid.

[403] Ibid.

organization of a university international conference without any reference to communication issues. Despite this result, his intervention anticipated some of the challenges the organization would soon face. In this regard, his intervention can be further unpacked. A certain contrast can be noticed in the mention of languages in which country representatives could write their replies, in which case a certain flexibility can be grasped in the expression "any language in common use," and the languages the ICIC would translate them into, which were specifically limited to French and English, that is, the two official languages of the LON. This distinction perfectly conveys a tension that would mark the ICO's functioning throughout its existence: on the one hand, the logics specific to the intellectual field, where multiple languages "in common use" could be employed. On the other hand, an international organization created under the auspices of the LON, therefore bound by the latter's official language policy to use English and French. The fact that challenges related to inter-lingual communication emerged in the ICO's seminal work preannounces, I contend, the strategic function that communication strategies would play in the ICO's functioning. At the same time, the mitigated reception Torres Quevedo's proposal received also illustrates the issue's thorny nature.

Issues related to languages and translation appeared multiple times in the organization's future work. The latter, however, was marked by multiple changes. The ICIC's subsequent development into a permanent body, the creation of the IIIC and, more broadly, the transformation of the ICO into a composite institutional network introduced, in turn, a division of tasks between them, with specific needs emerging in relation to them. It soon became evident that language and translation challenges were a concern when trying to circulate information from the national fields to the international, but also the other way round. The Paris and Geneva headquarters had wide interest in communicating their work among national organization and interested third parties. The number of publications issued in the framework of intellectual cooperation, edited either by the LON, the IIIC, or NCIC, reflects the importance of external communication. At the same time, each body's specificities must be articulated with the way each body complemented each other, which suggests the need to relationally analyze strategies to overcome communication challenges. In this regard, translation constitutes one way to examine how decisions made by one body determined the needs or functions of other agents in the network. In other words, it begs for a relational approach to the history of intellectual cooperation.

In the present chapter, I take as my starting point the hypothesis that communication strategies with personnel, collaborators, and interested parties constituted crucial mechanisms to shape institutional agency. *Loquor, ergo agens sum*, proposed a sociologist.[404] As such, in Part 2, I focus on institutional translation as one of the components constituting the ICO's translation policy, a term with which can be designed the cases where "regulatory organizational systems (i.e., institutions) that operate in a multilingual environment (…) employ translation in performing their governing function."[405] Following Koskinen, it can be argued that "governing is in any ways a discursive practice. It largely relies on text-based documentation, and governing institutions come into being in and through their texts,"[406] thus stressing the potential of analyzing translation policies to shed light on broader social issues. In the present chapter, I analyze institutional translation within the bodies composing the ICO to examine if or how the latter contributed to building institutional identities. This includes looking into the translation practices conducted within the analyzed institutions (in official documents or in correspondence, i.e., to manage their communication flows) and the place devoted to translation within their administrative apparatuses. In this regard, some of the questions that will be addressed in the following chapters include: Did the ICIC first and the IIIC then act as the communications office Torres Quevedo envisioned? To what extent did the ICIC and the IIIC engage in translation activities in the framework of their functioning? How did language and translation practices reflect the interplay between lingua francas and translation? What were the language uses promoted in incoming and outgoing communications? What role did translation play in shaping their institutional identity and legitimacy? How was translation organized within the administrative structure of the bodies constituting the ICO? Who performed translation tasks within the ICO, and what were their skills?

To answer such questions, in Chapter 5, I discuss the LON from the perspective of languages and translation. More precisely, drawing on Baigorri-Jalón's work[407] and complementing it with material from the LON's archive, I examine the ways institutional translation was organized at the LON (Section 5.1). This includes the analysis of the

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[404] Alessandro Duranti, "Agency in Language" in *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 455.

[405] Koskinen, "Institutional translation: the art of," 3.

[406] Ibid., 5.

[407] Baigorri-Jalón, *From Paris to Nuremberg*.

position of translation within the administrative organization of the LON's Secretariat (Subsection 5.1.1), as well as the maximization of the LON's language services through non-professional translators (Subsection 5.1.2). Alternatives to translation were also laid on the table. In Section 5.2, I reconstruct the main debates regarding the LON's official languages and the eventual use of international languages, which include multiple debates regarding international languages, national languages, and translation (Subsection 5.2.1). Then, I focus on the ICIC's language and translation policy, with emphasis on occasions where the LON's language and translation policies were directly challenged (Subsection 5.2.2). In Chapters 6 and 7, I focus specifically on the ways the institutional translation was organized and performed at the IIIC. Said body presents a special interest given its function of managing contacts with intellectual milieu. More precisely, in Chapter 6, I investigate the place of translation within the IIIC's internal organization and devote specific attention to the IIIC's administrative staff (Section 6.1), as well as to the function of collaborators in relation to language and translation tasks (Section 6.2). Chapter 7 contains a large-scale analysis of the IIIC's communication flows through archival funds. In this framework, I analyze language use in preserved documents and correspondence (7.1). In Section 7.2, I argue that source criticism provides precious information to identify speech and translation practices in the IIIC's daily work. I then crisscross the previous considerations with the reconstruction of the geographies of intellectual cooperation (7.3). Part 2 closes with partial conclusions that put into dialogue aspects mentioned in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

5. Languages and Translation in Debate at the LON

Several international languages have existed throughout history. Latin was, at least until the 18th century, the language of diplomatic exchange in Europe, then replaced by French thanks the diplomatic activity developed by France under the reign of Louis XIV.[408] The preeminence of Latin, therefore, teetered from the early eighteenth century and French became, especially during the 19th century, the most common language used in diplomatic relations and international meetings. The 1920s were indeed the period that saw the hegemony of French challenged. Baigorri-Jalón has extensively described the fact that the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and the LON constituted two scenarios where the "battle of languages" deployed, marking the end of the French linguistic hegemony and the emergence of English as a new international lingua franca[409] Indeed, during the preparatory stages of the Paris Peace Conference, the context seemed extremely favorable to the use of French, especially if considered the established tradition to use French as the language of diplomacy, the fact that France was one of the main scenarios of the Great War, as well as the fact that the conference was held in France, with its chair being French. And despite the latter, the LON "institutionalized French and English as the only acceptable official languages at the League,"[410] thus becoming one of the first international bodies to confer such a position to English.[411] By selecting these two languages for international communication, the LON challenged the previous hegemony of French as the language of diplomacy and international relations and consecrated in the symbolic domain the ongoing shift of power in the international chessboard, with the new dominance of the United States after the Great War.

In parallel, the same period witnessed a quantitative and qualitative development in the practice of translation and interpreting. The LON and its technical bodies were an especially relevant scenario for this process given the communication needs that aroused from their international scope. Be it in the framework of documents and letters exchange, or to enable participants in events to understand each other, said bodies were confronted to the need to find solutions satisfying their practical needs, while also bearing special attention to the symbolic dimensions comprised in their decisions and practices. The use

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[408] Baigorri-Jalón, *From Paris*, 19.
[409] Ibid., 20-27.
[410] Biltoft, *A Violent Peace,* 42.
[411] David Crystal, *English as a Global Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 86.

of neutral international languages, the consecration of national languages as international languages, and translation and interpreting constituted different solutions to intrinsic problems in dynamics of international communication. In the present chapter, I examine the ways the three solutions intermingled with each other. More precisely, I reconstruct the place translation occupied within the LON's administrative structure and delve into some details regarding the ways the LON's communication needs were satisfied. Then, in this chapter's second part, I link the latter to debates regarding international languages and national languages' use at the LON. Therein, I also provide an example of the ways debates regarding the ICO's language and translation policies potentially threatened the broader functioning of the LON. I conclude Chapter 5 five with partial conclusions.

5.1. Institutional translation within the LON's structure

In recent years, the LON's internal functioning has awakened growing interest.[412] The issue of language could "preserve or contest the reigning world picture"[413] and from this perspective, it was far from incidental. The study of translation practices within the LON's functioning can be framed against this backdrop and related to other departments' work essential to that body's functioning, such as finance, library, or register and archives. More precisely, translation is to be linked to activities granting what today would be included in the organization's data management, next to stenography or précis writing,[414] and typing and duplicating of documents. It is often mentioned that French and English were the body's official languages. However, the previous oft-quoted statement constitutes the starting point of a broader topic. Some of the questions that can come to mind to fully unpack the implications of an official language policy consecrating two official languages include: What did the status of "official language" entail? Were all documents systematically translated into French and English? Were all collaborators fluent in one of the two languages? Did the LON offer translation services into French and/or English from other languages if someone used them to address that body? Was the same policy followed in conferences or in written documents? Who performed translation

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[412] Karen Gram-Skjoldager and Haakon A. Ikonomou, "The Construction of the League of Nations Secretariat. Formative Practices of Autonomy and Legitimacy in International Organizations," *The International History Review* 41, no. 2 (2019): 257–79.

[413] Biltoft, *A Violent Peace,* 41.

[414] The drafting of summary records of meetings. This task is today part of UN translators' tasks. For more information, see: https://www.un.org/dgacm/en/content/precis-writing

tasks at the LON? As the previous questions suggest, translation (and interpreting) at the LON constitutes a broad topic that would require an ad hoc investigation. In the present chapter, I shall focus primarily on translation and not on interpreting, which means that special interest will be devoted to written texts and, especially, to documents and correspondence, rather than analyzing language and translation policies in meetings, for which the reader shall refer to Baigorri's-Jalón work on consecutive interpreting.[415] This decision can be justified by the fact that interpretation in events of intellectual cooperation did not constitute one of the main domains of activity of the LON's Translating Section. Given my primary interest in the bodies specializing on intellectual cooperation, in the present chapter I investigate the LON to sketch the main lines of the organization that functioned as the ICO's institutional model. In practice, this means that I adopt an institutional perspective rather than a focus on the individuals who performed translation tasks and their social properties. In what follows, I zoom in into the history of the department providing translation services, and then I examine practices enacted when the previous department could not, alone, satisfy the LON's translation needs.

5.1.1. The LON's Translators' and Interpreters' Department

In the LON's first days, a small service known as the Translating and Interpreting Bureaux was put in place. However, it soon evolved into a full-fledged department. To reconstruct the process that shaped the form of the Translators' and Interpreters' Department, we can refer to a report submitted in December 1920 by Geoffrey Dennis, responsible for translations into English, and by Georges Demolon, responsible for the French ones, to reorganize the Translating Section. Therein, they described what appears to be an initially erratic functioning. In their view, "until lately it [the Section] had been scraped together, as occasion offered, in a very haphazard way, and its working partook of the nature of a makeshift more than of a definite organization."[416] In consequence, a reorganization process started aimed at improving the way translation services were provided. The first and most extensive document addressing said process is a report by Captain Frank Walters, then assistant of Eric Drummond, the LON's Secretary-General, dated December 22, 1920.[417] The second is a memorandum penned by Dennis on

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[415] Baigorri-Jalón, *From Paris.*
[416] "Note to the Secretary General by M. Demolon," n.d. UN Archives, R1457-29-9836-2353 Re-organisation of Translators' Department.
[417] Memorandum by Walters to Secretary General, Dec. 22, 1920. UN Archives, R1457-29-9836-2353 Re-organisation of Translators' Department.

December 23, 1920, and the third an undated note sent by Demolon to the Secretary General.[418] In general terms, Walters proposed to organize the Translating Section with a head of the Section and two sub-chiefs, one which would act as head of the French Service, and another of the English Service. Denis and Demolon agreed with said organization, nuancing that each section would be directed by one head translator, who would be responsible for work undertaken and in charge of personnel selection. They also considered that both sections should benefit from the same average economic conditions and proposed a stable rate of 650 pounds a year, with an additional sum for interpreters and an annual increase for seniority.

However, their proposals regarding each section's internal organization introduced certain differences given dissimilar previous situations regarding staff and quality of work.[419] Demolon argued the need to introduce different professional grades in the French Section because he considered that a cleavage existed in the work carried out by the different translators working in his section. Dennis, instead, was satisfied and argued that the work of the English section was homogeneous in terms of quality. To institutionalize the difference present in the French Section, Demolon thought that it was necessary to distinguish between two grades of translators. A first group would be composed of "distinctly efficient and competent" translators, "entitled to a higher salary, under a five years' contract" given their experience and training." And a second group of translators or probationers, instead, would comprise translators who, given their "youth or insufficiency of previous training," would have shorter contracts and lower salaries. This distinction proves that the LON did not only hire fully functioning professionals. Instead, it also functioned as a training space, and, in consequence, translation was one of the occupations whose degree of professionalization improved thanks to the LON.

Regarding staff, another relevant factor was that of gender. Walters considered that "a staff of women of University education" should be the main workforce and advanced a series of factors justifying said preference. In his own terms, "Translation (...)

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[418] For Dennis opinions, see: Memorandum by G. Dennis to the Secretary General, Dec. 23, 1920. UN Archives, R1457-29-9836-2353 Re-organisation of Translators' Department. For Demolon's, please refer to: Note to the Secretary General by M. Demolon, n.d., ibid.

[419] Both reports contain a list of staff. The English section staff was constituted by Dennis as chief of Service, and the following permanent members: Mr. Cross (interpreter), Lady Blennerhassett, Major Hardy, to whom he added Mr. Millar and Mr. Myers, who had recently been hired. Dennis also proposed the following names for new appointments: Captain Russell, Colonel Wade and Mr. de Geiger. The French section, instead, included: Demolon, d'Hangest, Devinar and Hervé, proposed as first grade translators; and Bouscharain, Toledano, and Mlle. Martin as second grade translators. Mlle Brokowski was proposed on probation, and two interpreters were also mentioned, Billot and d'Honinctun. Ibid.

is also an art which is frequently possessed by women."[420] In the previous quotation, the idea of translation as an art (or as a gift, another expression he employed in the same document) suggests an understanding of translation as a vocation for which practitioners possess certain innate skills rather than as an occupation that could be trained. Second, he argued that women with knowledge of foreign languages constituted a fraction of the job market that had not very satisfying salary prospects. More precisely, he argued that a certain number of women left French and English universities with degrees in foreign languages, for which the main professional prospect was to work as schoolteachers, which offered them the possibility of earning low salaries (in English schools, 200 pounds a year at the beginning of their career and a maximum of 400 pounds at the end). Given that salaries offered at the LON were superior, he argued that they could "practically have [their] pick of these women" and thus possess "a complete choice of the best qualified women leaving French [and English] Universities." Other reasons explaining his preference for women had to do with the permanency of personnel, thus the stability of the Section's workforce, and budgetary reasons. Walters argued that men who would apply for jobs in the Section would do so in the hope of accessing more ambitious positions.

> In their own mind (whether justified by anything said to them at the moment of engaging them or not) (…) the post in the translation section is a starting point for other and more responsible work (…) [this] means a continual change of personnel in the translation section; if not, it means a feeling of discontent and probably frequent resignations. Besides this, the salaries we must pay to men are much higher than those we should pay to women.[421]

He noticed, in this sense, that since most translators were French and English, in correspondence with the working languages of the Service, it was unlikely that men translators could be subsequently hired by other sections given the need to maintain a proportion of nationalities therein. Women, on the contrary, would be satisfied, he argued, with the salary and with the "definitely limited job, and definitely limited prospects,"[422] something that he thought would be beneficial for the organization for it would favor the specialization and stabilization of the Section's personnel. As can be grasped, in his understanding translation was not a recognized occupation, and therefore only women

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[420] Memorandum by Walters to Secretary General, Dec. 22, 1920. UN Archives, R1457-29-9836-2353 Re-organisation of Translators' Department. For an approach to the LON from a gender perspective, see: Myriam Piguet, "Employées à la Société des nations : carrières et conditions de travail, 1920-1932," *Monde(s)* 19 no. 1 (2021): 51–72.
[421] Ibid.
[422] Ibid.

would be content with its practice, whereas men would aim for more ambitious occupations. His ideas were not fully shared by Dennis and Demolon. On the one hand, Dennis agreed with the opinion "that the presence of a large number of women on the staff would make for permanency," but clearly contested the translation gift allegedly possessed by women.

> On the basis of the little experience I have had, I do not agree that most of them are as good translators as men of the same education. This was very strikingly exemplified in the test I held last autumn, when only one out of six carefully picked women had a decent idea of the English language!

The previous expert reflects the different views advanced by agents directly involved in translation work, such as Dennis, and the common views advanced by non-specialists. It is not clear if Dennis had "carefully" picked six women because, until recently, he may have shared Walter's view on best translators' gender, or because targeting women favored the stability of personnel. Together, the two excerpts illustrates the existence of some common ideas regarding the practice of translation. In Dennis's case, the allusion

Figure 13. English Translators and Interpreters Section, in occasion of Dennis' departure from the LON (1937). Source: UN Archive, P_044_01_009.

to his limited experience to justify his disagreement suggests that experience acquired in the LON's framework promoted changes in his views on translation.

Besides the otherwise relevant question of gender prejudices, the implicit assumptions regarding the suitable training possessed by the staff of the Translating Department deserve some comment. Walters' report suggested that a degree in foreign languages sufficed to fulfill translation tasks, assumption that was also contested in a series of letter exchanges between Walters, Dennis, and Pierre Commert, from the LON's Information Section, in relation to a polemics in the press regarding personnel appointment at the LON's translations services. A public attack was published in the summer of 1922 in the *Civilian*, the journal of the British Civil Service, according to which vacancies in the English section of the Interpreting and Translating Department had been "allotted to friends and relatives of Foreign Office people whose qualifications would not perhaps bear investigation."[423] Even though the latter constituted primarily an attempt to question the procedures and independence of the LON's Secretariat, the debates and exchanges it provoked also provide information on criteria used for personnel selection. Leaving aside the arguments presented by the three officials to preserve the institution's legitimacy, applications were received from a number of candidates "with first class honours in Modern Languages [that] did not pass."[424] To justify said point, the author of the note makes clear the following:

> It was made expressly clear that a knowledge of languages was only one of many qualifications required, such as knowledge of technical phraseology, interpreting experience, etc. An academic degree in a language is no earnest of fitness for translation work in general or ability to handle technical phraseology or subjects. In a very broad way, experience has shown those responsible for the Interpreting and Translating Department that academic qualifications in languages are the least important factor in enabling a candidate to handle the technical translation of which an Examination like the recent one largely consists of the most accomplished translators now in this section, hardly one has a language degree.[425]

Two years after Walters authored the report identifying women with degrees in foreign languages as the section's main target, experience had nuanced the understanding of translators' skills. The suitability of an ad hoc examination was clearly stressed, which means that degrees in foreign languages were, by then, not considered a guarantee to perform translation tasks anymore. Indeed, in subsequent examinations, the list of skills

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[423] Anonymous note, n.d. UN Archives, R1467-30-25595-25595 Publication of the Results of the Competitive Examinations of League Translations, and Interpreters.
[424] Ibid.
[425] Ibid.

did not make any explicit reference to foreign languages degrees. Illustrating the latter is the description of the qualifying test for the English section, held in January 1929, in which necessary qualifications to the post were: I. a good English style and experience in writing official documents; II. A thorough knowledge of literary, official, and technical French; III. The same standard in on other main European language (among which the announcement mentioned German, Italian, Spanish and one or more of the main Scandinavian or Slavonic languages); IV. Adequate translating knowledge of one or more extra languages; V. A good standard general knowledge and some acquaintance with minimum two subjects in the following list: law, finance, economics, medicine, and hygiene, military questions, transport question.[426]

The Department was the object of multiple changes throughout the LON's work. Shortage of translators, or excess of workload, seems to have been ongoing issues throughout the LON's functioning. Multiple efforts were made to reduce the Department's workload. For example, a specific procedure established in 1925 foresaw different treatment for documents depending on whether they where needed for external or internal use, given the impossibility to hire additional civil servants in that moment.[427] In the case of documents for external circulation, they had to be translated by the Translator's Department, and not by the LON's Sections. This, in turn, reveals that it was not rare that polyglot workers in the different Sections fulfilled translation tasks. This directive could, however, have the opposite effect and significantly increase the Translation Section's workload. To avoid it, it was encouraged that Sections considered if detailed annexes where necessary, or if they could be summarized. In the case of documents for internal use, Sections were requested to do translations themselves. When impossible, only the translation of essential passages should be requested. Also, the newly established procedure established that "translations from English into French or vice versa should never be demanded for internal use, except in the case of Office Circulars,"[428] which presupposed that all personnel was fluent in both languages.

An excessive workload or insufficient staff led inevitably to quality issues. This can be grasped in the organization's insistence that certain procedures were followed to

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[426] "Office circular 68, 1928." UN Archives, Oc-68-1928_En Office Circular. Interpreters and/et Translators' Dept.: English Section. Qualifying Test – January 1929
[427] "Special Circular 12.1925," March 20, 1925. UN Archives, R1459-29-43775-29159 Procedure with regard to Translation and Circulation of Documents - Professor Attolico - Special Circular on this Subject (S.C.12).
[428] Ibid.

grant the quality of materials. For example, in order to avoid Sections functioning with excessive autonomy when preparing documents in foreign languages, a notice sent by the Secretary-General to the Directors of Sections reminded them that all official documents and letters "must be passed by the Head of the Interpreters and Translators Section or someone acting under his authority and be stamped with his name before they go to print."[429] The goal was to put an end to the circulation of documents issued by the LON and containing translation or language mistakes. Said notice seems not to have sufficed, as reflects the existence of subsequent measures pursuing the same goal. According to Special Circular 18.1930, and special circular 47.1932, several Sections drafted their own reports without resorting to the language services, which made so that reports "sometimes come out inadequately presented from the point of view of French or English."[430] Two types of problems seem to have converged: problems derived from translation work and problems related to the quality of originals. In 1930, a special circular was sent so "that no bad or unnecessary material leaves the Section for translation or circulation. (…) it is clear that when bad reports come from a Section, the prestige of the Section and the Secretariat as a whole suffers."[431] As can be grasped, the quality of circulating materials was key to institutional prestige because it directly affected the LON's public image. In consequence, the Secretary-General sought to put an end to the mistakes present in documents published by the LON and the Translation Department was authorized, in collaboration with the author or the interested Section, to improve "any material which they receive which strikes them as unnecessary, badly written, or badly arranged."[432] This suggests that the office specialized in translation was not only responsible for translating into other target languages, but to organizational communication.

The previous situation can also be examined from the Sections' perspective, which, in the circulars previously documented, Sections were presented as the guilty party. A letter by Walter Layton, Director of the Economic and Financial Section, shows that Section's needs made official procedures inadequate. This can be illustrated with a letter where Layton complained that the LON's translating services were directly affected

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[429] "Responsibility for Translations. Notice, dated 20th July 1920, by the Secretary-General to Directors of Sections." UN Archives, R1457/29/5684/2353 - Interpreters and Translators' Department - Minutes emphasising the [...] of all translations of official documents being passed to the Head of the Translation Bureau, being going to [...] or in the case of letters, before dispatch.
[430] Special Circular 18. April 8, 1930. UN Archives, R5394-18A-13151-13091 Secretariat Office Rules.
[431] Ibid.
[432] Ibid.

when a specific event took place because most translating staff was engaged therein. In his view, in that period "the work handed to the Translation Section was done very badly and inevitably at much too slow a pace."[433] In other words, translators' and interpreters' work for a specific event had direct repercussions for the organization's correct functioning. Another element directly affecting workload fluctuations lied in the fact that the LON's translators and interpreters also provided their services when the LON's technical bodies required them, from the International Labour Office (ILO) to the ICO, thus creating additional occasions when they could not satisfy the Sections' requests. Against this backdrop, Layton stated that, when necessary, his Section would use external translation services, thus assuming the derived risk in terms of quality and accepting to work with "whatever checking we may be able to improvise."[434] From the Section's standpoint, a pragmatic response to their needs was preferred to procedures that were not always satisfactory. This suggests the need to differentiate between official language and translation policies, and policies resulting from actual practice.

Indeed, broadening his request to other time periods, i.e., not only when specific events held the majority of the LON's translators, Layton also requested the right to entrust translation work to technical experts, rather than translators. This was especially the case with documents dealing with technical matters. In his view, "in such cases the technical opinion must of course be final."[435] With said request, he implicitly acknowledged his dissatisfaction with the Translators Department, and gave us a hint on jurisdictional battles between multilingual technical experts and translators (and therefore, from an institutional standpoint, between technical Sections and the Translators Department. It can be understood, then, that Sections directly issuing their own documents without using the Translating Service was an additional way to claim their autonomy and defend their jurisdiction.

5.1.2. Maximizing Language Offer: International Functionaries as non-professional Translators

In the previous subsection, I have addressed the position of translation within the LON's administrative structure. It has been shown that official policies were not always strictly

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[433] Layton to the Secretary General, July 23, 1920. UN Archives, R1457-29-5684-2353 Interpreters and Translators Department - Responsability for translations.
[434] Ibid.
[435] Ibid.

followed when practical needs advised to proceed otherwise. If following the hints opened in subsection 5.1.1, some questions emerge, such as: Was it common that technical Sections' personnel provide translation services? And, if so, in what languages did they work with? Was their work overseen in some way? In the present subsection, I examine translation tasks fulfilled by agents that were not specifically hired as translators and examine the languages they used to shed light on the ways the LON managed language diversity in its daily practice, that is, beyond official policies. To address the management of linguistic diversity, I first delve into the issues related to incoming communications, and then investigate outgoing communications.

Using English and French at the LON constituted a concrete act through which agents conveyed their acceptance of the rules of the game. It ensured the LON's functioning and revealed members' will to cooperate in the common endeavor. It also facilitated technical work, hence accelerating what was a very bureaucratic functioning. And nevertheless, it was not rare that the Secretariat received letters and documents in languages other than French and English,[436] including languages for which the Translators Department did not have any translator. Several reasons justified deviations from official language use in incoming communications. A lack of linguistic skills on the sender's side, a lack of familiarity with the LON's official uses, political reasons, or the highly specialized character of certain topics are some of them. Faced with that situation, representatives of the Translators Department considered that, to simplify their work, a request should be circulated among governments where they were requested to only use one of the two official languages when communicating with the LON.[437] However, they also saw the idea's shortcoming: "to require that all general correspondence with the League should be in French or English, only, would not, I can see, be either diplomatic or possible."[438] Indeed, this comment points to two factors impeding a rigid position in regard to language use. On the one hand, it would not be "diplomatic," to repeat Dennis' formulation. As an international organization, the LON derived its legitimacy and its financial resources from state support. In a sense, it occupied a dominated position in relation to states, and making language an obstacle to the participation of a given country

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[436] UN Archives, R1459-29-29159-29159 Translation into French or English of Secretariat Correspondence in other Languages - Dossier concerning.

[437] "Memorandum by Mr. Dennis to Captain Walter," Aug. 9, 1921." UN Archives, R1457-29-9836-2353 Re-organisation of Translators' Department.

[438] Ibid.

in a debate could endanger that country's support and undermine the LON's prestige. Therefore, if the LON relied on and encouraged the use of two main official languages, they could hardly make other languages' use an obstacle. On the other hand, Dennis also mentioned that the only use of the two official languages would not be possible. The LON's collaborators included politicians, diplomats, and a myriad of experts in questions such as health, economy, transit, military affairs, etc., not all of which knew French and/or English. Again, it corresponded to the LON to make sure that their expertise, understood as main input, could be heard and understood at this international forum. In sum, be it for political or communicative reasons, the LON needed to understand all incoming communications, as well as all national documentation, which often was, inevitably, written in national languages.

This is confirmed in a memorandum Dennis sent to Captain Walters on August 9, 1921, where he described that translators were usually requested to translate from and to languages other than French and English. If we are to follow Dennis' words, his department was able to translate from French, German, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, "and, at a pinch, Flemish, Romanian, Portuguese, Catalan and certain Eastern languages, and (with the help of certain translators who are not at the moment on the permanent staff) most of the Slavonic idioms also." [439] Non-official translation work was therefore not rare for the LON's translators. However, it entailed several practical difficulties Dennis referred to in this memorandum. A first derived problem was that increasing the Department's working language generated an excessive workload, something that, as we have already seen, was a recurrent problem and that prompted an official request to distinguish when translations were necessary from cases when summaries could suffice.[440] A second problem, from the standpoint of the Translators' Department, had to do with difficulties to grant that they were able to translate from or to languages other than French and English. By accepting translation work from languages other than the official ones, they created a precedent based on voluntarism, rather than on the existence of a proper translation scheme. This was dangerous, for example, if a request was made to translate from or into language for which they no one, in the department,

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[439] Memorandum by Mr. Dennis to Captain Walter. Translation Section. Special Circular 48. Geneva 9th Aug. 1921. UN Archives, R1457-29-9836-2353 Re-organisation of Translators' Department. The presence of Flemish and Catalan in Dennis' list is significant as regional or non-state languages.
[440] "Special Circular 75. Translation of Documents in languages other than English and French," August 29, 1921. UN Archives, R1457-29-9836-2353 Re-organisation of Translators' Department.

possessed the appropriate knowledge. Whether they translated from or into non-official languages could therefore be seen as arbitrary. A third problem further complicated the situation, and it had to do with the quality standards an international organization like the LON needed to meet in its work, and thus, in its translations. In his view, it should be taken into account that gaining a basic understanding of a text was not the same than translating a legal text. In his report, Dennis stressed that, despite the quite extensive number of languages they could work with, each language was known by one or, at best, two people. This made it impossible to grant any accurate revision work and reduced the accuracy standards. In addition, he recognized that, often, the knowledge of non-official languages was not as high as it was for English or French.

Dennis closed his report by mentioning that the linguistic skills they possessed sufficed to satisfactorily cover the organization's communicative needs in most cases, but at the same time tried to justify the lower quality of translation into (or from) non-official languages and avoid a direct responsibility for the latter.

> It is simply not possible for me to take the same responsibility for difficult and technical documents from these languages as in respect of French. But this fact does not seem to be recognised, and all our translations from whatever language are commonly printed and sent out to the world on the same footing as though they were from French.[441]

In the previous excerpt, I contend, the fragment "does not seem to be recognised" is of primary importance, because it acknowledges the clash between: 1) the organization's workers providing translating services into non-official languages on a voluntary basis, 2) the evident benefits the organization obtained from non-official practices, and 3) the vulnerability voluntary work when quality problems arose.

In that memorandum, Dennis proposed to hire translators for other languages, something that was however not granted. The problem was not solved, as it surfaced again six years later, in April 1927, when Jean Vallery-Radot, Head of the LON's Registry and Index, proposed to establish a procedure for translations into or from languages other than the official ones. In his memorandum, he confirmed that "un certain nombre de documents (polonais, hongrois, lettons, grecs, …) ont été récemment retournés au registry par le service de traduction sans être traduits, faute d'un traducteur connaissant les

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[441] Ibid.

langues requises." [442] This statement acknowledged the fact that non-official languages spoken by the personnel working at the Translation Service did not suffice to satisfy organizational needs. But the LON's workforce was broader, and thus the language skills on which the organization could rely, something he had not failed to note.

> La plupart du temps, il existe parmi les membres du Secrétariat des fonctionnaires connaissant ces langues. C'est pourquoi j'ai pris souvent l'initiative de faire traduire de cette façon un document qui me faisait retour du Service de traduction non traduit. [443]

Apparently, therefore, when the Translation Service could not satisfy the communicative needs of the Secretariat, it was not rare to resort to the language skills of officials working in Sections. This procedure presented several inconveniences in Vallery-Radot's experience. First, the inexistence of a list mentioning which members of the Secretariat could be used as volunteering translators and for what languages. Second, the need to request the agreement of the head of Section before requesting their services, and third, their eventual absences, which left documents untranslated. To overcome them, Vallery-Radot proposed to formalize this procedure by organizing it through the Translators Department. Demolon and Dennis, he argued, could take on the task of entrusting said translations to volunteer translators outside of their services.

A letter by Dennis on the issue of translation in, or from, non-official languages minimized the problem's extent. In the latter's opinion, "the number of documents concerned is exceedingly small, as the two Translating Sections between them deal adequately with every one of the great languages except Russian, and many of the less important languages – practically only the Balkan and Baltic ones being excluded." [444] He also mentioned that in the cases where the languages concerned "can be dealt with by no-one on the Secretariat, [he] in some [has] been authorized to send documents out, principally to the ILO. This has been the case, for instance, with Finnish, Hebrew, and Yiddish." [445] It is hard to quantify the extent of the problem. Vallery-Radot's demand to

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[442] "Memorandum by J. Vallery-Radot. Chef du Registry et de l'Index to M. Demolon," Avril 28, 1927. UN Archives, R1459-29-51853-29159 Interpretation at League Meetings from Languages other than English or French - Dossier concerning.
[443] Ibid.
[444] G. Dennis to J. Vallery-Radot, April 29, 1927. UN Archive, R1459-29-29159-29159 Translation into French or English of Secretariat Correspondence in other Languages - Dossier concerning.
[445] Ibid.

institutionalize a procedure for the translation of non-official languages suggests it was not a minor or a rare problem, which contrasts with Dennis' opinion.

Vallery-Radot's proposal was agreed upon by Dennis and Demolon, and it also found a positive reception among the LON's leading instances. It resulted in special circular 15.1927, dated May 24, 1927, which contains a memorandum by Giacomo Paulucci de' Calboli, the LON's Under Secretary-General in charge of the Internal Administration Office, requesting that members of the Secretariat knowing languages for which the Translating Section did not have a translator offer their services graciously to write summaries in English or French.[446] Letters from the most varied sections came in reply.[447] Miss Grote, a temporary member of the Library Staff, stated her availability to translate from Latvian and Russian, Drs. Tomanek, Wasserberg and Kusama, from the Health Section, offered their skills to translate from Czech, Polish and Japanese, Miss Hallstein-Kallia, from the Section of International Bureaux, offered her services to translate letters from Finnish. The Administrative Commissions and minorities Section stated being "prepared to undertake short translations or summaries of documents drafted in Danish, Dutch, Norwegian, Persian, Slovene, Spanish, Swedish, and Turkish."[448] The list of offers could go on, including also languages for which the Translation Service had already translators, in case extra help was needed during regular translators' holidays. The system of volunteer translators remained the main mechanism enabling translations from non-official languages.

Shortcomings related to the voluntarism behind translations of non-official languages surfaced every now and then, especially regarding the exceedingly long times volunteers took to handle translations, or regarding coordination problems between the translator, the Translation Service, the Registry, and the receiver of the translation. In a few cases, it also happened that no one within the LON was equipped to translate a given language, as reflected in a note written by Dennis, then Chief of Document Service, in 1937. "The question of translation from Hebrew and Arabic, though not a big one, is one

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[446] "Special circular 15.1927. Memorandum Mr. Giacomo Paulucci de' Calboli", May 24, 1927. UN Archive, R1459-29-29159-29159 Translation into French or English of Secretariat Correspondence in other Languages - Dossier concerning.
[447] UN Archive, R1459-29-29159-29159 Translation into French or English of Secretariat Correspondence in other Languages - Dossier concerning.
[448] Ibid.

that has to be settled. We have no one at all available in the Translating Service or in the Secretariat as far as I know."[449]

Several questions can be linked to the problem of translating (or not) from non-official languages. In addition to the responsibility of personnel doing translation work on a voluntary basis, questions of institutional responsibility, credibility and legitimacy are relevant in this context. Bad translations represented not only a technical problem hindering the organization's correct functioning, they could also inspire mistrust given a poor criterion in the selection of the personnel, or suggest the poor management of public money. The fact that the documents discussed so far cover the period between 1921 and 1937 indicates that, despite the policy of two official languages, the need to take on translation work in incoming communications manifested during most part of the LON's functioning. The mentioned sources attest to the creativity of the institution to satisfy its communicative needs, from the recourse to nonprofessional translators among its internal personnel to the collaboration with other technical bodies. This, in turn, in turn stresses the strategic character of understanding members' languages. And this, without compromising the strategic political relevance of conferring official recognition to one language or the other.

Contrary to what could be assumed considering the official language policy, language diversity did not only appear in incoming communications. On the contrary, an office circular sent on October 10, 1927, by Eric Drummond addressed the use of non-official languages on the side of the LON's personnel. The latter reveals that, in their replies, most personnel used the same language they were contacted in:

> I have noticed a tendency in the Secretariat to reply to letters written in other than the two official languages, in the original language, provided that language is sufficiently known to the member of the Secretariat who drafts the reply. I therefore wish to remind all Sections that official replies must only be sent in one of the two official languages of the League. If a reply is sent in any other language, it must be clear that it is solely of a semi-official nature.

> In extreme cases where it seems probable that the writer has no knowledge of either of the two official languages and it may be difficult for him to obtain a translation, it is permissible for a translation of the reply to be enclosed should such a procedure prove convenient to the Section concerned.[450]

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[449] Note by the chief of Document Services, G. Dennis, to Mr. de Haller. Aug. 27th 1937. R5398-18A-31763-31763 Translators and Translations
[450] Office Circular 57.1927 signed by the Secretary General, Eric Drummond. Oct. 10, 1927. R1459-29-62448-29159 Regulations respecting replies to letters not in the official languages of the League.

With such a circular, Drummond made it clear that the only languages that should be employed were English and French. However, he contemporaneously conferred other languages the status of semi-officiality and left the door open to the use of auxiliary translations in case of necessity, translations that in any case would accompany, not replace, the use of official languages.

The consideration of other languages as "semi-official" generated some debate as well in the following days. The topic was discussed in the Directors' meeting held on October 12, 1927, where Erik Colban, a Norwegian diplomat who then directed the Minorities Section, enquired on the status of translations in non-official languages and problematized said category. Office circular.57 characterized them as "semi-official" translations, whereas Colban instead argued that they should be called "private" translations to clearly distinguish them from official communications. In the Minorities Section, he argued, the practice had been followed of attaching, when necessary, "private" translations to official replies. A debated followed, after which the Secretary-General decided that the word "semi-official" in Office Circular.57 should be replaced by "unofficial," hence resulting in a new version of Office Circular 57.1927 that read as follows: "If a reply is sent in any other language, it must be clear that it is solely of an unofficial nature."[451] This excerpt touched upon the ambiguity of the term "semi-official." Even though it certainly established a hierarchy between French and English, on the one hand, and other languages, on the other, by distinguishing between official and semi-official, the use of the prefix "semi-" could be interpreted as conferring certain recognition to those languages. Colban proposed the term "private," which would suggest in turn that English and French were languages to be used in the public domain, and other languages to the private or domestic sphere, Drummond preferred the term "unofficial," form that avoided any direct consideration regarding the social spheres where one language should, or not, be used by circumscribing his statement to the status of each language in the LON's system. In other terms, said term had a more descriptive allure, although the content of the communication was clearly prescriptive. With this change communicated in a note signed by Drummond on October 20, any ambiguity as to the

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[451] Extract from Minutes of Directors Meeting. N. 207. Oct. 12, 1927. UN Archives, R1459-29-62448-29159 Regulations respecting replies to letters not in the official languages of the League; "Office Circular 57-1927. (Erratum). Official Languages of the League. Note by the Secretary-General." UN Archives, R1459-29-62448-29159 Regulations respecting replies to letters not in the official languages of the League.

status of languages other than French and English was resolved.[452] The word "status" is central: Drummond's intervention did not exactly ban the use of languages other than French and English, as, again, the communicative needs made it impossible. It certainly discouraged their use, but his intervention primarily pronounced itself in relation to their status. In other terms, his intervention had a strong symbolic dimension. By qualifying some languages as "unofficial," it was made clear what, even though in certain circumstances their use may be tolerated, they were not appropriate for international communication. Along the same lines, the acceptance that replies in French or English were accompanied with "unofficial" translations reflects the ways the institution took into consideration the communicative needs, while also preserving its official policies and the derived symbolic benefits. In cases of unofficial translations, the presence of a translation in an unofficial language made unnecessary the resort to official translations in strictly communicative terms. The function of sending translations in English or French, next to the translation in the language the recipient actually understood, had a strictly symbolic function. It functioned as a reminder that the LON used non-official languages as a concession, but that the receiver should be able to understand (and implicitly use) English or French in international communications.

5.2. International Communication, between International Languages, Translation, and the Consecration of National Languages

The LON operated under the premise that French and English were its official languages. As reconstructed in section 5.1, official translation was complemented by non-official translation work conducted by the LON's personnel. This was not the only dynamic that undermined the principle of the two official languages. The latter was challenged as well to promote the use of international languages, to favor translation, and to advance the use of other national languages within the LON. They constituted different solutions to the challenges posed by international communication. Linguistic exchange can be approached as a practical challenge inherent to cross-border relations, but also as the expression of political and symbolic power relations. Languages fulfill key functions in

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[452] To be noted in this regard that non-official languages are referred to with different terms in archival records: "less usual languages," "langues peu usitées," "langues de faible diffusion," "langue inconnue," "langue peu 'usuelle'," and "langues moins importantes" are some exemples.

terms of group building and, as symbolic systems, they play a determinant part in the construction of reality. They reflect power relations inscribed in social relations, with linguistic domination being at the same time a product of political domination and an element that reproduces it.[453] In the LON's specific context, language acquired clear political functions. The interest of said body in image managing and propaganda sheds light on the crucial function of "language itself as a force of world-making, especially in the information age."[454] In consequence, it comes as no surprise that the language policy of the newly created LON was the object of multiple interests. Some saw in the LON an opportunity to maintain or consolidate the international *rayonnement* of national languages, whereas, for others, it was a new institutional network that could favor changes in the international order. For example, strengthening alternative language practices to solve the challenges of international communication, such as the use of international languages.

In what follows I explore the ways the multiple debates related to national languages, international languages, and translation intermingled. More precisely, I first address Esperanto and translation as potential alternatives to the use of national languages (section 5.2.1) and elucidate the arguments advanced by defendants of the different options. Then, I address the question of national languages' consecration as tools of international communication. Section 5.2.2 starts by briefly alluding to the challenges formulated in the LON's framework to the latter's official language policy. However, I quickly narrow the focus down to the ICO given that the latter was used as one of the potential entrance doors to challenge the LON.

5.2.1. Esperanto and translation: rivals or allies?

Esperanto within the LON's circles, as well as interest in the LON among Esperantists, was noteworthy.[455] Esperantists and the LON's circles partially converged in their internationalism and as such they could reinforce each other. The creation of the LON constituted a change in the dissemination strategy pursued by Esperantists until, roughly,

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[453] Pierre Bourdieu, *Language et pouvoir symbolique* (Paris: Seuil, 1991), 70-1.
[454] Biltoft, *A Violent Peace,* 41.
[455] For the history regarding debates around Esperanto as an official language at the LON, see: Forster, *The Esperanto Movement*, 169–87; Baigorri-Jalón, *From Paris*, 69–71; and Biltoft, *A Violent Peace*, 43–59. This aspect having been the object of interest in current scholarship, I approach the topic in its relation to translation.

the First World War. Prior to the establishment of the first multilateral political organization, the main emphasis of the Esperanto movement was set on obtaining official support from states. Esperantists, in this regard, advanced a "dual loyalty (…), to their own country and to the Esperantist people. The second was not to be seen as subversive of the first."[456] The main strategy was thus to seek institutional patronage or the introduction of Esperanto into schools' programs.[457] This horizon, however, enlarged with the LON's foundation, which in turn opened the possibility of institutionalizing an international language. The latter can be seen as one of the main reasons why the Esperantist movement supported the creation of the LON.

The confluence between the two movements underscores the fact that addressing the question of language was inevitable for any international, or internationalist, endeavor. The interwar period has been considered a favorable context in linguistic terms for Esperanto,[458] given on the one hand, the irruption of English as an international language, which challenged the dominance of French in the two previous centuries. On the other hand, Forster argues also that the creation of new independent states after the First World War led to the emergence of new national languages,[459] thus reinforcing the need for a shared code enabling international communication. Even though the previous factors favored Esperanto, the latter was not the only option in the horizon. Said factors could also potentially function as bolsters for alternative solutions, with the democratization of language learning and the consolidation of translation as a specialized activity constituting the two main competitors of Esperanto.

Multiple references can be found in the arguments advanced by Esperantists that refer, implicitly or explicitly, to the advantages the international language offered in comparison to foreign languages and translation. Broadly speaking, the Esperantist movement justified the need of Esperanto by alluding to the difficulties of language learning and its costly character in terms of time and money, and the dependence upon intermediaries. It is interesting, in this regard, that before the creation of the LON, said arguments were used to suggest that Esperanto offered the best solution to the challenge the future organization would face.

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[456] Forster, *The Esperanto Movement*, 170.
[457] Ibid., 169–70.
[458] Ibid., 171.
[459] Ibid., 172.

> La Société des Nations (…) rencontrera ces mêmes difficultés dans le fonctionnement de ses institutions organiques (…) Comment seront possibles, si l'on doit employer les méthodes actuellement en usage dans les réunions internationales, des délibérations ayant réellement toute l'ampleur et toute la liberté qu'exigera l'immensité des intérêts en présence ?[460]

Esperantists, aware that translation offered an alternative, specifically stressed its limitations, which suggests the strategic contraposition between translation and the use of an international language.

> Des services devront être organisés pour assurer la marche des institutions de la Société ; quelles langues employer sans sombrer dans l'accumulation des traductions, sources infinies d'erreurs et par suite de discussions, pour que leurs rapports avec toutes les nations soient clairs, nets, faciles et au besoin rapides ? Des traités seront conclus dont les termes devront être attentivement pesés, parfaitement clairs et indiscutables ; comment arriver à ce que les traductions se correspondent exactement, surtout dans leurs termes ou leurs expressions techniques ? (…) quelle sera la langue employée pour les relations entre les chefs, pour commander aux troupes ? C'est une source de dangers de toutes sortes qu'une compréhension imparfaite dans les opérations militaires. Il serait facile de montrer que l'expédient des interprètes — dont le nombre devrait être d'ailleurs ridiculement considérable — n'apporterait à cette situation qu'un remède à peu près inefficace ; on ne pourrait s'y résigner que s'il était démontré qu'il n'existe aucun moyen d'y échapper.[461]

The contraposition this discourse introduces between translation and the use of Esperanto as a lingua franca sheds light on the ways these activities relate to each other. First, it elucidates that the material conditions that made it difficult to operate in international institutions are the same that justify the insufficiencies of translation described by Rollet de L'Isle. Second, it also reveals that the factors increasing the interest in Esperanto are the same that favored the institutionalization of translation in the following years and decades. Third, it explains why the principle of a lingua franca was not challenged, and instead the need of a single code shared by all interested parties benefitted from certain consensus. One of the reasons can be found on an insufficient institutionalization of translation. Even though translation as an activity has a history as long as humanity, during the interwar period it was not yet institutionalized, there was not a system providing proper training that could guarantee its exercise with certain accredited guarantees. In other word, in practical and immediate terms, it could seem that there was no alternative to the use of an international language. However, the first steps in said

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[460] Maurice Rollet de L'Isle, *La plus forte garantie de la Société des Nations. Une langue internationale* (Paris: Office Central Esperantiste, 1919), 5–6.
[461] Ibid.

direction were being taken precisely in 1919 in the Paris Peace Conference. Little was it expected, in outsiders' minds, that the LON would soon become one of the key spaces where interpreting techniques would be tested and improved.[462] Fourth, the ways defenders of Esperanto shed light on the political interests vested in linguistic decisions. Efforts to elevate Esperanto to the status of LON's official language can be read as efforts to avoid the evident disadvantages that were implicit in the selection of one national language as *the* international language par excellence. This explains why esperantists' milieu referred to said language as "la plus forte garantie de la Société des Nations."[463]

However, their arguments were systematically rejected. Despite an initial interest in Esperanto, when the first proposals of promoting the teaching of Esperanto reached the LON, French representatives expressed their clear opposition. With the recent loss of centrality of French as the main diplomatic language, adding another language to the scenario would further relegate French. Also, the Brazilian delegate argued that Esperanto constituted a threat to nationality and, therefore, to the stability of the international system based on the nation-state. Another reason has to do with class assumptions. Language learning, either of national or international languages, was not seen as equally necessary according to the collectivity addressed. The following intervention, by Julien Luchaire, provides clear insights on the ways one thing was associated with the other:

> Although intellectuals could and should learn foreign languages, it would seem desirable that an easier auxiliary language should be put at the disposal of nonintellectuals. This argument was probably more apparent than real, *since the masses in the various countries got into touch with one another chiefly through their leaders, and the knowledge of other peoples was facilitated by various means, translation for example*.[464]

According to Luchaire's view, Esperanto was not necessary because international affairs were elites' prerogative. Therefore, intellectuals should speak foreign languages, but the general public could rely on translations (which, as a corollary, would be done by intellectuals). The fact that translations are not presented here as useful for elites can also be commented. Translation implicitly entailing the delegation of interpretive skills to the translator, this activity could not be presented as useful for elites, which are in turn defined by the possession of specific, differentiating, unique skills. Translation would be of

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[462] Baigorri-Jalón, *From Paris*, 57–131.

[463] This was the title of the volume previously quoted from Rollet de L'Isle for the Central Esperantist Office, "*La plus forte garantie de la Société des Nations. Une langue internationale*."

[464] UN Archives, C-570-M-224-1923-XII_EN Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation. Minutes of the Second Session.

interest to those who lacked those skills, that were intellectually immature, and that therefore needed to delegate said skills. It ensues a view of the intellectual as a necessarily polyglot figure.

5.2.2. From the LON to the ICIC: disputed language and translation policies

In 1920, Sir Herbert Brown Ames, then LON's financial director, sent a memorandum to the Secretary General where he referred to the fact that the *Journal de Genève* had published some worrisome information. According to the periodical, the ILO's Governing Body had adopted the proposition to "print and distribute their documents in other languages than English and French."[465] In light of said news, Ames was concerned that this precedent "may lead to the exercising of pressure upon [them] to do likewise," something that would pose multiple problems, among which, financial difficulties: "the additional expense would be considerable," he warned. The following year, several French and Spanish journals published that the ILO had adopted Spanish as a third official language, a fact Drummond quickly brought to the attention of the ILO's Director-General, Albert Thomas, for denial. Apparently, some media had misinterpreted a recurrent practice at the ILO, which consisted in sometimes providing the Spanish translation of working documents. What was a practical decision had been mistakenly interpreted by the press as constituting recognition of Spanish as an official language.[466]

The previous anecdote provides multiple insights on the delicate character of language use in the framework of the LON's technical bodies. First, it sheds light on the fact that, despite the LON and the ILO being different institutions, a coherence was expected between them. In this view, decisions taken in one body could quickly constitute a source of problems for other bodies. Flexibility in the use of languages other than French or English presented the risk of generating a snowball effect because it could legitimate requests that the same treatment was given to that language in other bodies, or that other languages received a special treatment too. Second, it also unveils the need to distinguish official uses from consolidated practices. Official practices belong to the domain of institutionalization, a process that tends to present as neutral or natural practices or

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[465] Memorandum from Herbert Brown Ames to Secretary General, Oct. 16, 1920. UN Archives, R1457-29-7593-7593 Printing of Documents in additional Languages - Dossier respecting. My emphasis.
[466] Albert Thomas to Eric Drummond, June 22, 1921. UN Archive, R1583-40-13491-9002.

decisions given that they apparently reply to functional needs.[467] In other words, it is a process that seeks to subtract from the debate certain decisions. As such, institutionalizing certain practices is a key aspect to build a set of objective procedures and a clear institutional identity. However, the official dynamic needs to be examined by contrasting it with the reality of practices, where flexibility to satisfy practical needs reigned sovereign. In this regard, the distinction between official and working language is of primary importance.

An example can be found in the request, formulated also in 1920, that Spanish be granted the status of working language. In practical terms, this meant that a daily Spanish summary of public meetings' proceedings was issued "on the same kind of paper as the Official Journal of the Assembly, and in the same form."[468] Also, that arrangements were made so that speeches in the Assembly could be pronounced in Spanish, on the condition that "the gentlemen who speak in Spanish (…) provide themselves with interpreters who will translate on the floor into either French or English."[469] The request was ultimately refused on account of its practical implications and of the expenditure it would entail. Also, because "the Italian delegation made it clear that Spanish could not be recognized as an official language without the same demand being made for Italian."[470] As the previous examples illustrate, the choice of the languages that could access the status of international language was a contested decision. Instead, the principle of a lingua franca was not often challenged. Any questioning of the language *status quo* presented the serious risk of breaking what was, at the end, a fragile equilibrium that, on the one hand, provided institutional stability, and on the other hand, granted dominant countries the use of language as a tool to maintain their influence. Said equilibrium was challenged in different moments and contexts.

The LON's language and translation policies were the object of specific adaptations and challenges in the LON's technical bodies, with intellectual cooperation constituting a domain where specific practices consolidated, as well as where debates regarding the LON's official languages unfolded. In what follows, I will examine if that policy was strictly reproduced or adapted in the domain of intellectual cooperation. Then,

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[467] Louis, "Une représentation dépolitisée ?," 63.
[468] Office Circular 20/2/141, Nov. 21, 1920. UN Archives, R5794/50/32688/32688 Official Languages of the League - Various correspondence.
[469] Ibid.
[470] "Note by Mr. McKinnon Wood," [Received] February 4, 1938. UN Archives, R5794/50/32688/32688 Official Languages of the League - Various correspondence. My emphasis.

I will reconstruct some attempts to challenge the LON's official language policy that were formulated in the framework of the ICO's work. As will be shown, the structural recourse to multilingual experts did not prevent specific countries from advancing more or less explicit requests to see more languages used in the activities of intellectual cooperation.

The ICIC benefitted from the assistance of the LON's administrative services for several practices, among which all related to communication and language, which included précis writer and verbatim reporting, translation of documents, and communication with external agents. It was thus the staff of the LON's Translators' and Interpreters' Department which provided the necessary translation services for the ICIC,[471] and the institutional model to the IIIC. To approach the language and translation practices of the ICIC, we can draw on Grandjean's work, which offers a clear picture of the linguistic practices in the ICIC's first meetings:

> Comme il est d'usage dans la Société des Nations, le français et l'anglais s'imposent dès la première réunion et c'est, outre son éminente réputation, le bilinguisme d'Henri Bergson qui qualifie celui-ci face au Belge Jules Destrée pour la présidence de la CICI, comme le relève Nitobe: 'This proved the more important in this Committee because most of the time no chance was given to the interpreter and French and English were used promiscuously.'[472]

The ICIC adopted a language and translation policy that was in coherence with the LON's. In this excerpt, Grandjean links the use of English and French as lingua francas to the need to have fluid conversation. In other terms, the immediacy of oral communication hindered the recourse to consecutive interpretation and favored the use of one, or two, lingua francas. The fact that the interpreter was not given the time to fulfill her function suggests that the making of intellectual cooperation relied largely on individual multilingualism on the side of intellectuals involved. Or, to put it differently, individual multilingualism was precisely the precondition that made institutional translation less necessary. Also, the fact that the ICIC comprised a restricted number of members that, in addition, were cherry-picked, enabled the organization to make sure language skills wouldn't be an obstacle in their daily work. The previous quotation makes also explicit that language skills became a source of symbolic capital for experts participating in the meetings of intellectual cooperation.

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[471] UN Archives, R1036-13C-52634-14297 Draft Regulation on the Functions of the Secretariat of the Commission for Intellectual Cooperation.
[472] Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 195.

The events organized in the framework of intellectual cooperation deserve some comment because it is in relation to them that said challenges emerged more clearly. Therein, public sessions took place where international intellectuals and political representatives gathered, hence introduced a big difference regarding the ICIC's small character. Inevitably, they provided appurtenant occasions to challenge the official language and translation policies. However, before delving into that aspect, it is necessary to characterize language use in the events of intellectual cooperation.

Different policies were followed according to the type of meeting and consolidated habits in the appurtenant intellectual subfield. We can take two opposing examples to illustrate said differences. One is the International Conference of Higher Studies, held between July 26-28, 1938. In that occasion, two interpreters were hired who could translate between English and French in both directions and who understood also German, as well as two English stenographers. In the preparation of the event, Istvan Lajti, chief of the University Section at the IIIC, requested translation works from external collaborators: Abel Doysié (EN>FR), John R. Bacher (FR > EN), Ch. P. Klein (DE>FR), and Mrs. Blake-Bucquet (EN>FR).[473] This procedure substantially differs from that followed in Entretiens, the meetings possessing a more eminent intellectual character. The institutional translation policy followed in the Entretiens contemplated that conversations could be held in English and French, the two official languages of the LON, although they actually took place "particulièrement en français.[474]" Said statement is confirmed by the proceedings of meetings. For example, in the 1933 Entretien, held in Madrid, French was by difference the most used language. In a list of 22 participants, only four participants expressed themselves in languages other than French. British genetist and biologist John Burdon Sanderson Haldane and American economist Edwin F. Gay being the only participants using English, and German art historian Wilhelm Pinder and Polish-Austrian art historian Josef Strzygowski, instead, used German. In the Budapest Entretien, Polish and Italian representatives delivered their speeches in Latin.[475] The list could go on to confirm that the functioning of the Entretiens was marked by the tradition of using French as intellectual language, with occasional deviations.

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[473] UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-C-II-25.bis Collaborateur Technique.

[474] "Société des Nations. Organisation de Coopération Intellectuelle. Comité Permanent des Lettres et des Arts. Réunion Convoquée à Nice du 27 au 29 Octobre 1938." UN Archives, 0000766241_D0061.

[475] UN Archives, R4003-5B-26703-1976 International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation - 18th Session, Geneva, 13-18 July 1936 - Minutes.

I will now investigate two events that generated specific debates regarding the followed language and translation policies, both involving the use of German in the framework of the ICO's activities. The ICO organized in October 1928 a Congress on Popular Art which was celebrated in Prague. Following its celebration, the press agency Pallas publish a note entitled "Das Deutscje auf dem Kongress für Volkskunst" that described that German had become the congress' main working language:

> Die Engländer erklärten, dass sie sich in der Debatte der deutschen Sprache bedienen wollten, die Skandinavier desgleischen, und es wurde der Wunsch ausgesprochen, Referate, die in französischer Sprache gehalten worden waren, deutsch zu wiederholen. Es zeigte sich, dass die deutsche Sprache den moisten Teilnehmern am geläufigsten war.[476]

> (The English declared that they wanted to use the German language in the debate, the Scandinavians the same language, and the wish was expressed that papers which had been made in French should be repeated in German. It turned out that most of the participants were most familiar with the German language)

An internal note prepared in case the Information Section wanted to rectify said information, the functioning of the conference was described in the following terms:

> Les langues du Congrès ont été celles de la Société des Nations, le français et l'anglais. Le Secrétariat de Genève a pu assurer la traduction française des textes anglais et la traduction anglaise des textes françaises. Il n'a pu s'engager à assurer d'autres traductions, mais, en fait, les langues parlées ont été par ordre d'importance le français, l'allemand et l'anglais. Aucune démarche n'a été faite par les délégués allemands pour que la langue allemande fut inscrite comme langue officielle du congrès. Dans la réalité des faits, l'allemand a joué un rôle extrêmement important. M. Haberlandt qui a présidé par intérim la section I et M. Lehmann qui a présidé le groupe B l'ont fait en allemand. Aucun orateur n'a été empêché de parler sa langue et dans la plupart des cas on a traduit en allemand les discussions françaises et en français les discussions allemandes.[477]

This practice was consistent with the circular distributed prior to the event, where it was mentioned that discussions would take place in English and French, and that other languages would be authorized "à condition que les rapporteurs en fassent assurer la traduction orale."[478] However, in practice, even though German was not an official language, the fact that it was generally used, or more used than English, illustrated the ambiguity between working and official languages. In the previous internal note, it can be read between the lines that emphasis is made on the fact that LON translators did not

[476] "Das Deutscje auf dem Kongress für Volkskunst," n. d. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-IX-57 1er Congrès international des Arts populaires - Organisation générale, p. 31.
[477] R.D and G. M., "Note pour la Section d'Information," October 18, 1920. Ibid, p. 29.
[478] "Congrès International des Arts Populaires. Prague (Octobre 1928)," Ibid.

translate from or into German, with the subject "on" in the last sentence avoiding explicitly mentioning who performed said translations. By doing so, the note's author tried to precariously maintain an equilibrium between a flexible and pragmatic practice, on the one hand, and the lack of an institutional support to the use of languages other than the official ones, on the other hand.

Something similar happened a few years later. In 1937, in occasion of the second conference of NCIC, the Austrian NCIC presented a request that German, Italian, and Spanish could be used in meetings regarding scientific topics.[479] That conference needs to be inserted in a context where the ICO's links with the LON were often questioned. In what follows, I reproduce the request in extenso given that the arguments put forward contain points that are worth commenting:

> [the Austrian NCIC] ventures to propose that the Sub-Committees or Committees of Inquiry of the League of Nations which are called upon to deal with scientific subjects, and in whose proceedings experts take part, should in principle be authorized to use the German, Italian or Spanish languages. This practice has for years been followed in a number of Committees, for example, in the Financial Committee of the League of Nations. This proposal is based on the fact that, particularly in scientific matters, the German language is one of those most frequently used, and even if it is not spoken everywhere, it is widely understood. Scientific discussions or debates necessitate the co-operation of experts who, even if they only deal with one particular branch, are nevertheless obliged to take into account in their work the views of experts throughout the scientific world. It would be desirable for them to be able to express themselves in the language to which they are accustomed, and which will always be one of the usual languages of the scientific world.[480]

Some contradictions can be detected in the previous line of arguments. On the one hand, the dominant status of German in the scientific field is alluded to justify that it would be desirable to see its use formally recognized in said domain. On the other hand, the request advocates also for the authorization to use also Spanish and Italian, languages that were not central in said domain. This argument had, rather, an evident political character. The Austrian proposal would be better received if it fostered the use of languages other than German, which could be seen as a nationalistic movement.

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[479] "Rapport concernant divers projets de résolutions présentés par un certain nombre de délégations à la deuxième Conférence générale des commissions nationales de coopération intellectuelle, Paris, 5-9 Juillet 1937." UN Archives, R4036/5B/32496/14390 National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation - Second Conference, Paris, July 1937 - Conference Proceedings.
[480] Document attached to a letter from Katherine Irene Stafford to Daniel Secrétan. June 23, 1937. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-III-17 Autriche.

Additionally, the Austrian NCIC requested that the conference proceedings were published in German, a request that triggered a series of exchanges that are of primary importance to tackle the question of the LON's language and translation policy. For this purpose, I reconstruct an exchange that took place in January 1938 between Daniel Secrétan, IIIC's secretary, and Jean-Daniel de Montenach, the ICO's secretary. The former somewhat unintentionally half-opened the Pandora box:

> Je voudrais vous consulter sur un point qui m'embarrasse et sur lequel je serais heureux d'avoir vos lumières. La délégation autrichienne a formulé trois suggestions dont la première se rapporte à la question de l'emploi de la langue allemande dans les Comités et Conférences de la Coopération intellectuelle. Je cherche à élucider cette question tout d'abord <u>en droit</u>, puis à la situer <u>en fait</u>. En ce qui concerne les aspects juridiques, j'arrive à la conclusion qu'aucune disposition du Pacte de la Société des Nations ne fait mention des langues officielles de la Société…[481]

Indeed, a very embarrassed IIIC's secretary asked in 1938 (not in 1925, or in 1930!) about the legal status of the LON's languages. The reply came in the form of a six-page note authored by Hugh McKinnon Wood, member of the LON's Legal Section.[482] Rather than replying with a list of the policy documents that granted an official character to English and French, McKinnon's reply constitutes practically a list of arguments intended to assuage any intention to question the status quo. The first argument put forward, picking up on a mention made in Secrétan's letter, is the fact that the *Petit Manuel de la Société des Nations*, a handbook edited by the Information Section, mentioned the official languages were French and English, languages that "stand in this character on precisely the same footing. Neither has a priority over the other."[483] However, something McKinnon did not mention explicitly in his letter was that said handbook did not have legal value per se. And this is something that can be stated from most of the documents he refers to, with this fact pointing out into the reasons why a certain *malaise* can be clearly sensed every time someone brought up the question of the LON's official languages: there was no legal official document mentioning English and French as official languages of the League. Instead, it was tacitly approved in continuation with the Paris

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[481] Daniel Secrétan to J.D de Montenach, January 29, 1938. UN Archive, R5794/50/32688/32688 Official Languages of the League - Various correspondence.

[482] The note had been presented in the 1937 NCIC Conference in reply to the request presented by the Austrian NCIC. The same note can be consulted in: UN Archives, R4036/5B/32496/14390 National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation - Second Conference, Paris, July 1937 - Conference Proceedings, or in: "Annex 1. Official Languages of the League. Note by Mr. McKinnon Wood. UN Archive, R4036/5B/32496/14390.

[483] Ibid.

Peace Conference and the Covenant of the League of Nations.[484] Let us, then, explore the arguments McKinnon mentioned. The note continues:

> The recognition of the League as having two official languages dates from the entry into force of the Covenant, and the status of French and English as the official languages has *never* been questioned. The League documents have *from the outset* been circulated in French and English. The proceedings of the Council were *from the outset* conducted, and its minutes kept, in French and English.[485]

Lacking any mention of a binding document, the emphasized words underscore said malaise, and are used by the author to stress and convey the idea of the *natural* character of said practice, natural here meaning something that cannot, and should not, be questioned because it has always been that way. At the same time, however, the recurrence of these words in a context generally characterized by a diplomatic, cold, and somewhat rigid style, underscores precisely the opposite: the fragility of said practice. It is true that McKinnon mentioned that formal recognition is to be found in several documents: first, in the minutes of the Council's fifth session, where a memorandum regarding the Secretariat's staff was adopted. The latter reads as follows:

> Since the business of the League will be conducted in the French and English languages, the Secretary-General has found it necessary, for the efficiency of the Secretariat that the members of the clerical side of the Secretariat should be drawn from the French and English-speaking nations.[486]

Technically, the first sentence is not normative: there is not a "must" that can be interpreted as legally binding, with the text's crucial point referring to appointment of personnel, not to language use. Rather, the future tense in the first sentence can be considered as the description or, at best, the ascertainment of a consolidated practice. Complementary documents mentioned by McKinnon stating that the LON's official languages were English and French include: the minutes of the Council's 10th session, which "pronounced itself in favor of the official languages of the [International] Court [of Justice] being French and English,"[487] which is technically either a document granting the status of official languages to French and English, but a performative statement. Then, McKinnon referred to the debates having taken place in the Assembly that same year in relation to the possible addition of Spanish among the LON's official languages,

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[484] The author wishes to thank Jacques Oberson (UN Archive Geneva) for confirming this fact.
[485] Official Languages of the League. Note by Mr. McKinnon Wood. [Received] 4 Feb. 1938. UN Archives, R5794/50/32688/32688 National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation - Second Conference, Paris, July 1937 - Conference Proceedings. My emphasis.
[486] Ibid.
[487] Ibid.

emphasizing the fact that said debate "was not a debate as to whether French and English should be the official languages of the League and the Assembly, but as to whether to these languages, *whose official character no one disputed*, Spanish should be added as a third official language."[488] Again, McKinnon was not providing a legal basis for to the LON's official language, rather, he stressed the unquestioned and unquestionable nature of said fact. In his view, the experience with the addition of Spanish among the official languages made it unwise to consider enlarging the number of official languages given the risk of snowball effect. McKinnon then moved on to provide arguments to impede any generalization of the argument the Austrian NCIC had used to argue their request, that is, the fact that the Financial Committee accepted the use of German in its sessions. In McKinnon's words, "the Committee appears to be one of *exceptional* linguistic ability which gives its members possibilities of speaking languages which could not be used without inconvenience in a committee containing members who only understood French or English rules of procedure." "Exceptional," here, was meant to convey the idea of rare, unusual and, implicitly, something that could not be generalized to other cases. His report concluded in a conciliatory tone, stressing the flexibility of the LON regarding the use of other languages, thus implicitly suggesting that there was no need to question the LON's official languages: at the end of the day, in practice, other languages could be used too. This was the case in conferences, where French and English were systematically used "except where there were no English-speaking delegations present, or where the English-speaking delegations waived the right to have English employed."[489] This, however, did not limit other countries' rights to use different languages given that in all League conferences, committees, and meetings "the provision of the Assembly's Rules of Procedure under which other languages than French or English can be employed, if an interpretation into French or- English is furnished by the delegation concerned, has been applied by analogy."[490] In the case of documents, McKinnon stressed LON's flexibility regarding incoming communications:

> it has never been the case that the League has insisted that communications or memoranda sent to it shall be written in French or English, and we have always had to deal with and translate communications in other languages.

McKinnon basically undermined the status of official language by showing that, in the reality of facts, plenty of mechanisms enabled the use of other languages, and he did so

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[488] Ibid.
[489] Ibid.
[490] Ibid.

to avoid any pretention to raise the status of other languages. Something that he did not directly state, but that can be read between the lines in his note, is the fact the lack of a legally binding provision provided the LON with certain freedom. Flexibility in terms of language use could be beneficial in the event of a specific country having a very relevant expertise in a given domain, which could mean than the relevant experts did not speak either French or English. Also, it opened the door to different policies being applied in different settings: it could be beneficial to have more leeway in expert meetings than at the Council or the Assembly, for example. And the LON could also benefit from the prerogative of according to someone the *exceptional* authorization to speak other languages. As can be grasped, some of these decisions could be upheld by practical communicative needs, but strategic reasons could also implicitly determine what languages were, or were not, authorized for use. See, for example, the ways McKinnon refers to the exceptionality of other course of action, and the lack of precision in justifying it:

> The publication of League documents in the two official languages, French and English, has been a matter of course from the commencement of the League, and this practice has *only* been departed from where there were *exceptional reasons* for doing so. *With very few exceptions*, all the agreements negotiated under the auspices of the League have also been drawn up in French and English, and the *exceptions* are justified by very *special reasons*.[491]

Avoiding any authoritarian reply, McKinnon left the door open: "The League of Nations is obviously quite free to adopt any decision it likes regarding the languages which it will use."[492] To immediately add the risk of any concession in that direction risking a snowball effect:

> It is most improbable that a third official language could be recognised without sooner or later recognising more languages as official. At the Sugar Conference, which was not a League Conference, the result of the French Government's insisting that the Convention should be drawn up in an authenticated French, as well as in the English text in which it had actually been negotiated, was that it became necessary to establish authentic German and Russian texts. The same observation applies to any attempt to admit one or more new official languages for limited purposes. It is almost certain that this would result in demands which could not be resisted for the official use of these languages for other purposes.[493]

McKinnon also enumerated the practical challenges of such decision:

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[491] Ibid. My emphasis.
[492] Ibid.
[493] Ibid.

From the point of view of the rapid conduct of the League's affairs and the accurate expression of the results its work, the existence of two official languages is a misfortune. A very appreciable delay in the work, and a still more appreciable increase in its cost, is the result. The addition of more official languages must increase the cost of the League's work in proportion to the number of languages which become official, and must increase the slowness with which the League works and the tendency to inaccuracy in the expression of its results in more than direct proportion to the number of new languages admitted. Most members of section are in a position to check the concordance of an English and a French text, but there are very few of them who could check the concordance of texts established in English, French, Italian, Russian, German and Spanish. For these reasons it would seem that every effort should be made to meet the disadvantages under which persons who have to deal with the League and cannot express themselves in French or English undoubtedly labour, by doing what is possible in this direction within the framework of the existing legal position and practice, and that care should be taken to avoid raising the question of official languages.[494]

Thus, even though McKinnon's note made it clear that French and English where the LON's official languages, the legal basis was not that clear.[495] This speaks also to the LON's fragility, the hard equilibrium between technical needs, pragmatism, and political considerations.

What happened, then, with the minutes of the 1937 Conference that originated said conundrum? An English and French version were published by the LON. The LON's Secretariat proposed as solution the cooperation between NCIC interested in the German translation, which included the Austrian and the Swiss Committee, and offered their availability to provide multiple English and French copies, proofreading resulting translation and, eventually, a financial contribution to alleviate NCIC's expenses.[496] Given that a new meeting of NCIC was programmed in Santiago de Chile in 1939, a Spanish translation was published as well on the 1937 meeting thanks to the collaboration of the Chilean NCIC.[497] Said decisions reflects that language policies were as flexible as political interests recommended. It was, however, a precarious flexibility that could be instrumentalized. This is additionally illustrated by a controversy having involved

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[494] Ibid.

[495] For a contrasting example, UN's official languages are declared so in the Rules of Procedure and in resolutions approved by the General Assembly. See: "What are the official languages of the United Nations?", Dag Hammarskjöld Library Website. Available online : https://ask.un.org/faq/14463?_gl=1*2ipdax*_ga*MjAxMTQzMTc4OS4xNzA0MjIyNTUx*_ga_TK9BQL5X7Z*MTcwNDIyMjU1MS4xLjEuMTcwNDIyNDI2My4wLjAuMA.

[496] Jean Daniel de Montenach to Alfons Dopsch, Feb. 1, 1938. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-III-56-4 2e Conférence générale des Commissions nationales, Paris (juillet 1937) – 4.

[497] *Segunda Conferencia General de las Comisiones Nacionales de Cooperación Intelectual, Paris, 5 a 9 de julio de 1937: actas e informes* (Impr. Univ, Santiago de Chile, 1939). UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-III-63 1e Conférence des Commissions nationales américaines à Santiago (janvier 1939).

German lawyer, politician, and diplomat Heinrich Sahm, who occupied the function of president of the Senate in the Free City of Danzig,[498] then under League of Nations mandate. Sahm was used to speaking German in his interventions before the Council and even though, at the beginning, he brought his own interpreter with him, later on this task was taken on by Humbert Denis Parodi, then Council interpreter, who interpreted Sahm's statements from German into French or English.[499] Fearing that this flexibility might backfire, Sahm was soon requested to use French or English, which gave rise to a very polite tug-of-war. In his defense, Sahm's tried to argue that he could not be considered an ordinary member of the Council given Danzig's mandate, and on the other hand, he referred to the additional expense translation entailed, which was especially problematic given that "Danzig was not rich."[500] Colban insisted that he used English or French, something Sahm's shown reluctance to do given that he "did not like the press behind him to smile if he did not speak well enough."[501] At the end of the day, lacking the services of a LON's interpreter," the delegation required the services of German-speaking journalists present at the Council's session as interpreters. Dr. Beer, from the *Koelnische Zeitung*, acted in that quality, which originated wide critique. Irrespective of whether the alluded arguments were true or not, this exchange illustrates the risk of arbitrary concessions, and the equally arbitrary character of their suppression, as well was the implicit way the decision of financing one's own interpreter turned into a de facto invitation to use the two legitimate languages, especially for less wealthy countries.

Attempts to challenge language use at the LON and the ICO need to be considered as attempts to politicize organizational practices. In other words, by problematizing certain practices, the effect was to question what otherwise appeared as necessary and functional decisions or mechanisms that, having been consecrated by institutionalization processes, had been extracted from debate. That is why said challenges present a special analytical interest, they constitute precious moments to deconstruct the apparently depoliticized character of institutional practices. Countries challenging official practices were not, in this case, the most peripheral ones, but what can be considered semi-peripheries. The fact that Austria and Germany, and Latin American countries challenged

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[498] Position analogous to the figure of head of government and chief of state.
[499] Erik Colban to S. MacDonnell, May 9, 1925. Un Archives, R180-4-44587-44587 Use of the official languages at Council meetings - Note on this question in reference to Danzig.
[500] Ibid.
[501] Ibid.

language use, is coherent with Louis' conclusions on the politicization of representation within the ILO. In that case,

> La politisation de la représentation n'est pas nécessairement activée par les plus faibles (…), mais plutôt par ceux qui se sentent victimes d'une 'injustice' due à un décalage entre leur représentation effective au sein de l'OIT et leurs perceptions de la place qui devrait être la leur en fonction de leur puissance, de l'avancée de leur législation sociale et/ou de leurs besoins au sein de l'organisation.[502]

Grandjean has also reached similar conclusions regarding countries requesting permanent seats at the ICIC,[503] which suggests that the politicization of representation at the LON and in its technical bodies, including the ICO, operated in similar ways. Languages and translation policies offered an additional platform to politicize both political and intellectual representation.

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[502] Louis, "Une représentation dépolitisée ?," 73.
[503] Grandjean, "A Representative Organization?," 83–84.

6. The Construction of a Voice for the IIIC: Institutional Translation

Having reconstructed the main language and translation policies followed at the LON and some of the debates shaping them, I now narrow my focus to the IIIC's practices. Some of the questions guiding the present chapter refer to the ways translation was organized within the structure of the IIIC, which includes the place of translation (and translators) within the IIIC's administrative structure and budget, as well as their skills, training, and experience. As has been shown for the LON, the answer to said questions will necessarily have to cover explicit policies and implicit policies derived from practice. Also, considering the IIIC's executive character, which required from it the establishment of contacts with numerous external agents, it can be expected that said body presented specific translation needs. Articulating the different factors, I shall analyze the ways the need to affirm the IIIC's international character intertwined with the LON's official policy of English and French as official languages, and with the need to collaborate with actors based in a wide number of countries.

The present chapter is structured in three main sections. Section 6.1 opens with a large-scale analysis of a part of the IIIC's archival records from a language perspective. In Section 6.2, I examine translation at the IIIC by discussing its role within the latter's administrative structure (Section 6.2.1), and a study of the agents having fulfilled translation duties. A first analysis revealed that a variety of actors performed translation tasks, from stenographers to national delegates and experts. Within this framework, a distinction became necessary between actors hired as translators by the IIIC, and other professional categories whose carriers performed non-professional translation tasks at varying levels. The former are addressed in Subsection 6.2.1 and 6.2.2, where I examine their social profiles and language skills. In Subsection 6.2.3, I look into agents performing translation work even though they were not hired for that purpose. In Section 6.3, I broaden the scope of the chapter and link the question of languages and translation to that of forms of participation (and representation) in the ICO's work. More precisely, I delve into what I call the geographies of intellectual cooperation, which consists in a large-scale analysis of the geographies mentioned in a part of the IIIC's preserved records. This aspect is also put in relation with languages used in the ICO's work.

6.1. Toward a large-scale analysis of the IIIC's communication flows

Multiple sources attest to the fact that national interests played a crucial role in the decision of the French government to sponsor the IIIC's creation.[504] This can be confirmed also by referring to a quote by the IIIC's first director, Julien Luchaire, stating that the dominance of French language was one of the first achievements of the decision to locate the IIIC in Paris.

> Au fur et à mesure que s'accroîtra l'activité de l'Institut l'influence française se fera de plus en plus sentir. Dès à présent, un résultat pratique semble atteint, c'est la prévalence de la langue française dans les correspondances et discussions internationales qui ont lieu sur les sujets de coopération intellectuelle.[505]

It was indeed true: the location of the IIIC favored the use of French as an international language and sought to slow down English domination. From this standpoint, the decision made by the French Government to invest large sums of money in the IIIC was supposed to directly have a return in terms of symbolic capital. However, the perspective needs to be broadened to address what were the factors facilitating or hindering the use of French as working language for an international body specializing on intellectual affairs. First, in that sense, was the fact that French had benefitted from a privileged international status for centuries, especially in the intellectual domain. Language of diplomacy and language of culture for a good part of the West, the gesture of the French government needs to be put in the context of efforts made to preserve the influence of French language in previous centuries. The historical prevalence of French as a language of culture contributed to the acceptance of the IIIC being located in Paris, as well as to the use of French in daily work, because most intellectuals spoke, or at least understood, French. However, Switzerland was also a French-speaking potential location for the new international body. In this regard, French government pressure for the IIIC to be set in Paris, and their decision to sponsor it, needs to be put in relation not only with a question of language domination, but, more broadly, with the position of France in the international order. Beside a weakening position in the political domain, the foundation of the IIIC can be read as an attempt to secure a domain French hegemony was not yet directly challenged, that of the

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[504] Renoliet, *L'UNESCO*, passim.

[505] Julien Luchaire to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nov. 5, 1926, quoted in Renoliet, *L'UNESCO*, 227–28. Emphasis in the original. Without doubting Luchaire's statement, the fact that said letter was revolved to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs needs to be taken into account, in the sense that Luchaire's statement reinforced him in his role as director, confirmed the usefulness of the body he represented in the eyes of the ministry and justified the investment made by the French government.

"spirit." Once that location had been secured, additional factors favored the use of French in its daily work. The start of its work necessarily led to hiring an administrative and technical workforce. For practical reasons, in most of the cases, said personnel was found in individuals who already lived in Paris when the IIIC opened its doors, in some cases having French as their mother tongue, in others being largely fluent in such a language despite having other native languages. This fact clearly favored the centrality of French in the IIIC's daily work. From this standpoint, the IIIC's location in Paris and the use of French were at the same time cause and consequence. The French government wanted the IIIC in Paris to reinforce that language and that country's international clout, but on the other hand, the IIIC's international clout was also reinforced by Paris international character, and by the possibilities the city offered to hire actors from different nationalities.

However, France's domination on the IIIC's functioning, and the centrality conferred to French, was not easily accepted by all parties involved. Several voices feared, already at the IIIC's foundation, that the new body would be excessively marked by French interests.[506] From this perspective, an excessive centrality of French could easily backfire. Without necessarily aiming at questioning the prevalence of French as lingua franca at the IIIC, in the following pages I reconstruct the internal language and translation policies of the IIIC by examining the materials preserved in its archive. By doing so, I seek to complement current knowledge regarding the IIIC's functioning and reconstruct the inherent complexities faced by any institution confronted with the need to establish international flows of communication under a thin budget.

6.1.1. Language use in documents and correspondence

Preserved material in the IIIC's funds provide us with rich information to reconstruct the functioning of the IIIC's daily work. Against this backdrop, a distinction can be made between language use in preserved documents and in preserved correspondence, given

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[506] Said fear was referred by Édouard Daladier, French Minister of Public Instruction, in the speech he pronounced in the IIIC's inauguration. See Daniel Laqua, "Internationalisme ou affirmation de la nation ? La coopération intellectuelle transnationale dans l'entre-deux-guerres." *Critique internationale* 52 no. 3 (2011): 54. See also, regarding negotiations after the French proposal to sponsor the IIIC, in: Jo-Ann Pemberton, "The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation," in *The Story of International Relations, Part One. Cold-Blooded Idealists* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020) 48–67.

that the focus on different modes of communication can add nuance to the analysis. The archive's organization into documents on the one hand, and correspondence on the other allows for the examination of two communication contexts. Documents attest to official language uses. As such, they have a strong symbolic power. In that context, the IIIC could decide in what languages official resolutions and documentation were published. It is to be expected that the focus on official documents will shed light on the proportion of use of the two official languages in the LON's framework, English and French. Language uses in correspondence, instead, offer a glimpse on the way the IIIC's work reflected linguistic diversity in the unequally global intellectual space and how it handled it in its daily operations. Therefore, the hypothesis in this case is that, next to the two official languages, correspondence may illustrate alternative communication dynamics.

If we start out by looking into language use in documents, analysis can focus on Series Documents in the IIIC's archive. The latter contains a heterogeneous corpus comprised of resolutions, reports, agreements, meeting minutes or proceedings of events organized in the framework of intellectual cooperation (mainly conferences and expert meetings), and internal notes. The series includes also circular letters, which, given their official and impersonal character, can be assimilated to official documents. To examine them from a language perspective, folders' metadata is a useful source of information (see Section 4.3.1 for a detailed account of methods employed to automatically retrieve language information). Figure 14 illustrates a dominance of French in records preserved in Series Documents, which confirms the idea that one of the reasons why France financed the IIIC and pushed for it to be set in Paris was the centrality it would confer to French.

The fact that documents preserved in French practically double those in English suggests that the official translation policy was not enough to contain the domination of French in the IIIC's work. However, as we shall see when discussing correspondence, documents is the context in which the presence of French and English is less unbalanced. The presence of German, Italian, and Spanish, although residual, deserves some comment as well if we keep in mind that we are considering the folder containing official documents, which would a priori imply the only use of official languages. In future analyses, it will be interesting to examine whether languages appearing in the 3rd, 4th, or 5th position are generally the same for other archival records, or not.
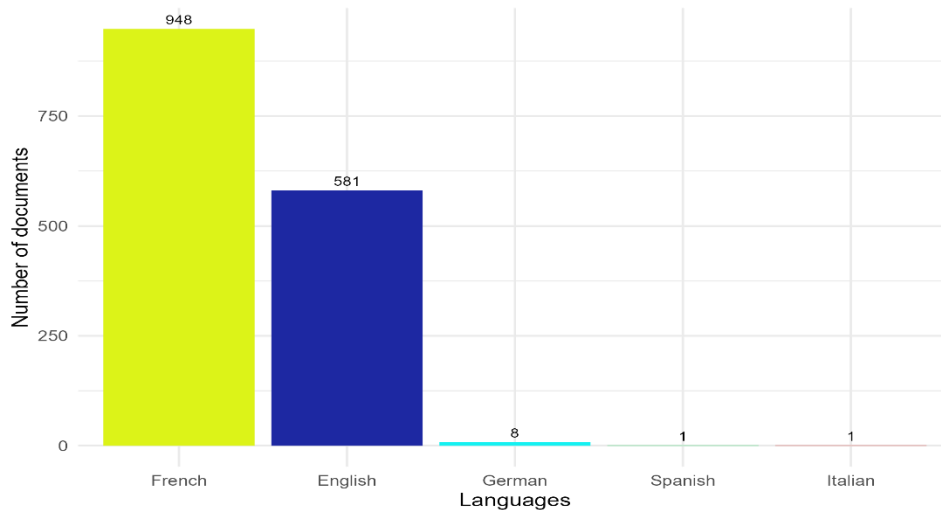
Figure 14. Languages used in documents preserved in Series Documents according to folders' metadata.

The previous corpus can also be examined by introducing the diachronic dimension, an information available through the documents' metadata. As Figure 15 illustrates, a diachronic approach nuances the dominance of French over time.
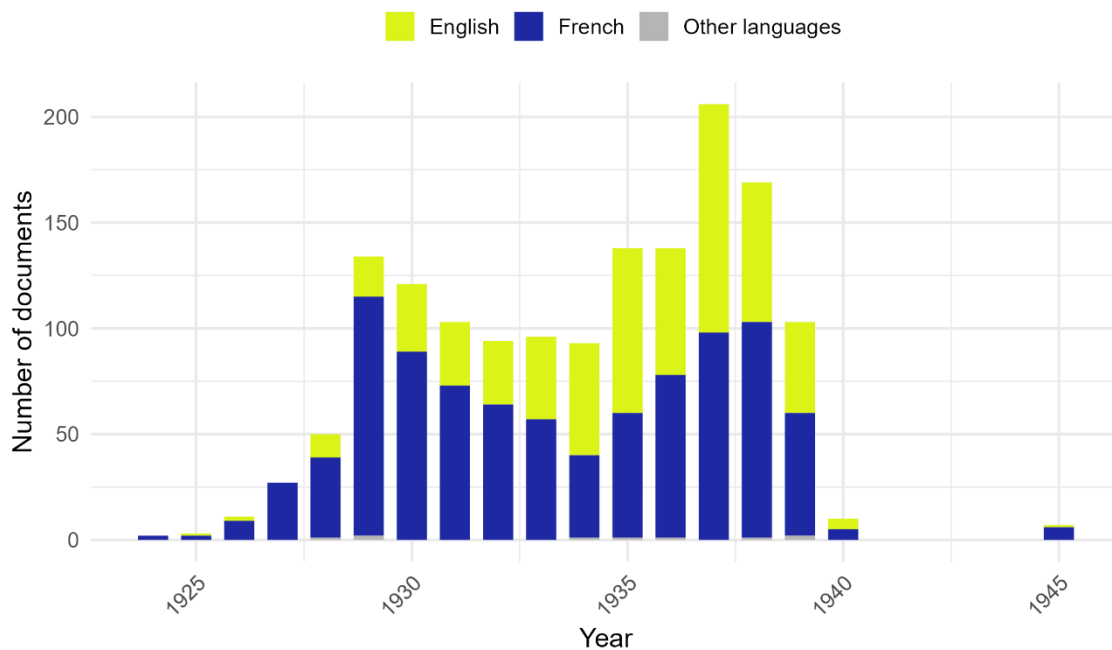
Figure 15. Evolution of language used in documents preserved in Series Documents according to folders' metadata

Although the evolution of language use in Documents points to an initial moment where French clearly dominated, followed by a more balanced between English and French in

211

the late 1920s, and especially, in the 1930s. Said change coincides with the reorganization of the IIIC and the replacement of its first director, Julien Luchaire, who, it has been mentioned, was accused by its contemporaries of using the IIIC to favor French interests. As the aforementioned letter to the French Ministry illustrated, said suspicions were justified. The previous figure also reveals that translations in English increased in the second half of the 1930s, which also coincides with the consolidation of relations between the IIIC and the USA. The latter had a crucial effect on the use of English, since grants offered by USA philanthropy, more precisely the Rockefeller Foundation, were often allocated to cover the translation costs into English. Additional studies should examine whether the reinforcement of relations with USA philanthropy was a consequence of the change of director, or if other factors converged.

In the quotation opening the present section, Luchaire noted that the dominance of French in correspondence was already achieved, an aspect that can be quantified by examining preserved correspondence. In this case, I refer to Series Correspondence of the IIIC's funds, which contains a considerable number of letters said body sent or received. In this case, language information is not provided by folders' metadata and for this reason it has been automatically retrieved (see Section 4.3.1 for the description of the methodology employed). For the same reason, it was not possible to make chronological analysis. It is also not possible to automatically retrieve that information given the difficulty to distinguish dates in which a letter was sent or received, and year mentions in the body of the text. Correspondence preserved in the homonymous Series can be divided depending on formal aspects, such as typewritten vs. handwritten letters. Introducing that distinction makes it possible to examine whether language use can be related to writing conditions, with typewritten letters potentially corresponding to a higher degree of institutionalization (presence of a writing machine, probably of a stenographer), than handwritten letters. The corpus of correspondence can also be divided between domains of activity, which makes it possible to examine if language use was similar in the ICO's different domains of activity. For example, in the framework of relations with governments, or in the framework of contacts related to specific matters, such as literature or science. With this aim, we can compare language use in correspondence in Subseries A, which corresponds to relations with NCIC, state delegates and Direction's General Affairs, and correspondence preserved in Subseries F, which comprises correspondence

related to literary and artistic matters. That is to say, Subseries A constitutes institutional communication, whereas Subseries F presents a more technical character.

Figures 16 and 17 convey precisely said information, presented in a way that seeks to make possible comparison between typewritten correspondence in Subseries A and F (and between handwritten correspondence), as well as between typewritten and handwritten correspondence in each subseries. In all figures, the bars corresponding to French and English overshadow other languages because of the high percentages of correspondence using those languages, in opposition to the low percentages where other languages are used. For this reason, the logarithmic scale is used, which makes it possible to express very different range values. In this regard, the size of bars should not be used to compare results. Instead, for a correct reading of results expressed in a logarithmic scale, the percentage number indicated in the top of each bar is to be considered. Similarly, values appearing as negative, therefore, should not be read as indicating negative quantities, but amounts of letters inferior to 1%. In those cases, again, I refer to percentages indicated in each bar. By doing so, my goal has been to generate a visualization representing the comparative relation between English and French in correspondence, their comparison with other languages in general, and a comparison between those other languages.

From the comparison between Figures 16 and 17, a clear dominance of French can be identified, both in Subseries A and F, and both in typewritten and handwritten letters. In all cases, French is always above 50%. Instead, English does not reach 15% in any of the four different subsets. In this regard, correspondence presents a very different scenario from that obtained in the case of documents. As Luchaire mentioned, the use of French in correspondence was one of the practical results obtained. From these findings, correspondence confirms the prevalent use of French in the communication flows established by the IIIC. If we add results of letters expressing in French and English, in all cases both languages represent between 70 and 90% of the dataset: typewritten letters in Subseries A (88.5%), typewritten letters in Subseries F (83.9 %) handwritten letters in Subseries A (74.7%), and, finally, handwritten letters in Subseries F (70.1%). This, in turn, suggests that the principle of the two official languages was generally followed.
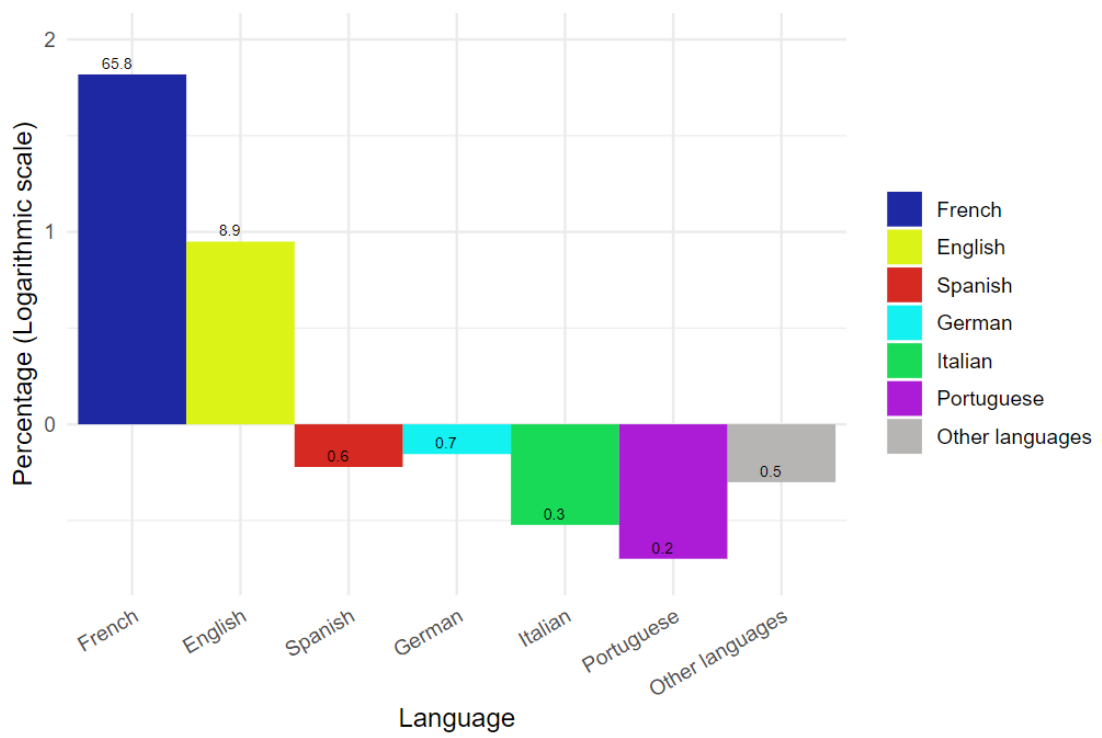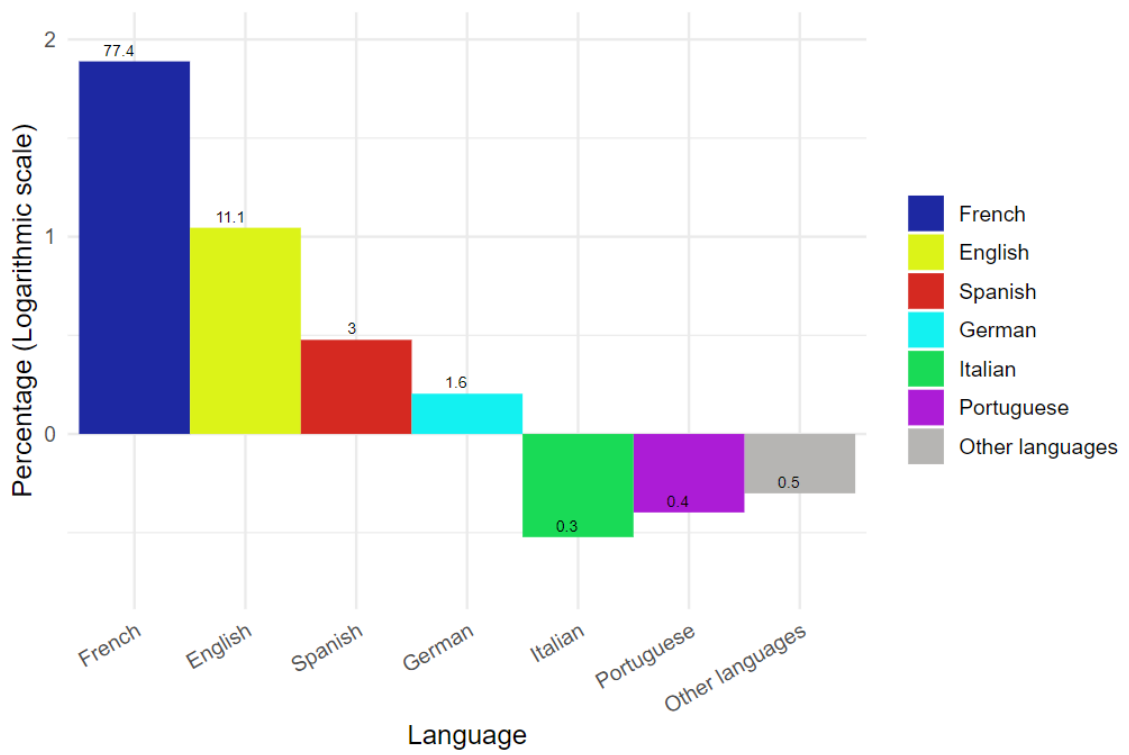
Figure 16. Language use in Subseries A (typewritten top, handwritten down)
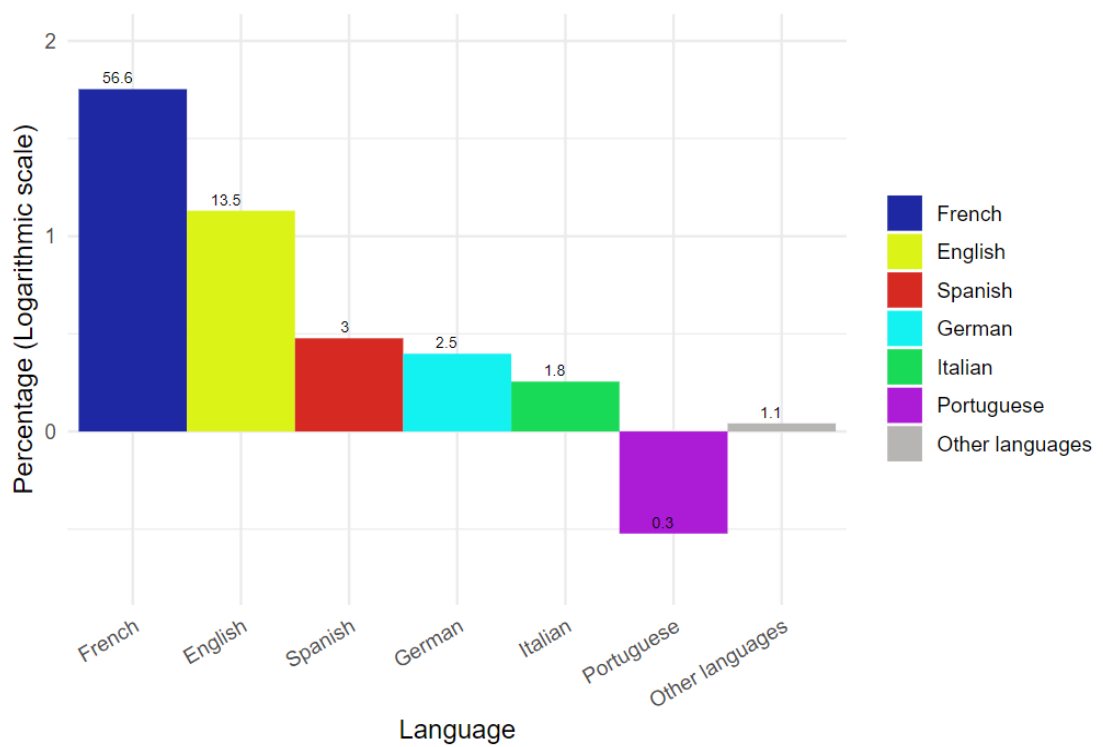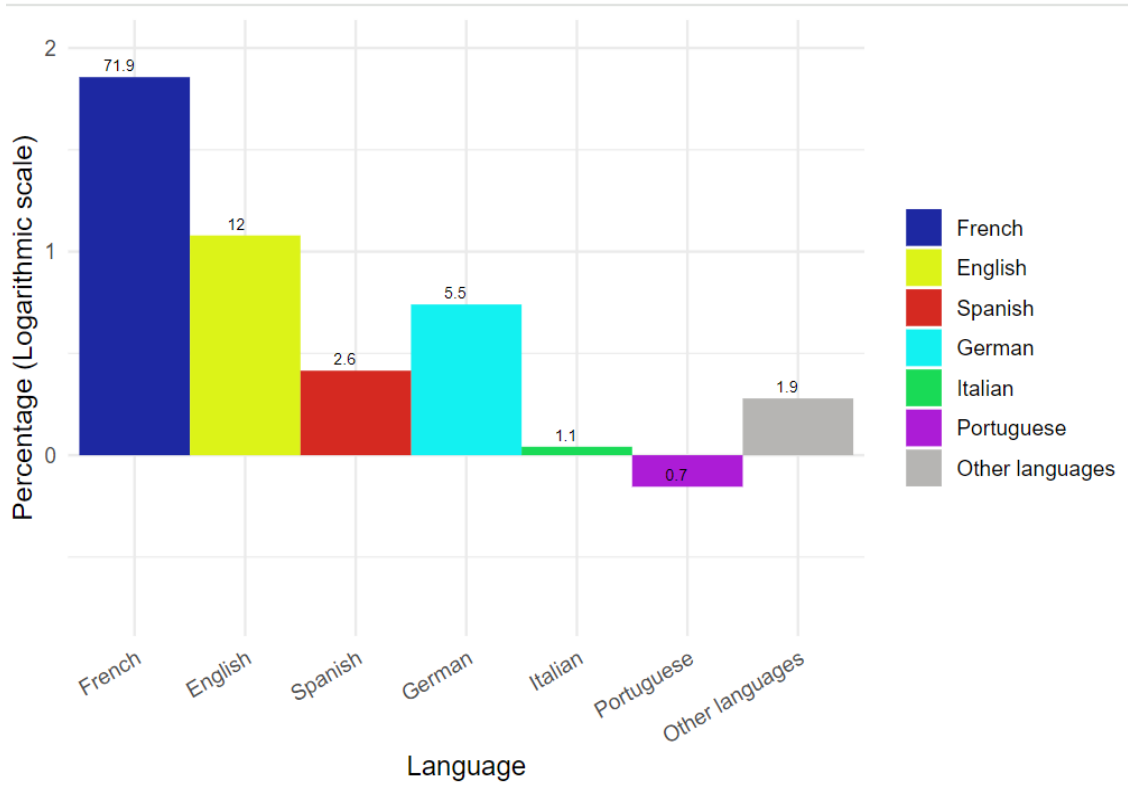
Figure 17. Language use in Subseries F (typewritten up, handwritten down).

Despite the undisputed dominance of French language, a clear difference can be identified between typewritten and handwritten correspondence. By ordering the corpus in decreasing fractions of documents written in French we get: typewritten letters in Subseries A (77.4%), typewritten letters in Subseries F (71.9%) handwritten letters in Subseries A (65.8%), and, finally, handwritten letters in Subseries F (56.6%). This suggests that the distinction between typewritten and handwritten letters reflect contrasting dynamics. Also, handwritten correspondence presents an accrued language diversity. Although the analysis of typewritten letters identified 9 languages other than French and English, traces of more than 20 languages have been found in handwritten correspondence. Such a diversity makes it possible to argue that in typewritten correspondence, that we can link to more official writing conditions, conform to official language policies.

The same features can also be sought in thematic terms, that is, by comparing Subseries A and F. To that end, let me recall the results comparing the use of official languages: typewritten letters in Subseries A (88.5%), typewritten letters in Subseries F (83.9 %) handwritten letters in Subseries A (74.7%), and, finally, handwritten letters in Subseries F (70.1%). As this enumeration illustrates, the presence of official languages is superior in Subseries A than in Subseries F. Furthermore, more language diversity is found in Subseries F, in both typewritten and handwritten letters, although the difference is not big. This result, in turn, can be used to argue that, in addition to the distinction between typewritten/handwritten, a difference between official and thematic correspondence adds further nuance to the spaces that better conformed to official policies. Subseries A, in this regard, represents more formal or official communication topics, whereas Subseries F, instead, constitutes a thematic folder, hence involving mainly correspondence on technical projects. Handwritten correspondence in a thematic domain constitutes the less institutionalized domain of communication, hence deviating more clearly from the official policy of two official languages.

Although the previous results confirm the clear dominance of French, from an analytical standpoint it is worth asking which the factors were justifying or explaining the use of languages other than French and English.

Correspondence written in languages other than the official ones essentially consists in reports by NCIC and replies to circulars and inquiries by the IIIC. In the first case, the presence of other languages reveals that minutes were taken in national

languages and that not all NCIC subsequently translated said minutes before sending them to Paris. In the second case, when representatives of a given national field sent information to the IIIC regarding the ways a specific aspect worked in that country, said information was sometimes provided in national languages given the difficulties, in terms of time, cost, skills, or extension, to translate it themselves.

We can illustrate the issue of inquiries by referring to the inquiry on the organization of literary life, conducted in 1928. To obtain information related to the literary associations present in each country, the IIIC sent a questionnaire to a number of literary associations,[507] with NCIC or national delegates fulfilling this informational function for the countries where the IIIC was unaware of any literary association. Language use in replies was varied: some literary associations attached to letters written in French their statutes in the original version and in French translation. This was the case of the Latvju Rakstnieku un Žurnālistu Arodbiedriba (Latvian Professional Society of Writers and Journalists),[508] the Verband Deutscher Bühnenschriftsteller und Bühnenkomponisten,[509] and the Magyar Színpadi Szerzők Egyesülete - Budapest (Association of Hungarian Playwrights from Budapest), which nevertheless mentioned that "Considerant que la traduction française de ce travail d'information exige un certain temps, nous vous prions de nous accorder un délai de quelques semaines."[510] In other cases, replies were written in French, but the attached documents were sent only in the original language. In the Norwegian case, a letter in French provided the basic information regarding the composition and mission of the Den norske Forfatterforening (Norwegian Authors' Association), but for more detailed information, a copy of the association statutes, in Norwegian, was attached.[511] The same happened for replies from the Sveriges Författarförening (Sweden's Writers' Association)[512] and the Sociedade Brasileira de Autores Theatraes (Brazilian Society of Playwrights).[513] In some cases the statutes were directly not sent. For example, the Eesti Kirjanikkudee Liit (Estonian Writers' Union)

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[507] Requested information included: Name of the association, foundation date, headquarters, names of board, address, existence of published statutes, number of members, frequency of meetings, existence of a published output, geographic scope (regional, national, international), alliances and collaborations with other national or international associations, goal, links with literary schools or movements, specialization in a domain / period / translation. "Circular letter 11.1928," UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F-V-2 Enquête documentaire sur les associations littéraires (1928).
[508] Alberts Zalts to Julien Luchaire, December 19, 1928. Ibid.
[509] Dr. Goldbaum to Julien Luchaire. October 11, 1928. Ibid.
[510] Eugène Heltai to Julien Luchaire, October 22, 1928. Ibid.
[511] Den Norske Forfatter Forening to Julien Luchaire, October 12, 1928. Ibid.
[512] Ulf von Konow, secretary, to Julien Luchaire, October 27, 1928. Ibid.
[513] Joao B. Gonzaga to Julien Luchaire, October 20, 1928. Ibid.

provided a summary of the necessary elements in the letter in French, without any type of attached documentation.[514] If we move on to replies that deviated from official language use, several letters written in national languages can be found. This was the case of the Academia Nicaragüense de la Lengua (Nicaraguan Language Academy),[515] which communicated in Spanish, and of the Zwiazek Zawodowy Literatów Polskich (Trade Union of Polish Writers), which sent both the letter and the attached documents in Polish.[516] An interesting case of non-official language is that of Italian. When revolving to the Confederazione Nazionale Sindacati Fascisti Professionisti ed Artisti (National Confederation of Fascist Professional and Artist Unions), Italian was used. Letters in that case directly addressing Giuseppe Prezzolini,[517] who shortly acted as Chief for the Section of Literary Relations. As we can see, the nationality of the IIIC's officials (and their language skills) were used to facilitate exchanges with their country of origin. At the other end of this panorama, we find replies from associations from countries speaking French and English, either as monolingual, bilingual, or plurilingual countries: the Incorporated Society of Authors, Playwrights and Composers from London, the Metropolitan School of Art from Dublin , the Association des Écrivains Belges, the Section de Presse, Lettres, et Arts from the Conseil National des Femmes Françaises, or the Association Bibliophile from Haiti are just some examples of correspondents for which language use did not pose a problem.

Insofar, language use was varied, but it was not the object of specific comment. Instead, in a few letters, language use came to the forefront because agents justified their choice or requested to use specific languages when addressing the IIIC. The best example is found in a letter by Jon Leifs, director of the Bandalag Íslenzkra Listamanna (Association of Icelandic Artists).

> Da die Mehrzahl unserer ordentlichen Mitglieder Französisch nicht genügend beherrscht erlaube ich mir ganz ergebenst zu bitten mir nochmal dieselben Zirkularschreiben und anderes Material <u>möglichst in einer skandinavischen Sprache</u> oder in Deutsch oder sonst in Englisch zukommen zu lassen, vorausgesetzt das Korrespondenz und Berichte zwischen uns in isländischer (altnordischer) Sprache ausgeschlossen sind.[518]

> (Since the majority of our regular members do not have a sufficient command of French, I would like to respectfully request that the same circular letters and other

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[514] Henrik Visnapuu to Julien Luchaire, January 14, 1929. Ibid.
[515] Francisco Paniagua Prado, no recipient mentioned. August 6, 1929. Ibid.
[516] Wacław Sieroszewski to Julien Luchaire, November 25, 1928. Ibid.
[517] Corrado Govoni, secretary, to Giuseppe Prezzolini, December 29, 1928. Ibid.
[518] Jon Leifs to Julien Luchaire, May 30, 1929. Ibid.

material be sent to me again, if possible, in a Scandinavian language or in German or otherwise in English, provided that correspondence and reports between us are in Icelandic [Old Norse] language are excluded.)

Leif's preferences (Nordic languages, German, English) make explicit the fact that French was by no means a universal international language and that, in some regions, other languages were preferred. Additionally, his letter constitutes the only request to use a peripheral language when addressing the IIIC. In subsequent correspondence, Leif used German (but provided the English translation of the Bandalag Íslenzkra Listamanna's statutes in English). The IIIC replied in English. This brings us to multilingual letter exchange. Some agents used their native language, but explicitly invited their respondent to speak in French, thus normalizing plurilingual conversations. This was Max Hirschfeld's case, secretary of the the Allgemeiner Deutsche Schriftstellerverein (General Writers Association of Germany). In this regard, he wrote:

> Parce que vous avez pris connaissance de nos documents allemands, je suppose que vous savez lire allemande [sic] et je continue dans cette langue mais je vous prie de répondre en français, s'il vous plaît, puisque je comprends bien malgré mon inhabilité de m'exprimer suffisement [sic].[519]

The letter goes on in German. This excerpt is interesting: first, his purposes, as well as the letter's inaccurate orthography in French, suggest that a good knowledge of French could not be taken for granted, and that the distinction between active and passive language skills is necessary because it captures intermediate possibilities between monolingualism in French (or English) and the use of non-official languages. Hirschfeld's words also make explicit the dangers in accepting the use of languages other than the official ones, i.e., it could lead to the normalization of using non-official languages, which would in turn directly affect the IIIC's budget for it would increase the need for translation.

The challenge, in this case, was not only for the IIIC's officials to understand the contents of documents in languages other than French or English. In several cases, the IIIC disseminated obtained documentation in its publications to provide other countries with examples or models (of contracts, of statutes, etc.). Ulterior difficulties appeared in said cases if original documents were written in non-official languages. This was the case with the statutes of the Caisse d'avances et de prêts aux Écrivains suisses, shared with the IIIC by the Schweiz Schriftsteller Verein/Société Suisse d'Écrivains, as well as the case

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[519] Max Hirschfeld to Giuseppe Prezzolini, November 24, 1928. Ibid.

of the editorial contract template they generally used. The only available version they possessed by the time this exchange took place was written in German, for the German-speaking part of Switzerland, because the French version, for French-speaking Switzerland, was not yet approved. In this case, the IIIC translated form German, but contacted the Swiss society for them to correct and validate the translation.[520] Corrections came back in a letter sent by Felix Moeschlin, president of the Société Suisse d'Écrivains, in which it was mentioned that corrections had been made by a third actor, professor Kohler. It has not been possible to find other examples to ascertain whether the same validation was requested to monolingual countries. Beyond the anecdote, this example illustrates that, in a context that operated without institutionalizing translation from or into non-official languages, authoring a translation was tantamount of assuming responsibility for the latter. This aspect sheds light on one of the reasons why the IIIC preferred to use international languages. The technical character of documents required a specific expertise from translators, something the IIIC was not always able to provide, as we shall see in subsequent chapters. Indeed, the technical character of topics discussed made it difficult to find intellectuals that possessed both the field-specific expertise and the linguistic skills to express such knowledge in English or French, something that, in turn, problematized the exclusive use of French, a rigid position by the IIIC, and also the enlargement and diversification of informants to the IIIC's expert meetings.

Practical difficulties in using French, or English, could also function as an excuse to use language as an opportunity to renegotiate power relations. Max Hirschfeld's proposal, that each one uses his own language in their communication, is very diplomatic in the delicate context of Franco-German relations but can also be considered a nationalistic move. It is no coincidence that German, Spanish and Italian are the main languages used in addition to French and English, with the corresponding countries having tried by different means to consolidate their position within the LON. The focus on the politics of language provides another explanation to why we can find traces of language diversity in the IIIC's archive, with this explanation having to do with the ambiguous hierarchical relations between the IIIC and single governments or, to say it otherwise, their mutual dependence. On the one hand, the principle of concurrence that determined the IIIC's functioning, and that largely favored the involvement of countries

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[520] Blaise Briod to Karl Naef, April 18, 1928. Ibid. To be noted that this organization used German in their correspondence with the Institute. See, for exemple, Karl Naef to the Institute, October 8, 1928.

in its work, favored the adaptation of governments to the IIIC's procedures and methods, including linguistic uses. On the other hand, nevertheless, governments were far from subordinated to the IIIC: they financed the IIIC (albeit to different extent) and provided it with the necessary legitimacy to carry out its task. Therefore, the IIIC needed to be relatively subservient and behave with the necessary diplomacy to comply with the pride of each country. This could be done via linguistic means: using the language of a specific country, when possible, created the sensation of confidence and, if one wants, certain sensation of intimacy. This has been illustrated in the case of Italian. Therefore, exceptions to the official use of French were made to convey such proximity and flatter the recipient of a communication. Sometimes it is hard to distinguish between the reason why a specific actor decides not to use English or French and, instead, use German, for example, with the possible confluence of linguistic facility and national pride.

Correspondence offers a way to examine how the IIIC interacted with the outer world. The use of a lingua franca and the recourse to translation have sometimes been considered as opposed, in the sense that the use of a lingua franca would make translation unnecessary. What the examples discussed in the present section illustrate, instead, is that the use of lingua francas displaces the instance where translation takes places, thus substituting to the institutional practice of translation the need of individual or self-translation. In most cases, the IIIC did not need to translate because information form national fields fulfilled said task. Instead, when the latter refrained from providing the translations, it was the IIIC that had to assume it. Even though the use of a lingua franca can present several vantages from an institutional perspective because it enables immediate communication and it is less expensive than organizing a system of translations or interpretation in multiple languages, it also devolves the burden of translation and of language learning upon individuals.

6.1.2. Source criticism and the presence of translations

The previous section confirms that the IIIC relied to a great extent on the use of French as main lingua franca and, to a lower degree, English. However, traces of language diversity suggests that characterizing language use within the ICO in terms of these two languages is an oversimplification. Traces in archive material cannot be mistaken with the reality of practices, and its insights cannot be universalized. Information about oral

communication in the IIIC should be considered, when existent, to complement the insights one can obtain from the quantitative analysis of archive material. Also, source criticism offers additional insights that disprove said narrative. Close examination of preserved correspondence reveals that a certain number of letters contain evidences revealing that they constitute translations of documents originally written in other languages. This suggests a need to distinguish between correspondence in its original form and the preserved version of correspondence. In other words, this finding underlines that it is necessary to work bearing in mind the mediated nature of the archive. The existence of a certain number of translations in archival records invite us to cautiously interpret the results of the bar charts presented in the previous section, and suggests also that language diversity was superior in the reality of practices than what the statistics of language use in preserved correspondence suggest. Figure 18 provides some examples of translations in the IIIC's archive, including between English and French, or involving other languages.

In order to evaluate the dimensions of said phenomenon, translations in the IIIC's archive should be quantified. Although I have not been able to do in the framework of the present dissertation, a typology of cases can be identified. A first group of letters are those containing an explicit mention indicating that they constitute translations, like the examples displayed in Fig. 21. This, obviously, facilitates their identification. Having searched for the word "traduction" in the ocerised version of Subseries A and F, including both typewritten and handwritten letters, I have obtained 380 results in its French form, and 67 occurrences of the word "translation" in English. Their amount is quite marginal if considered that the two subseries together contain over 18,000 letters according to our estimates. However, it should be also considered that in a number of cases translations do not include any explicit mention of them being so. A way to identify translations without any explicit mention is by locating the original and the translation. The easiest way to identify said cases is when both are preserved in the same page or in the same folder, which is however the exception rather than the norm. In Fig. 18, the comparison of original and translation reveals that in some cases we deal with literal translations (18a), but also notes accompanying letters where the latter are summarized and translated (18b), probably authored by secretaries or the Transit Section in the Archive, which first opened correspondence and directed it to the appropriate recipients.

18a)

C. 53. 1929 - Annexe 3

(Traduction)

"AKADEMISCHER AUSTAUSCHDIENST"

Berlin, le 12 juin 1929.

M. le Dr. Werner Picht,
Institut international
de coopération intellectuelle,
Section des relations universitaires,
2, rue de Montpensier,
PARIS.

18b)

(Traduit de l'Espagnol)

E.44.1936.

COMITE D'EXPERTS POUR L'ETUDE D'UN STATUT UNIVERSEL DU DROIT D'AUTEUR

ORGANISE EN COMMUN PAR LES INSTITUTS

DE ROME ET DE PARIS.

1ère réunion, Paris, 1er et 2 Avril 1936.

18c)

TRADUCTION

Commission Nationale Américaine
de Coopération Intellectuelle.

Cher Monsieur Bonnet,

Immédiatement après la réception de votre télégramme du 18
écoulé informant que la réunion d'experts archivistes aura lieu
le 27 mars et disant que les suggestions américaines étaient dé-
sirables, j'ai commencé à consulter les experts principaux dans
ce domaine des Etats Unis, et je suis à même de vous envoyer
ci-inclus:

Figure 18. Examples of translations in preserved correspondence. Sources : 18a) UNESCO Archives AG 1-IICI-[Bourses]-[13]-C.53 ; 18b) AG 1-IICI-[Réunion.ARCH]-l)-O.B traduction; 18c) UNESCO, AG 01-IICI-E-IV-44.
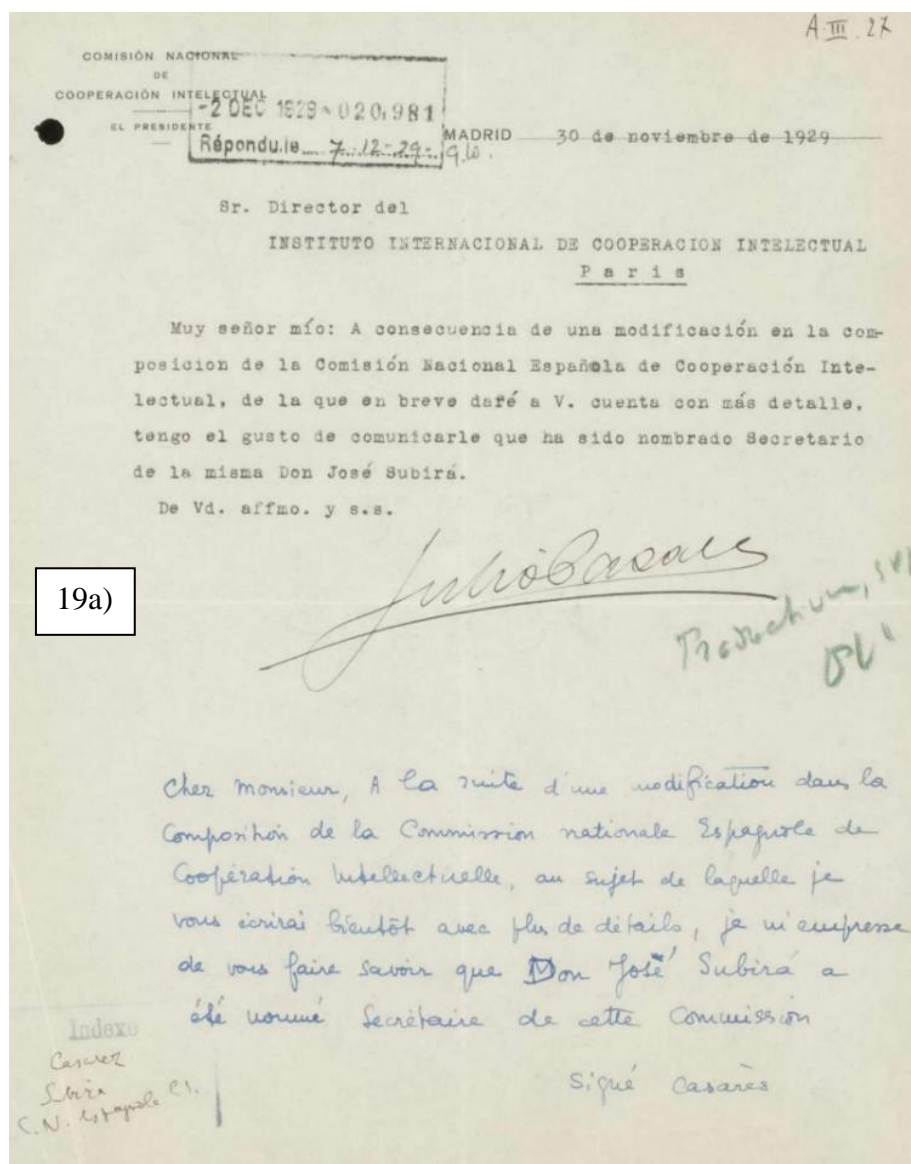
Figure 19. Examples of original and translation in the IIIC's records. 19a) AG 01-IICI-A-III-27 Espagne ; 19b) AG 01-IICI-A-III-31-1 Pays-Bas – 1 ; 19c) AG 01-IICI-E-IV-35 Droit d'auteur – Traduction ; 19d) AG 01-IICI-A-III-62-1 Rapports sur l'activité des Commissions nationales – 1.

NEDERLANDSCHE COMMISSIE VOOR INTELLECTUEELE SAMENWERKING.

Comité néerlandais de Coopération Intellectuelle.

The Netherlands' Committee of Intellectual Cooperation.

Niederländischer Ausschuss für geistige Zusammenarbeit.

Secretariaat: 1 Parallelweg, Bloemendaal.

4 JUIN 1927 № 003.143
Répondu le

Bloemendaal, 14 Mei 1927.

A. IV 31

Den Zeergeleerden Heer

Dr. U.Huber Noodt.

Parys.

Zeergeleerde Heer,

Hierby zend ik U, uit naam van Mej.van Dorp de fiches.
Tot Haar spyt was er voor Haar overhaast vertrek naar Genève geen ge-
legenheid meer ze na te zien en te rangschikken, maar zooals U weet
krygt U later een aangevulde editie.

Met de meeste hoogachting,

Uwe dw.

C. J. de Roo van Alderwerelt.

privé secretaresse.

Traduction d'une lettre de la secrétaire de
Mlle ▮ n Dorp, secrétaire du Comité néerlandais de
Coop. Intell. (14 . 5 . 27 .)

Je vous envoie ci-joint au nom de Mlle Van
Dorp les fiches (sur la vie intellectuelle à Hollande).
Elle n'a pu les revoir à cause de son départ
imprévu pour Genève; mais comme vous savez vous
recevrez plus tard une rédaction plus complète.

Reçu le 20 mai 1927.
h. Huber-Noodt

FRATELLI TREVES - EDITORI

Società Anonima per Azioni - Capitale Lire 5.000.000 interamente versato

E.IV.35

IL DIRETTORE — MILANO (111) 25·III·29
15 AVRIL 1929 - N 16.121
Répondue

Caro Treppolui

Sono ancora chiedesle un piacere?
Torno a Lei per mezzo del suo
Istituto, sarà più facile sa
per con precisione ma lo stato
attuale della questione dei Dritti
d'autore per la Germania e per
la Francia. Il nostro avv. può
sostiene che dura 10 anni soltant
(dopo la denunzia del Trattato di
Berlino nel 1907): ma la Borsa dei
Librai di Lipsia li riporta
a 30 anni dopo la mor...
tore. A chi dobbiamo a...
Le Lei può, caro Prez...
Informarsene senza ...

Treves
Droit d'auteur

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2. IV. 29

GP/Cl.

N° 260.

Monsieur W E I S S.

Dans la lettre ci-jointe de la Maison TREVES,
de MILAN, on pose une question à propos du droit
d'auteur : l'Italie ayant fait des réserves à la
Conférence de BERNE, est-ce qu'un éditeur italien
a le droit de publier des ouvrages étrangers 10 ans
après la publication dans le pays d'origine ?
L'avocat de la Maison TREVES est de cet avis, mais
le BORSENVEREIN soutient que ce droit s'étend à 30
années après la mort de l'auteur.

COMISIÓN CHILENA DE COOPERACIÓN INTELECTUAL
CASILLA 10-D. SANTIAGO

MEMORIA DE LA COMISION CHILENA DE COOPERACION INTELECTUAL
CORRESPONDIENTE AL AÑO 1937.-

La Comisión Chilena de Cooperación Intelectual, en el curso de este año, ha logrado encauzar sus actividades en dos sentidos: en el desarrollo de su propia organización y en la difusión de nuestra cultura en los demás países. Todo esto ha sido hecho en un plano modesto y limitado; con medios exiguos y con las dificultades inherentes a cualquier acción; pero ha sido hecho.

Instituto Chileno Argentino.

El Instituto Chileno Argentino que se constituyó hace tres años, ha tenido participación importante en la celebración del aniversario argentino, ha propiciado conferencias por radio, atendió a la delegación de abogados argentinos que hace poco estuvo en esta capital, ha dado término a la redacción de sus estatutos y su asamblea le ha prestado su aprobación. Actualmente estudia la celebración de certámenes sobre temas que favorezcan el incremento de las relaciones existentes entre uno y otro país. También se ha ocupado de realizar el intercambio de profesores y las gestiones respectivas permiten asegurar que pronto esa iniciativa será un hecho.

La visita del ...
vó la inauguración ...
la presidencia de de...
fué el primero de lo...
uno idéntico en Gui...
nes de interés gene...
en la Biblioteca de...

Poco después, a...
liviana, se inaugur...
presidente, el Dr. A...
jes sumamente prove...
un Instituto similar...

Commission chilienne de Coopération intellectuelle

Casilla 10. D. Santiago

Rapport pour l'activité de la Commission chilienne de Coopération intellectuelle en l'année 1937

Au cours de cette année, —

Les activités de la Commission chilienne de Coopération intellectuelle se sont développées dans deux directions principales: le développement de son organisation proprement dite et la diffusion de la culture chilienne dans les différents pays. Son plan a été modeste et limité; malgré les faibles moyens et les obstacles auxquels toute action se heurte, il a été appliqué

Institut chilo - argentin

Fondé il y a trois ans, l'Institut chilo-argentin a pris une part active à la célébration de l'anniversaire argentin et en organisant des conférences radiophoniques, en recevant la délégation d'avocats argentins qui séjourna il y a peu de temps dans notre capitale; il a terminé la rédaction de ses statuts, qui ont été approuvés par son assemblée. Il étudie actuellement la possibilité d'instaurer des discussions sur des thèmes susceptibles de favoriser l'accroissement des relations existant déjà entre les deux

Some translations contain additional information where said personnel framed a given letter for its recipient. See in this regard the sentence written in brackets in Fig. 19c. It is noteworthy that most translations are handwritten, which indicates that we are dealing with the reality of the day-to-day work at the IIIC. A clear example is found in Fig. 19d, where the presence of crossing-outs reveals translators' hesitancies. Also, Fig. 19 highlights some of the challenges faced when processing this corpus of correspondence with OCR tools.

A third possibility is that original and translation are preserved in different folders or subseries. In such cases, it would be very time consuming to manually ascertain whether a document or letter constitutes translations, if the original is preserved in another folder, if a partial translation exists, or if the original is not preserved at all. From a technical standpoint, identifying these cases by quantitative means would require an analysis that I have not been able to conduct in the framework of the present project, although such an undertaking would be useful for several reasons. First, because the recent digitization of the IIIC's archive opens the door to big data and quantitative analysis, whose outcome can be questioned in light of these findings. Suppression of multiple versions of a same letter (or document), be those preliminary versions or translations, is a necessary precondition to obtain more reliable quantitative results. Second, document comparison would also facilitate putting in relation the data from the Geneva and the Paris archives. Indeed, in some cases, documents that were lost in the IIIC's archive are preserved in Geneva, and in some cases, both archives contain duplicates. In order to advance toward a history of intellectual cooperation, and not the history of the IIIC or the history of the ICIC, putting both archives in relation would be useful.

Having said that, I go back to the consequences of the previous findings when reconstructing the IIIC's communication flows. Considering the different cases (translations preserved only in French, preservation of original and translation), it can be stated that the recourse to translation was not uncommon in the IIIC's communication flows. Attention should be paid to the fact that most translation examples have been found in folders containing relations with NCIC or with specific countries. This is a relevant insight if the IIIC's archive is used to reconstruct the history of intellectual cooperation from the perspective of its peripheral instances, especially NCIC. Their sources, as has been mentioned in Chapter 4, are scattered and in this regard the folders in the IIIC's

archive recovering NCIC's activities can be used to identify research hypothesis. What the present study elucidates is the fact that intellectual cooperation expressed in multiple languages and that NCIC acted in most cases as translation spaces.

From the perspective of the IIIC's collaborators, the latter used languages other than French or English in correspondence for varied reasons: a lack of proficiency in the two official languages, a lack of time or resources to revolve to a translator, or even national pride. Use of languages were a way to re-politicize institutional decisions, as we have seen in the previous section. However, from a practical standpoint, the IIIC could not disregard somebody's collaboration on linguistic grounds, so it was compelled to a certain tolerance and reactivity to language diversity. In the Institute's exploratory missions, the highly specialized topics approached, and the need to explore their specificities in each national context, often turned into the need for translations. In the case of outgoing communications, the IIIC could control the languages used, although sometimes its representatives did use languages other than French and English for strategic purposes. The need to adopt a flexible language policy emerged indeed from the beginning of its work, as can be grasped in the minutes of the Committee of Directors' 4th session.[521] In the framework of an international inquiry on museums conducted by the Section for Artistic Relations, German representatives had expressed their discomfort that the appurtenant questionnaire had not been sent in German. This led to an exchange in the Committee of Directors on language policy in correspondence. Luchaire believed that all communications could be sent with a small note where the official language policy of the LON was reminded, but also specifying that replies could be written in whatever language was more comfortable for their authors. For this reason, Luchaire mentioned to the Committee of Directors that he had authorized all personnel to use whatever language necessary to facilitate the establishment of contacts in unofficial correspondence. Georges Oprescu noted that this was not aligned with the LON's policy, but Luchaire put forward the counterargument that widening the LON's rule was in the best interest of the IIIC. His decision was in turn approved by the Committee of Directors, thus formally recognizing a specific policy in the case of the IIIC.

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[521] UN Archives, R1072-13C-52817-37637 International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation - Minutes of the Fourth and 15th Sessions of Directing Committee, May 1926.

6.2. Putting names behind documents. The makers of mutual understanding

In Section 6.1, I have shown that preserved archival records contain translations. In order to ascertain who were the agents authoring said translations, and hence examine the history of translation as performed within the administrative services of the Institute, several sources can be employed. When dealing with primary sources, we can build on personnel files, [522] the Series Financial records, which includes yearly budgets and accounting records,[523] and folder "Dossier 54 - Comité d'Etudes sur les questions du personnel de l'Institut."[524] Also, the personnel of the Institute has been the object of previous interest in secondary bibliography. In his dissertation, Renoliet provides a detailed analysis of the salaries and nationalities of personnel,[525] as well as of the evolution of the IIIC's budget.[526] Even though Renoliet's work and mine have different scopes, the challenges identified when working with this material are the same. Financial registers provide precious information to delimitate in time when an actor occupied a specific position, and thus to identify changes in each position. However, they only occasionally provide mentions of the functions fulfilled by each actor, with this information appearing more clearly in the files about the administrative personnel. Several considerations are necessary on said source. First, the fact that they regard only administrative personnel, which means that high-rank officials (Chiefs of Section, IIIC's secretaries, and Directors) are not included therein. Second, it should be noted that preserved personnel files refer to about 133 people in total. If that number is crisscrossed with the list of actors having received a salary from the Institute according to Financial Records, a big difference emerges, because the latter amounts to more than 300 people. There is a big overlap between them, which means that for roughly half of the individuals employed at the IIIC, the main or only source of information is their salary. No traces are preserved in the archive regarding their functions, training, and so on. Despite said shortcomings, personnel files and financial records constitute the main sources to find individuals employed as translators.

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[522] UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-A-IV Service administratif de l'IICI.
[523] UNESCO Archive, IICI Financial Records.
[524] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-I-54 Comité d'Etudes sur les questions du personnel de l'Institut.
[525] Renoliet, "L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle," 271–95 and 722–65.
[526] Ibid., 297–302, 766–825.

A complementary approach to locate translators is that of reconstructing the IIIC's structure to find out whether there was a service entrusted with translation duties, or whether departments with other specialties included translators among their workforces. Even though this approach is certainly useful to complement the first one, focused on individuals, it presents its own challenges given that the IIIC's internal structure underwent remarkable changes over time, changes that have not been systematically described in secondary bibliography. Sources that provide precious information in this sense include documents drafted before the creation of the Institute, where its planned structure was summarized, and the minutes of the Committee of Directors and, especially, the Governing Board, where said changes were discussed.

In the present section, I combine the two approaches described to identify who translated within the IIIC's structure. The existence of a department provides elements to find the actors. Instead, actors remain when departments disappear, or when translation tasks are fulfilled outside the departments specialized in that activity.

6.2.1. Translation tasks in the IIIC's structure

Documents created prior to the creation of the Institute, or drafted during its first years of existence, contain multiple insights regarding the place of translators within the IIIC's workforce. This includes translation in the framework of publications and dissemination activities, translation in relation to documentation work, and translation in relation to other secretarial tasks.

In a report prepared by Julien Luchaire and sent in November 1924 to François-Albert, French Minister of Public Instruction, the soon-to-be director proposed the creation of a "Service of editions, translations and press."[527.] The elements included in said service suggests that translation was considered relevant primarily in the framework of activities aimed at maximizing the repercussion and dissemination of the activities carried out. It is logical, in this regard, that this idea appears in a letter addressed to the French minister, for it maximized the IIIC's potential in terms of French *rayonnement*.

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[527] The proposed structure included also the following departments: Direction and general affairs, Service of university relations, Service of scientific organization, Service of literary and artistic organization, Service of legal and economic affairs, Studies service (enquiry on intellectual life). UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-A-I-Statuts organiques de l'IICI.

Also, outward reaching was one of the limitations the ICIC had identified throughout its own work, which is why they sought to address it through the IIIC:

> Le rôle de la section de presse, de traduction et d'édition (….) consistera à mettre en œuvre tous les moyens de publicité que permet le caractère de la Commission. On a pu remarquer que les publications déjà faites au nom de la Commission, dont plusieurs constituaient des contributions remarquables au programme d'avenir élaboré par la Commission elle-même, n'avaient pas en toute la répercussion qu'elles mériteraient : ici encore le secrétariat ne possédait pas le personnel et les moyens nécessaires, pour assurer la diffusion nécessaire à des ouvrages où la Commission avait exprimé ses plus importantes conceptions.[528]

Translation appeared then in this proposal as means to multiply the reaching of outputs, and the IIIC as the mechanism that would put an end to the deficiencies detected by the ICIC during its first years of activity. The ICIC's 5th session, held on May 11-12, 1925, was the meeting where the internal structure of the Institute was elaborated. Therein, no mention was made of the section proposed, which means that, if translation was institutionalized, it was not linked to the ICO's publications.

Additional mentions of translators among the IIIC's workforce can be found in the framework of Documentation activities. In a report Julien Luchaire presented to state delegates in 1926, he mentioned the existence of a Service général de Documentation,[529] composed of a Bureau d'analyse and the library, and to which "sont attachés plusieurs journalistes, des traducteurs."[530] This means that, at least at some point, translators were specifically engaged to read foreign press, an activity that was key to the IIIC's knowledge of the field, or to translate reports, articles or other documents coming from the different countries.

However, the domain in which more information is preserved is in relation to secretarial work. We can refer in said framework to the first exercise's budget, during whose preparation Luchaire mentioned that "il n'est pas prévu actuellement de postes de traducteurs. Il sera donc nécessaire que certaines dactylographes soient bilingues, afin de pouvoir assurer, au moins provisoirement, les traductions nécessaires."[531] It is relevant, nevertheless, to pinpoint a difference between that session's minutes, and the report

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[528] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-I-3 Rapport de M. Luchaire et divers sur l'organisation de l'IICI.

[529] UN Archives, R2195-5B-396-9278 International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation - Lists of staff.

[530] UN Archives, R1072-13C-52915-37637 International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, Paris - Report of the Director to the Governing Body.

[531] UN Archives, R1035/13C/44163/14297 Minutes of the Fifth Session of the International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation, May 1925.

presented on that session to the LON's Council. Said report includes a reference to a budget item for a value of 110,000 French francs, as agreed in the ICIC's 5th session, with the appurtenant concept presenting however a difference given that it refers to "à une dizaine de traducteurs et dactylographes."[532] It can be conjectured that including more tasks under the umbrella of a single budget item contributed to that budget's approval. We can also conjecture, in light of the multiple subsequent reorganizations of administrative services, that boundaries between secretarial tasks (stenography or short-handwriting, dactylography, precis-writing, and verbatim reporting, translation) was not well defined and that the IIIC explored the best organizational solution.

Two years later, an additional source provides some elements. A list of staff sent on April 1, 1927, by the Director's secretary to George Oprescu, secretary of the ICIC, includes a detailed description of administrative services[533] (Figure 20). Among them, a "Bureau des traductions," also called "Service de Traductions." Replicating the structure described in the case of the LON, the IIIC seems to have possessed a specific service devoted to official translation, i.e., translations into or from the two official languages, French and English. The responsible of the service was Irish national Violet Conolly (1899-1988), who worked as translator in the LON's Secretariat (Information Section) in September 1925[534] and at the IIIC between 1925 and 1930.[535] Possessing a bachelor's in arts, before working at the IIIC, she studied Russian and Italian in London, and worked for some time in Spain and Germany. In 1930, she started work for the Institute of Current Affairs between 1930 and 1932. Subsequently, she attended the Institut Universitaire des Hautes Études Internationales (Geneva), worked as a researcher for the Royal Institute for International Affairs (London) and studied Persian in Berlin thanks to a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship. She specialized in economics and Soviet affairs, and in this framework occupied distinguished posts such as head of the Soviet section of the research department at the Foreign Office and economic attaché to the British embassy in Moscow. Retired in 1965, she died in having left a wide number of publications on Soviet affairs.[536]

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[532] UN Archives, R1035-13C-44165-14297 Intellectual Cooperation - Report on Fifth Session of International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, May 1925.

[533] UN Archives, R1074-13C-58538-37637 List of staff

[534] UN Archives, S745/50/801 - Ms. CONOLLY (Violet).

[535] UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-12 Traitements et salaires 1925-1926 and AG 1-IICI-13 Traitements et salaires 1927-1928, AG 1-IICI-14 Traitements et salaires 1929-1930.

[536] Frances Clark, "Violet Conolly," Dictionary of Irish Bibliography. https://www.dib.ie/biography/conolly-violet-a1969

INSTITUT INTERNATIONAL DE COOPERATION INTELLECTUELLE

LISTE des FONCTIONNAIRES

le 1er avril 1927

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Directeur : M. Julien LUCHAIRE

Sous-Directeur : M. ZIMMERN

Chef du Secrétariat
de la Direction : Melle Emilie COSTE

Attachés : MM. BALINSKI-JUNDZILL
G. BERNHEIM
CORNELISSEN
CRACOVANER
Dr LEVINSON
MASSOULIER
SOHLMAN

Sténo-dactylographe : Melle GEIGER

SECTION DES RELATIONS UNIVERSITAIRES

Chef : M. PICHT
Chef-adjoint : M. BUSUIOCEANU
Attaché : M. MICHELI
Secrétaire : Melle FELDSTEIN

SECTION DES RELATIONS SCIENTIFIQUES

(Sciences mathématiques, physiques et naturelles)

Chef : M. de VOS van STEENWŸK
Attachés : MM. Pierre LEPINE
Melle THORKILDSSEN
Secrétaire : M

SECTION DES RELATIONS SCIENTIFIQUES

(Sciences historiques et sociales)

Chef : M. FOLKIERSKI
Attaché : M. LHERITIER
Secrétaire : M

SECTION JURIDIQUE

Chef-adjoint : M. Raymond WEISS
Attachés : MM. EFREMOFF
Pierre LAPIE
Secrétaire : M

SECTION DES RELATIONS LITTERAIRES

Chef-adjoint : M. BRIOD
Attachés : MM. Marcel AUGAGNEUR
SUHRAWARDY
Secrétaire : Melle GUINSBOURG

SECTION DES RELATIONS ARTISTIQUES

Chef : M. DUPIERREUX
Attachés : M. HOEREE

Melles LEJEAUX
MAILLARD
SILBERSTEIN

M. SUHRAWARDY
Secrétaire : Melle GUINSBOURG

SECTION D'INFORMATION et de DOCUMENTATION

Chef : M. PREZZOLINI
Chefs-adjoints : MM. BREMOND (Service français)
NETCHASEK (Service tchécoslovaque)
Melle ROTHBARTH (Service allemand)

Attachés : MM. BLAIN
GOELLNER (Service hongrois)
LAGOLNITZA
HUBER-NOODT
Roger LEVY

Secrétaire : Melle PELLET

SERVICE D'ANALYSE -

Chef : Melle CHESTOV

Melle DRYDEN
Mme HORN
M. LECLERC
Melle LOUTZKY
Melle WEILBERG

SERVICES ADMINISTRATIFS

Chef : M. MONIER

Chef du Service
de Distribution : Mme GILMORE

Bibliothécaire-adjointe : Melle DILLAY

Attachée à la Bibliothèque : Mme BEREKOVITCH

Chef du Service
de Traduction : Melle CONOLLY

Chef du Service
des Archives : Melle BIRNBAUMOWNA
Attachées : Melle GOUZIEN
Melle SZAROTA

Comptable : M. RISTORCELLI

Intendante : Melle Marie-Louise COSTE

Service médical : Dr MORIN

SERVICE DE STENO-DACTYLOGRAPHIE

Surveillante : Melle KUENEN

Melle AUBERTIN
Melle CIVELLI de BOSCH
Melle FABRE
Melle LAMY
Melle LANGLE d'ABNOUR
Melle LEMAIRE
Mme WARD

Service de Roneographie : M. LALANDE

Service de Depart : M. ROBILARD

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Figure 20. The IIIC's administrative services in 1927

Little information is preserved in the IIIC's archive on the actors who worked for the Translation Bureau. L.E. Berti was one of them, according to a list of the personnel dated December 1928.[537] An Italian national, Berti worked at the Institute between November 1927 and November 1933[538] and translated into French. Also, a Norman Denny replaced Conolly, in occasion of a 6-month unpaid leave from April to October 1929, as charged of the translation service into English. However, he only worked at the IIIC during 1929. The IIIC's archive does not contain any biographical data concerning him, but his name is consistent with that of Norman George Denny (1901-1982), an English writer and translator that authored numerous translations from French to English during the interwar period. Other actors hired as translators according to financial records include: Grad (1926), Miss Brown (March-Dec. 1926, hired as translator and writing clerk), Miss Weinberg (1927-1928), Rottenberg (1927-1928), Bundgens (1929-1930), Miss A. Cope (May-June 1926, hired as writing-clerk and translator).[539] Even though financial records do not provide much biographical information, their names and paying information reflect that they were specifically hired as translators. The fact that they all worked at the IIIC during its first years suggests that the position of translators in the IIIC's structure changed later on. It can also be conjectured that all names not containing feminine titles (Grad, Rottenberg, and Bundgens) were men.

The situation of the Translation Service changed after 1930, year when a reorganization of the IIIC took place. The later consisted of reducing the central services, sections and personnel. It also sought to pursue an "amélioration notable du personnel technique (rédacteurs aux procès-verbaux, traducteurs, interprètes, sténodactylographes)."[540] During the 1930s, notes for the IIIC's accounting services on payments made to specific actors reveal that the dominant procedure seems to have been paying specific translation projects to two groups of individuals, the IIIC's administrative

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[537] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-I-54 Comité d'Etudes sur les questions du personnel de l'Institut.

[538] UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-12 Traitements et salaires 1925-1926, AG 1-IICI-13 Traitements et salaires 1927-1928, AG 1-IICI-14 Traitements et salaires 1929-1930, AG 1-IICI-15 Traitements et salaires 1931-1932, AG 1-IICI-16 Traitements et salaires 1933-1934.

[539] Traitements, Etat des traitements du personnel ayant quitté l'Institut, toutes indemnités comprises, à l'exclusion des charges de familles. UN Archive, S408/8/3 - Intellectual Cooperation - Committee of Enquiry - Dr. Vivaldi's Report.

[540] "Rapport du Comité d'Étude présenté au Président de la Commission internationale de coopération intellectuelle." Geneva, May 24, 1930, p. 9. UN Archive, R2245/5B/19528/13977 - Reorganization of the work of the Committee and Institute of Intellectual Cooperation - Services of the Director and staff of the Institute.

staff (who were however not anymore hired only as translators) and external collaborators. Figure 21 illustrates the form of this kind of note.

Figure 21. Notes revealing payments for translation tasks. Sources: UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-IV-28.68; AG 01-IICI-A-VII-1[a]-1 Compatibilité des dépenses engagées - 1er-3e trimestres, 4e trimestre, période complémentaire, traitements, compte courant, recettes – 1.

According to payment notes, texts translated span letters, reports, speeches, minutes of meetings, articles for publications edited by the IIIC or for the work for specific sections, reports and mémoires for specific Entretiens and gatherings, as well as book excerpts. It should be noted that it hasn't been possible to ascertain a causal link between the destination of the translation (publication or internal work) and attribution of a translation to an external collaborator or an internal member of staff. The standard rate was between 10 and 12 French francs per page, and 15 in the case of technical translations.[541] In the case of long texts, fixed prices were established (for example, 3,500 French francs for a 356-page translation). In budgetary terms, it should be noted that most translations into English were paid through Rockefeller funds, as mentioned in Section 6.1.1.

Let us now focus on the first group, the IIIC's administrative staff who possessed multilanguage skills and who were sometimes requested to practice translation. This was the case, for example, of adjunct-chiefs of section, writing clerks, stenographers, and secretaries. From this standpoint, the creation of international organizations is also a suitable space to track the consecration of foreign languages skills as a professional asset, and the performance of translation tasks as a transversal rather than as a specialized activity. To describe the work of said international functionaries and their historical function in globalization process, it is useful to draw on Inglis and Thorpe:

> Much translation and interpreting work throughout history – and therefore throughout the history of globalization – was done not by professionals, but instead improvised by those engaged primarily in other occupations which required linguistic interchange. The list here would include people like traders, business people, financiers, soldiers, sailors, political administrators, diplomats, spies, priests, missionaries, and other types of person (…). These are the often anonymous and unacknowledged actors (Serres 1993) who have 'made' globalization over the centuries (Holton 2005). These linguistic mediators have been characterized as the 'anonymous heroes' of cross-cultural communication (…). Their actions were always at least two-fold in nature, combining their primary activities with their translation and interpreting practices, the former necessitating the latter, and the latter making possible the former.[542]

An additional way to complement information is by looking into financial records. In the IIIC's archive a series of payment records are preserved that make it possible to identify

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[541] It should be noted that not all translations paid at 15 French francs contain the mention "technical translation," but evidence do not suffice to attribute said pricing to other factors, such as rare language pairs. The same rates seem to have been applied to all language pairs. The fact that different rates were applied to the same language pair (for example, two translations from ES > FR rated at different prices), suggests that the determining factor is the difficulty or technical character of the text to be translated.
[542] Inglis and Thorpe, "Translation encounters," 17–18.

who were the members of the staff that translated more or less regularly during the 1930s. I propose to look closer into their profiles in order to examine what their formal position was within the IIIC and what their training was in the domain of languages and translation. Without aiming at exhaustively listing their names or reconstructing their biographies, in what follows I look into some of them with more detail. In my selection, I have privileged figures who worked at the IIIC for a long period of time. Even though their profiles are highly heterogeneous and it is not possible to establish certain clear-cut categories or profiles, several similarities can be found in some cases that make it possible to sketch a series of groups.

- **Group 1.** Individuals who had previously worked in other IOs and performed translation tasks therein. For them, translation was the cornerstone of their professional skills.
- **Group 2.** Individuals, mainly women, who performed secretarial or administrative tasks (short-hand typists, typists, librarians, archivists, etc.), and who became familiarized with some foreign languages thanks to their secondary or superior studies. In this case, translation skills constituted an added value differentiating them from other agents performing secretarial tasks.
- **Group 3.** Superior officials (or at least superior to secretaries).
- **Group 4.** Members of dominant groups who performed translation tasks as an additional activity, hired to fulfill functions other than secretarial tasks. This can include members of a social elite, but also members of professional elites.
- **Group 5.** Agents whose presence is the result of national policies to grant representation within the IIIC.
- **Group 6.** Other figures who usually performed translation tasks, but about which little information is preserved.

In the first group, which refers to agents who had previously worked in other IOs and performed translation tasks therein, the best example is Adrien D. Le Roy (London, August 30, 1888-?). He worked at the IIIC between 1931 and 1941 as French-English translator, and between April 1945 and September 1946.[543] Born in London, Le Roy was of French descent and thus spoke both languages. Having been educated in London, where he was trained in Architecture, his career was interrupted by the war and in 1920 he started a career as translator in multiple international organizations. Between 1920 and 1928, he worked for the Inter-Allied Staff of the Reparation Commission, there becoming head of the Translation and Shorthand Writing Service of the Inter-Allied Evaluation Service. With his post having been suppressed in 1928, he joined the League of Red Cross

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[543] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-IV-28.90 Personnel de l'Institut - Le Roy, Adrien.

Societies as head of its translation service, where he worked until the end of 1930, when said position was also suppressed for budgetary reasons. In this regard, he constitutes a good example of early professionalization in the domain of translation, with the multiple job suppressions reflecting relatively unstable. Another example is that of Olga Berekovitch (Odessa, 1892-?).[544] Born in Russia, where she also made her secondary studies. She obtained a diploma from Dijon University and then from Princess Helena's College London. Then, she worked for the Delegation of the Japanese Government to the International Labor Office (1920-1925) as secretary typist.[545] In 927, she was hired at the IIIC, where she worked until 1939 as attached to the Library. Possessing a thorough knowledge of English, French, Russian, and German, at the IIIC she often translated from German to French.

The second group gathers figures, mainly women, who performed secretarial or administrative tasks and who performed translation tasks in addition to other secretarial work. It can be represented through Anne-Marie Girard's example (born Descomps) (Mezin, 1897-Saint Ouen, 1983).[546] Girard was a short-hand typist who joined the IIIC in 1929 and worked there until September 1940. Arrived at the IIIC thanks to a personal recommendation rather than for her skills or experience, and without her appointment having raised many expectations, she had a long career at the IIIC. In May 1929, she was attached to the Archive, occupation that she nevertheless must have fulfilled for a short period of time, as she worked for the Section of Artistic Relations in 1930, to then become Henri Bonnet's secretary until 1941. She did not mention explicitly translation experience when she was hired, but her previous training provides certain hints on her experience in that domain through her training in Latin. She possessed secondary studies in Latin, Languages and Philosophy, and a Letters license with specialization in Spanish at Université de Toulouse. She had taught Latin in a high school for girls and been secretary. She declared possessing a very good knowledge of Spanish and a good knowledge of English, with the former being proved by the fact that several documents describe salary supplements in her payroll for translation tasks form Spanish to French. After her work at the Institute, her activities as an active member of the Resistance have been

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[544] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-IV-28.52 Personnel de l'Institut - Berekovitch Olga.

[545] Additional information on subsequent employments, after the IIIC, would be required to decide if it is better represented in group 1 or 2.

[546] UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-A-IV-28.68 Personnel de l'Institut - Girard, Anne-Marie.

documented.[547]A second example within this group is that of Germaine Pastré (Saint Hilaire de Brethmas, 1900-?). Pastré was hired at the IIIC to work in the archives thanks to a personal recommendation from the École des Chartes' director, where she had obtained the license as archivist-paleographer. Like Girard, before that Pastré had made secondary studies in Latin, Languages and Philosophy, and a License in letters. "Possédant à fond la langue anglaise,"[548] she often made translation from that language into French. As preserved correspondence reflects, her linguistic skills were the main argument she used to ask for salary increases. Other figures in this group include Madeleine Civelli de Bosch and Jeanne Taburet (see Section 7.1 for some biographic elements on the latter).

The third group, referring to superior civil servants, can be exemplified through the case of Valerio Jahier (also known as Valéry Jahier). Born in Turin in 1897, he was an Italian national who studied in Turin and Geneva and, after his studies were interrupted by the war, obtained a doctorate in Philosophy by Turin University. Between 1920 and 1924, he taught Italian at Collège de Geneve and between 1925 and 1928 worked in Paris in the literary domain, especially in publishing industry. He is known, especially in Italy, for the letters he exchanged with writer Italo Svevo,[549] with whom he was close. He was hired at the IIIC in October 1928 to work in the Publications Service but occupied multiple positions: adjunct-chief of the Information Section (of which the Publications Service was part), and then writing clerk, especially for the Section for Literary Relations, in which he also acted as adjunct-chief. In this framework, he sometimes fulfilled translation tasks from Italian to French. With sources mentioning his long-date mental and financial problems, Jahier committed suicide in June 1939 at the IIIC's headquarters. A second example is Nathalie Nicolsky, also known as Nathalie Malterre by her married name (Kermanshah, Iran, 1912-Paris, 2010).[550] Born in Iran with Russian origins, she made her secondary and superior studies in Paris. She had a brilliant career at the IIIC. Hired at the IIIC as secretary and short-hand typist, she then became writing clerk-

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[547] Her file is classified as member of the "Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur," "Déportés et Internés résistants," and as member of the information service Réseau Centurie. Website *Mémoire des hommes*, "Anne Marie Descomps," Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes GR 16 P 178885. https://www.memoiredeshommes.sga.defense.gouv.fr/fr/arkotheque/client/mdh/recherche_transversale/bases_nominatives_detail_fiche.php?fonds_cle=24&ref=2905430&debut=0
[548] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-IV-28.107 Personnel de l'Institut - Pastre, Germaine.
[549] Italo Svevo, "*Lettere a Valerio Jahier. Mezzo secolo di letteratura italiana*" in Livia Veneziani Svevo, Vita di mio marito (Triste: Edizioni dello Zibaldone, 1958).
[550] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-IV-28.93 Personnel de l'Institut - Malterre, Nathalie.

translator, adjunct-chief of the Section for Scientific Relations and Chief of the Direction's secretaries. All in all, she worked at the IIIC between 1931 and 1941 and then was hired again in 1945-1946. She declared speaking French, English, and Russian, understand Spanish, Italian, and "la plupart des langues slaves."[551] Financial records confirm that she extensively translated from English to French. Other figures that could be included in this third group are Blaise Briod, adjunct-chief of the Section for Literary Relations (see Chapter 7), and V. Iagolnitza, who worked also for the Publications Service, but about whom little information is preserved.

The fourth group regroups a series of agents who worked for the IIIC and who were part of different types of social elites. This was the case of Yvonne Collin (born Yvonne Daudy de Ipanema Moreira, Paris, 1896-?),[552] whose picture is illustrated in Figure 22. Collin is presented in her administrative file as a French national who obtained

the Norwegian nationality after her marriage. In her résumé, she declared having practical knowledge of Italian, Portuguese, and English, and having obtained it during her travels, that she extensively listed. Something that is not mentioned in her personal file is that she was an extremely well-connected woman. Daughter to Albert Daudy, who was a tax collector with business in gold mines in Ivory Coast,[553] and Marie de Moreria, a Brazilian of aristocrat descent, in 1913 she married Louis Chadourne, who was the secretary of the French Institute of Florence, founded by Luchaire in 1907. He was a successful writer during the early 1920s, also close to Benjamin Crémieux and Valéry Larbaud, which suggests that he possessed a notable social capital.[554]

Figure 22. Yvonne Chadourne-Daudy in 1914. Source : Association Les Amis des Chadourne.

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551 Ibid.
552 UNESCO Archives, AG 01-IICI-A-IV-28.59 Personnel de l'Institut - Collin Yvonne.
553 "Société des Mines d'or de l'Indénié (1902-1905) », available online : https://www.entreprises-coloniales.fr/afrique-occidentale/Mines_d_or_Indenie.pdf
554 https://lesamisdeschadourne.jimdofree.com/louis-chadourne/sa-vie/ []Louis : entre souvenirs d'enfance, traumatisme de la Grande guerre et envies d'évasions - Les Amis des Chadourne (jimdofree.com)

Chadourne having passed away in 1925, she remarried and obtained the Norwegian nationality with which she introduced herself to the IIIC. It is telling of her status the fact that she was hired to improve the aesthetics of the Institute.[555] She translated from Portuguese and from Norwegian into French.

A fifth group would be composed by agents working at the IIIC in the framework of national strategies of cultural diplomacy. An example of that was Bogomir Dalma (Plevlyé, 1899-Paris, 1962). A Serb national, and a writer, painter, and sculptor, he collaborated with the IIIC from 1927 to 1939, although he was not formally in the IIIC's payroll. Indeed, he was considered a volunteer collaborator given that his services were sponsored by the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and covered his assistance to the IIIC with correspondence and translation from the Serbian language. During his collaboration with the IIIC, he worked for the Information Service and the Analysis Service. Margarete Rothbarth (1887–1953)[556] was also hired as Chief of the German Service within the Information and Documentation Section. Her post received funding from the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik.[557]

A sixth group can be proposed to regroup all figures of which little information is preserved. Two names deserve mention given the frequency with which they translated, and even though little biographical information is preserved in their regard. The second one is Mr. Le Clerc, who worked at the IIIC between 1925 and 1941 and translated From Spanish and Portuguese.

As can be grasped, their social properties and careers are heterogeneous, thus reflecting the fact that training and experience accrediting somebody to perform translation tasks were multifold, something that has not changed despite the development of specific training programs. It should be added, in this regard, that in a number of cases the IIIC convened candidates to rue Montpensier before hiring them in order to evaluate their language and translation skills. Translation tests and shorthand writing tests are sometimes mentioned in archive material, although I have not been able to locate examples or second-hand references revealing their contents. It is also relevant than in

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[555] "Elle aura à s'occuper, d'accord avec vous, des [illegible] et de l'esthétique de la maison (qui en a besoin !)." Julien Luchaire to Paul Tisseau (Chief of the IIIC's Administrative Services), October 12, 1928. AG 01-IICI-A-IV-28.59 Personnel de l'Institut - Collin Yvonne.

[556] Rothbarth, Margarete" in UNESCO Archives Authority records. Available online: https://atom.archives.unesco.org/rothbarth-margarete

[557] UNESCO Archives, AG 01-IICI-A-IV-28.116 Personnel de l'Institut - Rothbach, Margarethe.

most cases they were paid to translate from non-official languages into French, which reveals that, despite the official language policy, translation was necessary in the framework of input work. From the institutional perspective, the fact that different professional categories performed translation tasks reflects the transversal character of said activity for the institution's functioning. Even though the existence of some figures who were identified primarily as translators reflects a growing specialization in this activity, the fact that it was performed by multiple professional categories reflects that pragmatics guided the way this activity was performed, with a trial-and-error being the main method employed to determine who would perform translation tasks.

In terms of gender, Collin's example can be compared with most individuals included in the second group, an eminently feminine group. Most women in group 2 authored numerous letters requesting the improvement of their wages, something that directly contrasts with Collin's experience. This suggests the existence of two IIICs from the perspective of working condition: on the one hand, an Institute whose staff witnessed their work conditions tottering regularly given the continuous need to economize, and, on the other hand, an Institute where well-connected figures found a space to spend their time. This reflects the importance of adopting an intersectional perspective that examines staff from a gender perspective crisscrossed with a class perspective.

As mentioned earlier, the IIIC's staff constituted a first group fulfilling translation tasks, to which another group needs to be added. The latter refers to external collaborators, i.e., intellectuals who worked elsewhere but that collaborated on a more or less regular basis with the IIIC to satisfy the latter's translation needs. The list of external collaborators is relatively long and includes more than 40 names, with a similar proportion of men and women, and with the main working languages being French, English, Spanish, German, and Italian. Some of them were recurrent collaborators, for example professor John R. Bacher, director of the American House in Cité Universitaire (FR > EN), as well as Jean Herbert, translator and interpreter for the LON (DE > FR). Other collaborators include Hedley Heaton and Robert Ernest Confino (ES-FR), who worked as translator at the LON, collaborated with the IIIC repeatedly as well. Paul Zimmermann who worked shortly at the LON's Secretariat in 1937 also performed multiple translations during the 1930s. French writer Armand-Marcel Petitjean (EN>FR), Irish poet Thomas MacGreevy, Swedish archaeologist Bengt Thordeman (?> FR), French scholar and translator Abel Doysié, French journalist Henry Malet-Daubant (ES>FR),

who was in that moment employed at Bureau International de Documentation Latine, Georges Barok (IT >FR), and Mathile Pomès (ES>FR), who in the same period collaborated with the IIIC in the framework of the Ibero-American Collection. [558] As can be grasped from the previous names, some of them had as their main occupation translation (Herbert, Pomès, and the LON's translators), but several collaborators performing translation tasks were agents possessing symbolic capital in their own subfields, either as a specialist of a scientific subfield or as literary figures. In all cases, sources indicate that they translated into French, hence reinforcing my previous hypothesis regarding the relevance of translation work in the framework of input work.

6.2.2. Language skills in the IIIC's workforce

From the standpoint of the IIIC's international character, and thus legitimacy, its staff's language skills were of primary importance. They became a good way to complement or, sometimes, compensate, the always-difficult-to-reach balance in the representation of nationalities among staff members. For this reason, in what follows, I examine language skills possessed by the IIIC's administrative personnel. Preserved administrative files contain several documents where languages skills are explicitly mentioned, or from which it can be inferred. This includes résumés containing explicit information about native and working languages. Also, in some cases, an administrative document is preserved where the main biographical information is indicated (name, date and country of birth, civil status, studies, etc.). Figure 23 provides an example of said documents, corresponding to Anne Marie Girard and Margarete Rothbarth.

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[558] In numerous cases, it has not been possible to find biographical information about the sporadic collaborators who performed translation tasks. They were: Miss Aubé (EN>FR); Barok (HU, DE >FR); Mariano Brull; Mrs. L. Blake Bucquet; M. Blas Cabrera ; Miss A. Cara (EN, DE > FR); Miss Marguerit Castier (suédois > FR) ; Miss D.S. Fagg (DE > EN); German (DE>FR) ; Hans Jacob (DE>FR); M. Jackson; Louisette Hervé (EN>FR) ; M. Hirschman; Jibon (EN>FR) ; Mr Lang (EN-FR); Mrs. Laparra (EN > FR); professor Lubini (DE>FR); Mme Malavoy (DE>FR) ; Miss P. Max (Danish, HU > FR); Miss. Mitchell; Miss Napier-Ford; Mr. Obasé (JA> FR); Mlle Rosenfeld; Mrs. M. Sibon (JA > FR); Miss Joan Thomson (EN > FR); M. Utsch; Valdeyron; Miss Léon Vallin (DE>FR); Mr. Wolkowsky; Hélène Wolf (EN > FR). During the IIIC's work between 1945 and 1946, occasional collaborators that offered translation services include: Miss Aubé (EN>FR), Stephen Spender (EN>FR), Mr. Van der Vlugt (EN>FR), J. Quero Molares, Mr. Parker, Mr. Li-Tche-Houa, Miss Rouveyre, and Frederic Eisemann, adjunct-director of the International Chamber of Commerce.

INSTITUT INTERNATIONAL DE COOPÉRATION INTELLECTUELLE

Notice de M. *Adam Girard*

Nom de famille ...*Girard - Descamps*...............

Prénoms .*Anne-Marie...Josèphe*.................

Adresse ..*36...Rue...de...Belleford...9e*.............

Date et lieu de naissance *15 Juin 1897 Mézin (Lot-&-Garonne)*

Position de famille : marié, veuf, divorcé...*mariée*...........
         Nombre d'enfants   *un enfant*

Nationalité : a) d'origine .*française*.....................

      b) en cas de mariage, ...*française*........
        nationalité du mari.

Etudes : Enseignement primaire   *Collège de jeunes filles - Condom (Gers)*
      Enseignement secondaire

      Enseignement supérieur   *Faculté des Lettres - Toulouse*

Diplômes .*Baccalauréat (latin langues philosophie)*
  Parties communes de la Licence - ès lettres
  (langues vivantes espagnol)
Ouvrages publiés :...

Fonctions remplies avant d'entrer à l'Institut international de Coopération intellectuelle

Chargée de cours (intérimaire) Collège de jeunes filles Condom (Gers)
Professeur libre (agrée du Recteur) Lycée de jeunes filles Caen (Calvados)
Secrétaire dactylographe Etab. Lestry 9 rue Moncey

Curriculum vitae

    Je suis née le 7 Juin 1887 à Francfort sur le Main.

    Après avoir passé mon baccalauréat j'ai étudié l'histoire, l'allemand et l'anglais dans les Universités de Heidelberg, Munich, Berlin et Freibourg. En 1913 je me suis présentée pour ma thèse de doctorat (ouvrage "Urbain VI et Naples ") chez les professeurs Finke, Meinecke et Witkop, et j'ai passé l'examen profacultate docendi chez les professeurs Meinecke, Kluge et Brie.- Pendant la guerre j'ai enseigné à l'Ecole supérieure des jeunes Filles à Freibourg en travaillant en même

Figure 23. Sample of documents revealing the staff's language skills. Source: UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-A-IV-28.68 Personnel de l'Institut - Girard, Anne-Marie ; AG 01-IICI-A-IV-28.116 Personnel de l'Institut - Rothbach, Margarethe

Building on said sources, together with colleagues from the SNOP project, we enriched a Nodegoat database of individuals having entered into forms of relationship with the IIIC (see Section 4.3.2 for more information on Nodegoat). Results below should be interpreted bearing in mind that they refer only to staff for which 1) personnel files exist, and 2) information regarding languages is provided. As mentioned earlier, the IIIC's archive contains a list of about 120 people belonging to what was called "administrative services." Said category excludes high rank officials and, therefore, the archive does not contain administrative folders regarding the three directors and most chiefs of section.

As commented above, we distinguished between native and working languages. The first type of information can be linked to the personnel's country of origin,[559] (although it might not always be the case), whereas the latter has to do with additional language skills of cultural areas deemed as presenting certain cultural, professional, or otherwise interest. Data regarding both things is provided in Table 7 and 8.[560] Both tables display a field defined as "nd" corresponding to people for which clear data has not been found or could not be inferred with enough reliability.

French is the most abundant when addressing native languages, which suggests a majority of personnel born in France. The fact that English occupies the second position as working language, but the fourth one as native language, reflects its international status, something that can also be said of German. In this regard, languages in top positions as working languages, especially when displaying a big difference with the number of native speakers, attests to the international status of a given language. The languages possessing more speakers than the number of native speakers include French (52 natives vs. 109 total number of speakers), German (11 vs. 41), English (8 vs. 71), Italian (3 vs. 27), and Spanish (2 vs. 14). These are the languages for which a strong difference exists. Other cases, where the difference between both fields is less significant, include Russian (5 vs. 7), Portuguese (0 vs. 4), Dutch (2 vs. 4), Serbo-Croatian (1 vs. 3), and Norwegian (2 vs. 3).

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[559] In some cases where native languages were not explicitly mentioned, they have been deduced from relatively solid signs, such as the fact that a given agent had gone to school in his young age in the language of his country.

[560] The actor categories of "native" and "working" language should not be read, when approaching the present work from the perspective of translation practice, as partial synonyms of, respectively, source and target language. Even though the preference was that translating staff translated into their mother tongues, in numerous cases they also translated into foreign languages if necessary.

	Native language(-s)	No. of people	%
1	French	52	42.98%
2	n.d.	23	19.01%
3	German	11	9.09%
4	English	8	6.61%
5	Russian	5	4.13%
6	Polish	4	3.31%
7	Italian	3	2.48%
8	Hungarian	3	2.48%
9	Spanish	2	1.65%
10	Norwegian	2	1.65%
11	Greek	2	1.65%
12	Dutch	2	1.65%
13	Czech	2	1.65%
14	Serbo-Croatian	1	0.83%
15	Romanian	1	0.83%
16	Latvian	1	0.83%
17	Japanese	1	0.83%
18	Bengali	1	0.83%

Table 7. Native languages from the IIIc's staff.

	Working language (-s)	No. of people	%
1	French	109	90.08%
2	English	71	58.68%
3	German	41	33.88%
4	Italian	27	22.31%
5	Spanish	14	11.57%
6	n.d.	12	9.92%
7	Russian	7	5.79%
8	Portuguese	4	3.31%
9	Polish	4	3.31%
10	Dutch	4	3.31%
11	Serbo-Croatian	3	2.48%
12	Norwegian	3	2.48%
13	Hungarian	3	2.48%
14	Greek	2	1.65%
15	Czech	2	1.65%
16	Swedish	1	0.83%
17	Romanian	1	0.83%
18	Japanese	1	0.83%
19	Danish	1	0.83%
20	Chinese	1	0.83%

Table 8. Working languages of the IIIC's staff.

If we focus on non-European languages, it is worth noting that they all appear at the bottom part of the table. One native speaker of Japanese (Sato Junzo) and one native speaker of Bengali (Shahid Suhrawardy) worked for the IIIC. In addition, Suhrawardy was the only one that indicated Chinese among his working languages. Chinese, together with Danish and Swedish, constitute the three languages without any mother tongue speaker among the staff. It is also relevant to note the presence, in said list, of a certain number of languages spoken in countries ideologically aligned with the LON. In this regard, the presence of German and Russian can be commented. German includes actors coming from Austria and Switzerland. This being said, German-speakers, irrespective of their nationality, were the ones that, more than others, directly and repeatedly challenged the LON's and the IIIC's language policy, as the present dissertation illustrates. In the case of Russian, the USSR and communism constituted two antagonistic forces to the liberal international order promoted by the LON. In this regard it should be considered that most Russians were emigrants. In the case of the ICO, it should also be added that USSR and Germany were far from being secondary countries in the intellectual field during the interwar period.[561] The fact that both German and Russian appear in the top 10 positions of languages spoken by the IIIC's workforce suggests the interest of specifically approach the history of the ICO in relation to those geographic areas.[562]

The case of Bengali can be further commented given that it appears as a native language, but not as a working language. Such an asymmetry indicates that some agents spoke certain languages that they did not mention as working languages in the IIIC's administrative forms. The reasons can be manifold, for example, because they considered them irrelevant for the institution. Considering said aspect, it has been decided to aggregate all data on language knowledge to get a more objective picture of the language skills available at the IIIC. Figure 24 displays all language information on the IIIC's staff as a matrix. In the horizontal axis, languages spoken are indicated, whereas the vertical axis refers to staff nationality. The last column represents the number of people from a given country, and the last row represents the total number of people speaking said language.

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[561] Germany possessed the biggest book market in Europe, according to Löhr (196)

[562] See in this regard: Anastassiya Schacht, "Scholar amidst Borders: Soviet Representative to the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation as a Case Study for an Attempt of Cross-Ideological Cooperation in the Interwar Europe," in *Centenary of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations* (Geneva: 2022).

Figure 24. Native and working languages of the IIIC's staff aggregated and crisscrossed with nationalities.

	French	English	German	Italian	Spanish	Russian	Norwegian	Polish	Dutch	Czech	Greek	Hungarian	Romanian	Serbo-Croatian	Japanese	Bengali	Latvian	Chinese	Danish	Portuguese	Swedish	Total
France	51	35	14	13	8	2	1		2					1							2	51
England	5	7	2	1																		7
Germany	10	7	9	1	1																1	10
Italy	3	1	1	3																		3
Spain	1				1																	1
Russia	4	3	2	3	2	4																4
Norway	3	3	2	1	1		3											1	1		1	3
Poland	4	3	3	2	1	1		4	1											1		5
Netherlands	1								1													1
Czech Republic	2	1	1							2												2
Greece	2	1	2	1		1					2											2
Hungary	3	1	1	1								3		1								3
Romania	2		1										1									2
Serbia	1													1								1
India	1	1	1	1	1											1		1				1
Japan	1	1													1							1
Latvia	1																1					1
Belgium	3	2	1	1					1													3
Canada	1	1																				1
Austria	3	2	2	1				1														3
Switzerland	4	4	4	2																		4
United States	1	1																				1
Uruguay	1				1																	1
Total	103	71	44	27	14	8	3	5	4	3	2	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	

The first aspect to be noted in Fig. 24 is the fact that all staff spoke French. In some cases, different degrees of competency can be supposed, but no trace has been found in personnel files suggesting that hired personnel did not know French, rather the contrary. In terms of nationality, roughly 50% of staff for which data is preserved was French according to our data, which is coherent with Renoliet's findings.[563] The big difference, in terms of representation, between French-speaking individuals from different countries (50 French nationals, counter to only 4 French-speaking Swiss nationals, and 3 Belgians) suggests that ability to work in French was not the main element taken into account to

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[563] More precisely, he showed that roughly 50% of low personnel was French, with a peak having been reached in 1940 of 78.6 % of personnel. Instead, in the case of superior personnel, the presence of French nationals oscillated between 15.8 % and 27.1% in the period spanning from 1931 to 1940, thus reducing the percentages of the period 1926-1930, which oscillated between 43.9% and 27.1%. Superior personnel is excluded from my analysis for the reasons mentioned earlier. Renoliet also noted the dominance of European agents rather non-extra-European, which constituted around the 8.5 % of the IIIC's workforce, both during the period 1926-1930 than in 1931-1940. Renoliet, "L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle," 723–24.

select personnel. Be it because of practical or political reasons, the overrepresentation of French nationals is clear. The second aspect to be noted is that more than two thirds of the staff declared speaking English. Third, the dominance of European or Western languages is unmistakable, with a clear differential existing between the four or five most spoken languages (French, English, German, Italian, and, to a lower extent, Spanish), and the rest. Fourth, in this type of matrix, a diagonal line is to be noted, which indicates the values corresponding to language and country (French for France, English for United Kingdom, German for Germany, and so on). Of course, the diagonal cannot be perfect given that several languages are spoken in more than one country. Nevertheless, this provides us with a quick overview of the interplay between a diversity in the nationalities represented among workforce, as well as in the foreign language skills the latter possessed. Conclusions are relatively similar: French and German occupy the first and second position. A difference emerges in relation to English, which appeared in the third position among native languages, but in the case of nationalities data is fragmented between UK, Canada, and US nationals. The more numerous group, from the UK, occupies the fourth position. The languages occupying the third, fourth and fifth position were German, Italian, and Spanish. This does not coincide with represented nationalities, in which case said positions correspond to Russia, UK, and Poland. Certain additional elements that can be noticed include the fact that German nationals were the second most represented national community in our corpus, followed by Russia[564] and UK. Then, tied with the same number of representatives, Poland and Switzerland. Five, certain nationalities acted as linguistic bridges. This is the case of Norwegian individuals, without which Swedish and Finnish would not have been represented. Six, some languages are only spoken by individuals from the corresponding country. This was the case of Bengali, Japanese, and Latvian. Instead, Swedish and Portuguese were only spoken by people from other countries.

Another layer of analysis can be added if data is disaggregated depending on agents' gender. Figure 25 provides the same information with a focus on male staff (purple matrix) and female staff (green matrix). Most spoken languages coincide: French and English, then followed by German and Italian. The diagonal line is more blurred in

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[564] As mentioned earlier, a close study of their biographies indicates that the IIIC hired several Russian emigres, which suggests that results should not be read in geopolitical terms, and that what depicted as Russian nationals in the previous matrix are born therein but deprived of the appurtenant nationality.

the case of female staff, which suggests less nationalities represented, but a higher concentration of foreign languages over few nationalities.

Male staff (purple matrix)

Nationality	French	English	German	Italian	Spanish	Russian	Norwegian	Polish	Dutch	Czech	Greek	Hungarian	Romanian	Serbo-Croatian	Bengali	Japanese	Latvian	Chinese	Danish	Portuguese	Swedish	Total
France	20	11	6	5	3	1															1	20
England	2	3																				3
Germany	3	2	3																			3
Italy	1			1																		1
Spain	1				1																	1
Russia	1					1																1
Norway	1	1	1		1		1															1
Poland	3	2	2	2	1	1		2		1				1							1	3
Netherlands	1								1													1
Czech Republic	2	1	1							2												2
Greece	1	1	1	1							1											1
Hungary	2	1	1	1								2		1								2
Romania	1												1									1
Serbia	1													1								1
India	1	1	1	1		1									1			1				1
Japan	1	1														1						1
Latvia																						
Belgium	2	2	1	1					1													2
Canada																						
Austria	1	1	1																			1
Switzerland	2	2	2																			2
United States																						
Uruguay																						
Total	47	29	20	12	6	4	1	2	2	3	1	2	1	3	1	1		1			2	

Female staff (green matrix)

Nationality	French	English	German	Italian	Spanish	Russian	Norwegian	Polish	Dutch	Czech	Greek	Hungarian	Romanian	Serbo-Croatian	Bengali	Japanese	Latvian	Chinese	Danish	Portuguese	Swedish	Total
France	31	24	8	8	5	1	1		2			1									1	31
England	3	4	2	1																		4
Germany	7	5	6	1	1																1	7
Italy	2	1	1	2																		2
Spain																						
Russia	3	3	2	3	2	3																3
Norway	2	2	1	1			2												1	1	1	2
Poland	1	1	1						2													2
Netherlands																						
Czech Republic																						
Greece	1		1			1					1											1
Hungary	1											1										1
Romania	1		1																			1
Serbia																						
India																						
Japan																						
Latvia	1																1					1
Belgium	1																					1
Canada	1	1																				1
Austria	2	1	1	1						1												2
Switzerland	2	2	2	2																		2
United States	1	1																				1
Uruguay	1			1																		1
Total	56	42	24	15	8	4	2	3	2		1	1					1		1	2	1	

Figure 25. Language skills possessed by the IIIC's staff divided by gender. The purple matrix corresponds to male staff and the green matrix to female staff.

251

In the green matrix, numbers concentrate on its top-left part. French, English, German and Italian were the languages most commonly spoken by women, with nationals from France, Russia, Norway, UK, Switzerland, Austria, and Italy delineating a block with a similar structure. Said block structure does not have a counterpart in men's case. For them, more different combinations between language and nationality are found, as revealed by the presence of more sparse filled entries in the matrix's right half. Additionally, several clear unbalances between feminine and masculine representation seem to have existed: a clear case is that of Poland, for which our records reveal 16 men vs. 4 women. Instead, in the case of Russia, the proportion is one man opposed to 17 women. Additionally, it can also be appreciated that some languages were only spoken by men (Czech, Romanian, Serbo-Croatian, Bengali, Japanese, and Chinese), and others only by women (Latvian, Danish, and Swedish).

Presented results add nuance to the IIIC's representative character, which is generally approached in terms of nationality.[565] Even though skills in a given language cannot, and should not, be equated to political (or intellectual) representation, the presence of considerable language skills among the IIIC's personnel captures the efforts made to reinforce its international character without engaging in additional cost. Language skills, in this regard, had practical and symbolic functions that benefitted institutional functioning, especially in the stage of gathering input information.

6.2.3. Target-driven translation work. From experts to National Committees

In Part 1, I have elaborated on the idea that different agents intervened in different stages of the policymaking process. Findings described in Section 6.2 suggest that most translation work paid by the IIIC had French as main target language, which suggests that other agents translated from French as source language and into other languages. This work must have to take place in the final stages of the policymaking chain, that is, execution and dissemination. If we leave aside national governments, agents that could

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[565] Grandjean, "A Representative Organization?; Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 275–80. It is also relevant to refer to Louis' work on the ILO (Louis, "Une représentation dépolitisée ?"). The latter understands representativity not in terms of states, but also in terms of employees and employers, which were the collectivities represented in said organization. Her main contribution is to answer why, through which groups and individuals, and through what mechanisms, representation is presented as a technical, non-political question, and with what effects (63). More interestingly, she proposes to overcome a rigid binary thinking between political and technical representation.

contribute to such a stage included intellectuals, national delegates and NCIC. This is precisely the aspect scrutinized in the present chapter: analyzing the ways agents involved in execution and dissemination contributed to propagate the IIIC's (and, more broadly, the ICO's) work via translation activities.

Firstly, the ICO's immediate target were intellectuals, some of which took part in its work in their quality of experts. Experts possessing language skills were especially valuable for the ICO. Thanks to their skills, the institution could function without needing to sponsor systematic translation or interpretation. Individual multilingualism enabled official institutional bilingualism (and practical monolingualism, if considered that most meetings at the IIIC were held in French). Figures combining technical knowledge with language skills possessed a specific form of symbolic capital for the ICO, as the following quotation illustrates: "[Ernest Reinhardt] spricht übrigens aufs beste französisch und italienisch, sowie auch englisch, und durfte sich aux aus diesem Grunde für die Verhandlungen besonder eignen."[566] [In addition, he (Ernest Reinhardt) speaks French and Italian perfectly, as well as English, and for this reason he was particularly suitable for the negotiations]. The IIIC in this regard combined work with polyglot intellectuals with collaboration with relevant intellectual figures who did not possess enough language skills, or who insisted on using their own languages, in which case they provided for translation services. Instead, it is not rare to find examples of speakers mentioning that they would have preferred to use their mother tongues. Spanish writer Miguel de Unamuno, for example, stated that he would have preferred to "parler dans ma propre langue, parce que, dans une autre langue, j'essaie de revêtir ma pensée, mais je la dénue."[567] Other participants, less poetic, clearly stated that they would have been able to better express their thoughts if they had had the chance to speak their own language. For example, in the words of the Italian mathematician Francesco Severi: "J'aurais désiré parler dans ma langue maternelle, car ma pensée aurait été moins entravée, mais, comme le temps dont nous disposons est limité, je parlerai dans la langue française."[568] This kind of statement reveals how the lack of a systematic use of institutional translation placed the burden upon individuals.

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[566] Dr. Hess to Dominique Braga, Dec. 15, 1931. UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F-IV-12 Bibliographie de la traduction - Réunion d'experts.
[567] « Speech by Miguel de Unamuno,n.d., UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-Mémoires-13 Espagne 1934.
[568] UN Archives, R4003-5B-26703-1976 International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation - 18th Session, Geneva, 13-18 July 1936 - Minutes.

When necessary, therefore, the IIIC adopted a flexible position and offered their collaboration to grant the necessary assistance by means of translation. An example can be found in the following exchange between IIIC representatives and professor Gregorio Marañón, to whom the following sentence was revolved: "J'insiste (…) pour que vous écriviez en espagnol ; je vous ferai, bien entendu, tenir la traduction pour que vous puissiez la vérifier."[569] In this case, Marañón's symbolic capital justified the IIIC's insistence and reveals that the latter undertook translation work voluntarily when the collaborator in question presented a special interest in their opinion. In other words, in general terms, the IIIC made efforts to reinforce the use of the two official languages, but exceptions were made to avoid languages becoming an obstacle. This was especially true in the case of renowned intellectual figures. The allusion to authors overseeing translations deserves comment. Reports and other preparatory documents, meeting minutes, and resolutions were sent to all members having attended working sessions, which meant that a potential number of proof-readers existed who were experts in the correspondent domain and, in some cases, proficient in more than one language. Of course, not all experts were familiar with both English and French, but it is not uncommon to find letters where experts comment the translation of specialized terms, as the following example illustrates: "M. Unwin ayant suggéré quelques petites modifications en ce qui concerne la traduction de termes techniques, les voeux en anglais ont été ronéotés à nouveau."[570] Experts acted, therefore, as proofreaders of the translation work done by the IIIC's staff or by its external collaborators. Being this a context where experts could voice their comments before a translation was published or made official, the ICO's constituted a space that promoted awareness on the specificities of technical translation.

The IIIC's work relied also extensively on the collaboration of state delegates for translation purposes, as well as on the diplomatic representation that each country possessed in Paris. This is attested by preserved correspondence: Hussein Khan Ala, Persian delegate before the IIIC and plenipotentiary minister in Paris, translated from Persian some legal articles addressing taxes to the circulation of scientific works.[571] The IIIC also contacted Turkish' Embassy in Paris to enquire about a law passed at Ankara's

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[569] [Sender unknown] to Gregorio Marañón, May 12, 1933. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-I-1 (4) Réunions de la Sous-Commission des Lettres et des Arts/Comité permanent des Lettres et des Arts.
[570] Dominique Braga to Enrique Diez Canedo, Feb. 18, 1932.
[571] Director to Hussein Khan Ala, May 6, 1929; F. K. Nabil to Director, April 29, 1929; Persian Imperial Legation to IIIC, Oct. 7, 1930. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-I-41 Relations avec le Gouvernement de la Perse.

Parliament forbidding foreigners to exercise some professions, among which intellectual professions, and request its French translation.[572] Several letters are preserved by José Arzu, delegate for Guatemala, informing that he had translated parts of speeches or reports of intellectual cooperation and published them in Guatemalan press.[573] Archival records also reveal that the Nicaraguan Legation translated study programs of the Ministry of Public Instruction for the IIIC in the framework of the latter's work to facilitate student exchange.[574] The Swedish Legation sent a copy of the Swedish translation of the volume *Les fins et l'organisation de la Société des Nations*,[575] made by the Swedish Association of the League of Nations.

Another hypothesis I would like to put forward is the fact that National Committees constituted eminent translation spaces. In part, this would not be surprising if considered their role in linking the central bodies of the ICO, the IIIC and the ICIC, with each national field. As described by Renoliet[576] and Grandjean,[577] NCIC represented a step forward in the ICO's consolidation, in the sense they reinforced the organization of intellectual cooperation. Even though we have gained a better knowledge about some of them in recent years, no general assessment exists to date,[578] which is all the more comprehensible if considering the sparse character of sources, and NCIC's internal diversity. However, to advance in that direction, it is possible to examine some of the activities of NCIC by using the Paris archive.

As has been mentioned earlier, examining the work of the ICO presents certain methodological challenges given the involvement of multiple institutional bodies and the different access conditions and degrees of preservation of their archival records. The IIIC

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[572] Chief of the Legal Service to the Truskih Ambassador, October 14, 1930. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-I-45 Relations avec le Gouvernement de la Turquie.

[573] José Arzu to Julien Luchaire, Aug. 12, 1930. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-I-111 Relations avec le Gouvernement du Guatemala.

[574] Medina to Julien Luchaire, Feb. 17, 1930. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-I-120 Relations avec le Gouvernement du Nicaragua.

[575] W. Winther to Louis Levinson, Oct. 24, 1930. UNESCO Archives, AG 01-IICI-A-I-90 Relations avec le Gouvernement de la Suède.

[576] Renoliet, *L'UNESCO*, 32.

[577] Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 229.

[578] Future research will have to complement the research lines sketched here with material from local sources, in the cases where it has been preserved. Indeed, a systematic and comparative study of the publications published by the different National Committees would give us great insight on the ways the work by the ICIC and the IIIC was effectively communicated to national fields. This could be complemented with the retrieval of articles authored by members of the National Committees in the press, as part of the NCIC did not have the means to edit and publish their own volumes but found alternative channels to fulfill their dissemination task.

being the executive organ within the ICO, I advance the hypothesis that it constitutes an essential part of the chain to examine the flow of information within the multiple parties involved. Without denying that its archive constitutes an "archival island" in a wider archival archipelago, to reuse the expression proposed by Hodder, Heffernan, and Legg's[579], I argue that said archival records can be employed to retrace broader dynamics that marked the functioning of the institutional network. This means that, thanks to the reports NCIC sent to the IIIC, it is possible to obtain an overall view. Even though it would be necessary to conduct a complete comparative analysis, one preliminary finding that suggests the interest to work in that regard is the functioning of NCIC as translation spaces. They achieved such a goal in two ways: by disseminating in each national field the work carried out in Paris and Geneva using a vernacular language; and by translating from their vernacular language into English and French.

Both national delegates and NCIC had a primary function in disseminating the ICO's activities. That is why, since 1930, the IIIC systematically sent its publications to national delegates and NCIC.[580] Their contributions concerned especially dissemination of the LON's and the ICO's work in autochthonous languages. This would often take the form of reviews or articles in the press signed by members of NCIC or national delegates commenting on the publications or, more broadly, the topics being discussed in Paris and Geneva. In some cases, the dissemination work took the form of translations of the volumes edited by the LON and by the ICO. As example, the fact that the meeting of NCIC representatives, held in Geneva on July 18-20, 1929, approved that NCIC worked to translate some of the documents edited by the LON to disseminate its mission and goals.[581] More precisely, they referred to the volume *Comment faire connaître la Société des Nations et développer l'esprit de Coopération internationale*. *Recommandations du Sous-Comité d'Experts de la Commission internationale de Coopération intellectuelle de la Société des Nations*, edited by the LON in 1927, and to the brochure *Les Fins et l'Organisation de la Société des Nations*, edited also by the LON in 1929.[582] The latter was indeed the object of several translations, for example, by the Dutch NCIC in 1931. If

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[579] Hodder, Heffernan, and Legg, "The Archival Geographies," 1.
[580] *Année de la coopération intellectuelle* (Paris: Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle, 1933), 161.
[581] "Commission Internationale de Coopération Intellectuelle. Réunion des représentants des commissions nationales. July 29, 1929. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-III-2 Italie.
[582] "CICI/215. Geneva, 20 July 10929. Commission Internationale de Coopération Intellectuelle. Réunion des representants des commissions nationals. Rapport Morsbach." UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-III-2 Italie.

we focus on the publications edited by the IIIC, multiple examples can be cited as well. The Chinese NCIC published its own translations of *L'État et la vie économique*, *Le rôle intellectuel et éducatif de la radiodiffusion*[583] and the volume *Sur Goethe*.[584] The Argentinian NCIC translated into Spanish the proceedings from the 1936 Entretien, held in Buenos Aires.[585] NCIC's translation work sometimes led also to indirect translations, as illustrated by the fate of some of the poems included in the Japanese Collection, i.e., one of the literary collections edited by the IIIC. Containing multiple works originally written in Japanese, they were translated into French in the framework of the Japanese Collection, and then translated into Czech by Zdeněk Kalista, member of the Czechoslovakian NCIC, who published them in a literary periodical.[586] It is precisely by examining the work made by NCIC that the effects of the ICO's language policy can be appreciated. Examples are preserved of NCIC voicing the difficulties that aroused from the fact that outputs of the ICO's work existed only in French and English:

> Les publications de l'Institut international ainsi que de la Commission internationale de coopération intellectuelle sont déposées à la Bibliothèque Centrale de l'Université (…) et elles sont accessibles à tous les intéressés. *Il est impossible de les répandre dans une mesure plus large, car alors il faudrait les traduire en letton.* La Commission n'a pas eu les sommes nécessaires pour publier un aperçu plus détaillé sur l'activité de la Commission internationale et l'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle, ce qui aurait été le seul moyen d'attirer l'intérêt de la presse et de la société sur les buts de coopération intellectuelle internationale.[587]

As the previous examples suggest, the language policy of two official languages basically became a delegation of translation tasks of the ICO's outputs to national bodies, among which NCIC occupied a privileged position. As the Latvian case illustrates, whether or not NCIC took on said role depended on their human or material resources, which varied greatly. Occasionally, the IIIC offered grants to cover translation costs.

It would be wrong, nevertheless, to assume that the work of NCIC served only the dissemination of activities promoted by the Paris and the Geneva headquarters, i.e., from centers to peripheries. Some NCIC also translated the other way round, that is, from

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[583] Henri Bonnet to Hoshien Tchen (secretary general of the Chinese NCIC), Jan. 6, 1937. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-III-55 Chine.

[584] *L'année 1934 de la coopération intellectuelle* (Paris: Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle, 1934), 65.

[585] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-I-43 Relations avec la Yougoslavie.

[586] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-III-9 Tchécoslovaquie.

[587] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-III-6 Lettonie.

national languages to central ones. This was especially the case when the IIIC undertook inquiries, that NCIC translated themselves or financed. Some reports detailing NCIC's finances include references to translations made for the IIIC, but also to obtain articles signed by distinguished intellectuals. For example, a list of tasks of the Polish NCIC includes sending to the headquarters multiple types of texts about the Polish reality (legal texts, intellectual agreements, articles for the ICO's publications) and their translation.[588]

A third type of engagement of NCIC with translation are examples of projects that went beyond the ICO's work. For example, the Czechoslovakian NCIC declared that its secretariat's main function was to "pourvoir les travaux scientifiques des résumés français ou anglais, de traduire les études destinées aux revues de langues étrangères et de traduire la correspondance de nos spécialistes."[589] Another example is that of the Romanian NCIC, which acted as a promoter of translation in the Romanian literary field by promoting several translation awards. A letter by Georges Tzitzeica, Romanian NCIC's president, mentioned that said Committee had created an award of 20.000 lei for the best Romanian translation of the Finnish epic poem Kaltvala in occasion of that work's discovery centenary. Also, their 1939 report mentioned they had approved the decision to create a translation award in homage of their late president. Under the name "Prix Georges Tzitzeica," they would confer 5000 lei to the Société des femmes de lettres de Bucarest to create an award for the best translation in Romanian of a foreign representative work.[590]

As the above examples show, translation was among the tasks carried out by experts, national delegates, and NCIC. This reveals the ways the official translation policy displaced the latter from some institutional instances to others, hence also revealing the ICO's function as an organizational network. However, the different possibilities of said instances (in terms of financial and human resources, as well as the diversity and quantity of work undertaken) can be considered a factor limiting their possibilities which, in turn, hindered the dissemination of the ICO's work in national intellectual fields. This conclusion directly clashes with the propaganda interest Luchaire conferred to translation, as the quotation opening Chapter 5 revealed. The focus on translation, it follows, opens an additional chapter to the history of intellectual cooperation by addressing its reception

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[588] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-III-62-1 Rapports sur l'activité des Commissions nationales.
[589] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-III-9 Tchécoslovaquie.
[590] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-III-32 Roumanie.

in national fields, and the ways a lack of systematic translation work, and of a systematic dissemination chain, hindered it.

6.3. Unfolding different forms of participation. From language and translation to geographies

In previous sections, issues related to representative have emerged. I have argued, in this regard, that language and translation can be linked to questions related to representativity. The analysis of language use in documents and correspondence, as well as language skills among the IIIC's workforce, provide similar results. The first element to be commented is a clear dominance of French. The IIIC was repeatedly accused of Franco-centrism during its functioning. As has been discussed, the location of the IIIC in Paris led to the prevalence of French in its daily operations. The location of the IIIC favored French interests in other ways. For example, favoring the prevalence of French agents within its workforce, as well as French representation in specialized committees and meetings. More broadly, considering that the IIIC often worked with representatives of other countries and intellectuals based in Paris, it can be argued that its collaborators were relatively familiar with French cultural tradition and cultural views. This can be explained in terms of political interests, but they were also the consequence of eminently practical factors, and more precisely economical. The IIIC needed to financially support travel expenses of experts and members in technical meetings, as well as providing extra pay or a bonus for employees that did not live in their own country, needs that could hardly be satisfied always, given the financial difficulties this body faced throughout its existence. The IIIC's administration found a compromise between the multiple needs and interests that intervened in its activities. Working with agents that were already present in Paris enabled them to satisfy their need to work with representatives from different countries, as well as the need to keep the budget under control. The presence of international collaborators legitimated the IIIC and reinforced its international status. The same reasoning was made by governments when appointing national delegates before the IIIC, for example: they chose diplomats based in Paris because their geographic proximity granted –at least in theory- their assiduous presence in meetings, facilitated contacts, and avoided travel expenses. In this regard, the location of the IIIC can be considered a factor influencing its functioning, but also a determinant element for its survival, as the international character of the city hosting it constituted an advantage partially

compensating for the lack of financial resources. And it was also precondition for the IIIC's funding and maintenance of French government's subsidies, despite the challenging economic of the country in the 1930s. In this regard, Luchaire can also be considered not as (one of) the guardian of French interests in the IIIC, but as an agent that understood that an equilibrium had to be found between satisfying the expectations of the French government, those of other countries involved, as well as the expectations of intellectuals, the ICIC, and the LON ones.

The languages main languages represented in documents and correspondence, as well as in the staff's language skills, beyond French and English, included German, Italian, and Spanish, and, to a lower extent, Portuguese and Russian. This suggests that the IIIC's work (and, by extension, the ICO's) targeted mainly the West or, more precisely, Western Europe and US. In what follows, I propose to broaden the analytical lenses by adding a focus on the ICO's geographies, i.e., the spaces where its activities deployed. By doing so, my goal is to gain a deeper and finer understanding of the ICO's scope and the allegiances guiding its work. Of course, the analysis of the ICO's representativity in geographic terms can be analyzed by focusing on the different bodies composing it, and by looking into different spaces and aspects of each body's work. For example, nationalities in the IIIC's workforce,[591] lists of state delegates,[592] and of NCIC[593] can provide further elements to advance in getting a deeper understanding of the geographic scope of the ICO and its representative character. For all their validity, the insights obtained with one of the previous approaches should not, however, be universalized and used to make hasty conclusions. Instead, I argue that the obtained insights ought to be combined and that a finer knowledge will necessarily derive from analyzing representation in multiple bodies and in multiple domains of activity. In the present section, I would like to contribute to that direction by conducting a large-scale analysis of the geographies of intellectual cooperation according to the correspondence flows preserved in the IIIC's archive.

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[591] Renoliet, "L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle," 722–27.
[592] Ibid., 928–34.
[593] Ibid., 880–83.

6.3.1. The Spaces of Intellectual Cooperation: Country vs. City Mentions

To get a bird's eye view of the geographies of intellectual cooperation, we can automatically retrieve geographical mentions from the IIIC's archival records, which, in this project, we have done with Subseries A and F from the Series Correspondence (see Section 4.3.1 for a detailed description of the methodology employed). With geographical mentions, I am here referring to country and city mentions. Combining both types of mentions opens the door to examine whether differences arise depending on the analytical approach.

Figure 29 shows a choropleth map of explicit country mentions where the hue denotes the number of mentions that each country got. A mention corresponds to the occurrence of a country's name in either the body of a document/letter, in the sender and/or receiver addresses, or in both of them. Choosing a map as main form of visualization makes it possible to get a clear view of countries mentioned or not, as well as an intuitive picture of the disproportion in their occurrences. At first glance, the practical absence of Asia and Africa reveals the fact that correspondence mentioned mainly Europe and America, with the exceptions of China, Japan, India, and Australia. Darker hues point at the higher involvement of China and Japan in the East. Figure 26 confirms the centrality of France. Not surprisingly, France and Switzerland constitute the two most mentioned countries, with dark hues appearing mainly in Europe and Brazil.
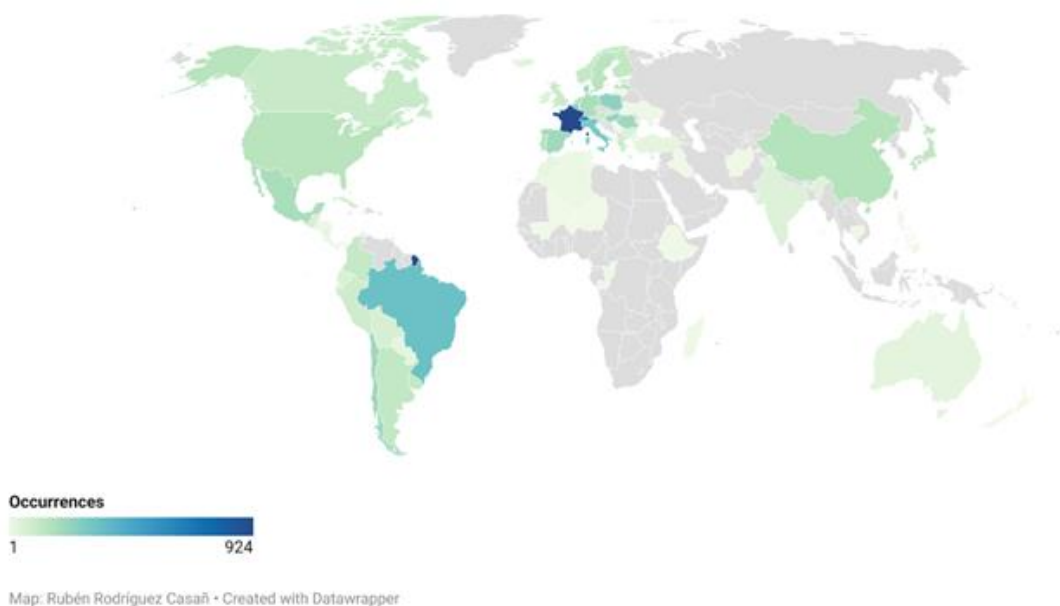
Figure 26. Explicit country mentions in the IIIC's preserved correspondence (Subseries A and F).

261

Despite the intuitive character of the choropleth map representation, the number of occurrences permits a more precise and deeper analysis. This is provided in Table 9, where I present top 20 most mentioned over a total of 119. As mentioned in Chapter 4, working with two subseries from the archive can introduce certain biases. For this reason, results are expressed by disaggregating Subseries A (left), Subseries F (middle), and their sum (right).

France	4,228		France	745		France	4,973
Switzerland	1,692		Italy	508		Switzerland	2,040
Brazil	979		United States	427		United States	1,391
United States	964		Germany	411		Italy	1,269
Chile	959		Spain	393		Brazil	1,246
Mexico	923		Switzerland	348		Chile	1,211
Poland	764		United Kingdom	340		Germany	1,130
Italy	761		Belgium	312		Mexico	1,096
India	741		Brazil	267		Poland	980
Hungary	726		Chile	252		Belgium	958
Germany	719		Poland	216		Hungary	926
Belgium	646		Austria	210		India	881
Romania	606		Hungary	200		Spain	818
Denmark	569		Mexico	173		United Kingdom	810
China	540		Sweden	171		Romania	767
Portugal	534		Japan	167		Austria	712
Japan	523		Romania	161		Denmark	707
Austria	502		Netherlands	142		Japan	690
Luxembourg	496		India	140		Sweden	628

Table 9. Country mentions in the IIIC's records (Subseries A, F, and their sum)

France heads both results in Subseries A and F unsurprisingly. Mentions of France should be carefully interpreted, as they comprise mentions of the IIIC's address, which obviously are omnipresent in our corpus. The same can be said about Switzerland mentions, especially in Subseries A. The first element to be commented are countries listed in one case and not in the other. This is the case of Denmark, China, Portugal, and Luxembourg. In those cases, a more active involvement in official circles than in literary and artistic affairs can be inferred. Countries appearing in the top-20 positions in Subseries F and absent in the top-20 positions in Subseries A, instead, are the Netherlands, the UK, and

Sweden, for which the opposite reasoning can be proposed, i.e., a stronger commitment in literary and artistic affairs. Instead, the country occupying more similar positions in Subseries A and F is, in this regard, the United States. Italy's position in Subseries F is also to be further examined, especially considering that there was not a project with a clear focus in that country in the framework of literary and artistic projects. In this regard, it would have been expected that countries having developed specific projects in the framework of the IIIC's literary activities would be overrepresented in Subseries F, which was the case for Japan and Ibero-American countries (Latin America, Spain, and Portugal). However, it does not seem to be the case, especially if compared with mentions to Brazil, Chile, and Mexico in Subseries A, which reveal a very active involvement also in official frameworks. Japan, instead, occupies a similar position in both cases. Finally, the presence of India in both lists would require further investigation.

If this analytical approach is linked to my focus on translation, in the case of languages represented, German often appears in leading positions, something that is not completely in coherence with the results provided in the previous table. Even though Germany appears in the first positions in Subseries F, its position is less secondary when addressing Subseries A. This difference reveals the relative autonomy of intellectual affairs, in which case German appeared as a necessary language and an active intellectual field, instead, in the political arena, Germany's position in the international order after the Great War was more compromised. The appearance of Italian and Spanish in following positions when dealing with languages is roughly coherent with the results obtained in the geographical analysis.

A similar analysis can be elaborated by looking into city mentions, an analytical approach that is more in tune with the contemporary critique of methodological nationalism. Said approach provides information on the centralization of each country's involvement with the ICO, whether national participation concentrated in specific foci or if it was more territorially balanced, thus speaking of the articulation of the ICO with the territory. Figure 27 displays a map with city mentions automatically retrieved from Subseries A and F. Given the overwhelming disparity of mentions in European cities compared to the rest of cities.
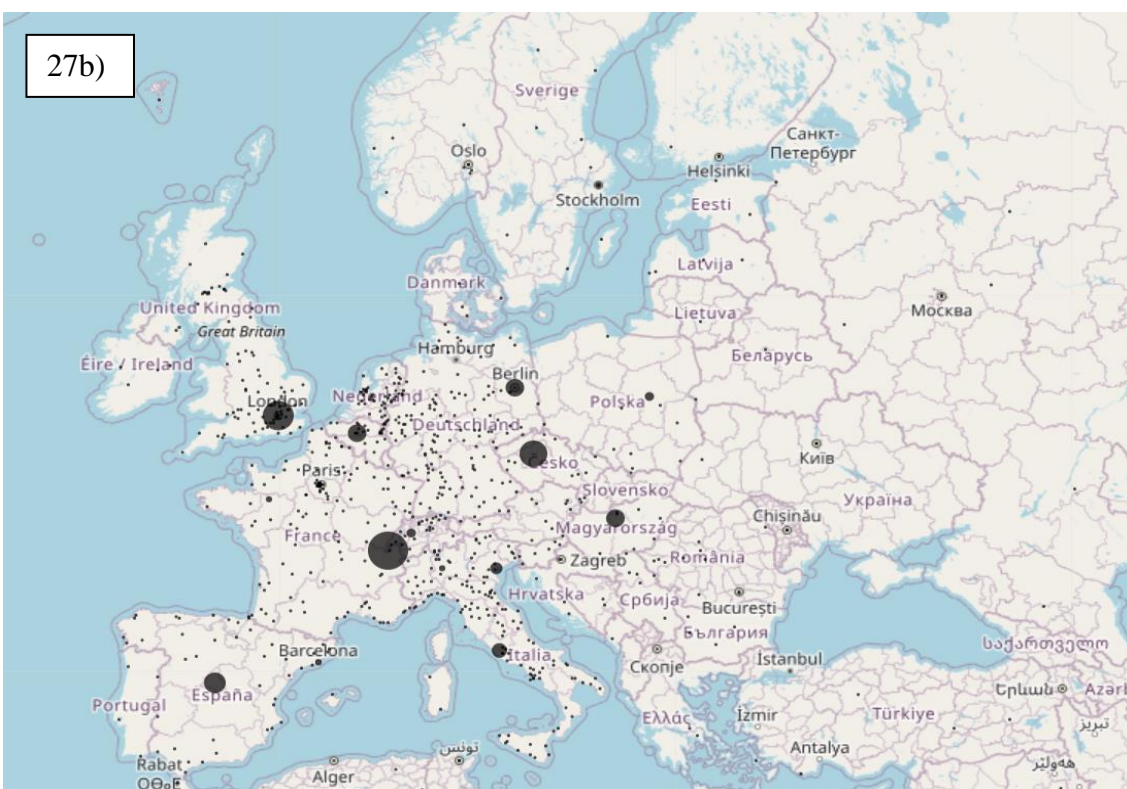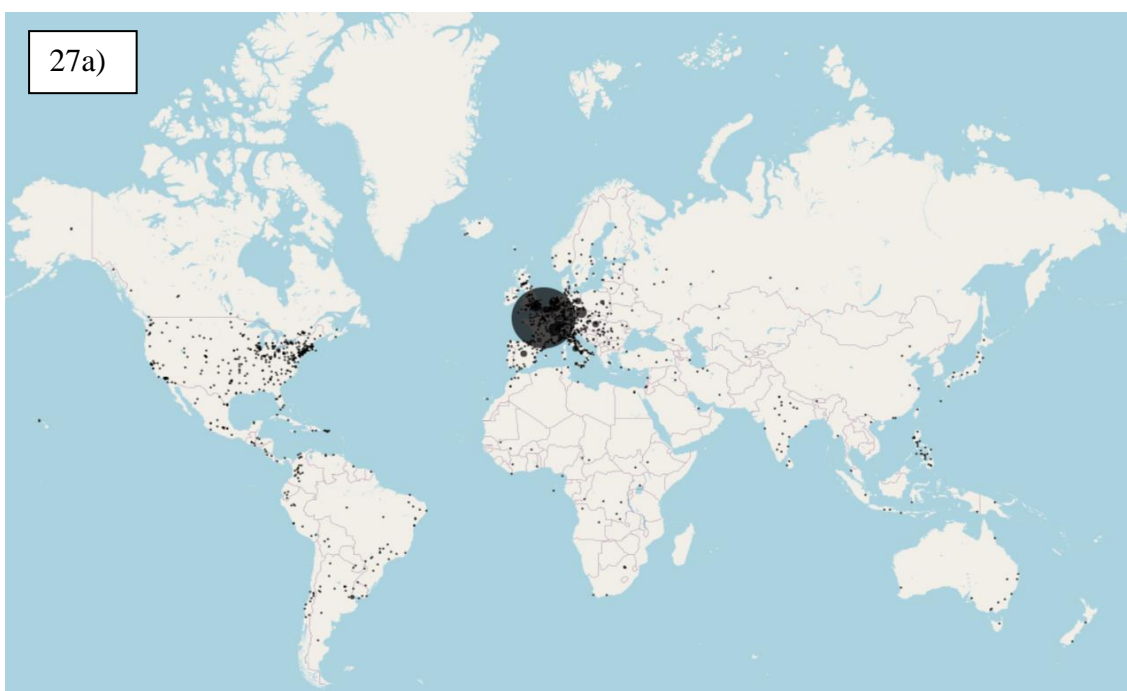
Figure 27. City mentions in the IIIC's archive. 30a) City mentions in Subseries A with a world view. 30b) City mentions in Subseries F with a focus on Europe and removing Paris.

In Fig. 27a, a saturation of mentions in Europe emerges clearly, with considerable mentions appearing also in the US and, more precisely, in the East Coast. A difference

can be appreciated between countries were mentions refer to some cities that functioned as center within single countries (most South American countries), as opposed to countries where city mentions are scattered over the national territory (US). Spanish-speaking Latin American countries belong to the first category, whereas the US and Brazil belong to the second one. Also, with the exception of the US, in most countries mentioned cities are located on the coast, rather than on the inland. In Fig. 27b, I zoom in in Europe and use the corpus corresponding to Subseries F. To avoid the saturation of the visualization that results from a high number of mentions of Paris, that city has been removed. This leaves us with anther cluster in Geneva, but also smaller clusters in several European capitals: London, Madrid, Brussels, Rome, Berlin, Praga, and Budapest. The concentration of mentions in the center of the visualization also reveals the secondary role played by geographic peripheries.

The analysis of geographies measured by city or country mention can be compared to the results of country mentions to avoid a multiplication of analytical approaches and visualizations, and test if their results provide similar insights. The similarity between the two resulting lists can be measured by using the Jaccard index,[594] a statistic quantifying the degree of similarity or overlap between two sample sets. If comparing the list of countries resulting from explicit mentions, and that of implicit mentions (that is, through city mentions), we obtain a Jaccard index of 0.57. The number of matching countries is 54, whereas non-matching countries are 41. This is not a very high value, in the sense that only a bit more than half of the elements coincides. Put it otherwise, both lists are not very similar. Also, we find different correlation degrees depending on the countries' position in each list. Correlation values according to the country's position is expressed in Table 10.

Top	Correlation value	Meaning
5	1	Monotonic correlation
10	0.86	Very strong
20	0.43	Moderate
50	0.13	Very week

Table 10. Correlation between country and city mentions

Results indicate that most mentioned countries occupy the same positions in both lists, but that differences increase when including less-mentioned countries in the comparison.

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[594] Paul Jaccard, "The Distribution of the Flora in the Alpine Zone," *New Phytologist* 11, no. 2, 37-50.

This suggests that, for a reduced list of countries occupying relatively central positions in the networks of intellectual cooperation, involvement with the ICO was quite sustained in different domains. The derived hypothesis is that 1) countries occupying a central position in the networks of intellectual cooperation maintained a relatively homogeneous degree of involvement in the ICO's different fields of activity; and 2) that the more a country occupied a peripheral position, the more its involvement focused on specific domains or projects. To test said hypothesis, it is necessary to check if involvement with the ICO found more impetus in each country's intellectual circles or in government ones and, within each domain, what were the topics or projects justifying a deeper involvement. Similarly, it is pertinent to examine if a country's involvement with the ICO centralized around a single agent occupying salient positions in the intellectual or the political field. This can be tested by putting to the use the archive's thematic structure and, for example, comparing the most mentioned countries in different archive Subseries or folders. In this case, I propose to compare country mentions in: 1) Subsubseries I, which contains correspondence with the Direction and, more precisely, a list of folders specifically devoted to correspondence with governments,[595] this series represents official political frameworks. 2) Subsubseries III, which contains correspondence on the IIIC's relations with NCIC,[596] which, roughly speaking, represents official intellectual institutions, and hence an intermediary from of participation between eminently political bodies, and eminently intellectual bodies. And 3) Subsubseries XI, containing correspondence with national personalities, institutions and associations,[597] that is, purely intellectual agents. Table 11 has been elaborated to compare country mentions therein

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[595] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-I [Direction]. Among its heterogeneous contents, a selection has been made of folders addressing relations with governments to work with a comparable corpus. They present the same title and structure: "Relations avec le Gouvernement de …." They include: 13 Germany, 21 Luxembourg, 23 Lithuania, 24 Liberia, 26 Venezuela, 29 Norway, 30 Monaco, 31 (…) United States, 32 (…) Perú, 33 Holy See, 37 Zionist Organization, 41 Persia, 43 Yugoslavia, 44 (…) Uruguay, 45 Turkey, 46Tailand, 47 (…) Afghanistan, 52 Albania, 59 Mexico, 60 (…) Honduras, 61 Haut-Commissariat de la Syria, 64-1 France, 64-2 France 2, 68 USSR, 71 Great Britain, 72 Romania, 74 Colombia, 79 Hungary, 82Egypte, 83Chili, 84 Portugal, 85Autriche, 86 Brazil, 87 Poland, 88 Belgium, 89 Australia, 90 Sweden, 91 South Africa, 92 British India, Canada, 98 Finland, 101 San Salvador, 105 Ireland, 106 Paraguay, 107 Bulgaria, 108 Greece, 109 Denmark, 110 Latvia, 111 Guatemala, 112 Panama, 114 Bolivia, 115 New Zealand, 116 Pays Bas, 120 Nicaragua, 121 Ecuador, 122 Cuba, 123 Dominican Rep., 124 Spain, 125 Japan, 129 Italy, 130 Czechoslovakia, 132 Switzerland, 133 Argentina, 134 Costa Rica, 135-1 China 1, 135-2 China 2, 135-3 China 3, 135-4 China 4, 142 Estonia, 143 Haiti.
[596] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-III Relations avec les Commissions nationales. All folders dealing with NCIC have been included, with the following exceptions given their broader character: file 20, containing circular letters and general correspondence, file 56, file 62, file 63, and file 64, file 67, and file 68, all dealing with regional or international conferences of NCIC.
[597] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-A-XI Pays - relations divers avec personnalités, institutions, associations nationales.

and with the dashboard described in Chapter 4, which contemplates the possibility of selecting certain series, subseries, or folders within our dataset. Also, the corpus employed concerns only country mentions, and not city mentions.

Country mentions					
Subseries I – Direction (selection)		Subseries III – NCIC (selection)		Subseries XI – Personalities and national institutions	
Country	Nb. of mentions	Country	Nb. of mentions	Country	Nb. of mentions
France	1,325	Switzerland	578	France	270
Switzerland	465	Chile	577	India	161
Brazil	275	United States	500	Chile	137
Poland	242	Mexico	495	Peru	118
Canada	237	France	384	Hungary	92
United States	223	Brazil	345	Brazil	88
Italy	219	India	318	United States	84
Latvia	204	Japan	291	Japan	72
Germany	203	China	238	Italy	64
Belgium	200	Argentina	236	Germany	58

Table 11. Comparison of city mentions in three thematic subseries

To interpret the previous table, it is necessary to consider that mentions of countries can result from mainly two types of situations. This is all the more important given that the corpus examined contains both letters and attached documents in correspondence (speeches, drafts, etc.). In other words, it is problematic to identify their mentions as reflecting those countries' agency or involvement. This is especially the case for France and Switzerland, where the IIIC's and the ICIC's headquarters being often named in third parties' letters. This being said, the fact that "Switzerland" does not appear in the Top10 positions in sub-series XI suggests that mentions of that country were made in more official frameworks, thus confirming the insights suggested by drawing on Table 11. Three states appear in the top 10 positions in all three forms of interaction. They are the United States, France, and Brazil. Again, it is important to keep in mind that said results can reflect their involvement or their mentions by third parties. In any case, their presence in all three cases suggests that their involvement with the IIIC encompassed both governmental and intellectual circles. Among the countries occupying the top 10 positions in folders related to NCIC and personalities and institutions, we can find Chile,

India, and Japan, which suggests a considerable dynamism of intellectual circles in relation to the ICO's work. Said results seem to indicate a higher interest in intellectual circles than in governmental ones. Some results provide hints to formulate new hypothesis that further research should disprove or confirm. India and Perús positions in results regarding Subseries XI are surprising, for example, as well as Canada and Latvia in Subseries I.

By conducting the previous analysis, I aim to add nuance to the way representation is understood in the ICO's framework. Even though political representation and government's involvement is of primary importance, the ICO's domain of work, the intellectual field, requires for us to complement our analyses with measures of representation and participation of intellectual agents, be they individuals or organizations. Considerable differences in the different domains can indicate the degree of autonomy of a country's intellectual field, for example, and reveal whether cultural relations with the outer world were a topic of interest for the different intellectual national communities, for government's foreign policies, or both. Also, previous results regarding geographies suggest that language skills available at the IIIC resulted mainly from historical affinities and closeness, rather than from the will to satisfy an effective translation need from that language or the other.

Conclusions to Part 2. Translation, a transversal function in the institutional network of intellectual cooperation

Some conclusions can be drawn from the information contained in Chapters 5 and 6. To that end, I first provide each individual chapter's conclusions, to then put the different topics in relation and offer some general conclusions to Part 2.

In Chapter 5, I have discussed the LON from the perspective of its language and translation policies. The topic is far from being exhaustively covered in the present work, as the LON's main interest for the present dissertation was related to the need to understand the means the ICIC could build on and the IIIC's institutional model. Reconstructed elements reveal the interest of further examining the history of the first intergovernmental political body from this perspective. The focus on translation at the LON has opened the door to examine the functioning of organizational communication in this body. In Subsection 5.1, I have mainly focused on institutional translation, and, within that category, I have discussed the LON's language and translation policy in relation to internal and external forms of communication. The presence of translation within the LON's institutional structure has revealed the convergence of secretarial tasks within translators' scope. Also, the official (and explicit) policy has been examined in contrast with practices, in which domain certain policies were developed to grant translation in non-official languages. The study shows the way certain practices, constituting implicit policies, became with time official policies in the domain of the LON's internal functioning. The comparison between both sheds light on the LON's efforts, on the one hand, to establish a series of procedures and guidelines related to language and translation, but also, on the other hand, on employees' reluctance to systematically apply the latter when they did not satisfy their practical needs, hence the need to establish alternative or additional policies. From this standpoint, the focus on translation contributed to reconstruct a LON in the making that found solutions for the multiple challenges it encountered during its work. The LON's functioning appears as having been marked by a sustained effort to maintain in a precarious but effective equilibrium different factors, all of which were necessary to its correct functioning and legitimacy. This includes 1) an institutional organization based on the principles of economy and efficiency, which necessarily limited the staff in all departments, including translation; 2) fluctuations of workload depending on the celebration of a specific event

and other external factors; and 3) quality issues presenting a practical and symbolic dimension. In Subsection 5.2, I have elucidated the links between the different mechanisms offered to the LON to satisfy its communication needs, which refer to the use of international languages, national languages, and translation (and interpreting). International languages are to be understood as an alternative to translation defended both by those seeking to consecrate national language to the status of international language, but also by those promoting languages born as international, such as Esperanto. The present case study illustrates that, historically, debates regarding international languages have been intrinsically related to the institutionalization of translation given their complementary character as forms of international communication. Additional research is needed linking said topics with the extension of foreign language learning. Then, I have examined the ways the ICO's decisions in relation to language and translation could potentially threaten language and translation use at the LON. I have shed light on the fact that, despite the existence of different technical domains, the LON's technical bodies needed to work with a minimal coherence regarding their language and translation policies. In the reality of practices, some differences existed between them, but, as the attempt to introduce German as an official language at the ICO illustrates, concessions on one body's side could have direct consequences for other bodies, which is why all institutions insisted, at least at the discursive level, in defending the official character of French and English.

In Chapter 6, I have focused on the IIIC and analyzed the presence of translations and translators in its work. More precisely, in Section 6.1, I have examined language use in preserved documents and correspondence and identified certain differences regarding the work's nature (documents or correspondence), the field of activity, and the records' format (handwritten or typewritten). The use of French was largely dominant, but findings presented add nuance to the idea that the IIIC's functioning relied *only* in the use of French. Archive materials bear witness to the presence of other languages in daily work, translations, and statements revealing implicit or explicit forms of criticism to the official language policy. This, in turn, has led me to analyze in Section 6.2 and 6.3 who were the agents performing translation work. I have combined an institutional perspective (Subsection 6.2.1) with a bottom-up approach that focused on agents having been remunerated for their translation work. This has enabled me to identify the existence of two translation dynamics. One was initiated by the IIIC itself, and as such it regroups the

translations performed within that organization by in-house staff mainly for input reasons (Subsection 6.2.2). In that framework, I have identified several social profiles performing translation tasks within the IIIC's workforce. Additionally, I have examined language skills possessed by the latter, an aspect I have analyzed by crisscrossing it with their nationalities and gender. The second dynamic, instead, was animated by some ICO's peripheral agents and took mainly place outside the IIIC itself (Subsection 6.2.3). Said translation work aimed at furthering the dissemination of the ICO's work and was conducted by some of its collaborators. A number of traces have been found of translation work done by the ICO's collaborators, be they experts, state delegates or NCIC. They constituted agents that were not formally part of the IIIC itself, but that were an organic part in its work, hence revealing their network functioning and the need to refer to the ICO's relational functioning, rather than to one of its composing bodies to understand how and where intellectual cooperation was translated. In consequence, it can be stated that one of the factors enabling institutional monolingualism (or bilingualism) was the displacement of translating functions to the peripheries of the system, with all the consequences this decision can lead to in terms of an erratic or unequal dissemination in each national field. Then, in Section 6.3, I have linked the question of language and translation to that of the ICO's representativity. To that end, I have analyzed the spaces most mentioned in different segments of the ICO's correspondence to examine the main geographic areas involved. Data has been analyzed by opposing different forms of engagement with the ICO's work (one through NCIC, one through national personalities, organizations, and associations, and one through state governments).

From the perspective of translation, contents presented in Part 2 permit to characterize the ICO's translation policy in the domain of institutional translation. Even though reference is often made in secondary bibliography to the fact that English and French constituted the LON's official languages, examining historical records from the perspective of its language and translation policies reflects a more complex reality. One of the clearest conclusions in this regard is the ICO's relational character. A relational analysis of the bodies constituting the ICO is necessary to being able to grasp the different translation tasks fulfilled by each part of the organizational network, including each body's personnel, but also by experts and other collaborators. The LON's and its technical bodies' analysis also benefits from a relational approach in the domain of language and translation policies. A strict understanding of institutional boundaries fails to capture the

reticular way their communication strategies were organized. Even if each body presented different translation needs depending on their composition and on the nature of their work, and sometimes adopted different solutions depending on the situation (for example, conferences vs. written communication), they were institutionally linked and hence, conditioned by each other. The ICO's translation policy in the domain of institutional translation conferred considerable symbolic capital to English and French as languages of international communication. However, both at the LON and at the ICO, effective language and translation policies were relatively flexible, shaped by pragmatic, political, and economic considerations in a precarious equilibrium. The efforts made both at the LON and the ICO to pragmatically meet their collaborators' communicative needs via voluntary work and all sorts of collaboration reflect the existence of two dynamics. On the one hand, an official dynamic where the formal status of French and English was insistently defended, be that for political, economic, or practical reasons. And, on the other hand, a day-to-day dynamic where individuals sought to negotiate between official policies and their practical needs. The first aimed at having an incidence on the way the international world should be, the second reflected the impossibility to close the eyes on the ways the international world actually was.

Chapters 5 and 6 illustrate that the interwar period was a crucial moment for the reconfiguration of international power relations, with debates regarding international forms of communication having been one of the arenas where said relations were (re)negotiated, given especially languages' eminent symbolic functions. IOs were spaces of primary importance in this context given their function in relation to the consolidation of international norms and uses. Discussing the LON's functioning from the perspective of language use, Biltoft argued that the rejection of all proposals pointing to a linguistic diversification of the its proceedings, publications, and events, provides a clear picture of the League as an institution committed to maintaining and securing the international order resulting from the peace agreements that followed the Great War, rather than as an institution really committed to the promotion of an egalitarian international system.[598] Certainly, the LON and the ICO operated following a language and translation policy that conferred a differentiated treatment to central and peripheral language groups, and that consecrated powerful actors in the international system. The ICO's translation policy reflects, in this regard, the existence of political strategies to further the use of specific

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[598] Biltoft, *A Violent Peace*.

languages, some of which triumphed given their animator's power in the global field of power. This was the case of France by sponsoring the foundation of the IIIC. It was also the case of the US, which, through the collaboration between the Rockefeller Foundation and the IIIC, provided the financial means to moderate the institution's Franco-centric bias in terms of language use. Countries having challenged the latter included the case of Austria, but also the case of Spanish, with American states being aware of the interest Western countries had in consolidating relations with that continent. As the previous examples illustrate, several countries tried to repoliticize the ICO's practices. They were mainly West-European or semi-peripheral countries, rather than peripheries. Against this backdrop, it can be stated that national rivalries constituted one of the driving forces of IOs in general, as well as of the ICO. However, they did not so in terms of states merely using IOs to advance their own strategies in an IO devoid of any form of agency. Certainly, in the adoption or rejection of a specific measures, national interests had a considerable weight. IOs, however, had to operate under the premise that equilibrium between national interests was one of the preconditions for their survival, and in that regard, they experienced with creative solutions to balance the multiplicity of interests involved. There was also resistance, on the side of international public servants, to comply with those measures when their practical needs required other practices. This was the case when specific agents spoke languages other than French and English, when the IO wanted to convince a specific country to cooperate with them, or when certain intellectual subfields or geographic areas were used to communicate in regional central languages. This dynamic clearly reflects the ways national governments operated in the international scale to consolidate their goals, but also the ways IOs tried to consolidate their agency, and the ways they altered their practices when dealing with specific national fields to further advance in toward that goal. From this standpoint, the practice of non-official translation on a voluntary basis presents an ambiguous character in political terms, given that, despite its practical function, symbolically it contributed to conceal the ideological foundations of the official policy.

Analyzed materials also provide elements for the history of technical translation as a more or less professional occupation. The needs of IOs in terms of institutional communication favored a growing awareness on the technicalities of the translation process and on the skills needed by its practitioners depending on whether general or specialized topics needed to be translated. Challenges in terms of quality are a crucial way to approach that difference. The LON and the ICO appear as translation training

spaces prior to the existence of the corresponding specialized training courses. Also, Relevant elements have been provided regarding practitioners' social profiles and the way assumptions in that regard built on preexisting power relations. Changes between in house or external translators illustrate the evolution of specialized translators' working conditions as well.

When considered from the perspective of the methodology employed in Part 2, the present case study has illustrated the potentialities of combining quantitative and qualitative means of analysis. It also shows that approaching archival records from a large-scale perspective requires extensive pre-processing work, for which a deep, qualitative knowledge of historical sources is necessary. The same is required for their interpretation. Given the IIIC's role in terms of establishing relations both with governments and with intellectual milieux, I reckon that the digitization of its archival records can be used to shed light on unexamined aspects of the ways intellectual cooperation worked. By conducting a large-scale analysis of data available in the IIIC's archive, my goal has been to explore the ways in which a central archive can be used to identify potential new research paths, hence approaching it with decentralizing lenses. Among the research paths suggested by my results, the need to endeavor in comparative analyses that contemplate the possibility that some countries' involvement was conveyed through political bodies or through intellectual circles can also enrich our understanding of the ICO and, more broadly, technical IOs.

Finally, the previous chapters cover various topics that could be deepened into and constitute ad hoc research programs. This includes, for example, the circulation of the LON's and ICO's publications, with a special emphasis on their translations and reception in the press, a comparison of language and translation policies in events organized by the LON and its technical bodies, or a prosopography of translators at the LON. Another topic that has not been abundantly develop is the possibility to approach the history of intellectual cooperation from a materialist standpoint. The IIIC, for example, employed multiple communication systems to carry on its work: post (letters, telegrams, postcards…), a cyclist who distributed letters in Paris, phone calls, travels… As such, it was subjected to the effects of material processes: rise in the prize of paper to the delays or losses in the post. This would constitute another perspective from which the precondition for globalization could be analyzed. From the methodological standpoint, I

have also identified advisable work to maximize the analytical possibilities that presents the digitization of the IIIC's archive.

Part 3. Translation Policies and the Internationalization of the

Literary Field

Introduction. Translation's Structural Function for the Internationalization of the Literary Field and the ICO's Elective Affinities with This Field of Work[599]

Having described in Part 2 the ICO's policy in the domain of institutional translation, I now turn the gaze to literary translation, which constituted the domain where the ICO devoted more attention to this activity. The functioning of literary fields, probable more than other intellectual subfields working with other codes, is deeply anchored in the use of vernacular languages. And this, despite its profoundly transnational character. Translation is an essential mechanism for the circulation of literary works, along other ones such as readers' multilingual skills or the publication in lingua francas. Today translation's central role is openly acknowledged by scholars working on global or world literature. For example, in a recent contribution to debates on world literature, Helgesson and Vermeulen summarized the situation by stating that "Current world literary perspectives (…) emphasize that the global circulation of texts crucially depends on translation."[600] The centrality of translation for literary circulation explains the interest of historically analyzing its institutionalization process, the agents and bodies that have taken part in it, and the difficulties, debates and challenges encountered.

The interwar period witnessed an increase of the number of published translations, as well as a growing interest in this activity, especially in Europe. Sapiro has described the interwar period as a moment of inter-European internationalization,[601] an assessment that is confirmed by qualitative and quantitative approaches to the history of translation. For example, several national histories of translation identify the interwar period as a Golden Age of sorts when it comes to translation.[602] Also, statistics reflecting the rise in

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[599] Early versions covering some of the topics included in Part 3 have been previously published in the following venues: Elisabet Carbó-Catalan, "Literary Translation: Between Intellectual Cooperation and Cultural Diplomacy. The Ibero-American Collection (1930-1940)," *Translation in Society* 2 no. 1 (2023):15-34; Elisabet Carbó-Catalan, "The Foreign Action of Peripheries, or the Will to Be Seen: Catalan Cultural Diplomacy in the Interwar Period." *Comparative Literature Studies* 59 no. 4 (2022): 836–54; Elisabet Carbó-Catalan and Reine Meylaerts. "Translation Policies in the Long Durée. From the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation to UNESCO." In Global Literary Studies: Key Concepts, 303–27 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022).

[600] Helgesson and Vermeulen, *Institutions of World Literature*, 9.

[601] Gisèle Sapiro, "Les grandes tendances du marché de la traduction," in *Histoire des traductions en langue française* (Lagrasse: Verdier, 2019), 55.

[602] For example, in Spain, see Miguel Gallego Roca, "Modernización literaria y traducción," in *Historia de la traducción en España* (Salamanca: Ambos mundos, 2004), 479–82. For France, Sapiro, "Les grandes tendances," 65–68.

the number of translations can be found in data contained in the 1932-1938 issues of the *Index Translationum*, as well as in contemporary scholarly works that historically quantify translation flows between specific language pairs.[603] Other elements reflecting the growing interest in translation in said period are their presence in periodicals and the creation, therein, of literary collections specialized in foreign literatures.[604] Examples like *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Mercure de France*, *La Nouvelle Revue française* in France, or *Biblioteca Nueva*, *Cervantes*, and *CALPE* in Spain, are well known, but journals that conferred a substantial part of their pages to translations flourished all over Europe and Latin America.[605] In line with the previous phenomena, a series of cultural institutions showed interest in this activity and discussed related topics, including translation methods, its legal framework and its conditions of practice. Organizations such as the Association Littéraire et Artistique Internationale (ALAI for its acronym in French), the International Federation of PEN Clubs, and the Fédération Internationale de Sociétés Professionnelles de Gens de Lettres started, in the interwar period, looking into the possibilities and varied challenges that translation posed for the different agents involved in the book chain, including authors, publishers, translators, and readers. Inevitably, the increase in the number of translations fostered critical views upon the activity and prompted change in the ways it was perceived and conceptualized. From this standpoint, the ICO's interest in literary translation is less a sign of the institution's innovative character, than a reflection of the fact that the organization operated paying close attention to the needs and interests of the intellectual field. The ICO's goal was indeed not to enforce its views upon the different intellectual subfields, but to coordinate preexisting efforts and to create practical tools that were useful to intellectuals, hence an activity that had started awakening the interest of several intellectual organizations active in the literary domain. The question that begs answering, then, is what was the ICO's added value in said debates and work. In what way could this organization turn itself useful to the different intellectual subfields and, in this case, to agents working in the literary field? These are some of the questions I will answer in Part 3.

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[603] For example, for the Romanian case, see: Ștefan Baghiu, "Translations of Novels in the Romanian Culture during the Interwar Period and WWII (1918-1944): A Quantitative Perspective," *Metacritic Journal for Comparative Studies and Theory* 7 no. 2 (2021).

[604] Sapiro, "Les grandes tendances," 61–78.

[605] Laura Fólica, Diana Roig-Sanz, Stefania Caristia (eds.), *Literary Translation in Periodicals: Methodological challenges for a transnational approach* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2020).

As soon as the decision to promote literary relations was taken in 1924, translation appeared as one of the activities that should be promoted to reach said goal.[606] Multiple factors related to the features of translation, as well as to the features and needs of the bodies composing the ICO, favored the engagement of the latter in said domain. I propose to speak of "elective affinities" between the agent and the activity here examined, and this for several reasons. A first group of arguments has to do with the fact that the ICO in general, and the IIIC in particular, had to defend intellectuals' interest in toto, which turned it into an a priori neutral figure in potential jurisdictional struggles between intellectual professions and occupations. Indeed, translation is an activity involving and requiring collaboration from various professionals, from authors to translators and publishers in the production stage, but potentially including also literary critics, librarians, bibliographers, and professors if our standpoint also includes their dissemination. As such, the IIIC distinguished itself from associations or institutions with a professional character, which generally represented only one of the professions or occupations involved, thus making it difficult for them to involve other perspectives in their work about translation, let alone speak in their name, or represent and defend their interests. Briefly stated, the ICO's multidisciplinary character seemed in correspondence to the multiplicity of interests involved in any translation process.

A second group of arguments has to do with the nature of the challenges posed by translation. The multiplicity of agents and interests involved in translation had as a result "des contrats d'une singulière complication, qui rendent fort difficile le contrôle des droits de l'auteur, soit du point de vue de ses intérêts matériels, soit du point de vue de l'œuvre elle-même."[607] As can be interpreted, the challenge was not only reconciling contrasting interests of multiple parties, but also said challenges' different nature. Some of them were of technical kind (translation method and techniques), others possessed a legal dimension (protection of rights of the main agents involved in the source and target cultural systems,), others belonged to the economic domain (distribution of benefits among parties involved in the source and target cultural systems), and, finally, political considerations could also emerge. To this variety it should be added that their specific form changed its

[606] UN Archives, R1034-13C-37560-14297 P.V. (minutes) of the Fourth Session of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, Geneva, July 1924.

[607] "Memorandum présenté par M. le Professeur de Madariaga. La question des traductions." UN Archive, R2224/5B/19344/2140 - Documents presented to and discussions at the 7th session of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, July 1930. Madariaga's memorandum based on a report presented by German publisher Anton Kippenberg in the Sub-Committee's 6th session. The latter is examined in detail in chapter 8.

contours in each national field, be that for the specificities of the national legal framework, the economic regime, or each country's cultural traditions. In a memorandum presented in occasion of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters' 7th session (July 1930), Madariaga extensively elaborated on translation and the challenges it posed, and felicitously referred to them as presenting "tout l'imprévu, toute la complexité et toute la capacité de renouvellement qui sont les caractéristiques mêmes de la vie."[608] The complexity of the enumerated factors, therefore, required from the organization vast skills and resources, something implicitly referred to in the memorandum in the following terms: "il est évident qu'on ne peut les traiter que par le moyen d'institutions à activité périodique ou permanente," thus distinguishing the IIIC from organizations whose work structured around specific conferences or gatherings. In a nutshell, a diversity of specialized skills and the ability to mobilize them relationally were needed to advance in the domain of translation, coupled with the possibility to conduct sustained work over time. The obvious question is whether the ICO possessed said means. In principle, within the ICO were represented different intellectual professions (authors, translators, publishers) that covered the technical perspective and gave voice to their contrasting expectations, as well as legal experts (for example, in the IIIC's Legal Section or in the ICIC's Subcommittee on Intellectual Property). This, I argue, constituted a strength that reinforced what I have described as the elective affinities between the ICO and translation. Whether the ICO possessed the necessary means to improve the situation of translation will hence be one of the elements examined in Part 3.

A third factor explaining the affinity between the agent and the object analyzed has to do with the ICO's international scope and its proximity to governments, which could confer a certain comparative advantage to the ICO if compared to other intellectual or literary organizations. On the one hand, translation is an activity taking place between languages, which often means, also, between countries. Madariaga stressed in his report the intrinsic international character of translation:

> Les problèmes de la traduction sont, de par leur essence même, des problèmes internationaux. Si l'on fait abstraction de cas relativement rares, des pays à plusieurs langues, on peut dire que traduire un ouvrage, c'est l'expatrier. La traduction se trouve donc, tout naturellement, enchâssée dans l'ordre international

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[608] Ibid.

des faits. Et il en résulte que les problèmes qu'elle soulève ne peuvent être adéquatement résolus que lorsqu'ils sont envisagés sous l'angle international.[609]

If translation is an inherently international activity, only international bodies are suitable to solve the challenges it raises. Associations or organizations whose scope and target were circumscribed within national boundaries could not satisfactorily cover them. It should be noticed that Madariaga's quotation approaches translation as an operation of exchange between countries, and in this regard his statements must be understood precisely in the context of an inter-national organization. Stressing translation as an activity happening between different states reinforced his goal of arguing for the interest of translation as a field of intervention for the inter-national organization. In other words, translation could easily reinforce the ICO's mandate. This brings us to the ICO's inter-national character. The proximity to the governmental sphere identified the ICO with principles of neutrality and public good, thus reinforcing the previous idea that the ICO's work needed to take into account and serve multiple, rather than particular, interests. The ICO's international (and inter-national) character characterized its work as being formulated from a perspective set beyond, if not above, national perspectives. Its work was predicated upon the spirit of international cooperation, i.e., the settlement of disputes through negotiation and international consensus. Put it plainly, it provided a platform to both importing and exporting countries. Derives from the previous considerations the idea that the aspects potentially constituting a challenge for national literary organizations interested in translation, or for literary transnational organizations, were precisely the reasons why translation constituted a precious opportunity for the ICO. On the one hand, a bunch of literary organizations agreed on the need to improve the conditions in which translation was performed, but who lacked the appropriate means to intervene in that regard. On the other hand, a recently created international organization whose mandate was arguably ambiguous, and that spent the first years of its existence mainly conducting inquiries and field studies to identify appropriate fields of intervention. In a nutshell, in the mid-1920s, the ICO was an international organization in search of practical content to fulfill its mission and legitimize itself in the intellectual domain by addressing problems widely shared. Translation offered this content. Unsurprisingly, it was a match.

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[609] Ibid. Indeed, a certain Eurocentrism can be glimpsed in Madariaga's identification between a single language and the state, as well as in his characterization of how rare cases of multilingualism within a same state (or other politico-administrative borders) are.

In analytical terms, the situation can be described as a moment of fields reconfiguration, in the sense that the increase of cross-border dynamics brought to the forefront fields' multiscalar structure. The creation of new international intergovernmental institutions enlarged states' prerogatives and opened the door to forms of policymaking deploying at the supranational scale. That is, the multiscalar character of the political field institutionalized with the LON's creation, which consisted in a body that tried to organize and systematize the ways states' policymaking deployed beyond their borders. The multiscalar character of literary fields emerged clearly in the same period with the increase of translations. The intensification of translations in the turn of the century and especially in the interwar period favored a growing awareness of the function translation played in the literary field, and hence the appurtenant concerns regarding legal, economic, and cultural aspects. In both cases, like in all cases of field reconfiguration, new positions were opened with the extension of field boundaries. IOs, in this regard, were new players that altered the rules of the political game. The generalization of translation, in the literary field, also altered the rules of a game whose institutional forms had previously operated at the national scale. Also, both processes were not purely independent from each other. The enlargement of states' prerogatives also shaped the conditions of practice of intellectual activities. In the case of literary domain, at stake was whether the literary space internationalized guided by transnational dynamics, or whether it acquired an inter-national character through the entry in the game of states. The ICO contributed to both processes. On the one hand, it reinforced the transnational character of the literary space by promoting literary exchanges and contacts between agents from national literary fields, be they authors, publishers, or literary associations. On the other hand, it also reinforced its inter-nationalization, given that it constituted one of the bodies through which states promoted cultural policies beyond their territorial borders. The role of states in the constitution of markets is essential in this regard, which made the ICO a relevant forum for agents of the literary field who, since the end of the 19th century, expressed concerns and problematized the fate of national production beyond national borders. Both aspects constituted the stimuli for the institutionalization of translation in the period under study.

In Part 3, I reconstruct the work the ICO conducted in the domain of literary translation. The latter can be divided, roughly, in three main periods. A first period can be isolated from 1923 until 1927 corresponding to initial steps. The Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters established in its 4th session, on summer 1927, a program of activity in

the domain of translation. This constitutes a milestone that can be used to argue that a second phase started. One of the results of preliminary work was a clear consciousness that, to tackle the question of translations, two fronts could be fought. On the one hand, promoting the institutionalization of translation. On the other hand, establishing collaborations with other professional groups involved in translations flows, whose collaboration was necessary to improve the social situation of translation. In consequence, the IIIC explored collaborations with other agents in the literary field to reach their goals in relation to translation. A third phase, instead, started in 1932-1933, when the ICO focused on practical projects, rather than on collaborations. The main projects in the field of translation, the Ibero-American Collection and the *Index Translationum*, started precisely in that period.

In what follows, I have privileged a structure based on the history of each project or line of work, rather than on a clear-cut fragmentation of the described three phases. However, said chronology is echoed in the division of chapters included in Part 3. The latter contains four chapters. Chapter 7 correspond to the first stage, Chapter 8 to the second one, and Chapters 9 and 10 to the third. In Chapter 7, I introduce the main agents involved in the promotion of literary translation within the ICIC and the IIIC, and I reconstruct initial work until the design of a program of activity in the domain of translation. In practice, I discuss the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters' first sessions, the IIIC's inquiry on translation, and the organization of an expert committee specializing in translation, committee whose main output was a program of activity that marked the start of a new type of work. In Chapter 8, I look into the projects that sought to improve the institutionalization of translation, while also emphasizing translation's relational dimension. I am referring to the publication of a special issue containing a conceptualization and theoretical reflection on translation (Section 8.1), as well as some concrete projects possessing a clear relational character. Among them, several efforts to collaborate with literary organizations and professional associations, the publication of a translation gazette in collaboration with PEN Clubs, and projects to create an international translation congress and an international arbitration system. In Chapter 9, I retrace the history of the *Index Translationum*. I start by reconstructing how external input favored the project's development, to then unearth the work of the expert committee organized to design it. The Chapter closes with a section dealing with aspects that posed problems during the first years of implementation. Part 3 ends with Chapter 10, where I address

some of the literary collections edited or projected by the IIIC. After presenting the projects that never were and two literary collections effectively published by the IIIC, I focus on one of them, i.e., the Ibero-American Collection. I extensively reconstruct its genesis, the agents involved and their division of tasks, the way literary and political considerations crisscrossed in said editorial project, and the IIIC's role as editor.

7. Towards a Program of Activity in the Domain of Literary Translation

The efforts the ICO devoted to literary translation are to be framed in its involvement in the domain of arts and letters. The latter was the object of specialized work by two bodies within the ICO's organizational network. I am referring mainly to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters (then called Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters), one of the ICIC's specialized sub-committees, and to the Section for Literary Relations, which was also one of the IIIC's divisions. In general terms, when the ICIC started its work, its goals in the domain of arts and letters were three-fold: to extend current knowledge on literary and artistic works from different countries, to create working tools for writers and artists, and to improve their material and legal working conditions. Even though said goals constituted already a wide horizon, the question presenting special difficulty and sparking off a considerable debate since the beginning of its work was that of methods. One of the first practical ways proposed to reach the aforementioned goals was to extend one of the ICIC's first projects, the inquiry on the state of intellectual life in the various countries, to the domain of arts and letters. Started in 1923, said inquiry constituted an effort to gather data on the situation of the intellectual life in each country and, by doing so, generating statistics whose ultimate goal was to enable comparisons and to facilitate the identification of domains where an international cooperation was necessary. [610] Some Sub-Committee members, however, feared that the accumulation of data would become a goal per se and underlined that their work should instead focus on reaching concrete or practical results. In their view, they had to delve into practical work so that the latter would turn useful to writers in the various countries. The Sub-Committee's members being conscious that they needed to legitimize the body's very existence through visible results, the second option was preferred. However, despite an initial agreement, a difficulty was made evident regarding the articulation of the ICIC's two souls, one that was eminently theoretical or intellectual, and another that instead was more practical or executive. Indeed, said tension did not diminish with the IIIC's creation, but remained

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[610] To put concrete examples, the goal was to gather data such as the number of books published; number of schools, students, and professors; number of existing theatres, museums, or libraries; statistics regarding the production of printed materials, and so on. Julien Luchaire, "Observations sur la méthode d'une statistique de la vie intellectuelle," in *Enquete sur la situation du travail intellectuel. Première série. Questions générales*. Ed. League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, 1923. UN Archives, R1047/13C/29600/23024. Enquiry on Intellectual Life - Commission for Intellectual Cooperation - Observations by Mr Julien Luchaire on the Method of a Statistic of the Intellectual Life.

and marked the ICO altogether throughout its existence. Method selection, in this regard, is to be put in relation with the molding of the institutional identity and agency of the bodies composing the ICO.

Said debates permeated also early interest in the domain of literary translation. As early conversations reflect, translation received attention as one of the possible domains of work from a very early moment, although the ICIC's limited resources hampered their immediate implementation. It was not until the moment when the Sub-Committee on arts and Letters started its work, in autumn 1925, that this line of work became a reality. Keeping in mind the interest in reaching practical results, in the case of literary translation, preliminary documentation emerged as a necessary precondition for their work given, especially, the activity's low degree of institutionalization. This is one of the main factors explaining why the ICO's first practical results in the domain of literary translation took a few years to show. In Chapter 7, I reconstruct precisely the first steps taken in said line of work. Before directly addressing them, a digression is necessary to introduce the main protagonists of this history, a digression constitutes also the occasion to look into the composition and functioning of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters and the Section for Literary Relations, both relevant aspects to understand the way they operated. With that aim in mind, in Section 7.1 I combine an institutional view that recovers the list of members constituting each body with a more descriptive approach of its practical work. This is all the more necessary given that absences were recurrent in the ICO's work and replacing figures were equally structural than formal members. Against this backdrop, subsequently, I reconstruct the first efforts that explicitly focused on literary translation in the Sub-Committee's early work, which prefigures some of the projects developed later on. I specifically discuss three different spaces: the Sub-Committee's first meetings (Section 7.2), an inquiry on translation conducted by the IIIC to examine the state of translation in different countries (Section 7.3), and the organization of a meeting of experts in translation (Section 7.4). In the present section, my attention is not focused on whether specific ideas were retained or rejected. Rather, my goal is to reconstruct the process through which a specific work plan in the domain of translation developed, rather than delving into its practical results.

7.1. The bodies specialized in literary affairs within the ICIC and the IIIC

When the ICIC was created, in January 1922, it comprised three thematic subcommittees: Bibliography (later Subcommittee on Scientific Documentation), University Relations, and Intellectual Property. By structuring its work in specialized subcommittees, the goal was to celebrate technical meetings in single domains, which reduced the workload of a plenary subcommittee that convened once per year.[611] Arts and Letters was not yet one of them. The creation of the appurtenant Sub-Committee had to wait until July 1925, favored by the IIIC's creation. When the Parisian branch was created, one of the challenges the ICIC had to face was to fit its structure with that of the new body. As reflected in their statutory regulations,[612] it was agreed that there needed to be a correspondence between the ICIC's Subcommittees and the IICI's Sections, so that the former could control and direct the latter's activities. The following quotation illustrates the fact that, in the domain of arts and letters, the structure of the IIIC did not reproduce that of the ICIC, rather the opposite:

> The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had for long—from its very beginning, in fact— wished to work in the two great fields of arts and letters. It realized that, without arts and letters, without authors and artists, the work of intellectual co-operation would be incomplete. The Foundation of the Institute, with its two Sections of Literary Relations and Artistic Relations, afforded it the wished-for opportunity.[613]

Indeed, the foundation of the IIIC with a structure comprising a Section for Literary Relations was the factor that prompted the creation of a corresponding Sub-Committee in Geneva, hence inverting the official dynamic. The entry of France in the game, with the foundation of the IIIC and the corollary extension of the ICIC's means, expanded the work in the field of intellectual cooperation to the domain of arts and letters.

Primary reasons to engage in the domain of arts and letters had to do with their potential for the "pacification des esprits, condition essentielle de la pacification des

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[611] Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 198.

[612] UN Archives, R1036/13C/49817/14297 Intellectual Cooperation - Discussions at 39th Council, March 1926.

[613] UN Archives, R1079/13C/49857/45160 Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters - Commission for Intellectual Cooperation - Report submitted to the Council on the Seventh Session of the Commission for Intellectual Cooperation, held in Paris from 14 to 18 Jan. 1926.

peuples."[614] In the view of the carriers of intellectual cooperation, arts and letters could contribute in a specific way to fulfill the LON's goal to maintain world peace given their appeal to emotions, rather than reason. In this regard, they presented certain specificities if compared to work in the domains of sciences or university affairs.

> Les sciences spécialisées et l'enseignement universitaire relèvent exclusivement de la raison. Les lettres et les arts, du sentiment. Or, l'idéal de la paix procède au moins autant du sentiment que de la pensée et c'est dans le domaine sentimental que nous pourrons nous en rapprocher le plus aisément. La coopération des esprits exige tout d'abord une compréhension mutuelle. Se faire comprendre, c'est souvent se faire aimer. Or, comme l'écrivait M. Luchaire (…) 'l'art est un des meilleurs moyens de se faire apprécier des autres.' En encourageant la confrontation des arts et des lettres, en aidant à leur diffusion, en multipliant les occasions de contact entre les artistes de diverses nationalités et entre chaque peuple et les arts des autres peuples, il est incontestable que nous travaillerons à rétablir la paix dans le monde en lui assurant de plus solides assises morales.[615]

Arts and letters, in this regard, targeted the emotional part of human action, seen as the counterpart to rational action. Additionally, the potential of arts and letters to maintain world peace had to do also with their audiences. Even though work in the domains of science and university affected the restricted groups belonging to the appurtenant epistemic communities, arts and letters addressed, a priori, a wider public.

> [Elles] s'adressent non point à des groupes particuliers, mais à tous les vivants qui, dans le monde ont des yeux pour voir, des oreilles pour entendre et un esprit pour comprendre. (…) l'épopée, la tragédie, la fresque, l'opéra, la statuaire et l'architecture ne se conçoivent point sans la foule qui regarde, qui écoute et qui s'enthousiasme. Tandis que les études poursuivies par la C.I.C.I. jusqu'à ce jour, dans les divers domaines où elle s'est avancée, ne touchent le peuple qu'au second degré, celles qu'elle pourra entreprendre en matière d'art et de lettres atteindront directement le peuple. Et elles l'atteindront en plein cœur.[616]

In the previous quotation, the statement that "les études poursuivies par la C.I.C.I. (…) ne touchent le peuple qu'au second degré" constitutes a quite explicit acknowledgment of one of the factors potentially limiting the repercussion of the ICO's work, namely its technical character. Legitimation of a late-coming domain of work was done by voicing more or less explicit critiques to previously established fields of work. In contrast to the technical character of work in the domains of bibliography, university relations, and

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[614] (C.I.C.I./L.A./I.) UN Archives, R1079/13C/47378/45160 Organization of the Artistic Relations Section of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation - Mr Richard Dupierreux - Submits to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters a Report on this Subject.
[615] Ibid.
[616] Ibid.

intellectual property, the domain of arts and letters presented a wider scope and hence corrected or, at least, compensated an initial elitist bias.

In parallel, the domain of arts and letters presented specific challenges. They were explicitly mentioned when addressing the agents with which the Sub-Committee would enter into relations.

> Il ne s'agit point ici, en effet, de se mettre en rapports uniquement avec des organisations, mais avec des personnalités, dans un monde ou l'individualisme est la règle et où la différence des points de vue provoque des rivalités, souvent intransigeantes.[617]

Individualism was often referred to as one of the obstacles in the literary and the artistic domains. By stating so, the carriers of intellectual cooperation echoed posterior analytical elaborations on the ways the emphasis on individuality has historically characterized the modern artist. For example, in the domain of sociology of culture, it has been argued that the intellectual field is underpinned by the magical ideology of the "uncreated creator" and the idea of the creator as producer of a fetish.[618] In practice, for the work in the domain of intellectual cooperation meant, for example, that said fields relied less on an institutional structure or on collective bodies. The need to collaborate with individuals made the Sub-Committee's work more complicated.

Let us now look into the Sub-Committee's composition. The same logic been applied for the creation of other specialized sub-committees was followed, i.e., establishing a body "composed of members of the Committee and deputy members chosen from among leading and recognized experts,"[619] both having "absolutely the same" rights.[620] Its members were appointed by the ICIC. In its first composition, a distinction was established between members belonging to the ICIC, and associate members. In the first group, Belgian politician and lawyer Jules Destrée, Argentinian writer Leopoldo Lugones, Australian-born British scholar Gilbert Murray, and Swiss writer and historian Gonzague de Reynold. Among the associate members, Daniel Baud-

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[617] Ibid.

[618] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Historical Genesis of a Pure Aesthetic," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 46 (1987): 204. To be noted that Bourdieu relates said ideology to all subfields in the field of cultural production, which include "the artist, the writer, the philosopher, the scholar." In contrast, the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters considered that a difference existed between the artist and the writer, on the one hand, and the scholar, the scientist, etc., on the other.

[619] UN Archives, R1079/13C/49857/45160 Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters - Commission for Intellectual Cooperation - Report submitted to the Council on the Seventh Session of the Commission for Intellectual Cooperation, held in Paris from 14 to 18 Jan. 1926.

[620] George Oprescu to Cecil Harcourt Smith, Dec. 8, 1927. UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F-I-1 (1), Réunions de la Sous-Commission des Lettres et des Arts/Comité permanent des Lettres et des Arts.

Bovy, president of the Commission fédérale des Beaux-Arts in Switzerland; Julio Casares, member of the Real Academia Española (Royal Academy of Spain); Henri Focillon, professor at Sorbonne University; Hanuš Jelínek, writer, translator, and adviser to the Czechoslovakian Minister for Foreign Affairs; Pietro Toesca, Professor of History and Art at the University of Rome; Elena Văcărescu, writer and delegate of Romania to the Assembly of the LON; Paul Valéry, writer and member of the Académie française, and Austrian composer and conductor Felix Weingartner. Table 12 provides the list of participants[621] in the Sub-Committee's meetings convened between 1925 and 1930, with reference to their nationality and to the represented institution or domain of activity.

			1st sess. 1925	2nd sess. 1926	3rd sess. 1926	4th sess. 1927	5th sess. 1928	6th sess. 1929	7th sess. 1930
ICIC	Jules Destrée	BE	x			x	x	x	x
	Gonzague de Reynold	CH	x	x	x	x	x		x
	Gilbert Murray[622]	EN			x				
	George Oprescu	ROU	x	x	x	x		x	
LON	Albert Dufour-Féronce	DE				x			
	Cristobal Rodríguez	PAN	x						
IIIC	Julien Luchaire	FR	x		x	x			
	Blaise Briod	FR	x		x				
	Richard Dupierreux	FR	x	x	x	x		x	
	Euripide Foundoukidis	GRC							x
	Jean Belime	FR							x
Letters	Julio Casares	ES	x	x	x	x			
	Leopoldo Lugones	ARG	r		r	r			
	John Galsworthy	GBR					x		
	Paul Valéry	FR	x						
	Elena Văcărescu	ROU	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	S. de Madariaga	ES					x	x	x
	Hanuš Jelínek	CZE	x	x	x	x	x		x
	Anton Kippenberg	DE					x	x	x
	Vittorio Rossi	IT					x	x	r
Arts	Pietro Toesca	IT	x	x	x	x		r	r
	Cecil Harcourt Smith	EN					x		x
	Edward J. Dent	EN					x	x	x
	Daniel Baud-Bovy	CH	x	x		x	x	x	x
	Henri Focillon	FR	x		x	x	x	r	x
	Felix von Weingartner	AUT	x		x		x	x	
	Richard Graul	DE							

Table 12. Participants to the meetings of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters

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[621] N.B. Each session was divided in 3 to 5 meetings appear as participants the actors that participated in, at least, one of the meetings.
[622] Technically Australian, he is mentioned as an English representative.

Table 12 illustrates that participation was not always sustained over time. Formal members were sometimes replaced in the Sub-Committee's sessions. In the table, I indicate with an "r" cases where an individual was replaced.[623] Also, the list of members shows that the work of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters was divided in two constitutive sections, one working on Arts and one focusing on Letters, thus specializing in different topics and engaging different agents. In the domain of Letters, which is our primary interest, Văcărescu's and Jelínek's participation stands out for its assiduous character.

The ICIC's sub-Committees were the object of some criticism during its first years of activity for, for example, being excessively numerous or for an unbalanced representation of interested parties.[624] In consequence, in 1930 some changes were introduced, coinciding with the fact that the mandate of its first members expired. The work previously done by the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters was assigned to a newly created Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters. Rather than being a mere change of status, the work dynamic changed with the establishment of the Permanent Committee, in a new episode of the debate regarding the ICO's two souls. Opposite to the work of the Sub-Committee, which was eminently technical, it was decided that the Permanent Committee's work would be twofold. The aim of the latter would be to "étudier (…) non seulement les questions techniques relatives à la coopération littéraire et artistique internationale, mais aussi les questions plus générales, qui, dans l'état actuel du monde, intéressent directement l'avenir de la culture humaine."[625] This meant that, on the one hand, the Permanent Committee was supposed to continue carrying on the technical work initiated by the Sub-Committee, but, on the other hand, it should also deploy its efforts in a contribution possessing a more eminently intellectual, if not philosophical, character. The will to keep working in the technical domain was explicitly manifested, but it was the intellectual or philosophical contribution that occupied most work of the Permanent Committee, thus relegating technical work to expert committees, convened when the occasion or need to study specific topics appeared, or simply disappearing from the

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[623] R: Lugones was replaced by Parra Pérez (1925), Unsain (1926), Gonzalo Zaldumbide (1927). Rossi was replaced by Ussani (1930) and Toesca by Colasanti (1929 and 1930). Focillon was replaced by Hautecoeur (1929).

[624] Unknown (Montenach?) to Jules Destrée, March 20, 1931. UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F-I-1 (2), Réunions de la Sous-Commission des Lettres et des Arts/Comité permanent des Lettres et des Arts.

[625] "Comité Permanent des Lettres et des Arts. Première Session. Point 3 de l'ordre du jour. Suggestions de M. Paul Valéry, de l'Académie française, et du Professeur Focillon, tous deux membres du Comité, au sujet du rôle du Comité Permanent des Lettres et des Arts, dans l'organisme international de la Coopération intellectuelle," UN Archives, 0000766240_D0029.

program in the domains of arts and letters. Implicitly, this can be read as a critique of the work carried out by the former body, a critique that transpires between the lines in some of the contemporary documents. For example, in the suggestions presented by Paul Valéry and Henri Focillon.

> We are not met together to found bureaux and offices, reviews and Cahiers, or to satisfy ourselves of the sufficiency of the efforts being made in these directions. All these things are but an instrument in the service of an idea. What idea? Some traces of it are already apparent in the technical side of the work. All over and above the technical side, there are duties to which, it would seem, we are committed. There are those who expect much of us, and we have not the right to disillusion them. The League of Nations exists to meet a felt need; and the need which we feel is for the maintenance of the intellectual life.[626]

A critique can be read in the previous excerpt vis-à-vis the bureaucratic dimension the work in the domain of arts and letters had taken. Even though the pursuit of practical results had initially been preferred, a few years later the decision was made to reorient it to the domain of ideas. The report of the Permanent Committee's first session provides some elements to understand the main goal of the newly created body, which lied in the domain of exchange and circulation of ideas given that "A League of Nations implies a League of human intellects." Therefore, the Permanent Committee "should form a bond of union between those who enrich the life of the mind by the creation of ideas, the invention of forms and combinations of thought, the discovery and interpretation of facts."[627]

This, in turn, directly affected the composition and work methods of the specialists in Arts and Letters. With some changes over time, during most of its activity the Permanent Committee counted between 15 and 20 members. In a list dating 1932,[628] it included the following members: Hungarian composer and piano professor Béla Bartok, Czech writer and playwright Karel Čapek, Bolivian writer and diplomat Adolfo Costa du Rels, German writer Thomas Mann, English poet and writer John Masefield, Italian journalist and author Ugo Ojetti, Swedish architect Ragnar Ostberg, Italian archeologist and Historian Roberto Paribeni, Norwegian novelist and playwright Nini Roll Anker, Polish-Austrian art historian Josef Strzygowski, German art historian Wilhelm Waetzoldt, and some members previous members: Henri Focillon, Salvador de

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[626] Ibid.
[627] UN Archives, R2253-5B-29972-22239 Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters - 1st Session July 1931, Report.
[628] UN Archives, 0000766241_D0019.

Madariaga, Elena Văcărescu, Paul Valéry, the then emeritus director of the IIIC Julien Luchaire, and the Romanian historian and member of the International Cooperation and International Bureaux Section Georges Oprescu. In addition, some members of the ICIC, IIIC and LON were represented as well in their meetings. Among them, the German diplomat, then Under-secretary general of the LON and director of the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section Albert Dufour-Feronce, the Swiss diplomat, then secretary of the ICO and member of the LON's Secretariat Jean Daniel de Montenach, and the French politician and diplomat, then director of the IIIC Henri Bonnet. Jules Destrée, Gilbert Murray and Gonzague de Reynold were also members on behalf of the ICIC.

Said composition was the object of some changes over time. The LON having requested at the end of 1933 to reduce members of certain commissions and committees to lighten the organization's finances, in 1933 it was decided not to replace members who had resigned or whose mandate had expired. This was, for example, Nini Roll-Anker's case, who had resigned in 1932. Others, instead, could not complete their mandates because of natural reasons. For instance, Jules Destrée died in January 1936, thus leaving vacant the presidency of the Permanent Committee. Interested in finding a new Belgian representative, an attempt was made to appoint playwright Maurice Maeterlinck to said post, but the latter refused for health reasons,[629] and the post was finally assigned to politician Paul Hymans. Some new members were appointed in 1936, when most precedent mandates expired. Among them, Italian playwright and novelist Luigi Pirandello,[630] Chilean poet and diplomat Gabriela Mistral, and Norwegian novelist Johan Bojer. The following year were also appointed Polish writer and painter Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, and American educator and philanthropist Paul Keppel, then President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York Frederick. Changes could as well be related to strategic interests, as illustrate the efforts to appoint Latin American members or representatives from the URSS.[631]

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[629] UN Archives, R4005-5B-23628-2051 18th Session, Paris, April 1936 - Texts of the Minutes and related Correspondence.

[630] His death, which took place shortly after his acceptance, explains that Italian representation was instead fulfilled by Alessandor Pavolini. The latter, however, resigned in Dec. 1937, in correspondence with the decision of the Italian government to withdraw from the League of Nations.

[631] R4005-5B-26538-2051 19th Session, Geneva, 10-11 July 1936 - Minutes., R4005-5B-27316-2051 20th Session, Paris, Dec. 1936 - Minutes - Texts and Correspondence, R4005-5B-31699-2051 22rd Session, July 1937 - Minutes.

Consecrating the contrast with previous work, two main types of gatherings took place to materialize the work of the Permanent Committee: Entretiens, on the one hand, which had more philosophical character, and the meetings of the "Bureau" of the Permanent Committee, which functioned as its executive committee. Their chronology is reproduced in Figure 28. The latter was composed by Jules Destrée, Gilbert Murray and Gonzague de Reynold. In the latter, the location and topic of upcoming Entretiens were decided, as well as other practical aspects of the work of the Permanent Committee.

| July 6, 1931. 1st session of the Perm. Committee on Arts and Letters (Geneva) | Nov. 29, 1931 Bureau meeting | May 12-14, 1932. Entretien on Goethe (Frankfurt en Main) | May 3-7 1933. Entretien "L'avenir de la culture" (Madrid) | July 12, 1933. Bureau meetinng. | Oct. 16-18, 1933. Entretien "L'avenir de l'esprit européen" (Paris) |

| July 25-28, 1934. Entretien "L'art et la Réalité, L'Art et l'État" (Venice) | Dec. 17, 1934. Bureau meeting | April 3, 1935. Entretien "La formation de l'homme moderne" (Nice) | Dec. 1, 1935. Bureau meeting | June 8-11, 1936. Entretien "Vers un nouvel humanisme" (Budapest) | 11-16 Sept. 1936. Entretien "Europe-Amérique latine" (Buenos Aires) |

| Nov., 1936. Bureau meeting | July 20-24, 1937. Entretien "Le destin prochain des lettres" (Paris) | Dec. 8, 1937. Bureau meeting | Oct. 27-28, 1938. (Nice) |

Figure 28. Meetings of the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters.

Before delving into the details of the Entretiens and the main projects of the Permanent Committee, its homologous body within the IIIC's structure should also be introduced. In this case, the body of interest is not an assembly of intellectuals, but one technical section known as the Section for Literary Relations. Initially having been created as one part of the Section of Literary and Artistic Relations, the section's two components were united and separated several times. In general, they functioned separated for their content, but united from an administrative perspective. Also, when budgetary reasons required it, some of its head posts were suppressed or left vacant. This was the case of the post of Chief of the Section for Literary Relations in 1928-1929. Given the Section's reduced composition, identifying its members requires a different approach than the one employed in the case of the Permanent Committee. In light of its executive character, the functioning of the IIIC's sections relied on a reduced number of agents that included a head of section, an adjunct chief and some writing clerks when possible, and, at least, one secretary. The

294

Section for Literary Relations found in Chilean poet, teacher, and diplomat Gabriela Mistral its first director.

Gabriela Mistral (Vicuña, Chile, 1889-Hempstead, United Stated, 1957) was the pseudonym for Lucila Godoy y Alcayaga, who in subsequent years became a renowned poet thanks to her assignment of the Nobel Prize on Literature in 1945. But in 1925, Gabriela Mistral lived in Chili. Issued from a family of humble origins and autodidact, by 1925 Mistral was already known and had developed a Janus-faced profile as a poet and as a teacher. As a poet, she had won Santiago's Floral Games in 1914, published her poems in several magazines, among which *Elegancias*, directed by Rubén Darío, as well as two poetry books in 1922 and 1924. As a teacher, after having taught in several schools and high schools, in 1922 she was invited to Mexico by José Vasconcelos, the country's Minister of Education, in the framework of the latter's educational and cultural reform. During 1922 and 1924, she lived in Mexico, an experience at the end of which she undertook a trip to the United States and Europe, financed as well by the Mexican government. Following Cormick, "Las relaciones tramadas durante su viaje europeo financiado por el gobierno de Obregón junto a la asistencia del intelectual mexicano Alfonso Reyes en su negociación con la institución fueron instancias claves."[632] Indeed, it should be remembered that Alfonso Reyes was then one of the members of the ICIC, so it can be conjectured that he was involved in that choice. She was appointed as Chief of the Section for Literary Relations in the session the IIIC's Governing Body celebrated on July 28, 1925,[633] and she occupied said post until 1928. This is when the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (IECI), based in Rome, was founded, and the Chilean appointed member of its governing body.[634] Extensive bibliography exists on her figure and her activities as a poet and as a teacher, but her activities as intellectual and diplomat have only recently started to be reconstructed.[635] After her role as Chief of Section, she was also the official representative of the Chilean government before the

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[632] Silvina Cormick, "Gabriela Mistral: construcción de su figura intelectual como voz y conciencia de América Latina," paper presented in Globals Seminar, Sept. 22, 2022, 17.

[633] Her acceptance was confirmed in a letter sent by Emilio Bello-Codesido, president of the Chilean Delegation before the LON, to George Oprescu. Therein, Bello-Codesido thanked the ICIC on Mistral's behalf and on that of the Chilean representation for the recognition toward the poet, which also honored her country. Emilio Bello-Codesido to George Oprescu, September 28, 1925. UN Archives, R1071-13C-45950-37637.

[634] Camila Gatica Mizala, "Cinema and Education, 149–54.

[635] Silvina Cormick, "Gabriela Mistral."

IIIC.[636] On August 5, 1936, she was also appointed as member of the Permanent Committee of Arts and Letters for a period of three years, as communicated in a letter by Montenach, but could not accept the appointment due to communication problems.[637] Proposed again on August 31, 1936, she communicated her acceptance with the following words: "I have the honor of accepting the nomination I do not deserve. My only title to it, I feel so, is my love and humble knowledge of the Latin American peoples. You may be sure that I will do my best to serve my duty successfully and earnestly."[638] Her activities at the IIIC appear as especially relevant given that she was the only non-European Chief of Section at the IIIC, as well as the only female director. This is all the more significant if considered that she did not properly speak French. She probably came to read French and English, but she did not receive a specific language training during her youth, contrary to what was common among cosmopolitan figures of the period belonging to the *elite letrada*.

When Mistral left the post of Chief of the Section for Literary Relations, the latter was assigned to Giuseppe Prezzolini (1882-1982), who occupied the post of Chief of the Information Section since 1925.[639] Prezzolini was, in 1925, a renowned intellectual in Italy (Figure 29). He had founded the periodical *La Voce* in 1908, and then the publishing house Libreria della Voce in 1911, and he was very well-connected in the Italian intellectual circles. Also, since the first years of the 20th century, he had spent several stays in Paris, where he had encountered intellectuals such as Henri Bergson, which indicates that by 1925, not only was he fluent in French, but that he also knew some of the members of the ICIC. In 1927, he spent a few months in the US, country where he moved in 1929 to occupy a post at Columbia University. The post of Chief of the Section was left vacant during some months between 1928 and 1929. The post was filled by Franco-Brazilian journalist and writer Dominique Braga who had been hired by the IIIC

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[636] UN Archives, R4006-5B-27290-2341. International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation - Governmental Collaboration : Lists of Delegates.

[637] Montenach's letter was sent to Chile's Consulate in Madrid, where apparently it never reached her, as she lived in Lisbon since Nov. 1935. The appointment reached her thanks to the fact that she run into Dominique Braga on his way to Buenos Aires for the 1936 Entretien, which prompted the update of her contact info. Margot Arce to Daniel de Montenach, August 20, 1932. UN Archives, R3973-5B-25088-305 Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters - Services of and Correspondence with Miss Gabrielle Mistral [Gabriela, Consul of Chili and Delegate to the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation].

[638] Gabriela Mistral to Gilbert Murray, September 10, 1936. Ibid.

[639] UN Archives, R2221/5B/13342/1689 - Arts and Letters Sub-Committee - 6th session - July 1929 - Report.

in May 1929 was writing clerk for the IIIC's monthly bulletin, and then appointed chief of the Section for Literary Relations in September. He occupied said post until 1940.

Figure 29. Some of the IIIC's officials involved in the ICO's work in the domain of arts and letters and other collaborators. In the back row: José de Villalonga (IIIC's Legal Section), G. W. de Vos van Steenwijk (representative of the Netherlands), Blaise Briod, Giuseppe Prezzolini, and Robert Dupierreux (members of the Section for Literary and Artistic Relations). In the front row: Alfred Chłapowski (Poland's Ambassador in Paris), August Zaleski (Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs), and Julien Luchaire (IIIC's president). Source: UN Archive, P021_01_051 - Cooperation Intellectuelle-Visite de M. Zaleski à l''Institut de cooperation intellectuelle - com 313.

Dominique Braga, under his real name Domingos de Figueiredo Braga (Paris 1892-Sevran 1975), was born in Paris and developed most of his career in France (see Figure 29 for his engraving). Little is known about his figure, although it is possible to assemble sparse information and complement it with the information related to intellectual cooperation. Braga was a man of letters: journalist, he was also literary, music and theater critic. Throughout his life, he participated in a rich number of cultural projects and institutions. He was the literary critic and literary director for *Europe Nouvelle*, a French magazine specialized in foreign politics published between 1918 and 1940, founded by Louise Weiss and sponsored by the League of Nations. He participated in several projects animated by Rieder publishing house, where he acquired some relevant

positions after the death of Léon Bazalgette, one of its main collaborators, in 1928. For example, Braga became editor-in-chief of the magazine *Europe* (1923-1931) with Jean Guéhenno.[640] Founded by Romain Rolland, *Europe* was a key institution in the diffusion of French intellectual pacifism and as a key space representative of *rollandisme*, understood as the will to "dépasser les frontières intellectuelles et politiques, et l'aspiration à un ordre international nouveau."[641] Braga worked as well as director of the literary collection Prosateurs Étrangers Modernes, edited by Rieder. As reconstructed by Gnocchi, Rieder's editorial strategy hinged on the promotion of the "sociological margins" and the "geographical peripheries."[642] Finally, he was also director of the collection "La Grande Fable" at the Librairie Plon, he published several articles in *La Revue de Genève* and was a music critic at Monde Nouveau. If we are to follow Gnocchi's work, Braga's intervention does not seem to have played a crucial part in the functioning of the magazine or the collection, with the Franco-Brazilian having followed the policy established by Balzagette. In other terms, he seems to have had a managerial profile, rather than a creative one. However, this information situates him in very specific circles and in the French literary field, with a clear link with internationalist circles and with Geneva. In parallel, he also published his own literary production. Braga authored several works in the domain of sports literature. Among them, *5000* (1924), an internal monologue of a runner during a 5,000 m run at the Paris Olympic Games of 1924 written with cinematographic techniques,[643] *"Quinze hommes à Twickenham"* (1926), the short story of a football game between France and Britain at the Tournoi des V Nations. He also authored *Drapeau* (1928), a collection of short stories published by *Nouvelle Revue Française*. In relation to the ICO, Braga occupied the position of Director of Literary Relations between 1929 and 1940. In 1940, he left France and exiled himself in Brazil. We know, thanks to Gabriela Mistral, that Braga lived in Petrópolis between 1942 and 1945.[644] According to the Chilean poet, he exchanged his passport for a Brazilian one following the War and established himself in Brazil with his wife. Apparently, he asked Gabriela Mistral and Victoria Ocampo some help to ease economic difficulties while in

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[640] Maria Chiara Gnocchi, *Le Parti pris des périphéries. Les « Prosateurs français contemporains » des éditions Rieder (1921-1939)* (Bruxelles : LE CRI/CIEL, 2007), 62.
[641] Ibid.
[642] Gnocchi, *Le Parti pris des périphéries*, 9.
[643] Thomas Bauer, "L'association des écrivains sportifs au fil des années," *Anthologie de la littérature sportive* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2006), 9–29.
[644] Telegram from Gabriela Mistral to Dominique Braga, Nov. 23, 1945. National Digital Library of Chile. URL: http://www.bibliotecanacionaldigital.gob.cl/bnd/623/w3-article-137556.html.

Brazil, thanks to eventual conferences in Argentina. Mistral described him as a "facile, well-mannered man, good for public relations," as a "man who excites no rage or enthusiasm: a common man from Paris," and as one of "third-rate writers who've come to this America sure of success, a success *that they won't be able to find anywhere*."[645] Braga illustrates the relationship between language, literature, and national identity. He was considered a Brazilian citizen given his family origins, although it is much more complicated to consider him a Brazilian writer as he wrote in French and developed most of his career in France. His foreign origins, nevertheless, seem to have been far from irrelevant. This can be applied to his posterity, if we consider that some of his work was included in an anthology entitled *Poèmes français d'écrivains brésiliens*,[646] but also to his life: Gnocchi argues that Braga can be considered among the *métisses* figures (*métis* understood in a broad sense) that were published or employed by Rieder and that marked the publishing house's "idéologie 'métisse'."[647] Gnocchi's interpretation can be extended to other cultural endeavors of the period and, more precisely, to other posts Braga occupied. In a framework of growing cultural internationalism and interest in foreign literatures, bicultural actors possessed a specific type of symbolic capital that operated as a linguistic as bicultural capital.

Both Mistral and Braga were assisted in their tasks by Blaise Briod (1891-1981), a Swiss national appointed as adjunct chief of the Section for Literary Relations in October 1925 (appearing also in Figure 29). Previously, he had studied

Figure 30. Engraving representing Dominique Braga. Dominique Braga, Drapeau (avec un portrait de l'auteur par Columba, gravé sur bois par G. Aubert). (Paris: NRF, 1928).

[645] Gabriela Mistral and Victoria Ocampo, *This America of Ours. The Letters of Gabriela Mistral and Victoria Ocampo* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 109–10.

[646] Luiz Annibal Falcão, ed., *Poèmes francais d'écrivains brésiliens* (Périgueux: Pierre Fanlac, 1967).

[647] Gnocchi, *Le Parti pris des périphéries*, 37.

protestant theology and had specialized in classic studies, in both Greek and Latin. He did his PhD under De Reynold's supervision, who recommended him for the post in Paris. He was also a poet, possessed a good knowledge of German language and literature, and had worked for the Schweizerisch Mittelpress, a Swiss association that provided with articles on politics to a good part of the Swiss press. In this framework, Briod had followed the LON's development in its first years of activity, worked as an editor of contents, as well as a translator.[648] His involvement with the Section for Literary Relations was nevertheless temporary, given that he most worked for the IMO.

Additionally, some writing clerks and secretarial figures assisted the Section's chiefs, although it was one of the smallest sections. Little information is preserved about them. Bengali diplomat, translator, and poet Shahid Suhrawardy (Midnapore, 1890 – Karachi, 1965) was one of them. He worked in the Section during Mistral's mandate and mainly dealt with projects related to theater. Jeanne Taburet was Braga's secretary. Of her maiden name Jeanne Henriette Louise Lacombe, Taburet (1897-?) was French, possessed primary and secondary studies. She worked at the IIIC from May 1931 until September 1939 as secretary-steno-dactylographer. She was married to Fernand Taburet and had two children. Thanks to the intervention of the IIIC's director, she worked in a primary school in Bordeaux after the IIIC ceased its activities.[649] Having introduced the main agents involved in the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters and the Section for Literary Relations, we can now move on to examine said body's early work in relation to literary translation.

7.2. The Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters' first sessions

The early sessions of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters and the first work of the Section for Literary Relations present a special interest because they constitute the occasion where their work program of was designed. They were the first brainstorming spaces, with their records containing precious elements to understand the reasons why specific lines of activity were pursued or abandoned. In the present section, I discuss the Sub-Committee's three first sessions, respectively held in October 1925, January 1926, and July 1926. To reconstruct said meetings' contents, I draw on their minutes and, when

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[648] UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-A-IV-28.56 Personnel de l'Institut - Briod Blaise.
[649] UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-A-IV-28.43 Personnel de l'Institut - Taburet Jeanne.

possible, on the reports that were debated therein. As it will be made explicit, representatives of the Section for Literary Relations were also represented therein when possible, hence also reflecting the latter's first steps. In what follows, I provide an overview of the main ideas discussed in each section, to then zoom in in some of them.

The Sub-Committee's first session took place between October 5-7, 1925. It was guided by a report Richard Dupierreux, then Chief of the Section for Artistic Relations,[650] presented to the Sub-Committee which contained some ideas laid out by De Reynold, Luchaire and Destrée on the questions that the Artistic and the Literary Relations Sections could cover. Most of the session, therefore, consisted of debates regarding the proposals Dupierreux enumerated. Animated by the will that the ICIC acted as "'un organe de liaison' international solide et durable," [651] Dupierreux proposed to establish a repertoire of artistic associations, the constitution of national subcommittees on fine arts in each NCIC, to launch multiple inquiries (on fine arts teaching, on the problems with the international organization of music, for example) and to create artistic residencies ("maisons de repos et de travail"). As can be grasped, most of the measures proposed put the emphasis on the artistic domain, rather than on letters. It should be considered in this regard that the then Chief of the Section for Literary Relations, Gabriela Mistral, was not present in the first meeting because her appointment had only been confirmed some days before. As a result, Dupierreux's intervention primarily focused on arts, even though an effort was made on his side to compare measures in that domain to those in the domain of letters. Said dynamic is clearly reflected in the approved resolutions, which contain a laconic statement regarding the work program in the domain of letters: "Toutes les questions considérées au point de vue des Beaux-Arts doivent être reprises, mutatis mutandis, par la Section des Relations Littéraires."[652] Nevertheless, the previous circumstance does not mean that translation was absent from the Sub-Committee's first session. As a matter of fact, some members tackled it. Translation emerged in this context thanks to spontaneous proposals, most of which formulated by Paul Valéry, who soon emerged as a key figure in the debates surrounding literary translation within the ICO. He insisted that they needed to create practical resources that were useful for writers, and in

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[650] UN Archives, R1079/13C/47378/45160. (C.I.C.I./L.A./I.) Organization of the Artistic Relations Section of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation - Mr Richard Dupierreux - Submits to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters a Report on this Subject.
[651] Ibid.
[652] UN ARCHIVES, 0000766242_D0005. International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./1st to 5th SES./P.V./.

that regard, he referred to the idea to publish translation anthologies, a topic that was the object of some debate in that session. Also, he referred put forward the idea to create a

> bureau international de traduction qui, après entente avec les éditeurs, procéderait à une révélation méthodique, dans deux ou trois langues de grande diffusion, des œuvres caractéristiques des littératures nationales et faciliterait une systématisation dos rapports intellectuels internationaux.[653]

Destrée continued the discussion by alluding to the possibility to establish lists of books recommended for translation. Other projects discussed in passing included the publication of an directory of each country's literary production, as well as of comparative literature and translation, given the difficulties to find information regarding said domains. For example, knowing what translations existed of a work. In that framework, several agents expressed an interest in improving existing knowledge on "la littérature des pays de langue à diffusion restreinte."[654] Additional ideas included the creation of a repertory of individuals, organizations, and publishing houses with their areas of expertise in the domain of foreign literature. As the variety of idees suggests, that session had a marked character as a brainstorming space, but details were not developed. This is reflected in the session's resolutions, which concluded the interest of further studying the question of translations. Pending a more detailed report on Valéry's side, the more (and only) substantial conclusion regraded the fact that most lines of work required collaboration of several sections at the same time.[655]

Translation was the object of more generous attention in the occasion of the Sub-Committee's second meeting, held between January 12 and 13, 1926. Mistral was expected to attend that meeting, but she was not able to do so, and the literary domain was instead represented therein by the Section's recently appointed adjunct-chief, Blaise Briod. His presence made it possible to further elaborate ideas proposed in the first session. Also, in that occasion, Paul Valéry presented a report on translation that gave rise to numerous debates as it elaborated on a wide range of ideas. [656] By building on current work by PEN Clubs, and on the IIIC's exploratory work,[657] he referred to lists of books

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[653] International Committee On Intellectual Co-Operation. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./1st to 5th SES./P.V./. UN Archive, 0000766242_D0001.
[654] International Committee On Intellectual Co-Operation. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./1st to 5th SES./P.V./. UN Archive, 0000766242_D0002.
[655] UN Archives, R1079/13C/47063/45160 - Sub-Committee on Letters and Arts of the Commission for Intellectual Cooperation - Minutes of the First Session, Paris, October 1925.
[656] Given the relevance of said report, it is reproduced in full in Appendix I.
[657] Valéry refers to a note elaborated by the Institute where some of the ideas mentioned were developed. I have not been able to locate it.

recommended for translation, lists of expert translators, lists of publishers interested in translation, lists of existing translations, translation awards, a translator's union, and a collection of handbooks on literary history. Introducing a qualitative change if compared to the 1925 session, the second session closed with the adoption of a resolution recommending an inquiry among literary associations and publishers. The publication of several booklets ("cahiers") on national literary histories was approved, starting with little known literatures, as well as the study of the question of translation from the perspective of copyright. In this regard, the collaboration between the Section for Literary Relations and the Legal Section was recommended. Finally, the organization of an expert meeting to examine the eventual creation of a "central translations office"[658] was also approved. It is worth recalling in this regard that the Sub-Committee's three first sessions were also the occasion of the OIM's creation within the IIIC, which is relevant to understand that debates surrounding the creation of a body specialized on translation must be inserted in the context of application of similar measures (directories, international bodies) to different intellectual subfields, rather than as an autonomous development from within the domain of translation per se.

The third session was celebrated during the summer of 1926 and constituted the occasion where the resolutions approved in the previous sessions were concretized and put in relation between them. On the one hand, the projects to draft lists of books recommended for translation and that of establishing a bibliography of existing translations were more clearly distinguished. Questions such as the need to improve the quality of translations and the remuneration of translators were also discussed. In both cases, the problematic aspect remained what the best body would be to establish said lists or promote said measures. Among the options, the creation of a new specialized body, but also the idea that the ICIC, the IIIC or NCIC took on said tasks. Attesting to the difficulties to delineate a clear working program, a resolution alluded to the need to appoint a committee of experts "with a view to examining how international co-operation might be organized in the literary field, particularly with regard to translations, authors' rights in respect of translations, and the knowledge of contemporary literature and the

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[658] International Committee On Intellectual Co-Operation. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./1st to 5th SES./P.V./. UN Archives, 0000766242_D0007.

theatre."[659] Considering that the organization of an expert committee was already included in the resolutions of the second session, the difference lies in the agenda assigned to the latter, which was enlarged in the 3d session resolutions, but without practical progress. The question of translation and copyright remained also in the horizon, without a qualitative progress either. In addition, the Sub-Committee approved to encourage "the translation of works of every period (and more particularly of works appealing only to a public which is too limited to make publication a financial success)" and "the translation of literary works written in the less well-known languages."[660] To that end, it recommended

> (a) That an annual list of works of this nature should be drawn up by the National Committees, which would note the desires and receive the suggestions submitted to them by associations and individuals. [and] The constitution of an autonomous international society or academy of translators, whose special duty it would be to act on the proposals contained in the aforesaid list, to make awards, should this seem desirable, for the best translations, and, generally speaking, to encourage and promote translation on systematic lines.[661]

The previous resolution represents the green light to the project of lists of books recommended for translation and to the creation of an international society of translators, whose function was explicitly linked to the project of lists of translations. An effort toward concretion is visible in the 3d session's resolutions, but the broad and abstract character of the last sentence in the previous quotation still bears witness to the difficulties to advance in practical terms. Having presented the main ideas discussed in the Sub-Committee's three first sessions, in what follows, I examine more closely some of the projects discussed and the debates surrounding them.

7.2.1. Selecting (and cataloguing) works for translation, or the (problematic) circulation of literary value

Among the projects discussed in the Sub-Committees first sessions, two ideas sought to contribute to the publication of new translations, the first was that of publishing translation anthologies, and the second, publishing lists of books recommended for

[659] "Annex I. Resolutions proposed by the Sub-Committees and approved by the Plenary Committee." In UN Archive, A-28-1926-XII_EN International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. Eighth Plenary Session. Report of the Committee submitted to the Council and the Assembly.
[660] Ibid.
[661] Ibid.

translation. Despite differences, both projects entail a selection work within a literary corpus, and, as such, hinge upon a judgement value that raises several questions regarding agents operating said choice and criteria guiding their selection. In what follows, I reconstruct the different views the carriers of intellectual cooperation advanced in regard to the two questions.

The first line of work considered to promote literary relations was by publishing translation anthologies. Modern form of literary compilation par excellence, as stated by scholar Rábade Villar, anthologies "achieve[d their] highest degree of consolidation and influence during the nineteenth century, to become a key piece in the institutionalization of literary fields throughout the twentieth century."[662] Indeed, the number of anthologies published during the decade of the 1920s in France practically duplicated if compared to those published in the 1910s: 351 anthologies against 187 anthologies according to the data provided by Seruya, D'hulst, Assis Rosa and Lin Moniz.[663] To name an example mentioned in the Sub-Committee's first session, which therefore functioned as a model for the ICO's work, the anthologies published by Librairie Delagrave within the Pallas Collection.[664] In contrast with premodern forms of compilation,

> the anthology abandons the pretensions of supplying textual models for literary imitation and appears to promote the production of mechanisms of representation that are projected onto very different objects: from the national-literary space to generational, group, epochal, thematic, or stylistic space (…). The emergence of the modern anthological form, therefore, supposes the substitution of the imitative paradigm, based on the continuity of tradition, by a representational paradigm.[665]

The representational paradigm of the modern anthology perfectly fitted the ICO's desired form of agency because it seemingly permitted to select and order the world's literary production. In other words, it was a tool to simplify the complexity of obtaining certain knowledge on the world's literary production. It also corresponded to the ICO's representational mindset as an IGO. Valéry proposed anthologies could appear under

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[662] María do Cebreiro Rábade Villar, "The anthology as instrument of mediation," in *A comparative history of literatures in the Iberian Peninsula*, vol 2. (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins: 2016), 381.
[663] Teresa Seruya, Lieven D'hulst, Alexandra Assis Rosa, and Maria Lin Moniz, "Introduction: Translation anthologies and collections: An overview and some prospects," in *Translation in Anthologies and Collections (19th and 20th Centuries)*(Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2013).
[664] Said collection included mutliple French literature compilations (*Anthologie des prosateurs français contemporains*, *Anthologie des poètes du 19ème siècle (1800-1866)*…), as well as translations : *Anthologie de la litterature allemande, des origines au XXe Siecle* by Ludovic Roustan (1910?), *Anthologie de la littérature japonaise des origines au XXe siècle* by Michel Revon (1910), Anthologie de la littérature Anglaise by A. Koszul (1918), *Anthologie de la littérature roumaine, des origines au XXe siècle* by Jorga and Gorceix (1920). Destrée and Dupierreux mentioned also that PEN Clubs had been discussing the promotion of translation anthologies as well.
[665] Rábade Villar, "The anthology," 381.

different forms: in volumes, in anthological periodicals, or in the form of a literary collection. Indeed, meeting proceedings contain a reference to a "Collection internationale des littératures nationales,"[666] thus making explicit the collectivities being represented and the fact that the resulting object was imagined as a multilateral or world literature collection.[667] The act of cataloguing is one of the principles inherent in any form of compilation and "implies, above all, the production of categories of classification for the assembled texts."[668] In this case, a collection functioning as an anthology of national literatures is delineated in the Sub-Committee's work horizon, with the concept of "national literature" anticipating challenges that the Sub-Committee would have to respond to regarding the mismatch between cultural groups and political units.

In an anthology or compilation work, selection is one of the main prerogatives of the author function, which raises a number of questions on two implicit aspects: on the one hand, the selected contents (what literatures should be represented?), and, on the other hand, who would be the agents operating said selection. The first question was addressed by multiple figures: Văcărescu argued for the interest of national folklore given that it constituted a genre that was not "exposé aux fluctuations du change, c'est-à-dire, en l'occurrence du gout."[669] De Reynold and Jelínek intervened to emphasize that the Sub-Committee's work in that framework should pay special attention to literatures of small countries or written in minor languages ("langues de faible diffusion"[670]) since, in their views, peoples were better informed on big countries' literatures ("la littérature des grands pays"[671]). Again, the alternative allusion to countries and languages at this stage preannounces one of the long-standing challenges for the Sub-Committee's work regarding classification categories. The question that was raised through said observations regarded whether the Sub-Committee should give equal visibility and representation to all countries or, instead, address power imbalances in the literary field. On the one hand, De Reynold and Jelínek advocated for determining the works clustered according to the functional character the anthology should acquire, hence privileging little-known literatures given their view of the anthology as a practical tool. Said view,

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[666] Sous-Commission des Lettres et des Arts. 1ère session, 3ème séance. Procès-verbal. UN ARCHIVES, 0000766242_D0003.
[667] Seruya, "Introduction: Translation anthologies and collections," 6.
[668] Rábade Villar, "The anthology," 386.
[669] International Committee On Intellectual Co-Operation. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./1st to 5th SES./P.V./. UN Archives, 0000766242_D0007.
[670] Ibid.
[671] Ibid.

nevertheless, overlooked anthologies' symbolic functions. The latter have been underscored in contemporary scholarship, for instance, by Odber de Baubeta, who qualified anthologies as "a history of literature in microcosm,"[672] a "barometer of taste,"[673] and "a miniature canon."[674] Given their selective character, anthologies necessarily convey "a prejudice of perception"[675] and the assignment of distinguished significance or value to specific works. By the same token, given the structural homology between collectivities represented within anthologies, a lack of representation within an international collection may suggest the lack of valuable literary production. An additional consideration is necessary in this regard, which has to do with the economic question. Who should finance the translation and dissemination of literary works from small countries or written in minor languages? Should the resources of an international body favor the propaganda of specific countries? Or, instead, should the outputs reflect contributions granted by each single government? The projects of the anthology, be it in a single volume or in a collection, illustrates in this regard the potential ambivalence in technical work being animated by an IGO. The latter was especially salient in the domain of intellectual cooperation given the key function of culture in the symbolic construction of the nation-state,[676] which explains why questions of national representation shaped most of the ICO's projects.

The second question, i.e., who would be the agents operating said selection, did not have an easier answer. Valéry developed the idea of anthologies being prepared by

> une sorte de bureau international de traduction qui, après entente avec les éditeurs, procéderait à une révélation méthodique, dans deux ou trois langues de grande diffusion, des œuvres caractéristiques des littératures nationales et faciliterait une systématisation des rapports intellectuels internationaux.[677]

The previous quotation constitutes one of the first mentions of an international body specialized in translation in the archives of intellectual cooperation, a project that I will return to in several sections. This idea will appear multiple times, although, as I will show, that body's envisaged form and functions varied in the different enunciation contexts. Valéry referred to it in relation to translation anthologies, as well as in the case of lists of

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[672] Patricia Anne Odber de Baubeta, *The Anthology in Portugal. A New Approach to the History of Portuguese Literature in the Twentieth Century*. (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), 14.
[673] Ibid., 25.
[674] Ibid., 22.
[675] Seruya, "Introduction: Translation anthologies and collections," 4.
[676] Thiesse, *La création des identités.*
[677] International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./1st to 5th SES./P.V./. UN ARCHIVES, 0000766242_D0001.

works recommended for translation, which reveals that his main interest lied in the selection work, rather than on the final form (the translation per se, or a list of works recommended). For now, let me draw attention on some elements in the previous excerpt. First, the idea of some works being characteristic or representative of each national literature. Second, the use language of wide diffusion to facilitate international literary cooperation. Third, the idea to systematize intellectual relations, which reflects the will to create measures that would function as intellectual infrastructures. This line of work did not receive an overall approval. De Reynold and Luchaire expressed their skepticism that the ICIC could publish itself anthologies, but Valéry's proposal retained his colleagues' interest, who approved to favor the publication of translation anthologies by a third party.

The other project entailing a selection work was that of establishing lists of books recommended for translation, a task, it can be argued, that reveals that the internationalization of the literary field created new needs and hence, new positions waiting to be filled. In this case, the work that would later be developed by literary agents emerges as a need which did not yet have a corresponding occupation or profession satisfying it. The idea surfaced in the framework of conversations to publish lists of existing translations, although the topic deviated to the point that both ideas, lists of existing translations and lists of works recommended for translation, became two different projects. In what follows I focus on the latter and I refer to Section 7.2.2. for a discussion on lists of existing translations. It was Gonzague de Reynold who, in the Sub-Committee's first session, proposed to request to "pays peu connus une liste des oeuvres représentant le mieux leur génie national et faciliter la traduction de ces oeuvres dans des langues de grande diffusion."[678] Focillon reacted by warning the Sub-Committee on the danger to become "un tribunal classant les bons ouvrages,"[679] thus implicitly noting that De Reynold's proposal shifted the initial project from descriptive lists (of existing translations) to valuation lists (of works deserving the honor of translation). In the Sub-Committee's second session, Valéry elaborated on the idea of books recommended for translation and proposed a similar solution to the one he mentioned for translation anthologies, i.e., the institution of a specialized commission. In his suggestion, the

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[678] File 766242 - International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./1st to 5th SES./P.V./. UN ARCHIVES, 0000766242_D0002.
[679] Ibid.

commission would convene once a year and would have as main function that of assisting and guiding the selection of texts to be translated.

> J'ai pensé à l'institution d'une Commission spéciale internationale (…) qui aurait pour mission d'exprimer, d'entendre exprimer les désirs des diverses nations, et de débattre enfin la composition d'une liste d'ouvrages recommandés aux traducteurs.[680]

Like in the case of anthologies, details related to lists of works recommended for translation focused on the selection work, a work that, in both cases, Valéry assigned to an international commission whose work would receive suggestions by single nations.

Some considerations can be made given the two project's convergence. Both translation anthologies and lists of recommended books originate in the desire to disseminate and make available to the wide public a series of works or literatures that were not known up to that moment, but that, in the view of Sub-Committee members, should be. Both measures suggest an implicit negative diagnostic on the available literary offer. This is a recurrent opinion in Valéry's report, but also in other agent's views regarding the question of translations, i.e., that works that shouldn't be translated were translated, and that works presenting interest for the foreign reader were not available in other languages. The previous diagnostic is underpinned by a normative conception of translated works, which link translation to a specific understanding of literary value and quality, with the essential question at stake being who possessed the legitimacy to decide what works should, or not, be translated.

Such negative assessment can be framed in a historical context where the growing number of translations was felt, for some, as if they were losing control over a literary production that was previously mainly circulated and consumed within a national scale, and therefore its consecration was dominated by agents from the source culture. The growing awareness that the literary marketplace did not end with national boundaries was perceived as a challenge for several actors who, lacking the necessary skills to keep under control *their* production, perceived the consolidation of translation flows as a sort of expropriation. This was the case of authors, who found themselves in a situation of insecurity when dealing with agents from other literary fields. Valéry provided his own example to tackle the difficulties authors faced:

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[680] File 766242 - - International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./1st to 5th SES./P.V./. UN ARCHIVES, 0000766242_D0007.

> Il arrive, il m'arriva, que, sollicité par plusieurs traducteurs d'autoriser la traduction du même texte, ignorant de leur valeur respective, ignorant de la langue, l'on se trouve fort embarrassé de choisir ; et non seulement de choisir entre traducteurs, mais encore entre maisons d'édition. Ou encore qu'une traduction toute faite vous soit soumise, mais impénétrable. Qu'arrive-t-il? On consulte au petit bonheur. Ces petits bonheurs ont parfois visage de catastrophes.[681]

Lacking the proper assistance, authors could make decisions that were harmful for their own work. The proposed international body, therefore, could be of great help in assisting authors, so they could keep control on their work's fate.

> Ne faut-il pas, Messieurs, que nous qui songeons aux traducteurs, nous ayons aussi quelque regard pour ceux qui sont, devant être traduits ? Peut-être l'Institut pourrait-il nous venir en aide, et consulte confidentiellement nous dire à l'oreille : Traducteur dangereux, Editeur dérapant.[682]

As can be grasped in the previous excerpt, Valéry considered that the promotion of translation should not merely focus on translators, but also on the situation of authors whose works were translated.

The idea of dispossession is further suggested by the recurrence of collective subjects in Valéry's formulations. For example, referring to agents suggesting works to be translated, some formulations include "*tel peuple* dirait" or "*une nation* s'aviserait," which attribute agency to abstract and collective agents. By attributing the choice of works to be translated to a collectivity, in his speech between certain literary agents are identified with the national field as such, for example in the formulation "On consulterait régulièrement les divers pays sur les ouvrages qu'il serait opportun de traduire," where the country is metonymically identified with the very specific agents consulted. Moving from the domain of grammar to that of sociology, collective subject is, par excellence, the resort of the field of power,[683] in the sense that it reinforces the allegedly universal character of a given choice. The selection of specific books by certain agents mandated with said task is presented as a shared, unanimous decision, with the underlying concordant view on literary value, literary representativity, and by extension, the represented national identity. I argue also that the switch between individual and collective subjects introduces a change in the social significance of translation processes. Selection of texts to be translated becomes not a question of individual preference, but an issue related to public interest. The identification of individual figures with forms of national representation leads to formulations according to which each country should

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[681] Ibid.
[682] Ibid.
[683] Bourdieu, *Sur l'État*, passim.

have a saying in deciding what works of its own production should be exported. That is, the conflation between literary representation and national representation permeates the discourse to an extent that turns translation into a question of public interest, and that extends the dispossession from the individual to the collective group. The form of the commission provides us the first hint to the link established between translation and the public domain: "dans les affaires publiques toute chose embarrassante évoque immédiatement à l'esprit l'idée d'instituer une Commission."[684] Valéry's mention of translation as a public affair explicitly introduces what the legitimate involvement of public actors should be in relation to translation flows. The public interest of translation is explicitly alluded in his report : "La Commission de classement dont je vous parle doit être spécialisée dans la besogne de recherche et de désignation des traductions à faire ou à faire faire. *Permettez-moi une pauvre image. Elle s'occupe des monuments publics et d'utilité publique avant toute chose*."[685] The idea of monument conveys the consecrating power of translation, just as the decision to erect a commemorative statue in a square or in a museum would honor key figures in national history and shape the collective memory. The comparison between anthologies and museums is recurrent also today in current scholarship:

> Anthologies and collections can do for texts what museums do for artefacts and other objects considered of cultural importance: preserve and exhibit them, by selecting and arranging the exhibits, project an interpretation of a given field, make relations and values visible, maybe educate taste' (Essmann and Frank 1991: 66). Similarly to museums, anthologies and collections also reflect selection and structuring processes. As configured corpora, they are 'enlightening and memorable ways of transmitting culture within a country, or of transferring it internationally' (Frank 1998: 13)[686]

The idea, in both translation and monuments, is that of a national pantheon. But, at the same time, the comparison also conveys the coldness and distance from which one gazes a monument and the historical past.

Given the international scope of the ICO's work, the public interest alluded in the previous quotation should not be identified with the interest of a particular state, but as a *global* public interest. See in this regard the following excerpt:

> Ses délibérations [of the Commission] doivent aboutir à l'établissement d'une liste où viennent s'inscrire, langage par langage, les titres de livres ou d'articles dont il

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[684] International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./1st to 5th SES./P.V.", UN Archive, 0000766242_D0006.
[685] Ibid.
[686] Seruya, "Introduction: Translation anthologies and collections," 1.

serait de *l'intérêt général* d'une coopération intellectuelle effective qu'ils soient transportés de telle langue dans telle ou telles autres.[687]

According to the latter, the intellectual field in general would benefit from the translation of selected books or articles, which includes both source and target literary fields, but also the wider international intellectual space. It should not be overlooked the fact that ideologies of public interest have been characterized as "la matrice de tous les discours de légitimation des formes instituées."[688] In other words, they are narratives whose main function is to integrate the different constituencies or members of a group by reinforcing the idea of a symbolic unity that transcends particular interests. It is, ultimately, the same general interest underpinning international cooperation. When qualifying the translation of certain works as presenting a general interest for an effective intellectual cooperation, translation is characterized as inherently beneficial for the international intellectual space, thus overlooking economic and political interests.

Discourses stressing the existence of general interest quickly enter into contradiction with the particular character of practices. In Valéry's formulations, a source of tension can be detected between the general establishing lists of books recommended for translation, and the responsibility for said choice, which is necessarily a grounded and particular decision. The question is who, precisely, would have the prerogative of operating said choice. At first sight, his view seems to advocate for a demand-driven system:

> Ce serait en somme, une véritable 'Bourse des valeurs littéraires transmissibles'. (Car il en est d'intransmissibles,-presque tous les poètes, hélas). Bourse des valeurs dans laquelle le jeu classique de l'offre et de la demande pourrait fonctionner. Tel peuple dirait à tel outre : Tu ne sais pas ce que j'ai fait de plus beau. Et il arriverait aussi puisque ce fait paradoxal s'est quelque fois produit, qu'une nation s'aviserait de la valeur d'un livre qu'elle-même a produit et méconnu parfois jusqu' à ignorer son existence pour le trouver traduit et en honneur chez une nation étrangère.[689]

The idea of a commission guided by laws of offer and demand suggest a bottom-up project shaped by the proposals of different agents in the literary field. Indeed, Valéry left the door open for spontaneous suggestions, but he also referred to a delegate mandated

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[687] Ibid.

[688] Jacques Chevallier, "Réflexions sur l'idéologie de l'intérêt général, " in *Variations autour de l'idéologie de l'intérêt général* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1978), 12.

[689] Ibid.

with the task of gathering opinions "auprès des intellectuels, des corps enseignants, des désirs de voir traduire, des raisons de traduire, et même des motifs de ne pas traduire."[690] At the same time, he added certain nuance to the type of work that should be translated, hence making explicit underlying normative assumptions regarding literary value. The expression "bourse des valeurs littéraires transmissibles" establishes a distinction between works that can effectively circulate and those that can't.

> Il est clair qu'on ne doit encourager que les traductions qui enrichissent véritablement la connaissance d'une nation, et lui communiquent des trésors qu'elle ne trouve point en soi-même. Il est des œuvres d'un type si banal, et il en est d'autres d'un succès si immédiat et si prompt que ce n'est point notre affaire de nous mêler de leur destinée. Elles trouveront toujours, les unes leurs succédanés, les autres leurs traducteurs. (…) De plus, comme on ne peut se flatter de faire passer d'une langue dans une autre, les valeurs de forme d'un ouvrage, ce sont les livres contenant ce qui se conserve, des faits ou des idées, qu'il conviendra principalement de retenir.[691]

Said precisions characterize recommended works as works of ideas, rather than distinguished for their formal innovation. This, for starters, excluded poetry, that Valéry explicitly mentioned. He also excluded commercial literature. The notion of classic appears implicitly in the horizon given his emphasis on works that stand the test of time. As it has been mentioned, this was one of the reasons why Văcărescu insisted on publishing national folklore, a corpus she characterized as providing "d'une façon directe et si frappante la saveur de la race et le reflet de ses destinées."[692]

The more the Commission's work was detailed throughout debates, the more its work acquired a dimension beyond the merely compilation role. The Commission would not only gather opinions, according to the following description provided by Valéry:

> l'action régulatrice et directrice de la Commission, dont l'objet principal est d'égaliser en quelque sorte par des moyens artificiels par des primes à la traduction les trésors de lectures des diverses langues, et de faire combler des lacunes parfois scandaleuses.[693]

Regulation, direction, equalization… the market-correcting role was clearly in the horizon, as clearly reflected in his proposal to offer translation grants to compensate certain market trends. If the imagined delegate was previously assigned a compilation role, the Commission would instead have a regulatory and directing function, with its work being animated by a concrete view upon literary value. Valéry acknowledged that

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[690] Ibid.
[691] Ibid.
[692] Ibid.
[693] Ibid.

different countries could have contrasting views upon a work's value, but his proposals transpire a universal understanding of literary value, which sometimes functions as a precondition for any work of international cooperation in the literary domain, as well as a precondition for the latter's outcome, i.e., the unification and cohesion of a hypothetical global literary space. Universally valuable literary works operate as a unifying principle, undermining the divisive effect of different languages and different preferences and dynamics in each national literary field. As can be grasped, a change in the scope of the Commission took place between the idea of elaborating of lists of books recommended for translation by drawing on external suggestions, and the idea to grant financial support to specific translation projects. The ICIC's two souls emerged again in the possible lines of action envisioned for the translation Commission: on the one hand, the idea to act as a technical body with an allegedly neutral mediating role, on the other hand, intervention in work selection, which presupposed an intellectual intervention and a judgement value.

The idea of dispossession is also latent in the proposal to create translation grants, in this case opposing intellectual criteria to economic factors. If market forces were the main driving force determining what was translated abroad, a central commission would be necessary so that at least a part of translated works was also selected based on quality criteria. A double opposition is detected in terms of dispossession: on the one hand, on agents in the source literary field in opposition to agents of the target system, as well as between an intellectual logic and an economic one.

A last aspect is to be commented. The relationships between the translation commission and the ICO were not completely clear in Valéry's report. On the one hand, he pointed to the possibility that the IIIC acted as an auxiliary permanent body assisting the Commission in the retrieval of suggestions: "L'Institut International pourrait centraliser les demandes, desiderata, suggestions des particuliers; relever lui-même des titres d'ouvrages et former pour chaque délégué un élément de son dossier." On the other hand, he also mentioned the eventual role of the LON, which would enable to go beyond the establishment of lists of books recommended for translation, and instead directly funding their translation and publication: "La Commission proposerait à la Société des Nations de donner de primes à la traduction et à l'édition des ouvrages recommandés, traduction et édition, car les deux actes sont pratiquement indivisibles."[694]

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[694] Ibid.

7.2.2. Lists to improve knowledge between agents in the literary field and on existing translations

Parallel to the idea of favoring the translation of certain works over others, efforts were directed toward improving the knowledge about existing elements in the literary field, be that knowledge about published translations among intellectuals and general audiences, or knowledge between agents interested in translation and foreign literatures. In both cases, the imagined solution was that of lists: on the one hand, the idea was that of listing translations published in each country, and on the other, editing directories to facilitate mutual knowledge between agents working on translation or foreign literatures in the different national literary fields. Underlying both lines of action, the idea that there was a difficulty to get to know what was happening abroad and the need to have tools to monitor said developments. For active professionals in the literary field, the latter turned into the necessity to identify the right collaborator according to the specific need or topic of interest. In what follows, I reconstruct the debates surrounding both projects, lists of existing translations and translation directories.

Translation anthologies were considered useful to get an overall idea of some of the works and literary trends in each country, instead, the idea to list existing translations aimed at providing readers with exact information on the works available in each language. At the same time, lists of existing translations provided a panorama of the interest, in a given country, on foreign literatures. It was Jules Destrée who came up with that idea by linking the interest in translation with another project the ICIC had recently approved, namely that of establishing annual lists of the most notable publications that had appeared in each country.[695] In Destrée's view, said project could also include lists

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[695] Project proposed by Charles Theodore Hagberg Wright, Director of the London Library, in the framework of the Sub-Committee on Bibliography's work. Wright's proposal consisted in publishing an annex to the Bulletin of the International University Formation Office, with a maximum of 600 books. The books lists should deal "with an important subject," possess a "distinctive character," and be "accessible to educated people (a public of average culture)." Also, the ICIC mentioned that "the national lists should include the most important works which appeared during the year in the countries in question, without regard to the language in which they are published, and quite irrespective of the nationality of the author. To that end, they decided that one person would be appointed in each country to compile said list. With each country being authorized to suggest a specific number of works depending on their publishing statistics, in the appendix books would be divided in the following categories: history, Law, social sciences, theology, philosophy, belles-lettres and art, geography and books of travel, philology and literary history, the exact sciences, the natural sciences and the applied sciences." Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. Circular Letter 47.1925. XII. UN Archives, R1068-13C-44425-37403. In 1925, the first countries started elaborating their lists, with compilation tasks fulfilled by NCIC. In this regard, translation lists were seen as an additional category to be added to a work that was already under way.

of translations, idea that received general interest and support. Nevertheless, two observations deserve mention given that they anticipate objections and challenges that would appear in the future. The first one was voiced by Focillon, and referred to the fact that it could be dangerous for the ICIC to "constituer un tribunal classant les bons ouvrages." In his view, "La Sous-Commission ne doit pas apparaître comme une académie décernant des prix et couronnant des œuvres."[696] By stating so, he introduced in the Sub-Committee's work the challenge to distinguish between descriptive lists of existing translations, and valuation lists. Or what is the same, between lists as practical tools and lists as canonization mechanism. Similarly to what has been described for anthologies and lists of books recommended for translation, the selection principle is intrinsic in the form of the list in the sense the latter needs to present a selective character to preserve its usefulness. In this regard, it can be stated that the three projects discussed (translation anthologies, lists of books recommended for translation, and lists of existing translations) illustrate the fact that the ICO's work was torn between the will to facilitate transnational cooperation and the complexity inherent in its broad geographic scope. Its goal was to assist in the dissemination of information (in this case, on foreign literatures) through synthesis mechanisms that would preserve the manageability of the information provided. The need to reduce complexity, however, could easily be understood as a selection originated in value considerations.

The second observation was formulated by Luchaire, who pointed that the establishment of lists of existing translations made it possible to produce statistics, thus anticipating contemporary research on translation flows.[697] Having therefore acknowledged their interest, he also noted the risks of wrongly interpretations, something he illustrated by describing the fact that, in Italy, translations from German circulated more than translations from French. In his view, its explanation to was not a superior interest in Germany's production, but a bias derived from the fact that French was more widely spoken in Italy. In this regard, Luchaire's considerations anticipated some contemporary challenges for TS scholars. Combining translation flows data with data on foreign languages knowledge is something still pending, which means that questions regarding whether individual or social multilingualism in a given country should

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[696] UN Archives, 0000766242_D0002 Commission de Coopération Intellectuelle, 1ère session, 2ème séance. Procès-verbal provisoire.
[697] For example, Valérie Ganne and Marc Minon, "Géographies de la traduction," in *Traduire l'Europe* (Paris: Éditions Payot, 1992), 55–96; Heilbron, "Towards a sociology of translation."

condition the interpretation of data on translation flows being aspects that are not generally addressed given the practical difficulties to obtain and combine data on both things. However, the need to address them seems all the more necessary given the intrinsic link between globalization and multilingualism.

Returning to the ICO's projects and lists as working tools, the fourth line of action Valéry proposed referred to lists of peoples and what can be called "literary institutions," i.e., journals, sections in literary magazines, collections, and publishers specialized in foreign literatures and translation. Indeed, this was a domain in relation to which multiple figures expressed interest in the Sub-Committee's first session: Jelínek considered that they should endeavor to facilitate personal relations between artists in different countries. Luchaire, in turn, manifested that he had been suggested by different peoples to publish an intellectual *Who's Who*[698] under the auspices of the IIIC. Also, the Sub-Committee echoed the fact that PEN Clubs had approved a resolution in their 3rd congress that recommended the establishment of a list, classified by countries, of literary critiques specialized in foreign literatures,[699] thus confirming the interest in the field in such a resource.

While the establishment of lists of works recommended for translation, lists of published translations, and directories on foreign literatures and translation were the main projects discussed in the Sub-Committee's first and second sessions, certain additional prospected lines of work should be mentioned. First, a line of work was that related to copyright law. While the latter was discussed in general terms, Valéry directly linked it to translation. He complained that authors received derisory remuneration for their translations and considered it "utile de créer à l'Institut un Bureau spécial qui ferait connaître aux auteurs les législations étrangères, de manière qu'ils puissent éventuellement revendiquer leurs droits."[700] Valéry advanced an ambiguous position vis-à-vis the work in the domain of copyright law. On the one hand, he was the spokesperson of authors' interests against those of publishers, for example. On the other hand, he also considered that copyright law constituted an economic issue that should not chiefly occupy the Sub-Committee's efforts. Second, Valéry also proposed the creation of

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[698] Reference work published in Britain since 1849 where contemporary distinguished figures were listed.
[699] "Commission de Coopération Intellectuelle, Sous-Commission des Lettres et des Arts, 5ème séance, tenue à Paris le 7 Oct. 1925 à 10 heures. UN Archives, R1079-13C-47063-45160 Sub-Committee on Letters and Arts of the Commission for Intellectual Cooperation - Minutes of the First Session, Paris, Oct. 1925.
[700] UN Archives, 0000766242_D0004. INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./1st to 5th SES./P.V./.

literary prizes (or other system of reward) in favor of translators, which is one intent to create mechanisms generating literary value. However, he quickly identified the challenges derived from that kind of approach:

> Le nombre des facteurs en présence et celui de leurs relations, l'appréciation de la valeur des œuvres traduites, celle de la valeur des traductions, les considérations d'opportunité, d'utilité bilatérales, les questions juridiques et commerciales mises, en jeu me mettaient en présence d'un problème d'organisation dont le seul énoncé précis eût demandé un délai et des moyens qui m'étaient refusés.

Several aspects can be highlighted to draw some preliminary conclusions on the work done in the Sub-Committee's first sessions in relation to literary translation. First, that the early projects raised the question of the division of tasks between the IIIC's Sections and their eventual collaboration. For example, a discussed issue was that the project to edit an international collection of national literatures would fall within the work of the Section for Literary Relations if it was to contain literary works, while instead it would be part of the University Sub-Committee if it was to become an anthology on literary history. Also, the question of copyright law concerned both the Section for Literary Relations and the Legal Section. Second, that most projects discussed so far share a similar nature as different forms of lists, therefore illustrating the interest of the ICO in forms of compilation or synthesis. The list quickly emerged as the best way to generate useful resources for international cooperation, be that proper lists of titles, anthologies (lists of books), or directories (lists of individuals and literary institutions.) The idea of the list quickly appeared as a possible output in which the IIIC could intervene as intermediary or information center. The form of the list corresponded with the agency the IIIC sought to develop, i.e., to promote contacts, and to provide useful tools for agents involved in the book chain, from publishers to authors. Third, that the increase in translations that took place in the interwar period, coinciding with the institutionalization of the international scale, favored a growing awareness among agents in the literary field of the need to organize the functioning of the literary field beyond national boundaries, with the word "organize" here covering a wide semantic field (regulating, controlling, guiding…). It was a quest for order[701] refracted in the specific terms of the literary field. Order could materialize in legal reforms, but also in forms of controlling works circulating.

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[701] Daniel Laqua, "Transnational intellectual cooperation, the League of Nations, and the problem of order," *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011): 223–47.

The implementation of the resolutions approved in the Sub-Committee's first sessions were predicated upon the IIIC's entering into full functioning, which means that, to analyze the ways they were executed, we need to redirect our attention from Geneva to Paris. The IIIC started its work in the Autumn 1925, with most chiefs of section and service having been appointed in November, but it was not until 1926 that the newly created Institute entered full functioning. To commence work in the domain of translation and carry out the resolutions approved in the Sub-Committee's three first sessions, the IIIC undertook two preliminary ventures. An inquiry was launched in 1926 to get a broad panorama of the situation of translation across countries, whose preliminary conclusions served to prepare the work of a meeting of experts in translation, which was organized at the IIIC in May 1927.

7.3. An international inquiry to establish a diagnostic

In addition to projects proposed by the Sub-Committee's members, in its first years of work, the IIIC tried to obtain a better picture of the needs agents in the literary field expressed. According to its standard procedures, inquiries were conducted prior to the organization of specialized committees to gather opinions in each national field about the matter under study, as well as the needs or aspects that needed improvement. Archival records reveal that the IIIC launched an inquiry on translation, however, the exact date when it was launched cannot be clearly established, as folders addressing this activity are part of the IIIC's records lost during WWII. Nevertheless, traces preserved in the IIIC's and ICIC's records provide considerable traces to reconstruct, at least, a part of this project's history. In the minutes of the 5th session of the IIIC's Directing Committee, held in May 22, 1926, mention is made that the Section for Literary Relations was working in the domain of translation, but the fact that the strategy to be followed was not yet clear:

> Le Directeur (…) signale la difficulté de délimiter d'une façon nette le problème des traductions et d'établir, dès maintenant, une méthode de travail vraiment précise. La Section en est encore sur ce point, à la période des conversations préliminaires.[702]

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[702] "Comité de Direction. 5ème Session. Procès-Verbal de la 5ème séance tenue à Paris le Samedi 22 Mai à 10 heures." R1072-13C-52817-37637, File R1072/13C/52817/37637 - International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation - Minutes of the Fourth and 15th [sic] Sessions of Directing Committee, May 1926.

This suggests than in May the inquiry had not yet started. The fact that the inquiry on translation was launched later on in 1926 seems to be confirmed by several letters preserved in Subseries F.IV.1 in the IIIC's archive, some of which explicitly mention that they constitute replies to said inquiry. The first ones dating from Fall 1926, it can be considered that Summer 1926 constituted the time frame when the inquiry started.[703]

Additionally, it should be taken into account that, in early 1926, the IIIC started an inquiry in copyright law. In that framework, the IIIC answered multiple juridic consultations regarding copyright law (for example, who were the appropriate bodies in each country to solve a question, how should intellectual rights be paid, dissemination of appropriate legislation in each country, conclusions of recent negotiations...). It seems that said project converged with the inquiry on translations and that, soon, a second inquiry on translation started, or, rather, an extension of the first. In this case, questions addressed more explicitly the issue of copyright law in translation. It is not clear, according to sources preserved in within the IIIC's funds and the LON's archive, to exactly ascertain whether they constituted two separate projects, or if the initial inquiry was especially developed in this direction. This is likely the case. It is all the more difficult given the first letters and news clippings preserved dealing with translation and copyright law date from spring 1926, which suggests that the IIIC worked in parallel in general questions and in translation and copyright law.

7.3.1. Pinpointing agents interested in translation: a general inquiry

The first general inquiry was launched to examine what difficulties could be lessened and what projects, instead, should be promoted. It can be stated that the inquiry was key role in terms of field work deemed necessary to establish a program of activity in this domain. To that end, the IIIC mobilized two main tools: on the one hand, examining contemporary press and, on the other hand, consulting the opinions of qualified people in

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[703] This time frame is coherent with several subsequent signs. Preliminary conclusions were presented by the IIIC to the experts on translation who convened in the Spring 1927. Also, Blaise Briod presented some first conclusions in the Sub-Committee's fourth session, i.e., in July 1927. His report has not been preserved, but minutes mention that most replies to said enquiry were negative. Some of the information gathered in the framework of the enquiry on translation was included in the 4th issue of *La cooperation Intellectuelle*, the monthly bulletin edited by the IIIC, published in April 1929, and which devoted a good part of its content to translation. They are addressed in Section 8.1, together with other contributions written for the occasion given the impossibility to distinguish which ones corresponded to each case.

the world of letters and publishing by sending them a questionnaire. The latter enquired about the existence, in each country, of bibliographies of translations, tried to identify the main collections publishing translations, studied the existence of associations of translators, as well as the existence of a legal and economic regime guiding relations between interested parties. Given the relevance of said inquiry in terms of the historical sociology of translation, the specific questions composing it are reproduced hereafter in extenso:

> 1. Y a-t-il dans votre pays une publication bibliographique contenant la liste de tous les ouvrages édités sur le territoire de l'Etat, et qu'il suffirait de dépouiller pour établir périodiquement la statistique des traductions parues durant l'année écoulée ?
> 2. Quelles sont les collections d'auteurs étrangers publiées dans la langue de votre pays (nom du directeur ou du groupement qui patronne cette collection ; nom de l'éditeur, nombre des ouvrages de chaque collection), ainsi que les maisons d'édition ayant largement contribué à la publication de traductions d'œuvres étrangères ?
> 3. Y a-t-il dans votre pays une organisation professionnelle de la traduction ?
> 4. Avez-vous un annuaire des écrivains et traducteurs ? (Titre, édition)
> 5. Avez-vous un régime uniforme : a) pour la cession des droits de traduction, b) pour la répartition des honoraires entre auteur, traducteur et éditeur, du même ouvrage ?[704]

As can be grasped, some of the questions were related to the projects envisioned in the Sub-Committee's first sessions, and more precisely, sought to identify possible sources for their implementation. Others, instead, were more oriented toward gathering information on the agents in the field, which also anticipated the project of directories.

Agents and collectivities having been targeted can be partially reconstructed. In order to find replies to those questions, Luchaire requested an authorization to conduct individual consultations, rather than the organization of expert meetings, which was the regular procedure. In result, the IIIC consulted 12 writers from 12 countries who authored translations or were interested in translation. Some individuals' replies are preserved in the IIIC's archive, although their quantity is very little. This includes replies by Ronald Boswell, on behalf of John Lane, director of the British publishing house The Bodley Head (October 28, 1926); Douglas F. Jerrold, then employed at the British publishing house Ernest Benn (November 17, 1926); and J. David Thompson, assistant secretary of the American NCIC (December 22, 1927). Some secondary letters mention that at least

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[704] UN Archives, R1050/13C/60353/24804 - Translation of Literary Works - Report to the Sub-Commission on Arts and Letters on the Activities of the Literary Relations Section of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

two writers had been consulted, referred to as Kolnar[705] and Roy Zaleski. The archive historical inventory provides certain information regarding groups consulted thanks to folders' names, which included literary associations, PEN Clubs, writers, and, since 1928, national committees.[706] To this list, another group must be added: that of translators, which are mentioned in the introduction the 4th issue of *La Coopération Intellectuelle.*[707] The latter also refers that the main translators living in France were consulted, and the IIIC inspired also from the inquiry published by *Cahiers du Sud* in April 1927.[708] In geographic terms, records mention that the main countries where information was gathered included England, Germany, Italy, Spain and France.

Considering the partiality of the IIIC's records, the best way to delve into the inquiry results is by examining a report authored by Blaise Briod and presented to the Committee of experts in translation, that convened in May 1927. Said report started out by describing the institutional situation of translation in various countries as lacking the key elements of modern professional institutionalization.

> Il n'existe pas d'organisation soit nationale, soit internationale, en matière de traduction. Les traducteurs n'ont aucune protection légale dans la majorité des pays. Il n'existe donc aucune bibliographie sur la traduction. (…) il n'existe aucune espèce de garantie permettant de s'assurer qu'un traducteur est qualifié pour entreprendre cette tâche et que le traducteur, de son coté, n'est pas protégé contre les abus des éditeurs qui sont en mesure d'imposer leurs conditions. Un autre point qui présente une nécessité primordiale est l'établissement d'une liste de traducteurs dans chaque pays (...) Les bonnes traductions, car il en existe néanmoins, sont le fait d'initiatives personnelles et on ne saurait déplorer qu'il en fût ainsi. Il demeure cependant que ces

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[705] Preserved sources mention that last name without any more indication. It could refer to German writer Gertrud Kolmar, pseudonym of Gertrud Käthe Chodziesner (1894 – 1943). The date is consistent with a stay she made in Paris in 1927 to be trained as an interpreter.

[706] "Inventaire des archives de l'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle (IICI), 1925-1946; dossiers, documents et publications aux Archives de l'UNESCO à Paris," Ibid.

[707] "L'attention de la Commission internationale de coopération intellectuelle a maintes fois été attirée sur le problème des traductions. L'Institut international, chargé d'une enquête dans ce domaine, s'est adressé aux associations d'écrivains, aux sections du P.E.N. Club, à des auteurs et *à des traducteurs*," my emphasis. "Opinions sur la question de la traduction," *La Coopération Intellectuelle*, 4th issue, April 1929.

[708] In the introduction, Marcel Brion et Marcel Sauvage mentioned that, through that inquiry, their goal was to "établir, d'une part, si les littératures étrangères sont bien connues en France. De l'autre, apprendre de quelle manière cette connaissance peut être développée et enrichie." To that end, they consulted with translators "car ils sont les intermédiaires directs entre la production étrangère et le public français" and whose role "si souvent fait d'abnégation et de modestie, est d'une extrême importance." More precisely, the questions they were invited to reply are worth mentioning, in that they contain ideas that will resonate later on with the projects developed by the IIIC. They included: "1. Pensez-vous que les littératures qui vous sont familières soient exactement et suffisamment connues, dans leur esprit et dans leur forme, par des traductions de langue française ? 2. Sinon, quels sont, à votre avis, les œuvres ou les auteurs anciens ou modernes que nous ignorons, qui sont, insuffisamment ou mal traduits, et qui, cependant, représentatifs d'une mentalité et d'une culture, ne peuvent nous demeurer plus longtemps inconnus ou mal connus, sans préjudice pour la formation de la nouvelle intelligence française ?" "L'Enquête des 'Cahiers du Sud'," *Les Cahiers du Su*d, April 1, 1927, 2-3.

traductions de valeur sont trop rares, trop peu connues souvent, que trop d'œuvres excellentes demeurent non traduites tandis que certaine littérature médiocre a les honneurs de l'interprétation. Il est indéniable enfin que des chefs-d'œuvre n'ont pas à l'étranger la place qui leur revient, faute d'une bonne traduction.[709]

The different elements Briod enumerated can be further unpacked by discussing the way each of them could contribute to improve the practice and status of translation. The bibliography on translation (or, rather, bibliography *of translations*) appeared as a tool presenting an eminently practical character for the agents interested in translation and foreign literatures. It also constituted (and constitutes) a key tool to quantify the weight of that very activity in the field of cultural production given its functional character to the preparation of translation statistics. The lack of professional organizations can be linked to the need of establishing lists of translators given their key function in fostering a shared identity among members of that emerging occupational group and mediating the latter's relations with society. By the same token, the lack of guarantees regarding translators' qualifications illustrates the clash between a growing interest on translation and its conditions of practice at that historical moment. Slowly becoming a full-time occupation for a restricted number of practitioners, a growing awareness on translation raised questions regarding the standards they followed. And the latter, in turn, reinforced awareness on the fact that training institutions were key in the promotion and transfer of specific standards among practitioners.

In his report, Briod also delved into the consequences the previous situation had for the multiple agents interested in translation, in which framework he showed an understanding of translation as a key activity in the field of cultural production where different interests converge, or, rather, clash:

> Les inconvénients de cet état de choses se révèlent dès que l'on considère un cas concret ; l'écrivain qui veut faire traduire son œuvre ne sait à qui s'adresser pour obtenir un traducteur qualifié ; aucune organisation ne peut le renseigner à cet égard et il n'existe une liste de traducteurs qu'en Allemagne. En admettant qu'il trouve un traducteur, l'auteur ne dispose d'aucun moyen de contrôle suffisant sur la qualité de la traduction, d'aucun moyen de protection si son texte est trahi. De son côté, le traducteur n'est pas protégé contre les abus de l'éditeur et ce dernier peut imposer les conditions qu'il lui plaira s'il détient le monopole du droit de traduction pour les œuvres de l'auteur en cause. Une fois la traduction parue, aucun recueil bibliographique ne vient renseigner rapidement le public sur les œuvres étrangères qu'il peut lire dans sa propre langue ou dans telle autre qu'il connaît. L'éditeur enfin ne dispose pas des moyens de contrôle et des organes de

[709] UN Archives, R1080-13C-60957-45160 Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters - Minutes of Fourth Session, 16-19 July 1927.

renseignements suffisants pour le guider dans ses recherches, pour lui indiquer les œuvres étrangères à faire traduire. (…) L'état actuel de la traduction n'est satisfaisant ni pour l'auteur, ni pour le traducteur, ni pour l'éditeur ni, en définitive, pour l'ensemble des lecteurs.

As the two previous quotations make clear, the absence of mechanisms of legal protection raised the question of jurisdictional boundaries and interprofessional competition. The previous paragraph contains an enumeration of agents, with appurtenant interests, whose order of formulation (i.e., author, translator, public, publisher) can be put in relation with implicit hierarchies and priorities guiding the IIIC's work. Authors constituted central agents in the literary field and their voice was well represented in the ICO's work, either by individual figures such as Valéry, or by professional organizations. Translators constituted the second agent involved as figure taking the place of the author in the new language. The public is to be put in relation with the ICO's public character and its goal to defend public or general interest, as described in Section 7.2. The reference to the publisher as the last element of the enumeration, after the public, reflects the priority given to public interest rather than economic considerations.

Finally, quoted material also offers food for thought on the relations between the national and the international in processes of professional institutionalization. As can be grasped, the negative situation depicted in Briod's report generated a situation of insecurity for the various agents involved, which in turn justified and legitimized the ICO's engagement in the domain of translation and the projects envisioned by the Sub-Committee. Given the key function developed by the State in terms of protecting professional jurisdiction, it is relevant here that the driving force behind an ad hoc reflection on translation was formulated in the framework of an IO. I propose to read the process analyzed by looking into the ways the institutionalization of the international scale introduced changes in terms of jurisdictional control in the intellectual domain. The interest of an international body in translation has to be put in relation with the intrinsic international character of translation, thus explaining why the creation of international organizations has historically favored the institutionalization of this activity. In this case, national forms of institutionalization did not precede international ones, and the ICO acted as a relevant vector to further the institutionalization of translation.

7.3.2. Enquiring on translation and copyright law

As introduced earlier, the IIIC launched a parallel or complementary effort to explicitly enquire about translation and copyright law. Indeed, this aspect has been mentioned as a topic interesting the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters since its very first work, a topic that inscribed the ICO's work in previous debates on a thorny issue. During the 19th century, several conferences organized by the ALAI took place that addressed the question of translation (and adaptation) from a legal standpoint, with a special interest of the ALAI's 1878 congress and its 1886 conference, which was the occasion in which the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works was adopted. The latter recognized the "droit de traduction," which is to be inscribed in the framework of the protection of author's rights. The question was whether translation was a form of counterfeit, with authors' authorization having been considered the main mechanism through which translation differed from a form of counterfeit.

> Le droit de traduction revient essentiellement au fait qu'il constitue au sein du droit d'auteur non pas une prérogative donnée au traducteur d'accomplir son travail d'expression, mais une rémunération garantie en faveur de l'auteur de l'œuvre originale. Le droit représente donc d'une certaine manière 'le bras armé' de l'économie propriétaire en ce qu'il assure à l'auteur, au-delà de la seule prérogative d'autoriser ou d'interdire l'exploitation de l'œuvre, une rémunération.[710]

During a good part of the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century, several diplomatic conferences took place to revise the Berne Convention. Debates on the table regarded authors' rights to block a translation, the duration of their right to authorize (or block), and, importantly, how to reconcile "le droit de traduction," which favored authors and their control over their work's translations, with the application of author's rights to translators, which is known as "le droit du traducteur." After all, the legal debate was predicated on an underlying question, namely, whether the act of translation produced a reproduction of the original or, instead, turned the original into something new, relatively independent from the original one. As can be imagined, each country's position on the technical and legal question was related to their position in said flows, with France, for example, having extensively pushed to assimilate translations to reproductions in light of its position as exporting country.[711] Translation was one of the problematic aspects in the

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[710] Salah Basamalah, *Le droit de traduire. Une politique culturelle pour la mondialisation* (Ontario : University of Ottawa Press, 2008), 134.
[711] Ibid., 220–83.

years following the approval of the Berne Convention. In said period, the Berne Union tried to maximize the countries signing its convention and, to that end, allowed certain reserves that directly affected translation. In Löhr's words, "From 1908, states could gain membership on the compromise that they generally accepted the copyright rules, with the reservation that they did not have to apply the translation rights,"[712] hence revealing that translation constituted one of the main challenges in said domain. This is further proven by the situation in the ICO's years of activity, in which translated emerged still as an unsolved question given the slow geographic extension of the Berne Convention and the latter's gaps regarding translation.

Against this backdrop, an inquiry on copyright was started in 1926, directed by José de Vilallonga, then Chief of the Legal Section, and Richard Dupierreux, for the Artistic Section.[713] A number of letters and news clippings are preserved focusing on translation and copyright law, which reveal that an ad hoc effort was made to obtain information in this regard. The general inquiry on translation was geographically reduced, instead, information regarding translation and copyright law spanned a wide geographic space extending from Moscow to London, from Santiago de Chile to New York, and from Washington to Rome. Indeed, folder "Droits d'auteur et traductions"[714] contains a variety of documents attesting to the diversity of sources mobilized to obtain information regarding practices in the domain of translation and copyright law. This includes letters sent in request of information to journalists, publishers, and collaborators, but also news clippings and notes on interviews with relevant sources. The latter constitute a great example of communication machinery the IIIC could activate to obtain information. In this regard, news clippings illustrate the work conducted by the Information Section, which basically went through foreign press, selected relevant information, and translated it for the different sections composing the IIIC. Letters from salient collaborators illustrate the importance of the personal network too. Additionally, some excerpts reflect the work being done by NCIC to promote debates regarding the topics interesting the IIIC in each country.

When it comes to the contents and the information obtained, the diversity of sources had a direct bearing on the variety of topics covered. Rather than summarizing

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[712] Isabella Löhr, "The Propertisation and Internationalisation of Culture in the 20th century," *Comparativ* 21 no. 2 (2011): 29–45.
[713] For more details, see UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-E-IV-7 Propriété littéraire.
[714] UNESCO Arhive, AG 01-IICI-F-IV-1 Droits d'auteur et traductions.

here the legal texts the IIIC gathered describing practices in the different countries, from an analytical standpoint there are several topics that emerge that enable a general comment. A series of documents present a pure technical nature. They contain the legal texts guiding copyright law in each country. In most cases, however, said legislation overlooked the question of translations or covered it very succinctly, thus leaving it to eventual bilateral agreements in the best of scenarios. It can be argued that bilateral agreements existed in cases where translations were frequent in a given language pair, but often their sporadic character made it so that no legal framework existed and that they depended on consolidated uses or ad hoc negotiation. Also, from an analytical perspective, the question of copyright law and translation extends to issues such as the social functions of literature. Documents justifying the reasons why a given country showed reluctance to sign the Berne Convention or regional agreements are relatively frequent in archival records, with most of them referring to the population's interest and the latter's low income. For example:

> La Russie compte un grand nombre de population et de tribus non civilisées qui ne possèdent aucune littérature, ou, du moins, aucune œuvre écrite ; pour que ces gens-là désirent ou doivent acquérir une culture générale, ils n'ont à leur disposition que des traductions du russe. Ces populations sont fort pauvres et ne peuvent se procurer que des livres tout à fait bon marché.[715]

Another example from the same country is found in an article signed by Anatoly Lunacharsky, a Russian Marxist revolutionary then head of the People's Commissariat for Education, i.e., the equivalent to the ministry of education. His views illustrate the ways ideological differences were retranslated in the literary domain.

> Quand elle est écrite, dit-il, une œuvre est du domaine social, nous estimons donc que *nous pouvons l'interpréter à notre guise, que le traducteur ou le metteur en scène ont le droit de la modifier s'ils le veulent*. Les auteurs ont tort de croire que leur livre se lit comme ils l'ont écrit ; chaque lecteur l'interprète comme il l'entend". *L'art n'est pas individuel !*[716]

Lunacharsky also made explicit the ways the political project presided over international cooperation in times of revolution, but made proof of a conciliatory position in times of calm, although without renouncing to his own ideology: "Jusqu'ici nous n'avons rien payé, c'est une chose élémentaire en temps de révolution. À l'avenir nous paierons mais

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[715] "Droit d'auteur et traduction. Lettre de Moscou au Hartungsche Zeitung". Extrait du Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung du 20-04-26." UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-IV-1 Droits d'auteur et traductions.
[716] "Déclarations de M. Lounatcharsky. Commissaire du Peuple à l'Instruction Publique en URSS", *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, 12.12.1925. FR PUNES AG 01-IICI-F-IV-1 Droits d'auteur et traductions. Emphasis in the original.

nous voulons garder le droit de traduire sans avoir à demander aucune autorisation."[717]

In this regard, peripheral countries (that is, importing countries) struggled to reconcile the need to make works easily available to their population with the safeguard of producers' material interests (which, in structural terms, favored other countries' interests). The ways commercial interests benefitted from this kind of reasoning were also explicitly mentioned, for example in the following report, where Briod summarized the contents of an interview with Mistral on the matter:

> Ces gouvernements [de l'Amérique Latine] invoqueront sans doute des motifs de culture populaire, de diffusion nécessaire des œuvres étrangères en des régions où la littérature populaire est assez pauvre (…). Il demeure avéré que, avant le peuple, ce sont les éditeurs de l'Amérique latine qui tirent tout bénéfice de ce défaut de législation. Personne n'ignore, en effet, que toutes les maisons d'édition de l'Amérique latine ont fait fortune grâce au pillage des œuvres étrangères.[718]

An awareness emerges in the documentation the ICO gathered on the ways domestic policies influenced the treatment the autochthonous production received abroad. The following excerpt illustrates the ways the situation of Russian writers is compared to that of foreign writers, and especially, the consciousness that a given policy at home had a direct consequence for the way Russian production was treated:

> Non seulement tout livre étranger, mais encore toute œuvre publiée en Russie peut être traduite et publiée là-bas, même sans que l'auteur en soit informé. De bons motifs justifiaient cette manière d'agir (…) Aussi les auteurs russes ne retirent-ils aucun bénéfice de cette vente. Si les écrivains russes ne bénéficient pas de ces droits dans leur patrie, les étrangers ne peuvent pas davantage y prétendre. (…) A l'heure actuelle les auteurs étrangers ne sont pas seuls à souffrir de cette pleine liberté de la traduction : les Russes eux-mêmes supportent difficilement cet état des choses, car, par représailles, les écrivains russes ne sont pas protégés à l'étranger.[719]

In the case of Russia, precisely, the economic argument mixed with political considerations. "Jusqu'ici nous n'avons rien payé, c'est une chose élémentaire en temps de révolution. A l'avenir nous paierons mais *nous voulons garder le droit de traduire sans avoir à demander aucune autorisation.*"[720]

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[717] "Déclarations de M. Lounatcharsky. Commissaire du Peuple à l'Instruction Publique en URSS", Les Nouvelles Littéraires, 12.12.1925. FR PUNES AG 01-IICI-F-IV-1 Droits d'auteur et traductions. Emphasis in the original.

[718] Blaise Briod, "Note pour M. le Directeur," Dec. 17, 1926. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-IV-1 Droits d'auteur et traductions.

[719] "Droit d'auteur et traduction. Lettre de Moscou au Hartungsche Zeitung"). Extrait du Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung du 20-04-26." UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-IV-1 Droits d'auteur et traductions.

[720] "Déclarations de M. Lounatcharsky. Commissaire du Peuple à l'Instruction Publique en URSS," Les Nouvelles Littéraires, 12.12.1925. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-IV-1 Droits d'auteur et traductions

Examples such as Lounatcharsky's statements reflect that the ICO gathered relevant documentation enabling a specific reflection on the problems translation faced in the domain of copyright law. This being said, while copyright law was a relevant domain of work for the ICO, [721] its undertakings in the domain of literary translation and copyright law were limited. Several reasons explain that practical results in this domain were rather poor. First, the focus of the appurtenant departments on topics related to scientific property.[722] Second, their subsequent focus, in the domain of authors' rights, on the question of the geographic extension of copyright law.[723] The IIIC's Legal and Literary Sections and the ICIC worked in collaboration with the Berne Union and with International Institute for the Unification of Private Law to examine legislation in copyright law, that is, the existence of bilateral agreements, and also the common ground between the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works and the Pan-American Convention, an aspect that concentrated most of their efforts. [724] The ICO developed relevant work in that domain, but said topic left questions related to translation in a secondary position. Third, the practical difficulties the ICO encountered given the low degree of institutionalization of translation. The ICO's methods were not suitable to explicitly and profoundly intervene in a domain that was not yet regulated in a number of countries, and in which collective organizations specializing in translation did not exist in most countries. Fourth, the existence of sustained reluctance on several country's side to accept regulations regarding translation. For the aforementioned reasons, the ICO's intervention in the domain of literary translation and copyright did not turn into effective measures.

However, before concluding this section, it is necessary to mention that a considerable number of letters preserved in IIIC's archive reveal the latter's contributions to solve doubts about translation rights. They can take multiple forms. Some constituted individual queries by agents planning to engage in a translation project. For example, a letter dated May 10, 1929, from Constance Teodoru enquiring about the applicable conditions if she wanted to translate an English author to French. Others questions,

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[721] Löhr has described the ICO's tensions relations with the Bern Office initially, the IIIC's participation in the 1928 conference for the revision of the Berne Convention, held in Rome, and the way the latter generated a fruitful collaboration with the Berne Union from 1929 on. For more details, see Löhr, *Die Globalisierung*, (191-202).
[722] Ibid., 147
[723] Ibid., 151
[724] Ibid., 210-270.

instead, engaged quarrels between publishing houses. For example, in a letter by Federico Gentile, from the Italian publisher Maison Treves, the latter sought the IIIC's assistance to solve a disagreement between their lawyer and the Boersenverein.[725] Another example is that of an exchange between the IIIC and Marcelle Auclair, then correspondent for the Chilean newspaper La Nación, in which the latter consulted the IIIC's opinion about Chili's copyright law, which led to a rare case where the IIIC positioned itself regarding national legislation. More precisely, the IIIC's replied took the form of a note authored by Richard Weiss where he analyzed the differences between the Chilean law and the Berne Convention,[726] and advised the Andean country on the best steps to facilitate the homogenization of regimes.[727] This type of exchange generated, however, some tensions. The latter can be illustrated by referring to a consultation Mario Andreis formulated on the copyright legislation to be applied for the Italian translation of a German work published in 1914. Braga then prepared a draft letter presenting an ambiguous character given his reluctance to give a clear answer, but also his willingness to be useful:

> Notre institution n'est pas en mesure de vous donner un avis sur un cas d'espèce, dont il convient de laisser l'examen aux juristes légalement accrédités auprès des Tribunaux. Mais je crois répondre à votre désir en vous communiquant le texte qui, à l'heure actuelle, détermine en matière de traduction, la situation juridique des œuvres éditées respectivement en Italie et en Allemagne.[728]

Having sent this letter to Richard Weiss, from the Legal Section, to get his approval, Weiss replied correcting Braga's answer and recommending that the IIIC refrained from entering into singular cases. On the one hand, considerable doubts existed among intellectuals regarding the appropriate legal framework to be applied in cases of translations. Faced with this need, some members of the IIIC wished to turn themselves useful and offer the necessary indications. On the other hand, however, the delicate character of the issue at hand made it so that the representatives of the Legal Section discouraged the IIIC from formally adopting this advisory role.

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[725] Which was however, communicated with an explicit mention of the fact that it constituted an unofficial communication and that "elle ne pourrait pas servir en cas de différend devant les tribunaux entre le Borsenverein et la Maison Treves, mais elle peut quad même vous être utile pour appuyer l'opinion de votre avocat-conseil. Letter by Giuseppe Prezzolini to Federico Gentile, April 15, 1929. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-E-IV-35 Droit d'auteur – Traduction.

[726] "Suggestions au sujet de modifications à apporter eventuellement à la legislation chilienne du droit d'auteur," July 28, 1927. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-IV-1 Droits d'auteur et traductions.

[727] Letters can be found in folders: UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-E-IV-35 Droit d'auteur – Traduction and AG 01-IICI-F-IV-1 Droits d'auteur et traductions.

[728] Dominique Braga to Marie Andreis, October 1, 1929. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-IV-1 Droits d'auteur et traductions

7.4. Delving into technical work: the committee of experts in translation

In light of the difficulties experienced by the Sub-Committee in its three first sessions, and the difficulties encountered throughout the inquiry on translation, an expert committee was organized to examine the question of translations. The latter, which convened at the IIIC headquarters on May 16-17, 1927, was to bring together "les spécialistes les plus autorisés en matière de traduction" with the goal of "préciser les termes des principaux problèmes relatifs à la traduction et en esquisser la solution."[729] In what follows, I examine the composition of that committee in order to interrogate the use of the expert category in a context where translation was not institutionalized (7.4.1). Then, I turn to the debates that took place in the framework of the experts' work (7.4.2). Finally, I look into the way the Sub-Committee received the latter's work and conclusions, thus examining the conversion from expert input to policymaking (7.4.3).

7.4.1. Translation experts avant la lettre ?

When approaching the category of "expert in translation" during the interwar period, a question immediately emerges: who were the agents considered experts in an activity that was not institutionalized, that is, for which there were no training or professional specialized institutions? The situation depicted in Briod's report suggests an expertise based on practice, something explicitly mentioned in the letter Luchaire addressed to the agents invited to take part in the expert committee ("Votre longue expérience vous a révélé sans doute à quelles difficultés on se heurte dans le vaste domaine de l'interprétation"[730]). To example the composition of the expert committee, Table 13 presents a list of all agents invited to take part in it, with indication of those who were invited but whose collaboration did not materialize. Information is provided regarding their nationality, gender, and main occupations until 1927. Members marked with an asterisk were invited but did not attend the meeting.

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[729] Julien Luchaire to the members of the expert committee, April 25, 1927. UN Archives, R1050/13C/59327/24804 - Translations of Literary Works - Various Correspondence of the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation communicated to the Secretariat.
[730] Ibid.

Name	Country of origin[731]	Occupations and career until 1927
Valery Larbaud (1881-1957)	France	Cosmopolitan writer, translator, and literary critique. Larbaud acted as a cultural mediator between several English and Spanish-speaking countries and France. For example, he translated Samuel Butler and Ramon Gómez de la Serna. He was also a frequent collaborator with NRF and several French periodicals. By 1927, he had already published seminal texts on the practice of translation, hence positioning himself as a specialist in said domain.
Marika Stiernstedt (1875–1954)	Sweden	Translingual author having written in Swedish and in French.[732] She self-translated some of her works and engaged in different forms of collaborative translation.[733] Considering that her first books translated into French saw the light in 1926 and 1928, her involvement with the expert committee is to be linked with her own experience as an author and as a (self)translator. She was also an active and renowned sociopolitical activist in the French and Swedish press.[734]
Gabriela Mistral (1889-1957)	Chile	Educator with experience in the establishment of education public policies. Poet, first book published in 1922. She regularly published in periodicals and pronounced conferences in several countries.
Anton Kippenberg (1874-1950)	Germany	Publisher. In addition to businessman, his correspondence reflects his knowledge (and his wife's) regarding literary translation. Kippenberg's correspondence on the German translation of D.H. Lawrence, a part of which dates precisely from the period of the expert committee, provides a great example of the crucial weight translation had in his work as publisher of foreign authors.[735]
Enrique Díez-Canedo (1879-1944)	Spanish	Poet, journalist, and literary critic, gaining renown since the beginning of the 20th century. By 1927, he was already an experienced translator too from French and English into Spanish.
André Levinson (1887-1933)	Russia (exiled)	Professor of languages and literature (French language and literature when in Russia, Russian literature at Sorbonne University since 1921). Renowned dance critic and dance historian.

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[731] Most of the listed figures developed international careers and occupied positions in multiple literary national fields. In other words, they occupied a position in their original's national fields but often they also positioned themselves in other national fields.

[732] Cedergren, "La promotion d'un nord," 138.

[733] Cedergren, Mickaëlle. "Auteure suédoise, écrivaine française - La posture auctoriale et littéraire de Marika Stiernstedt," In *Francophonie, plurilinguisme et production littéraire transnationale en français depuis le Moyen Age. Pour une histoire francophone des littératures de langue française* (Paris : Droz. ADIREL, 2022).

[734] Cedergren, "Auteure suédoise,"

[735] Christa Jansohn, "D.H. Lawrence and his german translators," *The D.H. Lawrence Review* 23, no. 2-3 (Summer/Fall 1991), 157–66.

Serge Elisséeff (1889-1975)	Russian (exiled)	Scholar and eminent Japanologist. He taught at St. Petersburgh University shortly given the outbreak of the Russian Revolution. His teaching work was resumed in Paris, where since 1922 he started teaching at Sorbonne and at Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes. He worked as interpreter for the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs prior to the Russian Revolution and was appointed head interpreter at the Japanese Embassy in Paris from 1921. He was fluent in Russian (native language), French, German, English, Classic Greek and Latin from an early age. He became fluent in Japanese and Chinese through his university studies in Germany and Japan.[736] Since 1923, Elisséeff published translations of modern Japanese short stories, with a second volume having seen the light precisely in 1927.[737]
János Hankiss (1893-1959)	Hungary	Teacher and university professor of German and French, as well as French literature. By 1927, he had already published several studies in literary history. In addition to his native Hungarian, he was fluent in German and French.
Ardengo Soffici* (1879-1964)	Italy	Having started his career mostly interested in arts, at the beginning of the century he worked as an art critic and illustrator in Paris. In the 1910s he grew interested in literature. He collaborated with several periodicals. In 1911, he discovered Rimbaud to the Italian public with several translations. Subsequently Soffici took part in some projects of collaborative translation. Together with Russian painter Sergey Jastrebcov, he translated some short stories by Chekhov,[738] and, with Knud Ferlov, he translated Kierkegaard.
Stefan Zweig* (1881-1942)	Austria	In the 1920s and 1930s, he was at the height of his literary career as novelist and playwright. Zweig's case can be related to the practice of translation in his quality of translated author, but also in that of translator himself. As a student, he tried his hand at translation. During the first decades of the century, he also extensively translated Émile Verhaeren, including poetry, dramas, and essays.[739]
Prokop Miroslav Haškovec* (1876-1935)	Czechoslovakia	Secondary school and university professor (in comparative philology, literature, romance languages). In 1908 he founded a translation circle (Jihočeská Theléma [South Bohemian Thelema]) to favor Rabelais' translation into Czech. He founded or took part in several cultural institutions promoting Franco-Czech cultural relations (*Cercle francais de Praque*, *Alliance Francaise* in Brno. He was appointed dean of the Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University in 1925.

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[736] Edwin O. Reischauer, "Serge Elisséeff," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20, no. 1-2 (Jun. 1957): 1–19.

[737] Ibid., 22–23.

[738] Giulia Marcucci, *Anton Čechov in Italia: La duchessa d'Andria e altre traduzioni 1905-1936* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2022).

[739] Harry Zohn, "Stefan Zweig and Verhaeren: In memoriam Stefan Zweig, 1881-1942," *Monatshefte* 43, no. 4-5 (April - May 1951): 199-206; Norbert Bachleitner, "Stefan Zweig as a Mediator and Translator of Emile Verhaeren's Poetry," In *Brussels 1900 Vienna* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2021).

Edmund Gosse* (1849-1928)	United Kingdom	Throughout his career, he was employed in several distinguished cultural institutions: "library staff of the British Museum from 1865 to 1875, was a translator for the Board of Trade for some 30 years, lectured on English literature at Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1885 to 1890, and finally was librarian to the House of Lords from 1904 to 1914."[740] In the creative domain, he was a poet and a critic specialized mainly in Northern Europe literature and sculpture. He translated some works by Henrik Ibsen (*Hedda Gabler* in 1891 and *The Master Builder* in 1892 in a collaborative translation with W. Archer). He wrote literary histories and the biographies of some writers. "Gosse was a prolific man of letters who was quite influential in his day."
Emilio Cecchi* (1884-1966)	Italy	Literary and arts critic who abundantly wrote in newspapers and journals (mainly Italian, but he was also correspondent for The Guardian). In the literary domain, he specialized mainly on Italian, Russian, German, English literature). He produced some translations of English and Irish literatures (Shelley, Chesterton, and Hilaire Belloc).[741]

Table 13. Candidates to the committee of experts in translation.

As can be gleaned in Table 13, a notable effort was made to find a composition of experienced practitioners whose familiarity with translation unfolded in different spaces: academia, cultural periodicals, and publishing industry. Nevertheless, varying degrees of familiarity or experience with translation can be noted. In Levinson's or Mistral's case, translation constituted an ancillary interest in a broader intellectual project. This suggests that some agents were sought for given their specific knowledge about translation (as reflects the fact that did not take part in other specialized subcommittees), while others (especially those representing distant countries) were invited to take part in committees covering different domains. In selecting some figures over others, multiple factors coexisted in addition to their specific expertise, such as capacity to participate in the committee without engaging in extensive travelling costs, or the geocultural area they represented. When tackling the committee's geographic representativity, the expert committee presented a clear European bias. On the other hand, it could also be argued that the experts' areas of linguistic and cultural expertise were somehow represented in the committee, even though their representative was not a native from that country. Figures such as Serge Elisséeff played an ambivalent geocultural representation in this sense. Indeed, the latter was broadly considered "expert à l'Institut pour les questions

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[740] Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Sir Edmund Gosse." Encyclopedia Britannica. Available at: https://www.britannica.com/

[741] "CECCHI, Emilio" in Dizionario Biografico Treccani. Available at: wwww.treccani.it

japonaises,"[742] even though he was a Russian national with extensive years of study and socialization in European countries. In other words, while the composition of the expert committee possessed a Eurocentric character, several figures embodied the ICO's interest in widening their work horizons (without engaging in the material costs necessary to confer representation to geographically distant agents, nor the practical efforts of cooperating with agents possessing different habits, traditions, or mindset). In the case of cultures considered distant or little known by the ICO, single individuals with a broad intellectual profile were considered as their de facto representatives, rather than searching a national specialist on the different topics analyzed. Of course, the ICO obtained certain benefits from this mode of organization. One was avoiding the work to find experts in a multitude of topics in countries where they possessed fewer contacts. Another factor was that of securing collaborators who were extensively familiar with European taste and habits, which in their eyes was a tacit precondition for successful working meetings. The representation of peripheral countries risked potentially suffering from their representatives' lower degree of specialization, thus undermining their symbolic capital in each specific subfield. The described dynamic, in turn, confirms Laqua's idea of the ICO's "thinking in civilisations",[743] but adds nuance to the different degrees of representation granted to each civilizational group. While most Western European states were formally represented in one expert committee or the other, the more the geographic scope diversified, the more the represented groups broadened too and acquired more intuitive and vague contours. Mistral, in this regard, played a similar role than Eliséeff, in her case regarding Latin America. Finally, from the perspective of gender, a clear imbalance is to be noted, which contrasts with the extensive number of women discussed in Chapter 6.

The discussions held in the framework of the committee of experts in translation were not the object of minute-taking, or the latter has not been preserved. Instead, the main sources to reconstruct their work include 1) an extensive report the representatives of the IIIC presented to the experts to prepare their meeting, which contained the conclusions of their inquiry in this domain and a description of the experts' field of

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[742] "Rapports documentaires sur la traduction." UN Archives, R1050-13C-60682-24804 Translation of Intellectual Works - Report of International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation to the Sub-Committee, p. 17.
[743] Laqua, "Transnational intellectual cooperation, 231.

work;[744] 2) some letters exchanged during the preparation of the expert meeting; 3) the meeting's agenda, which roughly corresponds to the topics listed in the report; 4) a document summarizing their decisions and resolutions; and 5) single-authored reports submitted by some members of the expert committee.

Participants to the expert meeting were requested to pronounce themselves on three main areas: means to activate translation, means to grant a broader dissemination to translated works and means to improve the quality of translations.[745] This suggests that the horizon the IIIC had in mind in relation to forms of intervention included the different stages in the lifecycles of translation: their very existence, their dissemination, as well as their quality. In the first group, the IIIC was interested in seeing that experts tackled the challenges related to text selection, in the existence and coordination of national organizations specialized in translation, and in addressing the uses and laws regarding copyright law and translators' compensation. In the second group of questions, related to improve the dissemination of translations, experts were requested to reflect upon the establishment of a bibliography of translations, the publication of collections of foreign classics, as well as introductory notes in translated works. Finally, to improve the quality of translations, some of the ideas mentioned in the report prepared by the IIIC included means to facilitate the selection of translators, creation of translation international literary prizes and translation contests, translation criticism in literary magazines, and the study of technical translation problems (translation literal and adaptation, cuts in the text, etc.). With this horizon of work, I now delve into the ideas put forward by some of the experts.

7.4.2. Theorizing about translation I: analyzing the reports in preparation to the expert committee

To prepare the expert meeting, some of its future participants typed up reports summarizing their views on the topics of interest. They are discussed in the present section on account of their interest for a social history of translation and, more precisely, for this activity's historical conceptualization. Said reports include an analysis prepared by the IIIC's Section for Literary Relations regarding the situation of translation in

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[744] The documents enumerated here after can be consulted in: UN Archives, R1050-13C-60682-24804 Translation of Intellectual Works - Report of International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation to the Sub-Committee.
[745] Ibid.

France, as well as three reports by members of the expert committee. The first, which can be considered one of the outputs of the inquiry described in Subsection 7.3.1, is the result of multiple consultations between members of the IIIC with representatives of French publishing houses. The second was authored by János Hankiss, then professor at University of Debrecen (Hungary) and director of the French Institute in the same city. It constitutes the report with a more general or transversal character given that it focuses on practical measures that could be undertaken in the domain of translation. The third report is due to Anton Kippenberg, director of the German publishing house Insel Verlag. Consequently, in his report Kippenberg gave voice the publishers' sector. The fourth and last report, penned by the Russian Japanologist Serge Elisséeff, focuses instead on the challenges faced by Japan in the domain of translation. They possess a representative character for different reasons. The first report presents a marked geographic focus, while the second does exactly the opposite in the sense that its author adopted a discursive position that pretended to neutrality or universality. The third provides a clear professional perspective and, even though its author refers extensively to the German case, his statements extend into a more generalized horizon. The fourth, instead, refrains from universalizing its conclusions and, instead, stresses the specificities of its geographic framework. The pretension to universality can be linked with the position of each country in the global field of power. On the other hand, without challenging their representative character, the four documents need to be considered as conveying particular views on translation, rather than representing the dominating ideas within the expert committee. As we shall see in the next section, some of the ideas expressed in said reports directly contradict the decisions approved by the experts. Given that the minutes of the experts' meetings have not reached us, the comparison between preparatory reports and approved decisions constitutes a good way to examine the divergence of opinions within the committee itself. For the sake of clarity, in what follows the ideas contained in each report are summarized and analyzed separately. Then, I offer an analytic comment where I crisscross the topics developed in the four documents.

a) The situation of translation in France according to the Section for Literary Relation's inquiry

In an unsigned and undated four-page report, the Section for Literary Relations summarized the situation of translation within the French literary marketplace. Among the sources, a round of consultations with a few directors of literary collections and

publishers,[746] and the inquiry published by Cahiers du Sud in 1927.[747] According to the information gathered, the Section considered most publishing houses were interested in bringing to the French public "les meilleurs ouvrages – ou les plus significatifs–" penned by foreign writers, thus presenting from the outset translation as form of consecration and recognition of the original's intrinsic value. The idea of valuable works, however, was not intuitively or equally shared by the public apparently. In contrast with the interest of publishers in bringing to the French public the best foreign literary works, the report referred to the public's lack of interest.

> L'ignorance du public à l'égard des lettres étrangères est un autre genre d'entrave. Une œuvre traduite l'intéresse moins qu'une œuvre directe ; il aime à se retrouver lui-même dans un roman : les étrangers lui sont parfois indifférents. Les quatre principales collections de livres traduits paraissant à Paris : Rieder, Stock, Kra, N.R.F. ont peu de tirage.[748]

For all its brevity, the previous paragraph encapsulates several issues related to the role of literature and translation in society. First, it presents certain ambiguity because it is not clear if the fact that translations were published in little print-runs is problematic from a cultural standpoint, in the sense that it reveals a lack of interest, or if this constitutes primarily an economic problem for publishers. Also, the excerpt puts in relation different social functions of literature: on the one hand, the idea allegedly defended by editors that translations should assuage the interest in the other and in accessing cultural diversity, and, on the other hand, the lack of interest in the foreign given the lack of self-recognition for the reader, upon which interest, empathy and identification can be predicated. The previous excerpt can also be read from the perspective of social class, in that the argument

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[746] Their identity is not mentioned in said report. However, the latter (preserved in: UN Archives, R1050/13C/60682/24804 - Translation of Intellectual Works - Report of International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, on the Meeting of the Committee of Experts, July 1927) presents strong similarities with another document entitled "Rapport sur l'État actual de la traduction en France" (UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-IV-1 Droits d'auteur et traductions). Dated Dec. 17, 1926, said report was authored by Marcel Auganeur, who is, in all likelihood, the original source of the report authored by the Section for Literary Relations. In Augagneur's report, he declares having consulted Leon Pierre-Quint (pseudonym Léopold Léon Steindecker), Léon Balzagette, and Maurice Delamain. The three of them constituted renowned figures in the French publishing landscape of the interwar period: Pierre-Quint had, in 1923, replaced André Malraux as editor of Éditions Sagittaire. Léon Balzagette was Rieder's literary director and had previously founded the journal Europe. Maurice Delamain, in turn, had in 1921 bought Stock publishing house and since then specialized in the publication of foreign literature.
[747] Marcel Brion et Marcel Sauvage, "L'enquête des Cahiers du Sud" (1927), *Les Cahiers du Sud* 89 (April 1927), 241–324.
[748] "Annexe 4. Note de la Section de Relations Littéraires sur l'état de la traduction en France," n.d. UN Archives, R1050/13C/60682/24804 - Translation of Intellectual Works - Report of International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, on the Meeting of the Committee of Experts, July 1927.

developed opposes the enlightened intellectual, here represented by the publisher, to the ignorant public lacking interest in the world's most valuable literary production. The elitist view underpinning intellectual cooperation is here made explicit through the intellectual social mission of guidance of the less cultured. Another element deserving comment is the ambiguous position of publishers in the intellectual or in literary field. In this case, publishers are representatives of the intellectual group, while in other quotations, the publisher is often opposed to other intellectual figures because of their focus on the commercial dimension. As such, the publisher is sometimes slightly defamed in the work of intellectual cooperation ("les abus de l'éditeur" being a recurrent expression that illustrates publishers' stigma as representative of economic interests, as opposed to the alleged disinterest or pure motivations of the *true* intellectual).

For all the willingness of French publishers, the report lists the obstacles they encountered. In general, most problems had the same underlying cause, namely, the lack of institutionalization of a practice that, on the one hand, was more and more frequent and that awakened the interest of several agents but that, on the other hand, was governed by the outmost variability. And this in multiple senses: first, variability in terms of division of labor and jurisdiction between interested parties. In a practical sense, this meant lack of clear boundaries between professional jurisdictions, lack of consensus on the specialized subject knowledge the different agents involved in translation (the translator herself, the publisher, etc.) should possess, as well as variability in terms of their division of benefits. Second, variability of norms dictating the ways translation should be practiced (or, rather, lack of). Third, lack of any systems of credentials granting the quality of practitioner's work. Let us now look into each individual obstacle.

One of the first difficulties the report listed had to do with publishers' vulnerability given their lack of information on foreign literatures and, more precisely, on the value of foreign works, as well as the lack of knowledge regarding "la science du traducteur."[749] This meant that they encountered difficulties to select works to be imported, for which they required a thorough knowledge of foreign literary production. To being able to supervise translators' work, a certain knowledge of foreign languages and the practicalities of translation were also necessary, something they generally did not possess. In this regard, both difficulties were rather than obstacles per se, needs that made

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[749] Ibid.

collaboration with other figures necessary (figures which, with time, would professionalize, such as literary agents and scouts). In other words, while the exploitation of foreign literary markets represented an economic opportunity for publishers, there was also a prize to pay in terms of a reduced control over the necessary decisions and operations. Against this backdrop, consulted publishers sought in the work of literary or intellectual associations the information they required.

> Afin de renseigner les éditeurs français sur la production étrangère, il serait souhaitable d'engager les associations littéraires d'un même pays, à établir des listes d'ouvrages qu'elle jugerait dignes de la traduction. Un bon livre serait répété sur plusieurs listes.[750]

Among the topics they perceived were uncovered by existing institutions, information about foreign literatures, a bibliography of translations, and lists of works recommended for translation. The report alluded to some existing ventures (the translation bibliography published by Navire d'Argent, the lists of works recommended for translation edited by PEN Clubs, and translations bibliographies edited by some libraries), but in all cases the mentioned projects bore witness to the enormous difficulties to work in this domain, as illustrated their short life span or by their partial character. In other words, the situation described is that of a growing interest in translation and some ventures focusing on this, but with clear deficiencies.

Logically, if translation entailed necessarily sharing jurisdiction over the decisions underpinning the process of literary import and export, this impacted on the division of benefits. And this was perceived as an additional and crucial obstacle. Publishers from the target language ignoring the final benefit they would obtain from a specific translation project; this insecurity did not favor the consolidation of translations within a publisher's catalog. Economic insecurity regarding benefits, in turn, favored limited print-runs to reduce financial risks, which successively limited the potential impact of a work's reception and circulation, and, ultimately, the development of translation in France.

From a legal standpoint, the lack of specific legislation in France regarding translation contracts left interested agents in the domain of particular agreements and consolidated traditions, which constituted an additional source of variability, instability and insecurity.

> Lorsque le traducteur doit interpréter une œuvre, il demande à l'auteur et à l'éditeur étranger une double autorisation. S'il l'obtient, il doit signer un contrat avec l'éditeur français et réserver dans son contrat avec ce dernier les droits de l'auteur

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[750] Ibid.

et de l'éditeur étrangers, - ceux de l'éditeur français et les siens propres, quand il touche un pourcentage. Cette coutume rend, par sa complexité et sa variabilité, les négociations excessivement délicates - chacun voulant avoir le maximum d'avantages - et c'est souvent une source de querelles et de procès. Il serait nécessaire de remanier ces coutumes en fixant un rapport invariable et équitable entre les droits de l'auteur, des éditeurs et du traducteur.[751]

Compensation was an especially problematic aspect within translation contracts. And this, regarding both the form of payment and the amount. Publishers agreed that the most frequent way to proceed was to compensate the translator through a unique payment, but they recognized that it was becoming more and more frequent to see translators demanding a percentage depending on sales. Rather than arguing for the need for fair compensations for translators, publishers appeared concerned given their conviction that translators' low remuneration directly affected the quality of the translation per se. Aggravating the situation were the different exchange rates, an element challenging not only the publishing industry in general but also translation specifically. In this regard, figures consulted argued for the need to "remédier, par une loi, à l'exagération du change, dans le cas où le pays traduit a un change plus haut que celui du pays traducteur."[752]

A question of method emerged in the Section's report regarding the constituencies that ought to be consulted to analyze the situation to translation. If the main obstacles found in relation of translation had to do with the division of jurisdictions, division of benefits, division of expertise, quality issues emerged too. Publishers also delved into the issue, and suggested the creation of a translation diploma "delivré après un examen par un jury qui pourrait être le PEN Club."[753] But, in light of said opinion, the Section for Literary Relations considered that other points of view needed to be taken into account.

La question de la vente et de la diffusion des traductions ne peut être séparée de l'élément purement littéraire que le problème comporte. Si l'on veut véritablement faire connaître un auteur, une littérature à l'étranger, il est tout aussi important de songer au nombre des lecteurs qu'à la qualité de la traduction. C'est dire que les éditeurs doivent être consultés au même titre que les écrivains et interprètes.[754]

This explains also the composition of the experts committee.

b) Hankiss: considerations for an international regulation of translations

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[751] Ibid.
[752] Ibid.
[753] Ibid.
[754] Ibid.

Hankiss' report constitutes a relevant historical piece because it reflects an effort to theorize the practice of translation, as well as an ante litteram example of a socially or sociologically oriented reflection on translation. Indeed, the Hungarian offered a report where he devoted special attention to understanding translation as a practice shaped by certain social conditions.[755] Hankiss' report is structured in 10 short sections of imbalanced detail and cohesion. Given that each section addresses a single issue, in Table 14 I offer a synthesis of its contents where I present the different sections in a linear order (column Section title), provide a summary of their content (column Content summary), and characterize each section with an analytic category (column Focus). The latter seeks to shed light on the orientation of Hankiss' remarks in three main domains: social conditions shaping the practice of translation, selection of the corpus to be translated, and technical questions addressing the way certain textual genres, forms and stylistic features should be translated. Then, I adopt more analytical lenses.

Section title	Content summary	Focus
"I. Importance et nécessité de la traduction"	Reasons justifying the social relevance of translation (and thus the reasons why the ICO should promote it)	Justification
"II. La traduction se trouve en présence de circonstances spéciales"	Transfer conditions shaping translation flows (asymmetries between languages, commercial factors)	Social conditions
"III. On aurait besoin de la 'bonne traduction', de la traduction 'littéraire' et l'on devrait tacher d'éliminer la traduction commerciale antilittéraire ou 'a-littéraire'"	Means to discourage bad translations (specialized body) and to promote good translations (awards and rewards, journal, translation critique, enhancing the social legitimacy of translation)	Social conditions
"IV. Que faudra-t-il traduire ?"	On the need to promote the translation from peripheral languages, rather than from central languages	Corpus Selection
"V. Quelques questions théoriques à discuter dans la commission"	Translation of dialect, translation of verse	Technical questions
"VI. Faudra-t-il se contenter de traduire les chefs d'œuvre de la littérature moderne"	Promotion of classic literature or modern literature in translation	Corpus Selection

"VII. Méthode de la traduction"	Good translation = collaborative translation between two agents	Technical questions
"VIII. Questions matérielles, pécuniaires"	Need to improve translators' remuneration	Social conditions
"IX. Quelques questions importantes de détail"	Compulsory paratexts accompanying translations, need of dictionaries to translate literary phraseology	Technical questions
"X. La coopération intellectuelle active"	The ICO should actively engage in the publication of certain translation volumes	Social conditions

Table 14. Synthesis of Hankiss' report on translation.

Within this thematic structure, two type of statements can be found in Hankiss' reports: descriptive statements and normative statements. In other words, within the remarks addressing the social conditions shaping the practice of translation, some considerations fulfill a descriptive function because they depict the social conditions shaping the practice of translation. As such, they generally constitute impersonal statements. Others, instead, constitute suggestions of the ways the ICO should orient its work to modify the social conditions shaping the practice of translation. Rather than describing the way translation worked, they constitute normative statements that delve into the ways the ICO should modify those conditions. Reflections having to do with the selection of the corpus to be translated include both statements of the works whose translation should, in general, be promoted, and specific reflections on the direction toward which the ICO should orientate its translation policy. This situation generates some ambiguities when interpreting the report, especially in sentences that describe translation in general, but for which the reader can easily imagine the implication said considerations had for the ICO's undertakings. In the reflections related to method, instead, this oscillation is less visible given that subjects are essentially translators. In what follows, I comment Hankiss' ideas in the following order: justification, technical questions, corpus selection, and social factors.

Hankiss' report starts out by justifying the importance and necessity of translation (section I), which should be understood as the reasons upholding the interest of specialized work in the domain of translation, be that Hankiss' subsequent considerations, but also the ICO's involvement in the domain of translation. The scholar put forward three main arguments in this regard. First, he addressed an "individual standpoint."[756] In

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[756] Ibid.

his view, translations enriched human existence and contributed to form "polyphiles,"[757] term referring to the love of Others. Second, translations were also necessary from a scientific standpoint. Hankiss considered it a mistake to analyze the internal evolution of national literatures and advanced an organic view of the world literary production. In his own words, "toutes les littératures se tiennent,"[758] which is why translation's role should be reasserted, or else missing the "liens qui rattachent [each literature] aux mouvements analogues des autres littératures."[759] In other words, the scientific study of literature could not oversee the role of translations. Third, he referred to the interest of translation from a social and human standpoint, that he linked to intellectual cooperation and mutual understanding. Translation was key in this context given this activity's role in getting to know "la littérature des nations étrangères (…) et les âmes nationales étrangères."[760] While the author presents a series of arguments justifying the importance and necessity of translation in society, in general, said reasons contributed to legitimize the ICO's engagement in the domain of translation as well.

Three sections in Hankiss' report address technical questions related to translation techniques, methods, and problems. They are the less developed in the sense that some of them are merely enunciated, rather than systematically analyzed or solved. Nevertheless, the fact that he identified a series of technical questions requiring attention is already relevant for the development of an explicit theoretical thinking about translation. In section V, Hankiss demanded that the translation committee delved into the problems of translating dialects and translation of works written in verse. In section IX, he argued that all translations should be accompanied by a number of paratexts (notes, commentaries, and compulsory biographic forewords), "ce qui seul permettra au lecteur de comprendre, de goûter et de bien juger l'auteur."[761] Of course we are far away from the death of the author, but Hankiss' opinion that translations should be properly framed in order to avoid

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[757] Term Hankiss borrowed from La Fontaine's fable *Les Amours de Psiché et de Cupidon* (1669; *The Loves of Cupid and Psyche*). The latter was, in turn, and according to Polizzi's reading (1997), a transposition or rewriting of the Renaissance incunable *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (*Poliphilo's Strife of Love in a Dream* or *The Dream of Poliphilus* in English). Following Polizzi, in La Fontaine's work the character's name presents a double ambiguous meaning. Poliphile is "that who loves Polia." Polia is, on the one hand, the other protagonist in the Renaissance work. However, her name's etymologic sense means "a lot" or "multiple things," which would turn Poliphile into "that who loves all things." Gilles Polizzi, "Psyché dans les jardins de Poliphile : La Fontaine et l'intertexte colonnien," *Littératures classiques* 29 (January 1997): 93–110.
[758] Annexe 1. Remarques de M. Hankiss, Ibid.
[759] Ibid.
[760] Ibid.
[761] Ibid.

misunderstandings is more modern that it could seem in that it seeks to solve or reduce one of the main challenging derived from text circulation, namely that texts circulate without their context.[762] In section VII, Hankiss elaborated on good translations from the perspective of method. He referred to "la traduction parfaite" as something requiring "en général, et à quelques exceptions près, de deux personnes dont l'une connait bien les deux langues, tandis que l'autre, versée dans la langue 'définitive', est un maître du style dans cette dernière langue."[763] While the presence of two agents could intuitively appear as a form of collaborative translation,[764] in this collaboration not all agents are actually translating: the second one is more precisely editing. Historicizing this form of collaboration is relevant given contemporary fears that translation will end up in edition of automatically or machine-assisted translation work, or in unappreciative views of editor-translator collaboration.[765] Rather than constituting questionable practices potentially attempting against an immutable essence of translation, they constitute forms of collaboration generated in the framework of translation practices taking place in given historical contexts, marked by certain idiosyncrasies, needs, ideologies or technical possibilities. Among the latter, translation paradigms can be put in relation with dominant ideologies in a given historical context, especially regarding the complex articulations between cosmopolitanism, universalism, nationalism, or traditionalism.[766] The collaborative dynamic described by Hankiss, in this regard, can be put in the context of a growing interest in foreign literatures, in which however the interest for the other is compatible with nationalistic tendencies. Drawing on Di Méo,

> La curiosité pour les littératures étrangères n'est pas (…) synonyme de renoncement à la tradition nationale ; elle répond au contraire au souhait de

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[762] Bourdieu, "Les conditions sociales."

[763] "Annexe 1. Remarques de M. Hankiss," Ibid.

[764] The latter has historically taken different forms and meanings (collaboration between two translators with complementary linguistic competencies, collaboration between different translators who share linguistic competencies, collaboration between author and translator(s), machine-to-human collaboration… See in this regard: Sharon O'Brien, "Collaborative translation," in *Handbook of Translation Studies*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2011), 17–20. In this case, rather than being justified by the lack of language skills, Hankiss seems to justify the need to collaborate with a second agent in order to perfect the style in the target language.

[765] Trzeciak Huss includes under this epithet editing justified by "the perceived constraints of the publishing market." Joanna Trzeciak Huss, "Collaborative translation," in *The Routledge Handbook of Literary Translation* (London: Routledge, 2018), 397. In the context of world literature having opened new markets for foreign literatures, refers to "substantially altered texts in translation" by the hand of "editors and translators in the interest of producing a text that will present their work in the best possible light to a new readership" (397).

[766] Nicolas Di Méo, *Le cosmopolitisme dans la littérature française. De Paul Bourget à Marguerite Yourcenar* (Genève : Droz, 2009).

l'enrichir, de la renouveler, de la stimuler en lui apportant du sang neuf sous forme de sources d'inspiration originales.[767]

Following the latter, I propose to read the preeminence given to style in the target language as the textual refraction of the difficult equilibrium, in the ideological domain, between interest in the foreign and resistance to the latter corrupting or dissolving the autochthonous culture.

Having commented the sections in Hankiss' report addressing technical aspects of translation, let us now turn the attention toward the points dealing with corpus selection for translation, namely, points IV and VI. Broadly speaking, both sections sought to answer the question of what works ought to be translated, but it was answered less from the perspective of selecting single works within a given literary tradition, than from a structural or typological perspective. Section IV addresses the dilemma between promoting translation of works written in widely spoken languages or promoting the translation of works penned in less widely spoken languages, and section VI addresses the same dilemma between classic and modern works. Aware that it would probably be pointless to advance a universal answer to those questions given the myriad possible interests and motivations behind a translation project, Hankiss answered said questions from the perspective of institutions promoting translation. Therefore, despite not being explicit, the underlying question is not "what works ought to be translated" but "what are the directives to be followed by institutions promoting translation flows in the selection of the favored corpus." Given the unequal extension of the two sections, I shall first discuss the question of modern vs. classic works, to then approach the question of works written in central or peripheral languages. Hankiss position in this regard tended to favor classics, although he made room for both lines of work. Several reasons were mentioned to stress the need to translate classics. One was the idea that new translations of classics were as necessary as the translation of modern works, thereby opposing the idea that classics were translated once and for all: "La traduction moyenne vieillit et doit être remplacée par une traduction nouvelle,"[768] with the allusion to average translation suggesting that few exceptions exist of classic translations that stand the test of time. A second reason has to do with the representative character of classics, although, rather than putting forward a series of arguments, Hankiss stated his opinion as if it was self-evident

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[767] Di Méo, *Le cosmopolitisme,* 181.
[768] "Annexe 1. Remarques de M. Hankiss," Ibid.

that the corpus best representing a country's autochthonous production (and probably aspects such as national identity or cultural traditions) were classics. "La traduction protégée par la Coopération Intellectuelle doit avoir le but suprême en vue de FAIRE CONNAITRE LES LITTERATURES : les classiques sont donc plus importants que les modernes".[769] Despite him not developing his opinion, it can be argued that classics' sustained recognition and interest over time guaranteed their quality and representative character, opposed to modern literature which could be subjected to commercial or other heteronomous logics.

Conversely, regarding the question of promoting the translation of central or peripheral literary works, Hankiss deployed a rich argumentation. He presented this quandary as a false problem:

> la question se trouve être simplifiée et presque résolue par le fait que les nations à langue peu répandue TRADUISENT SANS ETRE ENCOURAGEES ; elles traduisent par tradition et par nécessité. Il est donc beaucoup plus important d'encourager la traduction des chefs-d'œuvre des littératures peu connues dans les langues de grande diffusion.[770]

Linking again the position of languages in the world linguistic order to their practices of translation import and export, he argued that intranslation was consolidated in cultures speaking little spread languages (i.e., translation from centers to peripheries). Instead, intranslation into dominating languages (that is, translation from peripheries to centers) was less frequent, and thus needed to be promoted. The latter was confirmed by market dynamics in his opinion ("Il est beaucoup plus facile de vendre un livre français traduit du français en Hongrie, en Russie ou en Grèce, que viceversa."[771]) By stating that translation from centers into peripheries was already taking place, he essentially suggested that any effort on the side of the ICO to promote translations in this direction was redundant. And redundant work was one of the evils the carriers of intellectual cooperation sought to avoid. Coronating an argumentation that constitutes an example of a skillful rhetoric, he concluded said reasoning by implicitly introducing the question of public interest.

> Et pourtant, l'intérêt est à peu près le même pour les deux parties : il ne serait pas juste qu'un Français ou un Anglais fut privé de la connaissance des littératures

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[769] Ibid. Emphasis in the original.
[770] Ibid. Emphasis in the original.
[771] Ibid.

étrangères qui est un bien que possèdent les ressortissants des Etats moins importants.[772]

The rhetoric construction in the previous reasoning is interesting given its take on cultural privileges and disadvantages. In Hankiss argumentation, deprived readers are not those belonging to dominated cultures, but rather those belonging to the centers or dominant cultures. Cultural hegemony is linked to cultural aridity, thereby presenting readers from dominant cultures, who do not often translate, as deprived of accessing the world's literary production. Instead, readers from cultures in a dominated position in the global literary space possessed, in his view, the benefit of accessing the production of foreign literatures given their tradition to translate. On the one hand, Hankiss' argumentation constitutes an effort to present the promotion of translation flows from peripheries into centers as something beneficial for centers. While the benefit of peripheries was obvious if the dissemination of their literary production was to benefit from institutional support, the benefit centers would obtain from importing more translations needed to be stressed, especially because those centers' agreement was necessary to approve the ICO's policies. To do so, Hankiss introduced in his argumentation an autonomous form of capital resulting from each culture's degree of openness to foreign cultures. This form of capital emanated from peripheral cultures' need to translate and thus emerged from domination, rather than from the possession of other forms of capital (such as economic, political, or even cultural power).

After the commentary on Hankiss' views on translation technical questions and on the selection of corpus to be translated, I now move on to the Hungarian's considerations on the social conditions shaping translation, a topic he covered in section II. Although succinct, the section reflects Hankiss' deep knowledge of translation dynamics. Among said factors, he included, first, the fact that some works were more or less easily translatable depending on the language used (for example, prose or verse). Second, he stressed the weight of the "importance mondiale" of the target language, and explicitly linked the latter to the intensity of translation flows.

> En général, plus une langue est importante et répandue, moins elle a besoin, - ou plutôt moins on croit qu'elle a besoin - d'être traduite, puisqu'on peut, à la rigueur, se contenter de la diffusion des œuvres dans la langue originale.[773]

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[772] Ibid.
[773] Ibid.

The idea that central languages generally present less interest in translation clearly resonates with some of the conclusions advanced, in the last two decades. He linked the interpretation of translation statistics to data regarding circulation in the original language. Fashion was thirdly mentioned among the factors determining a translation. To illustrate what he was referring by mentioning fashion, he referred to the effects of publicity or merely hazard in the decision to translate a given work, and, more precisely, the sudden discovery of a literature or the reception of a Nobel Prize, element that also anticipated contemporary research linking literary prizes to translation flows.[774] Fourth, he also stated that, depending on each moment's commercial interest, translation could lead publishers to neglect "original literature," given that translation was less expensive or easier to sell. This conclusion seems striking if compared to French publishers' view regarding the difficulties to sell translations in France, which suggests a lack of consensus among agents involved regarding the ways translations related to or affected autochthonous literary production.

Hankiss' report next tackled quality issues. He did so not from the perspective of technical decisions or problems, but by addressing the ways translation's social conditions could be modified in order to improve outputs' quality. In his view, the ICO should work in favor of good translations (also referred to as literary translations) in opposition to commercial translation, anti-literary or a-literary translation,[775] which, in Hankiss' view, they should try to suppress. To do so, he foresaw four specific means and one general mean. The first was a "negative" line of action, namely, reducing the number of bad translations "faites à la hate pour un prix dérisoire, en établissant une instance compétente destinée à flétrir la traduction anti-littéraire."[776] The second would also be enacted by that hypothetic body, but would present a more "positive" character. In order to encourage good translation, said body would give translation awards and rewards to "les traducteurs ayant consacré beaucoup de temps et de labeur à une œuvre qui, au point de vue commercial, ne leur promet qu'une récompense médiocre : traduction d'une épopée, d'un recueil de poèmes, d'anthologies, etc."[777] A third measure consisted in the foundation of a translation international critic journal ("revue critique international de la

[774] For example, Cecilia Alvstad and Claudine Borg, "The impact of awards on the translation and circulation of children's literature into semi-peripheral and peripheral languages," *Perspectives* 29 no. 6 (2021): 799–813.
[775] "Annexe 1. Remarques de M. Hankiss," Ibid.
[776] Ibid.
[777] Ibid.

traduction"[778]), which would be the specialized institution's official gazette. More broadly, the fourth line of action he envisioned consisted in the promotion of critical periodicals across countries with specific sections devoted to the critic of published translations. Finally, he proposed a fifth line that presented a general character, namely, "décrétér et propager l'idée de l'IMPORTANCE de la traduction."[779]

> L'opinion publique devra être rendue attentive aux problèmes techniques que pose la traduction. Une traduction parfaite vaut souvent autant qu'un chef-d'œuvre original, et elle présente des difficultés qu'on ne saurait écarter sans avoir une espèce de génie, surtout en ce qui concerne le style, l'art de l'expression, la traduction exige plus de bravoure que tel ouvrage original, les traducteurs des grands poètes sont très souvent de grands poètes tentés par les glorieux obstacles de la tâche.[780]

In line with the previous conclusion, in section X, Hankiss advocated for the IIIC engaging in what he called an "active intellectual cooperation."[781] He proposed that the IIIC went beyond its the passive role and "EXCEPTIONNELLEMENT, [prenne] l'initiative en publiant quelques ouvrages très généraux qui seraient on ne peut plus recherchés."[782] Among the works he envisioned, one volume containing 100 poems from the different literatures, two volumes containing 100 novel excerpts each, two volumes with 100 scenes from comedies, and one volume gathering the thinkers and historians of the world. This constitutes one of the first serious proposals that the IIIC acted as a publisher and promoted the edition of several works presenting a synthesis of (a good part of) the world literary and intellectual production. Hankiss' conviction about the interest said works would awaken emerges repeatedly in his report: "6 volumes que tout le monde s'empresserait d'acquérir et qu'il faudrait traduire dans toutes les langues."[783] While the proposal to translate them into all languages is clearly utopist, the fact that he linked in a same sentence the public's interest with translation into vernacular languages, rather than disseminating them in several world languages, is noteworthy. Also, the pedagogical perspective with which Hankiss envisioned this project should be noted. By stating that "[ces 6 volumes] seraient excellents pour donner aux habitants des divers pays les mêmes notions élémentaires,"[784] he suggested that the world should move toward a minimum

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[778] Ibid.
[779] Ibid. Emphasis in the original.
[780] Ibid.
[781] Ibid.
[782] Ibid.
[783] Ibid.
[784] Ibid.

common ground in terms of education, of which the works proposed constituted the first material realizations.

c) Listening to publishers: Kippenberg's report

Anton Kippenberg was in 1927 a renowned publisher. Starting out his report by noting an increased interest in translation, Kippenberg joined Hankiss in associating translation with an interest in foreign peoples and cultures by stating that "il est certain que cette activité révèle chez tous les peuples le désir d'acquérir de plus en plus la connaissance et l'intelligence de l'esprit, de l'âme des peuples étrangers par l'étude de leur littératures."[785] After this introductory consideration, he deployed a view on translation that is less enthusiastic than Hankiss', especially regarding the originality and value of translations.

> Une traduction (…) ne saurait être considérée comme une pure création d'art, si fidèle qu'elle soit au sens de l'œuvre originale, si parfait qu'en soit le style. La traduction ne remplacera jamais tout à fait l'œuvre originale ; elle constitue un simple expédient propre à en propager une notion approximative et incomplète.[786]

In his opinion, this was more clamorous in the case of poetry, which he considered non translatable. In his view, translating poetry turned the resulting work into an adaptation.

> Ce qui est vrai déjà pour les ouvrages en prose d'une haute valeur littéraire l'est davantage encore pour les ouvrages des poètes. On peut dire de ceux-ci qu'ils ne sont pas susceptibles d'être traduits. Pour les présenter valablement au lecteur étranger, il apparaît nécessaire en quelque sorte de les refondre. Ils sont alors, non plus traduits, mais adaptés à des nécessités nouvelles par un second, créateur.[787]

In coherence with the previous view, he defended the circulation of the original work in its original language, and for this reason he considered it equally necessary to promote the study of foreign languages than to promote the activity of translators.

Having made this preliminary note, he delved into questions related to translation as formulated in the circular letter sent on April 25, 1927: means to activate translation (in which context the main topic discussed was that of selection of works to be translated, means to grant a broader dissemination to translated works, and means to improve the quality of translations. Since Kippenberg delves in his report in a varied and detailed topics in that framework, I provide a summary of his views in Table 15. By comparing both columns, the reader can glimpse Kippenberg's views on the topics directly

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[785] "Annexe2. Remarques de M. Kippenberg concernant la question de la traduction des œuvres littéraires," n.d. UN Archives, R1050/13C/60682/24804 - Translation of Intellectual Works - Report of International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, on the Meeting of the Committee of Experts, July 1927.
[786] Ibid.
[787] Ibid.

mentioned in the circular letter, but also his proposals. When a field is left empty, he omitted the topic in his report.

	Questions contained in the circular letter	Synthesis of Kippenberg's view
Means to activate translation	a. Choice of works to be translated	Importing countries choose works to be translated, and especially publishers' commercial interest. The choice can be guided by literary value and the possibility to acclimatize said work.
	b. National organizations for translation	The creation of national committees preparing lists of books recommended for translation is unnecessary.
	c. Collections of foreign classics in translation	This depends on publishers' interest, but in general they have little success in Germany.
	d. Translation regime (uses and laws regarding copyright law, translators' compensation)	Need to clearly regulate translation rights, especially given the gaps in the Berne Convention.
Means to grant a broader dissemination to translated works		Doubts that an international office can contribute to disseminate translated works. "Tout dépend de l'initiative, du zèle, de l'esprit commercial des éditeurs, et aussi de l'appui que leur accorde la presse, journaux et revues, et de la propagande par T.S.F."[788]
		Importance of authors' conferences in foreign countries as main tool to awaken the interest in their work abroad (and thus favor future translations).
	a. Establishment of a bibliography of translations	Doubts that an international bibliography of translations contributes to their circulation. Fears an unbalance between cost of the project and its usefulness.
	b. Collection of foreign classics	
	. Introductory notes in translated works	Importance of bio and bibliographic introductions in translations. Proposal to extend this practice, consolidated in the case of classics in Germany, to contemporary authors.
Means to improve the quality of translations	a. Choice of translators	Importance of this step. Translation as a vocation or as an art for which language skills must be complemented with the capacity to be a subtle writer in the target language.
		Proposal to review translations in the source country by someone mastering the target language to detect mistakes.
		Preference for translator who are also poets to translate poetry.
		The importing publisher will choose the translator (eventually assisted by appropriate collaborators), but it is rare that he possesses the means to judge on a translator's capabilities.

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[788] Ibid. T.S.F refers to "télégraphie sans fil," i.e, the radio.

		Difficulties when publishers of the original work have given the work's right to incapable translators. Agreement between German, English, and French publishers not to sell translation rights to publishers in the target country.
		The engagement of insufficient translators is detrimental to authors' interests. Need to offer an adequate remuneration to guarantee translators of first order. This is complicated given the excessive requirements of the original publisher. Need that the publisher of the original work adapts his demands so that the target language publisher can offer the appropriate remuneration to the translator.
		In cases of unknown authors, publishers of original works should offer better conditions to the importing publisher given the risk the latter takes.
	b. Translation contests	
	c. Foundation of a literary award of translation	Considers it desirable but anticipates insurmountable obstacles (comparison between difficulty between languages and between each work, difficulties to examine all translations published in a year). Idea that awarded translations should not be presented as "the best" but as successful or recommended.
	d. Translation critique in literary periodicals	Welcomes the idea of a critique of translations as an effective means to improve the latter's quality. But considers critiques often lack the skills to judge on the quality of translations. Considers it advisable to establish an international periodical where the works published in the various countries are discussed from the perspective of translation.
	e. Study of technical problems	Poems should be literally translated (first the meaning and, if possible, the author's personal style).
		Existence of two main opinions: translations should be presented in a way that nothing reveals they constitute translations vs. It should transpire from the language and style that they constitute translations. In general, defendants of the second option make a virtue out of a necessity.
		Patois and argot in the original should not be translated in patois or argot in the importing language. "C'est toujours incorporer dans un organisme vivant un élément- mort-né. (...) le lecteur s'apercevra qu'il a affaire à un élément inorganique, sans rapport avec le phénomène inhérent au texte primitif."[789]
		Translators should never modify or abridge an original text, except when the target reader could be hurt by the words in the original. Abridgments are instead indispensable for the translation of classics.
		Importance of publishing great classic works in bilingual editions

Table 15. Synthesis of Kippenberg's views on translation.

As can be grasped in Table 15, in Kippenberg's report, a number of ventures proposed by the IIIC were considered to present little interest. Among them, lists of books recommended for translation and translation bibliographies. The centrality he conferred

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[789] Ibid.

to publishers in the translation process is the other face of the coin of the little importance he confers to public intervention, because, in his view, "les œuvres d'une importance capitale finissent toujours par être traduites [et pour les] ouvres d'une valeur douteuse, l'unanimité ne se fera que fort malaisément et rarement, au sein d'une commission relativement nombreuse."[790]

Regarding book selection, he considered it should take place in the importing country and, more precisely, determined by the publisher's commercial interest. In this, he distinguished himself from the main idea advanced by the carriers of intellectual cooperation, according to which agents from the source literary field had a saying in book selection for translation. In his view, publishers' decisions were guided by several factors:

> Ce n'est pas uniquement par considération pour la valeur littéraire qu'ils prendront leurs décisions, mais ils tiendront compte de la possibilité d'acclimater les œuvres dans leur pays. La psychologie du lecteur diffère d'un pays à un autre, et l'intérêt qui les porte à préférer tel ou tel genre de sujets. Parfois une œuvre qui, dans son pays d'origine, n'avait obtenu qu'un succès des plus limités, a rencontré, traduite en une langue étrangère, une faveur infiniment plus étendue. D'autres fois, inversement, l'œuvre originale, en dépit de sa popularité ou de sa gloire, ne séduit pas l'étranger à qui on l'offre traduite en sa langue.[791]

Rather than advancing a universal understanding of literary value, he stressed the latter's variability, which opened the door for the appreciation, in a foreign literary field, of works that had not succeeded in their original literary field. In the previous excerpt, he also manifested the weight of translatability in the decision to import a literary work.

d) Translating from or into Japanese: Elisseev's report

Elisseev's report constitutes a two-page document dealing with translation first from the perspective of intranslation (i.e., the translation into Japanese of works written in other languages) and then from the perspective of extranslation (i.e., translation of works written in Japanese into other languages).[792] In both cases, his main contribution was that of introducing the specific challenges faced by languages for which indirect translation was a frequent practice.

Regarding intranslation, Elisseev depicted Japan as a country importing numerous works. He noticed, however, that in most cases they do not constitute direct translations,

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[790] Ibid.
[791] Ibid.
[792] "Annexe 3. Remarques de M. Elisseev sur la traduction," n.d. UN Archives, R1050/13C/60682/24804 - Translation of Intellectual Works - Report of International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, on the Meeting of the Committee of Experts, July 1927.

but indirect ones made via an intermediary language generally being German or English. Judging the latter as being mostly unsatisfactory, he considered interesting the idea that the Japanese NCIC drafted lists of translators with indication of the language pairs they worked with. Also, he considered it useful that representatives of the Japanese culture established a list of contemporary works recommended for translation, more precisely alluding to Nihon shosetsuka Kyôkwai (Society of Japanese novelists)'s role in that regard through the intermediary of the Japanese NCIC. In this sense, Elisseev's report is less critic vis-à-vis the projects envisioned by the IIIC than Kippenberg's. Regarding the project of a bibliography of translations, he did not pronounce himself in favor or against, but referred to the fact that a section devoted to translation was included in the monthly publication of the publishers' union (Nihonn shoseki kumiai no shoseki geppo).

Elisseev subsequently focused on extranslation, and he explicitly referred to the translation of Japanese works into European languages, thus overlooking other directionalities or geographies. In that line of work, Elisseev considered the main challenge faced lied in the fact that little people were capable of doing good translations from Japanese, which explained the frequent recours to either collaborative or indirect translations, both of which appeared unsatisfactory. In the first case, the work dynamic was generally the following: "la traduction est faite d'abord par un japonais connaissant un peu une langue europénne, ensuite, cette traduction est revue par un européen qui met au point le style."[793] As can be grasped, this form of collaboration was slightly different from the one described by Hankiss. While, in the latter's account, the translator mastered both languages, in Elisseev's description a comparatively different knowledge of both working languages clearly emerged. Therefore, in this case, what justified collaboration were indeed complementary linguistic skills. The nationality of both agents involved is also relevant: the Japanese would possess sufficient knowledge of a European language to generate a version that was then reworked by a European lacking any sort of knowledge of Japanese because his focus would only be on style. In the second case, that of indirect translations, "les résultats sont encore plus fâcheux"[794] given that the indirect translation works depends on the quality of the first translation. The fact that the second translator ignored everything about Japanese life and uses generated, in Elisseev's view, clear

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[793] Ibid.
[794] Ibid.

mistranslations. In both cases, an international translation office appeared useful in his opinion to locate skilled collaborators capable to proofread the translation.

In the second part, Elissev focused on remuneration. In general terms, he considered that translation from or into Japanese should be the object of higher translation rates given that language distance was different when translating from Japanese into a European language than when translating between European languages. Also, change rate was seen as an additional obstacle given that rates required by translators living in Japan would appear excessive to European agents. Elissev added in this regard that "de ce fait, les droits d'auteur peuvent subir une fâcheuse repercussion,"[795] thus implicitly suggesting, on the one hand, that the payment of translation rights in Japan was not very systematic, and, on the other hand, that the causes for the latter needed to be found in the economic differences between countries.

Crisscrossing the four reports, some similarities and especially numerous contradictions emerge in relation to their analysis on translation dynamics. Regarding the theoretical reflection on translation, said reports constitute valuable efforts to conceptualize and theorize about the practice of translation. They present a special interest given their combined interest in technical aspects (translation of poetry, abridgements and omissions, translation of patois and argot) and in the social conditions shaping the practice of translation. The four reports offer valuable material to underscore the collaborative nature of translation and the required negotiation between multiple agents: between publishers in the source and target literary fields, between a publisher in the source literary field and a translator, between a publisher in the target literary field and a translator, between translators (and other agents involved in the final textual form of the translation), between publishers or translators and literary associations... A clear picture emerges according to which, to import a foreign literary work, publishers required the collaboration of other additional collaborators, which in turn occasioned several conflicts to establish boundaries between professional jurisdictions, skills necessary to each task, and distribution of benefits.

In this regard, the differences in the opinions expressed can be linked to the agent's different professions, nationality (and thus position in the global field of power, as well as vis-à-vis the LON and the ICO), and both. A systematic comparison of the two

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[795] Ibid.

reports giving voice to publishers (Kippenberg's and that penned by the Section for Literary Relations on behalf of French publishers) is problematized by the fact that the IIIC mediated the way French publishers' opinions were expressed. However, several comments can be made. The report representing French publishers stressed the problems derived from an insufficient institutionalization and implicitly requested an institutional intervention organizing the practice of this activity. Instead, Kippenberg's position was mainly reluctant to institutional intervention and sought to preserve publishers' jurisdiction (and freedom) over some of the debated questions. This difference can be linked to two different cultural traditions regarding centralization and bureaucracy, to the mediating role of the Section for Literary Relation's, but also to the geopolitical positions of France (more favorable to the ICO and especially to the IIIC) and Germany (questioning the practices of the ICO, as illustrated in the chapter discussing institutional translation). The same reasoning can be applied to the opinions included in all reports about some of the projects the IIIC sought to promote in this domain (bibliography of translations, lists of books recommended for translation, creation of an international office of translation). The fact that the agent that more explicitly questioned the usefulness of some of the projects envisioned by the IIIC is a German suggests that a link can be established with Kippenberg's views on translation and Germany's broader position vis-à-vis the LON and the ICO. Hankiss and Eliseev, both representing peripheral cultures that did not especially challenge the ICO's or the LON's functioning, instead, advanced more conciliatory positions.

7.4.3. The experts' conclusions: toward a global governance of translation?

Having gone over individual reports, I shall now address the conclusions of the experts' meeting.[796] To tackle the different issues the IIIC proposed in the meeting's agenda, and echoing proposals made in the Sub-Committee's first sessions, the experts agreed on the desirability to create a permanent body specialized on translation and, more precisely, to do so under the form of an international office. The latter constitutes probably one of the more ambitious measures proposed in the ICO's work in the domain of translation.

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[796] "Decisions et resolutions prises par le comite consultatif des experts de la traduction," n.d. UN Archives, R1050/13C/60682/24804 - Translation of Intellectual Works - Report of International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, on the Meeting of the Committee of Experts, July 1927.

Experts deemed it necessary to "marquer aux peux du public l'importance de la traduction et de relever aussi la dignité du travail de la traduction,"[797] with the previous quotation making explicit, among the office's ultimate goals, the improvement of translation's social perception. To achieve the latter, they envisioned said body as one possessing an eminently practical character, aimed at solving the numerous practical problems faced by practitioners and other agents involved in translation projects. However, as I shall further comment, that body's prerogatives were one of the ambiguous, if not contradictory, points in the experts' decisions and resolutions. For the moment, let me provide a summary of the office's basic features as envisioned in that occasion. Its members, initially limited up to a maximum of 30 names, would be appointed among "l'élite intellectuelle des divers groups linguistiques,"[798] a formulation that is relevant given experts in translation allusion to linguistic over political criteria. From the perspective of their expertise, they would include "tant les spécialistes de la traduction et des littératures étrangères, que des savants linguistes ou des écrivains créateurs ayant fait œuvre de traduction."[799] The experts recommended that its headquarters were at the IIIC, with its administrative board being appointed by the ICIC and with the possibility to create a permanent committee. Some aspects require some additional remarks. The first is the office's specific field of work. While in the document stating the experts' general resolutions, emphasis was made on the office's practical character, in a section devoted to its competences, a series of scientific or theoretical contributions were as well mentioned. In this regard, the experts projected the office would establish a retrospective list of existing translations to identify gaps, with the corollary systematization of potential sources in each country. By the same token, it was envisioned that the office undertook studies in topics such as the following: the aesthetics and ethics of translation, translation and adaptation especially in the domain of theater, abridgments in the text, methods employed to translate works in verse or in dialect, the translation of titles, the unification of transcription of proper nouns, the study of the "deformations habituelles propres aux traductions de et en chaque langue"[800] and also subtitling ("titrage cinématographique"). In this regard, the experts' emphasis on the office's technical character on a discursive level must be understood in the framework of the expectations the ICO needed to satisfy, and the critics its work faced. In 1927, the

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[797] Ibid.
[798] Ibid.
[799] Ibid.
[800] Ibid.

idea to obtain practical results had already become a maxim upon which the ICO's survival hinged. This, however, was hard to reconcile with the needs of practitioners of an activity that had not extensively been theorized, which made so that some of the very practical problems faced in the literary field in relation to translation found their origin in the lack of a prior theoretical examination. In this regard, the expert's work needed to juggle the needs and expectations of the agents interested in translation, on the one hand, and institutional needs and expectations on the other. In other words, their work needed to strike a balance between the literary field, on the one hand, and the administrative or institutional field on the other.

A domain in which the experts sought to obtain practical results was in the battle against what they called bad translations, a concept that is regularly mentioned in the ICO's undertakings in the domain of translation, but rarely defined as such. Lacking the means to take any practical measure in this regard, the experts instead decided to work in favor of good-quality translations, as suggested in Hankiss' report. Three measures were proposed in this regard. First, to favor already existing translations by stamping them with a sign ("estampille") indicating their good quality. Second, to periodically offer rewards to good translations. The nature of those rewards remained ambiguous, probably because it depended less on the experts' desires, than on institutional resources. On the one hand, experts considered the possibility that rewards remained merely honorific given the effect the recognition per se would subsequently impact on the work's sales. On the other hand, the possibility to establish "un fonds destiné à récompenser les traductions remarquables"[801] was mentioned when discussing the office's budgetary provisions, thus suggesting that the symbolic dimension of said rewards would only be so if the necessary resources were not found to effectively offer pecuniary rewards. Third, the experts argued also the need to offer "des subsides pour des traductions de longue haleine (traduction d'œuvres classiques par exemple) et pour lesquelles l'auteur aurait donné les attestations suffisantes de ses capacités."[802] Experts were interested in translation grants and considered two possibilities regarding the body that should offer them. In addition to the option that the future translation office did so, they also projected to "étudier les moyens d'intervenir auprès des institutions compétentes (fondations, gouvernements, etc.) pour leur recommander la subvention de tels travaux,"[803] thus

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[801] Ibid.
[802] Ibid.
[803] Ibid.

leaving open the possibility that the translation office had an advisory or counseling function. For all its brevity, the passage devoted to translation grants is noteworthy for, at least, two additional reasons. First, given their special attention in the literary work whose translation was not profitable from an economic standpoint, it reinforces the framing of translation within institutional efforts serving public interest. And, within this framework, it offers a succinct but clear view upon the aspects that should be taken into account when offering translation grants.

The previous information regarding the experts' work can be further complemented through a document containing several complementary resolutions on the office's prerogatives.[804] One is the idea that, among its practical competences, it facilitated relations between authors, translators, and publishers "de manière à sauvegarder le caractère des oeuvres originales."[805] The possibility that the office assisted authors or publishers in the decision to work with a specific translator was also considered, especially in providing them with all the necessary information. A second idea was that the office contributed to the publication of a collection of foreign classics in translation and a collection of contemporary works aimed at a large audience in translation. The experts also formulated the desire that the problem of translation was solved from a legal standpoint and requested that the 1928 conference for the revision of the Berne Convention, to be held in Rome, dealt with the matter.[806] They also expressed their interest in the work conducted by PEN Clubs in relation to translation and foresaw the collaboration with this organizational network. Finally, the same document, after acknowledging the fact that the experts' work had mainly focused on literary translation, opened the door for the office to work also in the domain of scientific translation in the future.

Regarding the functioning of the translation office, two main means were discussed. On the one hand, it was their view that the office should edit a gazette to disseminate its work and to gather suggestions. As imagined by the experts, the gazette would include a first section devoted to contemporary literary movements with special attention to literary trends in the various countries and distinguished translations. The

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[804] "Resolutions complementaires," n.d. UN Archives, R1050/13C/60682/24804 - Translation of Intellectual Works - Report of International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, on the Meeting of the Committee of Experts, July 1927. Ibid.

[805] Ibid.

[806] Ibid. See also Löhr, *Die Globalisierung*, 191–208.

second section would address technical translation problems such as the ones listed above. In the third section, knowledge gathered through special inquiries would be disseminated. A fourth section could instead center on relevant bibliographic works, followed by a fifth section open to collaborators and aimed at promoting the exchange of ideas on translation under the form of letters. Finally, the last section would be destined to summarizing the Office's decisions and resolutions.

Another important vector of the office's future work would reside, according to the experts' views, on national groups specialized on translation, whose creation the experts envisioned to assist the central body in obtaining the information previously mentioned, but also to obtain lists of backlist titles of each literature and lists of distinguished works published throughout each year. Translation offers here an interesting perspective to reflect upon the relations between the national and the international. On the one hand, being translation an intrinsically international operation, it is the international body that can draw attention to the importance of this activity and the challenges arising in the no-man's land in between states. But, at the same time, in the framework of the ICO, the main means of action envisioned was to promote a better organization of translation at a national level, thus reflecting how IOs policymaking targeted also the national scale. Or, in other words, the multiscalar nature of their work.

7.4.4. The experts' proposal to set up a global governance of translation

The experts' recommendations can be commented against the way they were received by the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters. Their work was discussed in the Sub-Committee's 4th session, held during July 1927. This perspective exemplifies the conversion process of inputs from intellectuals into outputs enacted by the IIIC. The expert's recommendation to constitute an international body specialized in translation was received with reluctance at the Sub-Committee, whose members considered that

> the Committee of Experts had modified the Committee's original conception with regard to the organisation of an Academy of translators. At its 1926 session, the Sub-Committee had considered the possibility, not of founding an Academy, but of co-operating with an independent Academy if founded. The experts on the other hand recommended the creation of an office attached to the Institute and on so large a scale that its upkeep would be a crushing burden for the Institute. [807]

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[807] UN Archives, R1080-13C-60957-45160 Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters - Minutes of Fourth Session, 16-19 July 1927.

The previous statement requires us to go back to the formulation of the Sub-Committee's resolutions passed in 1926, which were phrased as follows:

> The Sub-Committee recommends (…) the constitution of an autonomous international society or academy of translators, whose special duty it would be to act on the proposals contained in the aforesaid list, to make awards, should this seem desirable, for the best translations, and, generally speaking, to encourage and promote translation on systematic lines.[808]

As can be grasped, nothing explicitly opposed the foundation of an ex-novo body. However, the 1926 resolutions were certainly ambiguous on whether the international society or academy of translations was to be founded by the IIIC, or by a third party. Indeed, without being explicit on the IIIC's agency, some letters from that period suggest a much more active role on the side of the IIIC.

> Elle [the Section for Literary Relations] voudrait, comme vous le savez, constituer un office central de la traduction, c'est-à-dire recueillir tous les renseignements les plus sûrs et aussi complets que possible sur l'état présent des traductions d'ouvrages littéraires en toutes langues, et se mettre à même de fournir toutes les indications désirables sur les traductions qu'il serait souhaitable de faire, soit d'ouvrages nouveaux, soit d'ouvrages plus anciens, et également sur les capacités et la valeur des traducteurs. (…) Nous espérons également, avec le concours des auteurs et des éditeurs, former une bibliothèque centrale de la traduction.[809]

It should not be overlooked in this regard that the idea to found a translation office was probably favored and influenced by a parallel process unfolding in the same period at the ICO, namely, the creation of the IMO and the publication of a specialized publication, *Museion*.[810] Both projects functioned from within the IIIC, although with great independence, which suggests that, at least for a part of the agents involved in the discussions surrounding the international translation office, this was an institutional model they may have wanted to replicate in the domain of translation. More broadly, several factors seem to indicate that different agents had different visions on what that body's prerogatives would be, in addition to the disagreement between the experts and the Sub-Committee's members. In documents and correspondence dealing with this project, an heterogeneity of names can be found to refer to it: "académie internationale

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[808] UN Archives, A-28-1926-XII_EN - International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation Eighth Plenary Session Report of the Committee submitted to the Council and the Assembly.

[809] A.F. (on behalf of Blaise Briod) to J. Isaacs (professor at King's College, London), April 26, 1927. UN Archives, R1050-13C-59327-24804 Translations of Literary Works - Various Correspondence of the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation communicated to the Secretariat.

[810] Founded in 1926, and with a specialized publication, having started in 1927. Said projects took form precisely in the Sub-Committee for Arts and Letters' first and second sessions under the umbrella of the Section for Artistic Relations and, more precisely, to the work of Henri Focillon. For more detail, see: Caillot, *La revue Mouseion*.

de la traduction," "central translations office," "tribunal international de la traduction,"…
While words such as "academy" or "society" stressed the intellectual element and
sociability, "office" or "bureau permanent de traduction" conveyed a more administrative
idea. Finally, "tribunal" presents a normative dimension. It is true, however, that experts
introduced a change in said body by arguing the need of an office, rather than of a society
or academy. As can be grasped, the different options echoed the debate regarding the
ICO's two souls that raised in the Sub-Committee's first sessions.

Be it as it were, the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters dismissed most of the
expert's recommendations, thereby revealing a clear mismatch between the needs and
desires formulated by representatives of the intellectual field on the one hand, and
institutional possibilities, interests, and desired form of agency. Members of the Sub-
Committee believed it would be impossible to create an office for translation given the
Institute's limited resources. Casares argued in this regard that

> dans l'état actuel des ressources de l'Institut, il serait impossible de fonder un
> nouvel office de traduction (…) [et suggère] que la Sous-Commission prenne une
> résolution recommandant à l'Institut d'encourager la formation de groupes
> nationaux qui formeraient alors une fédération internationale de traduction pour
> maintenir un contact étroit avec l'Institut, tout en restant entièrement
> indépendante.[811]

Further, they were wary of offering prizes and other kinds of reward given the fact
that this would have turned the office into a body of literary value creation, a goal that
was not among the institutional functions they sought to pursue. In consequence, the Sub-
Committee approved several resolutions related to the idea to found an international
translation office. However, the problem was not the project per se, but the ICO's role the
experts had recommended. The Sub-Committee declared being interested in the idea,
although they redirected the dynamic that should drive its foundation:

> The Sub-Committee (…) is of opinion that the establishment of an International
> Translation Office may be of value when the principal authorities on translation
> in each country have formed themselves into national groups. The Sub-Committee
> hopes that these groups will be formed as soon as possible and directs the Institute,
> in concert with the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation and with
> the professional associations, where such exist, to give every encouragement to
> their formation. It considers that these groups should promptly federate and should
> delegate members to form an International Translation Committee, with which the

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[811] UNOG, R1080/13C/60957/45160 - Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters - Minutes of Fourth Session,
16-19 July 1927.

Institute should maintain regular contact, and to which it might offer hospitality.[812]

At the same time, the Sub-Committee had to pronounce itself on the future work of the Section for Literary Relations. In this domain, they recommended that the IIIC continued to study the technical problems the experts had identified in the field of translation. For example, some of the technical questions the Sub-Committee explicitly referred to included translation and adaptation, particularly of plays, methods of translation, translation of titles and the uniform transliteration of proper names. Additionally, the Sub-Committee recommended that the Section for Literary Relations could help establish relations between authors, translators, and publishers and that it "might furnish useful information to authors or publishers seeking well qualified translators."[813]

The previous recommendations, and the implicit rejection of the experts' most ambitious proposals must be read in light of the technical reasons mentioned above, but also in terms of the rivalry between the ICIC and the IIIC: the measures ultimately approved conferred little agency to the IIIC. Briod, probably the figure who had more intensely worked within the IIIC to see this project bear fruit, tried to insist that experts had agreed that the creation of an international translation institution was indispensable, and the press had also manifested the need of a similar body. His efforts were however fruitless. The lack of resources on the IIIC's side was the main argument presented by those who considered the project unfeasible. In consequence, the Sub-Committee decided to advise the creation of national bodies and their federation into an international body that could potentially collaborate with the ICO but that would be fully independent from it.

The history of the international translation office seems not to have ended there, however. From the beginning there seems to have been some ambiguity regarding whether it was better to create an ex-novo body specialized on translation, or whether the IIIC, assisted by NCIC, could perform said role. An additional option that was examined was that of collaborating with third parties. This requires us to broaden the lenses and look into projects to create an international translation office beyond the framework of the ICO. Indeed, the paternity of the idea as such can be put in relation with broader processes and other agents given that work done by PEN Clubs in the same period went

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[812] Ibid.
[813] Ibid.

in that direction. More precisely, I am referring to Henry Seidel Canby's project to set up an "international translation scheme."[814] Canby (1878-1961) was an American critic, editor and educator, and the president of the American PEN who, during the 1920s, promoted from within the PEN Congresses, the organization of a series of projects that directly resonate with the work discussed within the bodies composing the ICO. Scholar Ollivier-Mellios described him as responsible for two proposals discussed in the PEN's Paris Congress, in 1925, namely, the compilation of lists of books recommended for translation and the creation of a register of competent translators including contacts with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace on behalf of the American PEN Club.[815] According Ollivier-Mellios, Canby was also the author of a proposal presented at the 1927 PEN Congress, held in Brussels, to set up

> an international clearing house of literary information in Paris – the idea was to create a place where authors, publishers, translators and the public would meet. He established contacts with the League of International cooperation in Geneva [sic] (which was a branch of the League of Nations) and was promised headquarters for the translation bureau.[816]

No trace has been preserved within the IIIC's archive confirming the latter's negotiations to eventually host a translation office founded under the umbrella of PEN Clubs. However, the idea is consistent with the frequent practice of the IIIC hosting intellectual organizations at Palais Royal. It should be remembered in this regard that offering hospitality to international bodies was a practice that had been considered during the Organization of the LON's International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section in 1919,[817] and that the IIIC practiced regularly. Also, this form of collaboration presented certain advantages. Doherty writes that Canby "hoped to launch the scheme with the help of both the private and the public sectors, while PEN—backed by the support of American philanthropy—provided intellectual leadership."[818] Indeed, said solution was suitable for the different parties involved. On the one hand, the fact that's said office was founded by PEN Clubs constituted a lesser engagement on the side of the IIIC's, whose finances were heavily compromised and whose workforce was not sufficient to take on the responsibility of another specialized international office. But it could collaborate by

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[814] Megan Doherty, "PEN International and its Republic of Letters. 1921-1970," PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2011, 98.

[815] Anne Ollivier-Mellios, "PEN: an apolitical international writers' organization¿ 1922-1939," in *Écriture et engagement aux États-Unis (1918-1939)* (Ophrys and Uiversité Paris 13, 2010), 213.

[816] Ibid.

[817] Grandjean, "Les réseaux," 178.

[818] Doherty, "PEN International," 98.

providing the material infrastructure, thus contributing to advance the line of work they had been entrusted with by the ICIC.

Even though the project to create an international translation office was never realized under said terms, the idea of creating an organization specialized in the global governance of translation can be considered as a relevant milestone in the history of translation. Several concluding remarks can be formulated in this regard. From the perspective of the historical sociology of translation, discussions surrounding the international translations office present a special interest given their ambiguity. The existence of such project can be considered a sign towards professional development. However, its driving force should not be south for in autonomous development. Rather, it shows that heteronomous forces have historically constituted a driving force for the development of specific activities, professionalization processes and field development. Despite there is not abundant material elaborating on the constituencies represented within said translation office, allusions to authors in preparatory documents, and formulations such as "control office" suggest that, at least in the minds of some of the actors, said constituency would confer significant space to authors. More broadly, most discussions surrounding this project were marked by the will of authors (and publishers) to improve but also control the quality of translations. This can seem paradoxical: on the one hand, the ICO sought to ameliorate the social status of translators and translation, but on the other hand it envisioned the creation of a body that would institutionalize a mechanism of external control. Put it otherwise, even though some translators took part in preparatory works, the project assigned little agency to translators. This reflects a lack of group consciousness.

From the perspective of the history of translation as a chapter of the broader history of intellectual cooperation, the experts' proposals became the seed of some ambitious ventures that were developed especially during the 1930s and that I reconstruct in the following chapters. From 1929, the IIIC undertook work to facilitate relations between authors, publishers, and translators. Several efforts were developed to collaborate with third parties, including the International Federation of PEN Clubs and its national branches, the Société des Gens de Lettres, and publishers (Chapter 8). The list of existing translations materialized a few years later to become the Index Translationum (Chapter 9). Also, the idea to publish collections of translations saw the light during the 1930s (Chapter 10). The fact that all these projects actually saw the light in the framework

of the IIIC's work suggests that the latter functioned as the de facto international translation office that never was.

8. Raising awareness about translation as a collaborative work

With the increase of translation flows in the interwar period, the activity's central role in the internationalization of the intellectual field became apparent to the carriers of intellectual cooperation. The acknowledgment of translation's structural function conferred this activity with an increased social value in a context of political and cultural internationalism and prompted the desire to better harmonize its social significance with the social conditions in which it was practiced, hence the reasons why the ICO engaged in this line of work. By 1928, their efforts had been going on for a few years and said body had had some time to lay the foundations of their own institutional network. This included consolidating the IIIC's internal structure and workforce, finding a good fitting between the IIIC and the ICIC, and developing a network of NCIC in numerous countries. From a technical perspective, preliminary inquiries had been conducted in different issue-areas, with consultations of experts or organization of several expert committees to get a broad view of the (sub)field under study and sketch the first lines of a diagnostic regarding the obstacles hindering their work. With the diagnostic, goals could be established and hence the necessary selection of certain methods or means to achieve them. This description applies also to the case of translation, a domain the Sub-Committee had examined several times, and on which the IIIC had convened an expert committee and launched two ongoing inquiries. Some of the results of their early exploratory work included a clear awareness, on the side of the carriers of intellectual cooperation, that this activity engaged a multiplicity of agents, all having different bearings on the quality of translations, on translators' work conditions, and on translation's social recognition, three aspects that were intimately related. In this regard, an early understanding manifested regarding the fact that improvements related to said aspects involved not only translators.

Against this backdrop, a qualitative change took place regarding the IIIC's efforts in the domain of translation from 1928 on. Building on the work done in the ICO's first years of activity, two main lines of work were identified. On the one hand, fostering the cooperation between the different parties involved in translation work. From that moment, the Paris Institute undertook a salient effort to coordinate or complement their efforts with that of other cultural organizations interested in translation in the literary field, hence complementing their internal development with the creation of links with an external network of organizations. If it is true that in precedent years they had established contacts with numerous organizations to consult the latter's views or to offer them

support, a new stage of work was inaugurated in said period consisting in establishing sustained forms of collaboration or partnership with a certain number of cultural organizations.

In the literary field, several collective bodies existed with a national or an international scope. Authors had started organizing as a collectivity in the 19th century, and several collective bodies existed, for example in the international congresses held during the 19th century. Their collective efforts to protect their interests abroad thanks to the institutionalization of author's right paved the way toward the institutionalization of the international literary field, with the creation of the Berne Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Property in 1886 was a relevant milestone. Therein, publishers were also represented given the benefits they could obtain from the institutionalization of literature's international circulation. Said professional group also developed their own meeting spaces in the International Publishers' Congress, which were however interrupted by the First World War and had not yet been resumed. Against this backdrop, translation offered a different situation. The process of propertization and internationalization of culture started in the 19th century had favored an incipient interest and awareness on the practice of translation, although in most cases seen from the point of view of authors' interests and publishers'. Although some translators' associations were created between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century,[819] the institutionalization of translation was, still in the interwar period, very incipient. In most countries, no collective bodies existed, let alone an international organization federating them.

In the ICO's view, therefore, it was necessary to promote the organization and cohesion of the intellectual field by relying on specialized organizations regrouping the different intellectual occupations and professions. The Sub-Committee's allusion in the resolutions approved in its 1927 session encouraging the creation of national associations of translàtors and their international federation needs to be understood against this

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[819] Current scholarship considered the 1950 and 1960 as the golden age of translators' associations. However, some earlier examples can be mentioned by drawing on Pym's work: "The Society of Greek Playwrights, Musicians and Translators dates from 1894; the Danish Translatørforeningen (Association of Authorized Translators) was established in 1910; the Norwegian Statsautoriserte Translatørers Forening (Association of State Authorized Translators) was created in 1913; the Association of Translators and Interpreters of Ontario dates from 1920; the Swedish Federation of Authorized Translators was founded in 1932." Anthony Pym, "Translator associations – from gatekeepers to communities" *Target. International Journal of Translation Studies* 26 no. 3 (Jan. 2014): 468.

backdrop. But, what is more, in addition to professional organizations, to advance in the situation of translation it was necessary to promote cooperation *between* them. In this regard, one of the lines of work that developed from the last years of 1929 consisted in creating spaces of confluence between authors, publishers, and translators, hence trying to clarify their different views on this activity and their compatibility. The double line of work, in terms of promoting an autonomous institutionalization of translation its specific bodies, but also broadening it to other involved parties, constitutes one of the main contributions, and one of the reasons justifying the innovatory character of their approach.

On the other hand, the structural function of translation in the internationalization of the literary field derived into the need to develop a specific reflection on this activity to gain a better comprehension of the translation process, harmonize practices, and obtain the best quality results. An awareness existed on the fact that universities provided some translation training in the framework of the study of foreign languages and literatures, but that a more specific reflection was necessary to approach the number of issues translation posed in all their complexity. If the quality of translations was to be improved, this necessarily hinged upon a better formal organization of its practitioners and other involved parties, but also on a better understanding and more profound knowledge on this activity. If it was a valuable activity, the question arose whether it was guided by an implicit or explicit specialized knowledge, hence the need to understand whether said knowledge was innate or it could be trained. In either case, a consensus was necessary regarding norms, methods, and techniques.

Chapter 8 covers the activities the ICO developed to foster relations between translation practitioners and other parties involved in translation, as well as the efforts made to promote a specific reflection on this activity, the two main lines of work occupying the ICO's efforts in relation to literary translation during the last years of the 1920s. The chapter divides into three sections. In Section 8.1, I delve into the IIIC's efforts to establish sustained forms of collaboration with cultural organizations interested in translation and reconstruct some of the ideas and projects in which their collaboration crystallized. Some of them built on ideas discussed in the Sub-Committee's previous work, for example, that of translation lists. Others, instead, were more innovative, such as the organization of a translation conference or the creation of an international arbitration system. Then, in Section 8.2, I analyze the publication of an issue of *La Coopération Intellectuelle,* the IIIC's monthly bulletin, devoted to translation. This

constitutes one of the key milestones in the ICO's work in the domain of literary translation, providing us with relevant insights on the views advanced by different agents collaborating in its work. It also constituted one of the first spaces proposed to foster a specific reflection upon translation, while also contributing to legitimize the ICO by illustrating some of their preliminary results in this domain. That issue contained also a section containing lists of translations published in preceding years. That publication constituted, in a sense, a test for a broader editorial project that was designed to contain a section on reflections on translation, and a yearbook or repertoire section. Known as "Cahiers de Traduction," said project was the result of an organized cooperation with PEN Clubs (Section 8.3) and illustrates the attempt to link the two lines of work previously mentioned.

8.1. Weaving connections to improve the practice of translation

To fully understand the ICO's work aimed at bringing together several occupations and professions, it is necessary to shed light on the views on translation that favored this line of work. A relevant source in that regard is a report authored by the German publisher Anton Kippenberg, presented to the Sub-Committee's 6th session (November 1929),[820] which constitutes one of the key sources shedding light on the understanding of translation animating the ICO's work, and also the key role Kippenberg had in it. The publisher presented translation in the literary field as a complex domain of intervention, and for this reason, he was very realistic on the challenges he and his colleagues faced, as well as on their possibilities of success. "Il est inutile d'aborder [cette question] avec l'espoir de les résoudre d'emblée,"[821] he acknowledged. Instead, in his view, their goal had to be that of "chercher à atténuer les inconvénients qui résultent de l'état de quasi-anarchie où elles se trouvent actuellement."[822] In the previous quotation, the reference to a state of practical anarchy conveys the idea of an activity practiced with disorder, hence requiring some systemization and formalization. Several difficulties arose in that endeavor related to the features intrinsic in translation, namely, its international and

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[820] "Annexe. Remarques sur l'état actuel des traductions. Présentées à la Sous-Commission des Lettres et des Arts par Mr. A. Kippenberg." UN Archives, International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./6th to 7th SES./P.V./1929-30. C.I.C.I./PERM. L.A./1st to 2nd SES./P.V./1931-32. C.I.C.I./L.A./ENTRETIENS/1-10/1932, 0000766243_D0007. Given the report's richness, it is reproduced in Appendix.IV.
[821] Ibid.
[822] Ibid.

collaborative nature. Both aspects were aligned with the ICO's scope and form of work, and for this reason, in the introduction to Part 3, I have referred to those features as creating an *affinité elective* between the ICO and translation. However, at the same time, they were the source of translation's complexity. Kippenberg was convinced that the international character of translation needed to be taken into account to work in this field of activity, and in this regard, he advocated that the ICO could offer a relevant contribution. In the introduction to Part 3, I have quoted an excerpt by Madariaga where the latter reported on Kippenberg's report referring precisely to this aspect, quotation that I recover here to reinsert in its context of enunciation.

> Les problèmes de la traduction sont, de par leur essence même, des problèmes internationaux. Si l'on fait abstraction de cas relativement rares, des pays à plusieurs langues, on peut dire que traduire un ouvrage, c'est l'expatrier. La traduction se trouve donc, tout naturellement, enchâssée dans l'ordre international des faits. Et il en résulte que les problèmes qu'elle soulève ne peuvent être adéquatement résolus que lorsqu'ils sont envisagés sous l'angle international.[823]

The last sentence, in this regard, suggests the additional contribution the ICO could provide given states' limited capacity to deal with international issues. The second aspect at the origins of the complexity intrinsic in translation had to do with the fact that translation brought together the interests of multiple parties and formalized them in contracts, for which they needed to be negotiated and articulated.

> La traduction crée essentiellement des contrats au moins ternaires puisqu'elle met en rapports d'intérêts l'éditeur, l'auteur et le traducteur, et souvent aussi l'éditeur de l'œuvre originale. Il en résulte des contrats d'une singulière complication, qui rendent fort difficile le contrôle des droits de l'auteur, soit du point de vue de ses intérêts matériels, soit du point de vue de l'œuvre elle-même.[824]

Derived from the previous observations was the need to establish forms of international cooperation between different professional sectors and occupations in order to reduce the state on anarchy previously referred too, which provoked problems regarding the quality of translations, the division of tasks and benefits between the different agents involved, and therefore the value of translations per se. Subsequently, Kippenberg pointed to the potential contributions each profession could bring to improve the situation of translation, with a primary interest on authors and publishers. If we start focusing on the former, the

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[823] "Memorandum présenté par M. le Professeur de Madariaga. La question des traductions." UN Archive, R2224/5B/19344/2140 - Documents presented to and discussions at the 7th session of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, July 1930.

[824] "Annexe. Remarques sur l'état actuel des traductions. Présentées à la Sous-Commission des Lettres et des Arts par Mr. A. Kippenberg." UN Archives, International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./6th to 7th SES./P.V./1929-30. C.I.C.I./PERM. L.A./1st to 2nd SES./P.V./1931-32. C.I.C.I./L.A./ENTRETIENS/1-10/1932, 0000766243_D0007.

German emphasized that authors had a strong responsibility in the appointment of translators.

> Il paraît incompréhensible que presque toujours les auteurs exposent leurs enfants spirituels aux carrefours, dont les chemins mènent aux différents pays de traduction, sans se soucier le moins du monde du destin de ces enfants en pays étranger ; ils se contentent pour la plupart de trouver leur compte au point de vue matériel. Il serait de la plus haute importance, si les auteurs eux-mêmes s'occupaient du choix de leurs traducteurs et de la qualité des traductions de leurs œuvres.

By arguing so, he situated translations in the realm of author's responsibility, something that sheds light on the fact that the valorization of translation is to be framed in the institutionalization of author's interests in the international literary field. In Kippenberg's views, the process of internationalization of the literary field increased authors' tasks and responsibilities, with the questions of selecting translators for their works and monitoring the quality of their work being among them. Therefore, said internationalization could not only be understood as a source for the obtainment of new economic gains, but also as the creation of new duties and responsibilities. The latter is evident in his use of the author's paternity metaphor, which emphasized authors' moral duty to oversee their works' fate abroad. Seen from the perspective of the translator, Kippenberg's approach did not delve into the ways translators' work questioned or nuanced authors' exclusive paternity on translated works. In consequence, the references tackling the need to improve translators' work conditions was a purely material question, necessary so that services provided to authors were improved, but were not coupled with the an acknowledgement on translators' agency -and rights in that regard.

Attributing the responsibility of translations to authors raised the question of authors' means to exert said responsibility or control, especially considering that most authors were rarely able to evaluate their translations, let alone controlling or correcting them. In response to that difficulty, Kippenberg considered that relations between authors from different countries should be promoted, so they could assist each other in the control of translations. And this was, in his view, one of the main contributions PEN Clubs could offer as a literary organization with a transnational network.

Otherwise, Kippenberg also argued that publishers could additionally be of help when authors failed to find a good translator for their works. In this regard, he considered that publishers should prioritize quality when establishing collaborations. In practice, this meant that publishers should work with

une maison d'édition étrangère ou un traducteur dignes de confiance, et ne pas céder, soit directement, soit indirectement par l'intermédiaire d'une agence, les droits de traduction ou une option à un traducteur - ou plutôt une traductrice - inconnu, comme il arrive encore trop souvent. Voilà pourquoi nous voyons paraître tant de traductions misérables. Car trop souvent ces traducteurs sont absolument incapables.[825]

Kippenberg recommended alliances between the two consolidated professions in the literary field, authors and publishers, while dismissing the contributions of practitioners providing services that were not institutionalized until that moment, in which context he referred to literary agencies and translators. In this regard, a jurisdictional battle between firstcomers and new- or latecomers emerges in the horizon. The same extends to his allusion to women translators given that women were also newcomers in the professional literary marketplace. His note on women reflects, in this regard, that the creation of new occupations and jobs related to the internationalization of the literary fields went hand in hand with the insertion of women in the job market, and sheds light on the fact that agents occupying dominated positions often worked on activities that were not considered prestigious, such as translation. This being said, the previous quotation was also an implicit critique to some of his publisher colleagues. Bad translations resulted from the poor selection criteria publishers applied or, rather, from the primacy of economic considerations in said decisions. Since bad translators existed as part of reality, two things could happen in Kippenberg's view:

> Ou bien ils trouvent un éditeur sans scrupules, qui imprime leur mauvais travail, ou bien un éditeur consciencieux fera réviser la mauvaise traduction, qui en devient rarement une bonne, ou il se voit forcé d'acheter les 'droits' du traducteur et par conséquent de payer deux fois le prix de la traduction.[826]

Publishers appeared also key in limiting the harms of bad translation. While acknowledging that some publishers, deprived of professional rigor, published bad quality translations, he implicitly praised publishers' intervention that made the necessary improvements to bad translations, or that avoided their circulation by purchasing the translator's rights. By referring to the duplicate payment for translation, he referred to the payment requested by the publisher from the original work, which needed to be added to translators' remuneration. In this regard, he advanced a voluntaristic understanding of publishers' work that clearly distinguishes from recurrent associations between publishers and a prevalence of economic motivations. For Kippenberg, the precondition

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[825] Ibid.
[826] Ibid.

of a good translation was reasonable retribution for the translator, which meant necessarily limiting the sums requested by the publisher from the source literary field. In Kippenberg's view, translation rights should not exceed 7.5% of the sales prize (reaching 10% only when large print runs were expected). As can be grasped from the previous ideas, both authors and publishers were considered responsible for translators' appointment and the quality of translations, which reveals that a univocal solution was not possible but that, in any case, authors from one literary field should rely on external assistance on the side of literary associations, or authors, or publishers from the target literary field. Translations emerged at the chore of a jurisdictional boundary between source and target literary system, as well as between professions involved in each national field.

Before concluding this subsection's introduction, a mention is necessary to the fact that, in his report, Kippenberg did not focus exclusively on authors and publishers to improve the situation of translation. He additionally advanced a series of ideas to improve the situation of translations and, especially, their quality. One was the idea to create an international award for the best translations, although he was very clear on the difficulties to establish what the best translations were, "car où trouverait-on les personnalités capables de juger et d'apprécier les traductions des différentes langues d'un seul pays, et surtout de comparer les réalisations des différents pays."[827] Said question is very pertinent in the sense that it reflects the difficulty to create not value per se, but the creator of value. The fact that translation was not institutionalized made it so that experts capable of judging translations did not abound. Bearing that in mind, he proposed that the LON call public attention on personalities that had distinguished themselves in relation to translation. He also delved into the potential of translation critique, an activity that can be seen at the origins of a specific reflection and theorization of translation. He regretted in this regard that literary critique looked into translated works, but to discuss the work's content, not the translation per se. In other words, literary critics overlooked the translated nature of the works being analyzed because they lacked the necessary language skills to judge the quality of a translation. The problem, again, was the inexistence of creators of value. Despite that, he targeted periodicals, as spaces where translations were published and commented upon.

> Au moins les journaux et les périodiques, qui tiennent à publier des critiques sérieuses, devraient par principe ne confier les traductions qu'à des personnes, qui

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[827] Ibid.

connaissent suffisamment la langue de l'oeuvre originale et exiger une appréciation, qui ne se borne pas à la matière de l'oeuvre, mais qui comprend également le travail du traducteur.[828]

However, the projects of translation awards and critique were not systematically pursued by the ICO. And institutional functioning explained the reason why. Kippenberg provided a technical description of the situation, and his analysis needed to be translated into concrete lines of work the ICO could undertake. And the ICO functioned guided by the idea of coordinating preexisting bodies and work. Therefore, on the one hand, the ICO limited itself to recommend the creation of national associations of translation and their international federation, and, on the other hand, worked with professional associations of writers and publishers. They constituted two organized professions with which cooperation could be developed without revising the ICO's methods anchored in a dynamic that went from the national to the international. From this perspective, promoting activities rarely practiced, such as the critique of translations, appeared as a type of intervention in which domain little results could be obtained. Additionally, this is interesting if the ICO's two souls are considered. I have mentioned that the ICO was torn between an intellectual contribution and a more practical one. In the case of translation, certain attention was devoted to the promotion of a specific reflection upon translation (and indeed this is one of the main outputs of the ICO's own work), but from a programmatic standpoint, the question of translation was rather approached from the practical standpoint because one of the driving forces behind the ICO's work was protecting authors and publishers' interests. This, I argue, is one of the shortcomings in the ICO's work. On the one hand, the ICO favored an early institutionalization of translation because, as an international body, it was perfectly aligned with translation's intrinsic international character. Revealing the homology between agent and object, the ICO favored a revalorization of translation, a reflection upon this activity, and the creation of literary institutions framing it, such as a legal framework and specific translation contracts. In this regard, it envisioned projects potentially favoring the activity's autonomy. On the other hand, however, the ICO saw as its main working method the cooperation with preexisting organizations, which in most cases meant national organizations. Given translation's international character, this reinforced the weight of authors' and publishers' interests, professions that had previously organized at the national scale and that had subsequently coordinated in international bodies. In a nutshell,

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[828] Ibid.

the ICO's work identified ideas favoring the autonomy of translation, but implementation was marked by heteronomous forces that diluted part of their potential in relation to translation.

Once asserted the ICO's preference to collaborate with preexisting bodies, this line of work was not deprived of obstacles. On the one hand, not all organizations welcomed the ICO's intervention in their doings. If it is true that the internationalist organization had become known by the late 1920s, some organizations manifested fears of the IIIC overstepping in their work, which could lead to them losing their freedom. In other cases, reluctance stemmed from the fact that they did not consider that collaboration with the ICO could offer an added value to their own undertakings. On the other hand, from the perspective of the ICO, developing sustained collaborations was not easy in the sense that their collaboration with a given organization could easily awaken the jealousies or critiques on the side of other organizations. Considerable efforts were made to avoid giving the idea that they were favoring some organizations over others, even though this was in practice impossible –and even undesirable, given that their success was necessarily predicated upon their collaboration with the agents that were better positioned in each field. Notwithstanding, the IIIC's effort to establish close and sustained collaborations with third parties also created difficulties in the sense that each cultural organization had its own idiosyncrasies. That is, its own interests, internal rivalries and heterogeneity, work style, and so on. Entering in close collaborative work with other institutional networks required the IIIC to understand and adapt to each organization's inner dynamic.

In consequence, the results of the ICO's efforts to coordinate preexisting organizations were quite modest in a number of cases. The goal of this section is, rather than illustrating the material outputs of the IIIC's efforts in a spirit of coordination, is to reconstruct the ICO's efforts to favor a collective work on translation, an idea that, despite mitigated results, was extremely innovatory. In other words, my goal is to reveal the way, driven by heteronomous logics, the ICO favored a specific reflection on translation that laid the foundations for an incipient autonomization of the practice of translation. In what follows, I first discuss collaboration efforts with bodies representing publishers and authors (Subsection 8.2.1), to then examine in Subsection 8.1.2 some projects envisioned in the late 1920s that tried to crystallize and organize the collaborative work of authors, publishers, and translators. That history is reconstructed by using the ICO's archives as main source, which means that in future accounts third organization's archives need to be examined to complement the standpoint I present.

8.1.1. Exploring collaboration with preexisting organizations representing publishers and authors

To promote collaboration with the occupations and professions involved in translations, the IIIC entered in relations with several organizations in the literary field. I will first discuss the case of publishers, here considered the main representatives of the commercial pole in the literary field. The resolutions approved by the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters in 1928 mentioned the fact that the ICO's goals in relation to translation could not be achieved without publishers' collaboration.[829] Indeed, said resolutions referred to several measures that directly targeted publishers. For example, the ICO was especially interested in promoting that publishers always mention the original's title and the names of original author and translator(s) in the published books, with the nuance Kippenberg added regarding translator's right to anonymity or to using a pseudonym. [830] Also, they considered that publishers' collaboration was desirable to systematize the use of introductions or epilogues when an author was translated for the first time in a given country, where the reader could obtain certain basic elements regarding the author's life and works. More broadly, as main employers of literary translators, publishers were crucial in translators work conditions. Their collaboration was also necessary to advance in the domain of translation rights, an aspect that had emerged in the framework of the inquiries on translation (Section 7.3) and on which the ICO considered that current legal framework, the Berne Convention, presented substantial gaps. Also, for Kippenberg, said gaps, which included for example cuttings and modifications in translations, had not been addressed either in the 1928 Rome conference for the revision of the Berne Convention, which, indeed, had completely overlooked the question of translations because it focused on moral rights in the domains of photography, cinema, radio, and music.[831]

Against this backdrop, the Section for Literary Relations turned their gaze to the International Publishers Congresses, a series of international gatherings that started taking place in 1896 in Paris to facilitate exchange and coordination between publishers, while also endeavoring to protect their interests in the broadest geography possible. Despite

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[829] UNOG, R2221-5B-6179-1689 Arts and Letters Sub-Committee - Fifth session - July 1928 - Procès-verbaux [minutes]. Texts.

[830] UN Archives, International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./6th to 7th SES./P.V./1929-30. C.I.C.I./PERM. L.A./1st to 2nd SES./P.V./1931-32. C.I.C.I./L.A./ENTRETIENS/1-10/1932, Item - 0000766243_D0006.

[831] Basamalah, *Le droit de traduire*, 272.

their name referring to an event rather than to a cultural organization as such, to all effects it functioned as the international organization representing and federating the interests of publishers, something further proved by the fact that, since 1954, its name was replaced by that of "International Publishers Association." As such, it constituted a key space through which the ICO could disseminate its work and promote the implementation of its resolutions. However, publishers' congresses had been interrupted by WWI and not resumed. Convinced that collaboration with the publishing sector would be facilitated if its more representative organization resumed its work, the Section for Literary Relations started working to promote the congresses' revival. The later appeared all the more convenient if considered that the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters was not the only sub-committee interested in collaborating with publishers within the ICO.[832]

For this reason, during winter 1928 and throughout 1929, the IIIC endeavored to smooth things over between publishers' associations from different countries, some of which had appeared reluctant to resume the congresses. In this regard, the Section for Literary Relations contacted publishers' associations in more than 15 countries[833] to explore whether they would be interested to rejoin their professional meetings. However, organizations from the United Kingdom and France had a prominent role in those discussions, with the main agents volved being the Cercle de la Librairire in France and the Publishers' Association of Great Britain and Ireland. After some tentative contacts, however, Dominique Braga was invited to drop the IIIC's attempts. In the same period, several European publishers (Louis Hachette and Stanley Unwin, for example) had been working to resume publishers' congresses, and they feared the IIIC's efforts interfered with theirs.

> Je vous informe que le Congrès International des Éditeurs se trouve actuellement dans l'état de réorganisation (…) Je trouve qu'il n'est pas favorable qu'une

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[832] Since 1926, the Sub-Committee on Intellectual Rights conducted an enquiry on the difficulties hindering the international circulation of books. In that framework, they consulted publishers' and booksellers' associations in sixteen countries, and the ICIC issued a series of recommendations that customs barriers and postal tariffs were revised, and exemptions examined, in order to facilitate the circulation of science, letters, and arts. Also, the Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography issued, in the same period, recommendations that books addressed to libraries and scientific institutions be exempted from customs duty. The confluence between these Sub-Committee's work and that of Arts and Letters also pointed in publishers' direction. This confluence illustrates the way the material aspects underpinning globalization processes were central to the ICO's work. Circular letter 22. 1928. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-V-4 Congrès des éditeurs.

[833] They included Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, United States, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Norway, Low Countries, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Russia. Also, through NCIC, Australia, Austria, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Lithuania, Romania, and Yugoslavia. "Note pour M. le Directeur," Feb. 7, 1929. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-V-4 Congrès des éditeurs. In subsequent efforts, Spain and Bulgaria were also contacted.

convocation du Congrès résulte d'un autre côté, car dans ce cas, les peines difficiles que nous avons eues depuis de longues années pour la restitution du Congrès international des Éditeurs, seraient influencées, peut-être même exposées à nouveau danger. Aussitôt que nous aurons accompli la réorganisation, nous ne manquerons pas d'entrer en relations avec vous.[834]

In addition to the awkward dynamic resulting from two different bodies promoting the same event, hence generating confusion, some publishers' associations considered that a too intimate collaboration with the Paris Institute could, in some way, compromise publishers' independence.[835] This sheds light on the challenges of cooperative work, which in a sense is predicated upon a certain disposition toward revising one's position. For the same reason, publishers were reluctant to open their meetings to the IIIC. Instead, they were willing to exchange reports on each organization's work and include in their meetings' agenda the part of the IIIC's work that could be of interest for publishers, but refrained from establishing more systematic forms of cooperation.

After said request, the IIIC kept itself at certain distance from publisher's congresses, with some exceptions. One relevant exception took place during winter 1930, when Italian intellectual Franco Ciarlantini, who had been appointed rapporteur on translation in Publishers' 1931 congress, requested Braga's collaboration to prepare his intervention. The questions Ciarlantini formulated in a circular that was sent to the chief of the Section for Literary Relations, among other recipients, are reproduced hereafter at length, with an extensive quotation being justified given the interest of fully understanding publishers' points of interest in relation to translation.

> Quels sont, par ordre d'importance, les pays où le vôtre exporte et d'où il importe les livres ; la nature des livres importés et des livres exportés de votre pays, en graduant les catégories, selon l'entité du mouvement commercial relatif ; les raisons pour lesquelles vous importez et vous exportez plus ou moins l'un ou l'autre genre libraire, et les raisons pour lesquelles vos importations et vos exportations sont gradués respectivement aux pays des différents langues ; la situation actuelle des éditions dans votre pays, en spécifiant les motifs de sa prospérité ou de sa crise ; quel est l'investissement des capitaux dans l'industrie de l'édition même. En déterminant avec une certaine approximation le montant, de manière à établir si cet investissement soit en augmentation, ou dans un période de calme, ou en diminution ; Quelles sont, respectivement aux librairies, les réponses à donner aux égales questions ; dans quels pays ont traduit le plus ou moins grand nombre de livres écrits dans votre langue ; les raisons pour lesquelles vos livres sont traduits dans une langue plutôt que dans une autre, et quels sont par ordre d'importance, les pays qui traduisent vos livres ; les relations pour lesquelles dans les différents pays, on choisit pour la traduction dans

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[834] Robert de Sturler (Bureau parmanenent des Congrès international des éditeurs) to the President of the Swiss NCIC, July 19, 1929. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-V-4 Congrès des éditeurs.
[835] Note pour M. Prezzolini, May 10, 1929. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-V-4 Congrès des éditeurs.

votre langue, un type de livre ou un autre ; quels livres étrangers sont les plus traduits, dans votre langue, à quel genre appartiennent-ils, à quels auteurs, et pour quels motifs se déterminent les prédilections relatives ; quelles garanties croyez-vous que l'on puisse demander pour ce qui concerne les traductions, considérant la qualité des ouvrages à traduire, de manière qu'ils réussissent agréables et avantageux à votre public ; quelles observations sont à faire, toujours relativement aux traductions, pour qu'elles répondent au but général de servir à la vulgarisation de la pensée, et au rapprochement entre les peuples.[836]

As can be grasped, part of the questions was potentially linked to the ideas discussed by the IIIC: that of a bibliography of translations, for example, questions related to translation statistics and their interpretation. Ciarlantini mentioned having sent the previous letter to all centers and associations of bookshops and publishing houses. In other words, he had been conducting an inquiry on translation, but the assessments of that effort seemed to be disappointing.

Il materiale finora pervenutomi non è molto copioso seppur vario e interessante. Certo che le risposte relative alla Francia lo integrerebbero considerevolmente e sarei veramente grato alla Sua cortesia se potesse procurarmele, mentre da parte mia potrei comunicarle le risposte pervenutemi dai singoli Paesi.[837]

(The material I have received so far is not very copious, although varied and interesting. Of course, the answers relating to France would complement it considerably and I would be truly grateful if you could provide me with said inforation, while I, in turn, could provide you with the answers received from individual countries.)

The situation delineated is that of a classic quid pro quo in which one of the parties tries to maximize the appearance of what he has to offer and reduce the appearance of what he asks in return. Ciarlantini, in this sense, narrowed down the geographic scope of Braga's potential contribution ("risposte relative alla Francia"). It is relevant, in this regard, that the IIIC was addressed the same circular letter than national organizations, hence avoiding to explicitly acknowledge the fact that the Paris Institute potentially possessed data on multiple countries. As illustrated in the previous quotation, Ciarlantini did the same in his letters. This, on the one hand, could be indicative of the fact that, in Ciarlantini's mindset, the IIIC was mainly associated with France, thus offering a sign that the IIIC's international character was yet to be improved. On the other hand, it could also be a rhetoric ruse used by Ciarlantini to minimize the favor he was requesting, which was nothing but the demand of sharing the results of an international inquiry that had been costly in terms of time and resources, without any kind of formal acknowledgment or

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[836] Franco Ciarlantini to Dominique Braga, Nov. 17, 1930. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-V-4 Congrès des éditeurs.
[837] Ibid.

representation in publishers' congress. For all the diplomatic character of the following exchanges between Braga and Ciarlantini, a clear double interest manifested. The former seemed more interested in furnishing Ciarlantini information about the IIIC's future projects to secure publisher's support, while the Italian, instead, was less interested in that topic and preferred to narrow down their conversations to the questions that interested him. A meeting between both of them seems to have taken place in March 1931, in occasion of Ciarlantini's visit to Paris for the International Publishers Congress' executive committee. No written testimony of that meeting has been preserved in the IIIC's archive.

Contacts between both bodies became less frequent in the following months. Publishers' international congress took place between June 21 and 25, 1931, in Paris. 21 countries were formally represented. Illustrating the degree of proximity, the organization desired the ICO to be, is the fact that ICO representatives were indeed invited to the gathering…. but only to the inaugural session and to the closing banquet. The ICO was visibly left at the congress' door. At the end of its work, the Congress agreed to study forms of collaboration with the IIIC "for collecting and disseminating information relative to translations"[838] with the main objects of collaboration regarding :

> I) To draw up (…) lists of translators published in all countries; to communicate these lists to the Association affiliated to the Congress;
> II) to draw up, keep up to date, and communicate a list of publishers of translations in all countries;
> III) to notify what kind of works these publishers prefer for translations; and to collect information about the class of readers principally attracted by these translations (scholars, members of religious bodies, working classes, children, etc…).[839]

As I shall show when dealing with the three topics in the corresponding sections, publishers' collaboration was rather secondary and relied, mainly, on the collaboration of few individuals.

Let us now look into efforts to collaborate with authors, the other professional group with which the ICO tried to collaborate. Given the existence of multiple organizations gathering writers, prior to the development of specific lines of work, the ICO needed to examine who were the best partners. A potential partner was the Société des Gens de Lettres de France, founded in 1838 to gather professional writers and protect

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[838] Ibid.
[839] "Wishes proposed by M. Ciarlantini," UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-V-4 Congrès des éditeurs.

their interests. If in the previous case we can see an effort on the ICO's side to articulate their relation with agents situated in the commercial pole of the literary field, in this case the institution sought to cooperate with an organization belonging to the autonomous pole. In this case, the organization in question displayed a greater interest in securing the ICO's collaboration. Since July 1928, the Société repeatedly contacted the IIIC to inform them about their activities, among which an international congress of societies of Gens de Letters to be held in 1929-1930. Among the topics the Société wished to examine, "les questions du contrat d'édition, du contrôle des traductions et de la constitution d'un tribunal international,"[840] as well as the possible establishment of a permanent secretariat federating writers' associations. Said body desired that the IIIC intervened in the preparation of their congress, for example, by contacting national delegates and NCIC to make sure distinguished writers attended the Société's meeting, as well as different government actors. They considered the IIIC could also favor the creation of similar bodies in their respective countries and requested that the IIIC share with them a list of literary associations, as well as sharing legal documentation on publishing contracts. Camille Marbot, representative of the Société des Gens de Lettres, was given audition during the Sub-Committee's 5th session, held in the summer 1928. In that occasion, she stressed the need that the Sub-Committee worked with them, and placed emphasis on the fact that they should collaborate with writer's associations, rather than with associations representing publishers, which reveals that she was well-aware of the IIIC's efforts in that domain and the rivalries between the two poles in the literary field. To favor her case, she declared that a lot of translators were registered in their society. The Sub-Committee approved a resolution authorizing the IIIC to enter in relations with the Société des Gens de Lettres, but no practical outputs seem to have resulted from the latter.

The IIIC also explored forms of collaboration with PEN Clubs, the international organization that, to date, had devoted more attention to translation. Indeed, several bodies within the ICO had been following PEN's activities since its early days. The Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters was very attentive, from its first meeting to the work said transnational organization was developing. In the Sub-Committee's first sessions, it has been mentioned that some of the ideas included a repertoire of translators, as well as lists of published translations. As the following quotation illustrates, the projects debated in

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[840] Note attached to letter from Dominique Braga to Louis de Voinovitch, n.d. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-V-5 Société des Gens de Lettres.

the Sub-Committee's first and second session were extremely, if not suspiciously, similar to those PEN Clubs were developing, with the coincidence of interests constituting "un bon augure" for Valéry.

> Les Pen clubs se sont surtout préoccupés d'établir des catalogues d'ouvrages dont la traduction serait particulièrement désirable, des listes de traducteurs experts et lettrés, d'éditeurs publiant des traductions, de critiques s'occupant de littératures étrangères. Ils comptent enfin dresser ultérieurement une table des ouvrages déjà traduits. Cette initiative est très remarquable. Elle confirme ce que nous avions pensé. J'ajoute, que le travail dont il s'agit est en voie d'exécution.[841]

The topic of the relations between PEN Clubs and the ICO being especially rich, I refer to Hyei Jin Kim's work for a more detailed account.[842] In the present dissertation, I focus instead on the PEN's involvement in activities that constituted a part of the ICO's translation policy. Given the coincidence of interests, and the fact that both organizations possessed an institutional network with national bodies, albeit with a different structure,[843] their collaboration seemed desirable, although not deprived of obstacles. The latter was formally approved by the ICIC in its 5th session, held in July 1928. From the perspective of the ICO, the main concern in establishing said collaboration had to do with the difficult articulation with the ICO's own organizations in each national field, namely, NCIC. In this regard, collaboration with PEN Clubs needed to be conducted carefully, without leaving aside their own partners. The selection between NCIC or local PEN Clubs as main partners was all the more difficult given that both organizational networks had different degrees of consolidation in each country. Sometimes, NCIC were virtually inexistent, but PENs were fully functioning, or the opposite, PEN Clubs in a given location were very secondary and, instead, NCIC were consolidated. PEN Clubs, in turn,

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[841] Paul Valéry's report. Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters' Minutes of the Second Session, Jan. 1926. UN Archives, 13C/48930/45160.

[842] Kim, "The World According to PEN and UNESCO," Ibid.

[843] The ICO's inter-national structure, with a NCIC per state, differed from that of PEN Clubs, which advanced a transnational structure given the existence of several PEN Clubs in one single country. This, in turn, raised certain concerns when both bodies starting collaborating, as illustrated by a note from Dominque Braga to Henri Bonnet, where the former requested to the director if there was some inconvenient in him mentioning Flemish literature in a letter to Louis Piérard, founder of the Belgian French-speaking PEN Club. Indeed, Braga's letter to Piérard mentioned "Pour la Belgique, évidemment, la question se présente d'une façon un peu spéciale en raison de la pénétration dans ce pays de livres et revues éditées à Paris. (…) D'un autre côté, n'y aurait-il quelque chose à faire en ce qui concerne la langue flamande ?," Note pour la Direction n. 73, Jan. 9, 1930. And Letter from Braga to Piérard. Jan. 8, 1930. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-IV-4 "Cahiers des traductions." Préparation.

addressed their collaboration with the ICO in their 1928 and 1929 congresses, held respectively in Oslo and Viena.[844]

The projects on which both organizational networks agreed to collaborate were the following: first, the Sub-Committee decided that the IIIC would establish a translators' repertoire, for which PEN Clubs would provide them with information about translators. Second, the establishment of lists of books recommended for translation. It was agreed that national PEN Clubs would provide a list with maximum 20 works recommended for translation, lists that the IIIC would in turn share with publishers and press. By reaching said agreement, the ICO managed to consolidate a project they had been interested into since their early meetings, while also managing to avoid the task of selecting the titles per se. Third, the IIIC was also entrusted with the elaboration of a list of translations published the year before. Against this backdrop, PEN Clubs emerged as the ICO's main counterpart regarding literary translation. Resolutions approved in occasion of PEN Clubs's 1928 congress mentioned that the IIIC would "centraliser et à rendre publiques toutes les informations relatives aux échanges littéraires internationaux qui lui seront fournies par les centres nationaux des P.E.N, Clubs, et en particulier sur les ouvrages en cours de traduction et sur les spécialités des traducteurs."[845] In terms of division of tasks, PEN Clubs consolidated as the main body providing information to the IIIC regarding translators and translations, and the IIIC, instead, assumed the responsibility of disseminating said information via different mechanisms.

Having reconstructed different efforts to collaborate with relevant professional organizations, I now turn my gaze to the concrete projects discussed or implemented in the late 1920s.

8.1.2. Projects: from a list to an international arbitration tribunal

The ICO's work in the period under study did not limit itself to establishing collaboration with third parties. Instead, either with the latter or on its own, several projects discussed or implemented in this period clearly reflected translation's collaborative character and

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[844] Circular Letter 59.1929. Jan. 10, 1929. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-IV-4 "Cahiers des traductions." Préparation.
[845] UN Archive, R2224/5B/19344/2140 - Documents presented to and discussions at the 7th session of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, July 1930.

the ICO's will to provide agents in the literary field with practical tools. Among them, the idea of translators' lists that materialized in the creation of a translators' repertoire. Also, lists of books recommended for translation, which sought to alleviate the choice of the best works to be translated, an ambiguous decision potentially made by authors, publishers, or translators. And, finally, the project to organize a conference of authors, translators and publishers, which was closely related to proposals to create an international arbitration system. These are the main lines of works discussed in the present section. Lists of published translations was also maintained as a potential line of work, but given its extensive developments during the 1930s, I will address it in Chapter 9.

The first project I shall discuss is the translator's repertoire, which was approved in the Sub-Committee's 5th session, in 1928, in the framework of the ICO's collaboration with PEN Clubs. Among the problems identified throughout the ICO's first years of work in the domain of translation, translators' appointment emerged as a topic that concerned all interested parties given the former's direct bearing on the quality of the resulting work. A growing awareness was manifested on the fact that academic qualifications in foreign languages or literatures did not offer a sufficient guarantee to successfully carry out a translation, but at the same time the lack of translation-specific training made it difficult to solve the issue by requesting academic credentials. Therefore, in most cases, useful evidence of reliability was found in experience and professional qualifications, as well as word-of-mouth recommendations. While the latter enabled to find a practical solution, insecurity still had a bearing on the literary marketplace. Reliable signaling mechanisms favor market order and equilibrium in that they reduce the risk taken by the buyer or costumer, which in turn increases the price of the sold product and a market develops with good-quality goods that receive the payment corresponding to their quality.[846] In this framework, the creation of mechanisms to facilitate contacts between writers, publishers, and translators were of the outmost importance and need to be interpreted as a mechanism aimed at reducing market disorder.

The idea to publish a translators' repertoire, however, was not completely original. PEN Clubs had been working in the domain of translation for some years and they had devoted their attention to translation since their first international congress, held in 1923

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[846] Anthony Pym, David Orrego-Carmona, Esther Torres-Simón, "Status and technology in the professionalisation of translators. Market disorder and the return of hierarchy," *Journal of Specialised Translation* 25 (2016): 53–55.

in London. In 1925, in occasion of PEN's Paris Congress, they decided to include in their international gazette a series of lists prepared by their national centers with contact information. Since 1926, they had been making efforts to publish lists containing the addresses of publishers, literary critiques specializing in foreign literatures, and translators. In a sense, they were a model or a reference for the ideas discussed in the ICO's early days discussion on translation. In the ALAI's 1928 congress, held in Belgrade, said body formulated a resolution that the IIIC and PEN Clubs collaborated to establish lists of "principaux traducteurs, classés par langue et par spécialité, qui toutefois ne devraient donner aucune appréciation sur la valeur des traducteurs."[847] Building on PEN's previous work, and giving reply to ALAI's explicit request, the IIIC created a translators register with the goal of putting this resource at the disposal of authors and publishers searching for a qualified translators. Unfortunately, debates regarding who could be included in the repertoire have not been preserved in the IIIC's archive.

With the approval of the project in the Summer 1928, in December the IIIC sent out a circular letter to different writers' associations requesting lists of translators. The work to gather information extended over several months. Once literary associations sent them the list of translators, the IIIC contacted them directly and requested them to fill a form that they included in their repertoire of translation specialists. Among the bodies that assisted the IIIC in this regard, PEN Clubs, but also the International Women Council given "la très grande place qu'occupent les femmes dans la question des traductions." [848] In a report presented to the Committee of Directors in March 1929,[849] Luchaire mentioned that the IIIC had received the first results and appeared optimistic. In the Sub-Committee's 1929 session, held in July, Prezzolini, acting as Chief of the Section for Literary Relations, mentioned that the repertoire was already in execution, with some 500 cards already gathered. Indeed, the IIIC's translation register was composed of index cards compiled by the translator herself, with indication of her working languages, address, and main translated works, but they have not been preserved and little trace exists today in the IIIC's archive regarding this project. Fig. 31 contains a letter from Italian

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[847] UN Archive, International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./6th to 7th SES./P.V./1929-30. C.I.C.I./PERM. L.A./1st to 2nd SES./P.V./1931-32. C.I.C.I./L.A./ENTRETIENS/1-10/1932, Item - 0000766243_D0006.
[848] UN Archive, 0000766253_D0001.
[849] UN Archive, 0000766253_D0001.

translator and teacher Mario Andreis (1893-1974) to the IIIC, where the latter mentioned being a registered translator in the IIIC's translators' repertoire.[850]

However, the project was not deprived of receiving criticism. Kippenberg expressed certain reluctance that translators appearing in said repertoire introduced themselves as "en quelque sorte traducteurs officiels, 'traducteurs de l'Institut.'"[851] Said remark conveys all the difficulty in distinguishing between a mere compilation function, or as a tool of creation of value. While said distinction if useful from an analytical standpoint, some of the protagonists of this history considered that having a mere
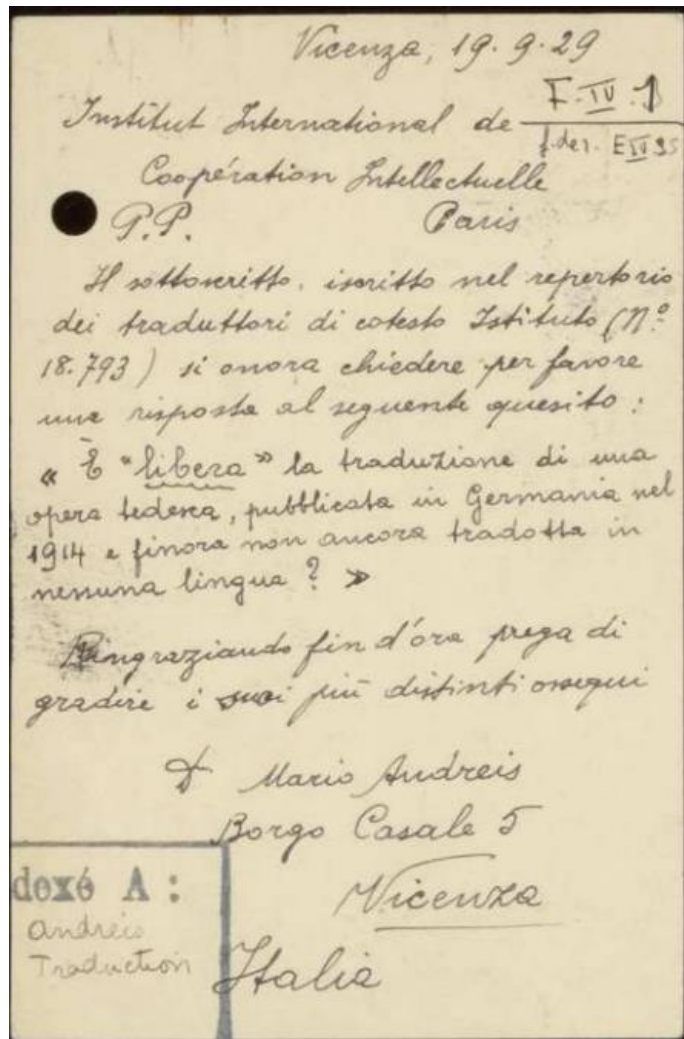

Figure 31. Translators register. Mario Andreis to the IIIC, September 19, 1929. Source: UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-IV-1.

compilation function flattened the utility of the project. This was the perspective advanced by Kippenberg in the Sub-Committee's 1929 session, in the framework of an extensive report analyzing several issues related to translation.[852] Commenting ALAI's request to see PEN Clubs and the ICO establishing merely compilation lists of translators, he considered that

> Il est impossible de voir l'utilité pratique d'une telle liste, quand précisément les qualités des travaux n'y sont pas appréciées. Une telle liste aurait au contraire le

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[850] Andreis registration number, 18.793 should not suggest that the register comprised 18.793 names. In a letter by Dominique Braga from Dec. 1930, he mentioned that in that moment the register included 700 names. Dominique Braga to Franco Ciarlantini, Dec. 22, 1930. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-V-4 Congrès des éditeurs.

[851] UN Archive, International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./6th to 7th SES./P.V./1929-30. C.I.C.I./PERM. L.A./1st to 2nd SES./P.V./1931-32. C.I.C.I./L.A./ENTRETIENS/1-10/1932, 0000766243_D0006.

[852] Said report presenting a notable interest for the history of translation, it is reproduced in Appendix IV. The original can be found in Ibid.

desavantage de mentionner des noms de traducteurs mauvais et nuisibles, qui par le fait même de la mention seraient quasi officiellement reconnus et peut-être seraient chargés de travaux de traduction à cause de cette mention.[853]

In his view, the compilation function had the potential disadvantage of promoting translators whose work did not possess the quality they sought to pursue. In this case we see how the promotion of translation and institutionalization of this activity clashed with quality issues related to outputs. In the literary domain, we have seen that the promotion of translation sometimes conflicted with the promotion of certain types of books, especially those that best represented each agents' ideas on literary value. In this case, something similar took place. Facilitating contact between agents in the field, or, more exactly, conferring visibility to translation practitioners, was hindered by considerations regarding quality and value.[854]

Kippenberg was very critic of the IIIC exercising a compilation role, but he also acknowledged that the alternative seemed hardly reachable. In this case, this had nothing to do with desired forms of institutional agency, but with the technical difficulties of trying to act as a body consecrating translations over others:

> D'un autre côté, une liste de traducteurs, contenant une appréciation sur la valeur des traductions, aurait de grands inconvénients. Une appréciation équitable d'une seule traduction exige des connaissances approfondies et beaucoup de temps. Quelles personnes ou quelles corporations se chargeraient d'examiner le nombre énorme de traductions, qui paraissent chaque année dans le monde entier ? Et qui nous donnerait la certitude, que ces appréciations seraient basées sur des connaissances suffisantes de la matière et seraient absolument objectives ? En somme, la question, si une liste de ce genre doit être publiée ou servir de base pour donner des renseignements, devrait être examinée avec grand soin et traitée avec beaucoup de prudence.[855]

While the experts collaborating with the ICO agreed on the need to improve the quality of translations, and for this the creation of mechanisms of value-creation were desirable, Kippenberg made explicit the challenged they encountered to actually do so in practice: the number of translations in the world, the different language pairs, the subjective or objective character of the evaluation were only some of the difficulties anticipated. In order to allay Kippenberg's fears, Luchaire promised that the translators list would not be

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[853] Ibid.

[854] The distinction between a list as a compilation of translators' names, and the list as a consecration mechanism was all the more difficult given the fact that, in that same session, the Sub-committee examined whether something could be done to constitute a body of expert translators. More details are provided in what follows.

[855] Ibid.

published but held at the disposal of agents who wished to consult it. This permitted the IIIC to better control the use of the translators' list and prevent its use as a mechanism of consecration, but it also limited its usefulness in the sense that is reduced its users. A report the IIIC presented to the Sub-Committee on arts and Letters mentioned the fact that in the Summer 1930, the translators' repertoire contained 635 cards, which was not a considerable number.

The project seems to have had a short life span. Proceedings of the 4th session of the ICIC's Executive Committee, held in 1931, contain a mention of Henri Bonnet's decision to suppress the "fichier des traducteurs."[856] The reasons behind said decision are multiple: first, the mitigated results of a repertoire that was only accessible at the IIIC. Second, the context did not help. This was the period in which the IIIC was reorganized, with profound changes in the organization's budget. Also, in the specific context of the Section for Literary relations, the last years of 1920s witnessed numerous changes in the direction (Prezzolini's absences until his resignment, the vacancy of the post, and Braga's arrival). Third, the difficulty to distinguish between a list of translators with a merely descriptive character, or as a tool signaling professional trustworthiness, in which case the IIIC's authority was inevitably engaged, while it had not the resources, nor the desire, to provide a signaling mechanism or an accreditation system. Despite the repertoire's brief life span, it constituted one of the first tools directly contributing to foster an esprit de corps among translators, and a practical resource for other agents in the literary field. However, all information gathered so far was not in vain. A change was introduced in the way to access said information, with the decision to publish it, instead than consulting it at the IIIC. The translator's repertoire became, by doing so, a list of translators that could be disseminated, together with other lists mentioning individuals interested in translation. This project is the object of the corresponding reconstruction in Section 8.3.

The second line of work the ICO explored in this period, also with PEN Club's involvement was that of lists of books recommended for translation. It has been mentioned, the Sub-committee on Arts and Letters approved in 1928 a resolution regarding said project. More precisely, the latter mentioned that PEN Clubs would provide the ICO with a list with a maximum of 20 works recommended for translation. However, they added the nuance that the list would only refer to works published before

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[856] UN Archive, R2250-5B-30045-21266 4th session July 1931. Procès-verbaux [Minutes] Texts.

1900, hence leaving out of their work contemporary literature. And this nuance was of vital importance given that it became one of the main discrepancies between both bodies. Indeed, in their 1929 congress, held in Viena, PEN Clubs approved a resolution through which they requested the IIIC to

> rassembler et de publier chaque année une liste de livres recommandés pour la traduction par les sections des PEN Clubs représentant des langues autres que celles de grande diffusion. Ces listes seront composées de trois livres au maximum, parus dans les deux dernières années.[857]

Several differences were introduced if compared with the Sub-Committee's initial intentions: the reduction of the list, from 20 to 3 books, the focus on languages of medium or little diffusion, and on books published in the last two years. Said elements were commented in the Sub-Committee's 1929 session. One of the topics that generated debate was whether works written in central or peripheral languages equally needed an institutional support to promote their circulation. The Sub-Committee's members did not agree in this regard. On the one hand, Vittorio Rossi, professor of Italian literature at Rome University, agreed that works written "dans des langues de grande diffusion s'imposent d'elles-mêmes; il n'y a pas besoin de les désigner. La désignation serait certainement utile pour les langues de petite diffusion."[858] Destrée, instead, argued that some works written in central languages did not circulate a lot, and this despite their great value. "Un poète comme Gongora, bien qu'écrivant dans une langue de grande diffusion, n'est pas connu ni traduit comme il devrait l'être,"[859] he exemplified, to then argue that they should not focus on languages of little diffusion given the risk to neglect that kind of works. The second aspect commented was that of the time frame of works listed, with Prezzolini remarking that said change introduced a problem. A third comment had a more institutional perspective, given that it was mentioned that it was problematic to neglect the collaboration of NCIC in the ICO's collaboration with PEN Clubs. However, the resolutions approved by the Sub-Committee only addressed that topic, thus leaving open the other questions.

The project also suffered from the 1930-1931 reorganization, given that, thereafter, it was decided to focus on publishing a specialized journal on translation, and on lists of translated works. Said lines of works were considerably developed, and for this reason, they are the object of a specific analysis, respectively, in Section 8.3 and in

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[857] UN Archive, 0000766243_D0007.
[858] Ibid.
[859] Ibid.

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Chapter 9. Before reconstructing them, however, another project discussed in the late 1920s and first years of the 1930s, needs comment given its clear emphasis on the multiple agencies and interests involved in translation.

The third line of work I will present here was not the result of the ICO's collaboration with PEN Clubs. In Subsection 8.1.1, I have elaborated on the collaborations the ICO sought to establish *with* literary organizations and *with* bodies representing publishers. However, the ICO was also the promoter of certain projects aimed at favoring the direct cooperation *between* said professions and at solving their discrepancies. I am referring to a project to convene an international translation congress, as well as the idea to create an international arbitration tribunal to address disagreements between parties collaborating in translation.

In the Sub-Committee's 1929 session, a point in the meeting's agenda alluded to the "Projet de constitution d'un corps de traducteurs experts et d'un système d'arbitrage international des conflits relatifs aux questions de traduction."[860] The first project was only superficially addressed, with Salvador de Madariaga having defended the need for an automatic mechanism enabling to distinguish between good and bad translators. In this regard, he recommended that publishers establish in their translation contracts a responsibility clause. To that end, he defended the idea to organize an international congress that would gather authors, translators, publishers, and experts in international law to find a new legal solution to the problems posed by translation and to prepare a list of expert translators which would act as judge in case of conflicts related to translation and which would be competent to judge on a translation's quality. The idea of an arbitration system was more developed in the report presented by Kippenberg to that 1929 session. Therein, the German elaborated on the need to constitute an international arbitration tribunal which would have as main prerogative the resolution of conflicts between agents in the different national literary fields. In said document, the German publishers insisted: "On ne peut le dire assez souvent, que les questions du droit de traduction doivent trouver enfin une solution internationale uniforme et claire."[861] He was very critic of the gaps in the Berne Convention in the domain of translation, and he also stressed that the 1927 conference hadn't contributed to fill them. But he went further.

> Dans le pays même la loi sur les droits d'auteur suffit généralement pour protéger l'auteur contre des modifications ou des coupures de la part des éditeurs ; mais

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[860] UN Archive, 0000766243_D0007.
[861] Ibid.

> pour ce qui regarde les traductions de ses œuvres, il n'est pas suffisamment protégé contre les empiètements sur ses droits. Il arrive assez souvent, qu'une œuvre se trouve mutilée par la traduction et même détournée de son sens original. Sous ce rapport une révision de la Convention de Berne ne suffirait pas, parce que dans plusieurs pays l'intervention de la justice laisse à désirer en efficacité. Ici, comme dans plusieurs autres cas, il est absolument nécessaire de créer un tribunal international, pour trancher les conflits entre les auteurs et les éditeurs de différents pays, ayant rapport aux droits d'auteur.[862]

Different types of problems raised with translations, some having to do with cuttings, which could be relatively easily hampered by legal means. But Kippenberg also complained about modifications in a work's meaning, an aspect that was hardly resolvable by referring to the Berne Convention and, more broadly, author's rights. Not only made he explicit his dissatisfaction with the Berne Convention, but with the way justice functioned in a number of countries, which made it necessary to create an international body that would mediate in cases of conflict between authors and publishers.

In 1929, the Sub-Committee did not adopt any conclusion on this regard, and instead requested that Madariaga presented a detailed report on the issue the following year. In the Sub-Committee's 7th session, held in the Summer of 1930, Madariaga further elaborated on the project to organize a translation conference. The form of the conference itself was debated, as well as its contents. In his proposal, said occasion would be aimed at examining the following questions: First, the current state of translation, from the perspective of cultural general interests, but also from the perspective of the relations between Western and Oriental cultures, from the perspective of the "intérêts objectifs des ouvrages traduits et du respect de l'œuvre, y compris le cas d'œuvres d'auteurs disparus," and the "intérêts matériels de l'auteur, des traducteurs et des éditeurs." By referring to the East, the tacitly referred to link between views on translation and the ways a country's position in the international order, i.e., as importer of exporter, crucially marked them, hence suggesting that their interests may not be the same. Second, the conference would be the suitable venue to discuss the possibility to create an international translation tribunal, "spécialement compétent au double point de vue juridique et littéraire, et notamment de la création de listes de traducteurs et experts qui donneraient leur avis au tribunal en cas de contestation au sujet de la qualité d'une traduction." Third, the congress would also be the occasion to prepare an international convention that made compulsory the appeal to the previously mentioned tribunal in case of disagreements regarding

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[862] Ibid.

translation contracts. In other words, the congress should be understood not as a one-time-event, but as the origin of a more stable body (just as the Publisher's Congress is at the origin of the International Publishers Association). Roughly, what he was proposing was that the conference acted as an international arbitration organization in the domain of translation, mention that was explicitly used under his pen.[863] By doing so, his proposal was close to that of creating an international translation office.

Said project was ultimately approved in the Sub-Committee's 7th session, held in July 1930, and transferred for approval to the ICIC, which gathered immediately after the Sub-Committee. In its 12th session, the ICIC considered that the question could be referred to the Executive Committee and the Directors' Board so that they could study the possibility of organizing said conference in 1931 or 1932, depending on the IIIC's economic possibilities. In that occasion, Luchaire did not appear as a great defender of that line of work. He argued that the Institute had already called a Conference of Experts on Translations, where "some of the best-known translators in Europe had taken part. That Conference had had interesting results, and a new Conference could not add a great deal to them."[864] In other words, he undermined the ambition of Kippenberg's proposal. The ICIC's coldness, as well as Luchaire moderating intervention, I propose, can be explained by referring to the risks in the project of the translation conference. The latter constituted a domain where an agreement was hardly achievable, and that required the participation of translators, an occupation that was only organized in some countries (in which, in addition, its organization was still in an embryonic state), as well as the cooperation of publishers, a professional sector in which the ICO's work was not necessarily popular, as shown in Section 8.1.1. Also, in historical terms, said project presented the risk of creating a body that could potentially challenge the authority of the Berne Union in the domain of copyright law by claiming their own jurisdiction over translation, something that, we have seen, was explicitly mentioned in Kippenberg's 1929 proposal. This constituted a risk for the ICO, which was still a recently created body seeking to avoid conflict or overlap with preexisting bodies. The bureaucracies of intellectual cooperation did not do any favor to this project, as said bodies' work was left on hold given that, in parallel, a study committee had been put in place to reorganize the

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[863] In the conclusions to his 1929 report, he recommended the "Constitution d'un tribunal international d'arbitrage, ayant à tâche le règlement des différents [sic] entre les ressortissants des divers pays, ayant rapport avec les droits d'auteur." UN Archive, 0000766243_D0007.
[864] Ibid.

IIIC. The deep changes that took place after said inquiry, and the critiques over the IIIC's finances and dispersed work, explain the formal reasons why this line of work was never further explored. The potential conflicts, this line of work could cause in both professional and institutional terms constitute the implicit causes why this line of work was abandoned on the ground of financial and technical arguments. Having presented the ICO's efforts to collaborate with organizations from the literary field, as well was several efforts to promote collaboration between them, I now move on to the ICO's efforts to promote a specific reflection upon translation.

8.2. Translation in *La Coopération Intellectuelle*. Disseminating the key points raised by the inquiry on translation

Conscious of the importance of external communication, throughout its existence, the IIIC published several volumes and booklets to disseminate its work among interested parties. In the present section, I shall focus on a bulletin named *La Coopération Intellectuelle*, and, more precisely, on its 4th issue, which devoted a good part of its content to translation. *La Coopération Intellectuelle* was a bulletin published monthly by the Institute. Even though its contents' structure could slightly change from one issue to another, in general it included several specialized articles, signed by external collaborators or by IIIC's officials, on the topics the IIIC was currently working on. The bulletin also included a section devoted to providing a chronicle of its last efforts in the different domains of activity, as well as sections where notes and communications, documents, a bibliography, and a calendar were included, hence reinforcing the bulletin's practical interest. Notes and communications constituted a space for third parties, generally NCIC or other cultural organizations, to disseminate their activities among an international community. Documents provided excerpts that could be of interest for people interested in the ICO's work. For example, lists of members of NCIC or of other cultural organizations, their statutes, the resolutions reached in a given congress, or the legislation on a specific topic. The bibliography referred works covering topics that were of interest for the ICO's work, and the calendar listed dates of conferences and similar events, awards, and so on.

The 4th issue of *La Coopération Intellectuelle* was published in April 1929, with two long sections devoted to translation.[865] The first one was entitled "Opinions sur la question des traductions," and assembled a series of statements and articles gathered during the IIIC's inquiry on translation (see Section 7.3). This includes some statements written for the occasion, but also some articles recently published elsewhere, on several questions related to translation. The second was entitled "Ce qu'on traduit" and comprised a bibliographic list of books published during 1928 last trimester in Germany, Spain, France, Italy, and Great Britain, i.e., the countries in which the IIIC's inquiry on translation focused. Drawing respectively on the information published in the periodicals *Wöchentliches Verzeichnis des deutschen Buchhandels*, *La Gaceta Literaria*, *Nouvelles littéraires*, *L'Italia che scrive*, and the *Times Literary Supplement*, it constituted an information enabling a comparison regarding literary taste in relation to foreign literatures in the mentioned countries. In this regard, it constituted a testing bench for what would become the Index Translationum, project I analyze in Chapter 9.

In what follows, I focus on the opinions on translation conveyed in the section "Opinions sur la question des traductions." More precisely, the latter gathered a total of 13 articles discussing translation, 9 of which were presented as original contributions and 4, instead, as summaries of articles previously published in other venues that retained the IIIC's interest. Among the authors of original contributions, Spanish literary critique and translator Enrique Díez-Canedo (1879-1944), who had been of the members of the expert committee organized in 1927; Peruvian writer, diplomat, and philosopher Francisco García-Calderón Rey (1883-1953), then Peruvian Minister to France; Polish literature historian and translator Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski (1882–1967), who was then delegate of the Polish Ministery of Public Instruction in France and taught Polish literature at Institut d'études slaves (Paris University); Hungarian writer and dramatist Melchier Lengyel (1880-1974), who had published several pacifist articles in German and French newspapers; Italian writer and translator Carlo Linati (1878-1949), who translated Robert Louis Stevenson into Italian in the 1920s, with some of his translations having been published by *La Voce,* then directed by Giuseppe Prezzolini; Swiss writer and translator Max Rychner (1897-1965), who had translated Paul Valéry into German; English writer and translator Arthur Waley (1889-1966), renowned for his translations of Japanese and

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[865] *La Coopération intellectuelle* (4), April 15, 1929. Paris: Société des Nations – Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle. UNESCO Archive, Series IICI Publications. Since individual articles are not titled, in what follows I indicate the origin of quotations by referring essentially to page numbers.

Chinse poetry; and German-speaking writer Stefan Zweig (1881-1942), known for his cosmopolitanism and internationalism. As can be grasped, among authors of original contributions, a number of agents close to the diplomatic sphere, who illustrated one of the domains in which the ICO found suitable collaborators, as well as several collaborators who has personal affinities with some relevant figures in the ICO. Instead, summarized articles drew on works by American editor Clifton P. Fadiman, (1904-1999), then working for the New York publishing house Simon & Schuster;[866] French writer André Gide (1869-1947), already renowned in the period;[867] Czech publisher Otakar Štorch-Marien (1897-1974),[868] then director of the publishing house Aventium; and a summary of studies on translation authored, a few years earlier, by Russian writer and translator Korney Chukovsky (1882-1969) and Russian poet Nikolai Gumilev (1886-1921).[869] Even though the latter did not constitute original contributions, their inclusion in that issue reshapes their scope, with their contents resonating with other texts in the publication. As can be grasped in the previous enumeration, voice was given to different geographic areas. Despite a clear dominance of European (or, more broadly, Western) cultures, the presence of both central and peripheral cultures will be of special interest to see whether their perceptions on the challenges posed by translation were similar. It should be noted in this regard that this group of articles constitutes one of the first instances for an international reflection on translation. Reflections on translation were nothing new. Weinmann described the emergence of a vast meta-discursive field spanning different types of authors (translators, literary critiques, teachers, etc.) on translation during the 19th century, but he also mentioned their national character, that is, the lack of reference to translation theories published in the same period in neighboring countries.[870] In this regard it can be stated that a specific reflection upon translation was incipient, but also its internationalization. Also, from a professional standpoint, representatives of the autonomous pole of the literary field (writers, literary critics, translators, scholars) shared space with publishers, who represented the commercial logic and, hence, the heteronomous pole. From a gender perspective, the absence of female

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[866] According to information provided by the editors of *La Cooperation Intellectuelle*'s 4th issue, the summary build on an article Fadiman published on December 5, 1928, in *The Nation*.

[867] The source in this case was a letter published in *La Nouvelle Revue Française* on September 1, 1928.

[868] An article published in the literary periodical *Rozpravy Aventina*. No date was furnished.

[869] The title of the original work was not mentioned in the IIIC's journal, but it refers to: Korney Chukovsky and Nikolay Gumilev, *Printsipy khudozhestvennogo perevoda* (*Principles of Artistic Translation*). (1919).

[870] Frédéric Weinmann, "Théories," in *Histoire des traductions en langue française* (Lagrasse: Verdier, 2012), 53–54.

voices should be stressed, especially if considered that several articles mention that translation was often practiced by women. Finally, from the perspective of symbolic capital, the issue included contributions by some renowned intellectuals, for example André Gide and Stefan Zweig, which can be seen as a way to legitimize the publication itself and the ICO in extension by associating to its work an internationally renowned name. In other cases, the inclusion of contributions by authors who were not generally known outside of their countries constitutes a recognition of the advances, in a given country, in the domain of translation. This is clearly the case of Chukosvky's and Gumilev's work, which constitutes the example presenting a more refined technical character. In other cases, the determining factor is the geographic area being represented. This was probably Francisco García-Calderón Rey's contribution, which is quite short and presents a very general character that distinguishes it from the extension or technical character of other pieces.

As mentioned earlier, said contributions had different origins, i.e., some had been written for the occasion, and some were summaries of broader articles or texts. This, coupled with contributors' different profiles, results in a series of contributions covering dispersed topics (regarding both extratextual and textual considerations) and presenting different extensions, hence also sometimes presenting an unequal interest. In what follows, I delve into an analytical comment on said articles' content by establishing links between them. To do so, I identified a series of topics appearing in different contributions and establish a dialogue between them. In this regard, my goal is less to examine the truth or accuracy in their analyses, but to reconstruct the debates emerging at the confluence of their different views. The present section is structured in several subsections, each dealing with an analytic aspect mentioned the analyzed contributions. In Subsection 8.1.1, I recover some general considerations on the weight of translations in each country's literary field, and zoom in on the ways that publication echoed contemporary debates establishing a link between translations' offer and the autochthonous production. Then, in Subsection 8.1.2, I examine the question of text selection for translation. Some of the questions the different contributors addressed included: what works should circulate in translation? Who should decide what works were translated? In the following subsection (8.1.3), I gather several considerations regarding translators and the conditions of exercise of translation. Questions answered in this framework include: Who were they? Who should they be? What skills should they possess? What work conditions did they have,

and should they have? Said questions bring me to analyze aspects such as remuneration, that reflect changes toward a growing professionalization. In Subsection 8.1.4, I summarize considerations on translation principles and method, thus illustrating the efforts toward theorization. Finally, I close Section 8.1.5 with the solutions contributors sketched to the challenges translation faced in that period.

8.2.1. Overview of the situation of translation across countries

One of the first elements that emerges when crisscrossing the contents of the different articles is a shared assessment of an increase in the number of translations published in the different countries. While in some contributions authors attest to a secular interest in translation in a given tradition,[871] most of them explicitly mention a recent increase whose origin they situate at the aftermath of the Great War. To illustrate this with examples covering different geographies, reference can be made to Elisseef's contribution on the situation in Japan. The Russian Japanologist quantified said increase by drawing on data published by the influential Japanese newspaper *Jiji shimpō*, according to which, against the 60 translations published in Japan in 1915, 1921 had witnessed the publication of 274 translations, and of 245 translations in 1922. Unfortunately, he did not provide information regarding source languages. A second example is found in Rychner's contribution, where, speaking in general terms, he stated that "le mouvement des échanges littéraires atteint un degré de vitalité inconnu jusqu'ici"[872] to then add that, in Germany, enormous numbers of translations were published, with the main novelties coming from French, English, and American literature being available in German. In Rychner's view, the reader manifested an "appétit des littératures étrangères,"[873] demand that should be given satisfaction, he argued, by putting the least possible obstacles to translators' activities. A third example is found in Fadiman's contribution, which looked into the United States. Fadiman, referred to a "deluge étranger,"[874] and described the current situation in the following terms:

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[871] For exemple, Elisseff "Le monde littéraire et intellectuel japonais a toujours témoigné un grand intérêt pour les publications étrangères. Dès le début de leurs relations avec l'Occident, les Japonais ont fait traduire dans leur langue un nombre appréciable d'ouvrage des pays européens." In *La Coopération intellectuelle* (4).
[872] Ibid., 219.
[873] Ibid., 219.
[874] Ibid., 209.

> Il n'y a pas si longtemps encore (…) que l'éditeur américain authentique gardait une prudente réserve à l'endroit des traductions d'œuvres littéraires européennes. Mais aujourd'hui, les choses ont bien changé et la période que nous traversons est caractérisée par un véritable flot de littératures étrangères de toutes les langues, même du finlandais et de l'albanais.[875]

The last excerpt contrasts with the previous quotations, which present the translations boom in a positive or neutral tone. Instead, Fadiman refers to the past in terms with positive connotations ("éditeur américain authentique," "prudente reserve"), while the recent boom is rather presented in rather negative terms ("un veritable flot").

While the description of the overall contemporary situation of translation was shared, certain differences can be found in the views expressed by contributors. If we compare the source country of translations in Rychner's statement with that in Fadiman's, one can easily grasp that the increase of translation flows did not equally affect all languages and directions. The volume of translations varied depending on whether one looked into "l'importation et l'exportation, l'assimilation et le rayonnement,"[876] to use Zaleski's happy formulation. That is, the increase did not equally affect intranslations and extranslations, but was tied to the position of each country in the literary or intellectual field. That is a distinction made mainly by agents from countries occupying a peripheral position in the intellectual or literary field. The distinction between import and export enabled some authors to present their countries as importing lots of translations and to complain, at the same time, about the little interest their literatures awakened abroad. High numbers of imported translations inserted a given country in the domain of cosmopolitanism, and, under several author's pens, they were used to compare themselves to other countries that they outreached in terms of cosmopolitanism, openness, and interest for the other. For example, García Calderón boasted that "on traduit plus en espagnol que dans les autres langues européennes, même en comprenant l'Allemagne. L'Amérique est donc en communication spirituelle avec l'Europe à travers l'Espagne."[877] In the previous quotation, to reassert the position of Latin American countries in the international intellectual field, he used the "on," to refer to a collective subject sharing the same language to delineate the existence of a more or less unified intellectual community speaking Spanish that was especially active in terms of translations. In the Polish case, Zaleski described Poland as a country possessing a secular

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[875] Ibid., 209.
[876] Ibid., 209.
[877] *La Coopération intellectuelle* (4), 212.

tradition of translation and where translation was a valued activity. In his own terms, "l'art de traduire a toujours été considéré en Pologne comme le fruit délicat du raffinement littéraire ou, tout au moins, comme un exercice de virtuose,"[878] statement that preceeds an enumeration of relevant translations, published in Poland, of European literary masterpieces. His reference to the fact that translated had *always* been valued in Poland seeks to convey the idea that the country's natural tendency was toward cosmopolitanism, while also characterizing Polish literature as a rich one given his littérisation via translation.[879]

Instead, when discussing extranslation, most representatives of peripheral cultures complaint that their literatures were rarely translated. García-Caledrón noted that "bien peu de livres pouvant être considérés comme représentatifs de l'esprit péruvien ont été traduits à l'étranger. Je crois que le fait est d'ordre général et peut être rapporté également aux œuvres qui paraissent sur l'étendue du continent américain."[880] Zaleski observed that, in the international literary field, "la littérature polonaise n'y occupe pas encore la place qui lui est due." [881] Something related happened in Hungary, with Lengyel complaining that Hungarian works circulated, but in the form of bad translations. I argue that perceived invisibility is one of the features that peripheral collectivities share. Peripherality is here manifested through a sense of disconnectedness or isolation stemming from the alleged lack of knowledge of one's own culture or, worse, a misguided knowledge of it. Some of the contributions try to question their countries' peripheral position in the international literary space. To prove that Poland was not completely absent from the movement of exportation, Zaleski elaborated on some geographies that have been historically significant, to use the concept coined by Laachir, Marzagora, and Orsini,[882] for the exportation of Polish literatures. He also elaborated on the role of Polish literature for the development of European Romantism, thus implicitly combatting the idea that a lack of translations in the main European languages could be equated with a lack of contributions to a global literary history. He also delved into the causes behind the lack of extranslation,

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[878] Ibid., 230.
[879] I am here building on Pascale Casanova, who characterized translation as a "way [for peripheral literatures] of gathering literary resources, of acquiring universal texts and thereby enriching an underfunded literature -in short, a way of diverting literary assets." Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, 134.
[880] *La Coopération intellectuelle* (4), 212.
[881] Ibid., 230.
[882] Karima Laachir, Sara Marzagora, Francesca Orsini, "Significant geographies: In lieu of world literature," *Journal of World Literature* 3 no. 3 (2018): 290–310.

among which he referred to the lack of State support, as well as to the insufficient capacities of translators. The latter is an aspect that resurfaces several times under the pen of contributors addressing peripheral literatures, and that I shall further discuss.

Another domain where contributions differed was in the analysis of the causes behind the translations boom and its consequences. When trying to identify the causes, several writers refer to the specific idiosyncrasy of their country. Fadiman's intervention is probably the one dedicating more attention to the causes of the translation boom, thus focusing on its causes in the US. Among the latter, he referred to some cases of individual success which had had the effect of assuaging publisher's fears and getting the public accustomed and appreciative of translations. Another cause he identified had to with the functioning of American trade and, more precisely, of its literary marketplace. In this regard he described a process of concentration of publishing houses in some groups, next to the existence of small publishing houses, some of which were especially interested on translation. The latter, in his view, found facilities in publishing translations because foreign authors, who were eager to being translated, authorized their translations to a rate that was inferior of autochthonous authors' rights. Finally, he also linked the boom in translations with available offer in the US literary marketplace, arguing in this regard that most American publishers compensated the lack of an autochthonous literary production presenting literary or commercial interest with translations. Opposed to Fadiman's view, according to which the boom of translations was a consequence of publishers' strategies and choices, was Rychner's, who expressed with certitude readers' interest in translations in Germany and saw their increase as a reply to said preexisting demand. In other words, Rychner and Fadiman introduced two complementary, although not necessarily contradictory, opinions. For one, the boom was attributable to publishers, which is to be linked to offer. For the other, it was attributable to readers, and therefore, to demand. In one case, readers' interest in translations constitutes the boom's original cause, and in the other it becomes the consequence of an increased offer of translations in the literary marketplace. In one case or the other, it is relevant to note that, even though some contributors identified causes for the number of translations responding to national processes or dynamics, there are no reflections delving into the reasons behind an *international* boom of translations. This suggests a view of the international as a juxtaposition of national cases, without however a proper reflection on what the meaning was of coincidences between them.

This leads us to the second aspect in which contributors disagreed, i.e., the positive or negative assessment of the translation boom. Whether the latter was considered positive, or negative is a question generally linked to the way contributors considered translations affected the autochthonous literary (or, more broadly, cultural) field. At least two types of wrongdoings seem to have awaken reluctance. One had to do with the ways translations could alter *le genie* of the target language, i.e., its specific structures in terms of syntax and vocabulary. This is a topic I shall discuss later on given its link to translators' skills and translation methods. For the moment, I shall just illustrate the issue by referring to Zaleski's allusion to the need to keep a close eye on language purity in translations. The second potential prejudice for the target system had to do with autochthonous authors' interests. Several articles echoed autochthonous writers' dissatisfaction in seeing their works in concurrence with translations in the literary marketplace. Translation, in this regard, appeared threatening given that it introduced a concurrence element in a market which, until that moment, had had a more eminently national functioning.

Three main positions can be identified among volume contributors in relation to writers' reluctance. First, contributors that alluded to this polemics to prove authors' fears wrong, hence fully supporting the benefits translation brought to the target culture. This was, for example, Rychner's point of view, who stated that "les plaintes des écrivains autochtones [allemands] qui s'estiment lésés par la littérature de traduction me paraissent peu fondées."[883] In his view, concurrence had a positive effect on the quality of the autochthonous literary production. "il est bon que des écrivains soient amenés à se mesurer avec les écrivains des autres pays ; ils se soient ainsi forcés d'être plus exigeants envers eux-mêmes, s'ils veulent atteindre le niveau international."[884] The controversy surrounding author's discontent was also echoed in Storch-Marien's contribution. He started out his article by denying the accusation that Czech publishers privileged the publication of translations over autochthonous writers for financial reasons. His argumentation adds an additional element to Rychner's point, in the sense that he did not actually deny that some publishers preferred translations but focused on the reasons behind said preference. His main concern was to characterize it as an eminently intellectual decision. He declared himself "persuadé (…) qu'aucun éditeur

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[883] *La Coopération intellectuelle* (4), 219.
[884] Ibid.

tchécoslovaque n'a tiré profit de ces traductions."[885] Admitting the possibility that there might be an overproduction of translations, he nevertheless stressed that publishers were guided by intellectual motivations, rather than by economic reasons. In this regard he alluded to their "désir de contribuer au mouvement culturel du pays" and to their "désir d'apporter dans leur pays les lumières de l'Occident."[886] Thus, he tried to legitimize publishers' motivations, rather than the choice to publish translations per se. Also, he tried to undermine the effects of said overproduction by arguing that imported literature was addressed to an elite, rather than being commercial or popular literature, which was considered the market segment that could have more impact on Czech writers' interests. He additionally supported his claims by offering data on publishers' benefits. The fact that most publishers had lost money with translations, he argued, proved their disinterested motivations. And finally, joining Rychner's opinion, he argued that translations stimulated national talent:

> les jeunes auteurs de chez nous (…) n'ont-ils pas intérêt à connaître les écrivains de même génération dans les autres pays ? La bienveillance accordée par les éditeurs tchécoslovaques aux jeunes écrivains étrangers de talent a donc contribué à susciter en Tchécoslovaquie une saine émulation.[887]

Either by associating translation to the pole of restricted production or to young (i.e., not yet consecrated) authors, Storch-Marien's arguments constitute efforts to minimize the impact of translations in the target literary marketplace and to assuage Czech writers' complaints.

The opposite position, instead, is necessarily that according to which translations had (or could have) a negative effect on the target literary field. This idea is not directly upheld by most contributors to the IIIC's publication, but it is echoed by most of them. Indeed, the opposition between cosmopolitanism and protectionism was one of the main debates during the 19th century and until the interwar period,[888] and in that context allusions to an invasion of translations were not rare. As we have seen, Rychner mentioned the translations boom as being a relevant concern for German writers, as well as Storch-Marien in the case of Czech writers. Zweig also mentioned that "aussi bien en

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[885] Ibid., 221.
[886] Ibid.
[887] Ibid.
[888] Blaise Wilfert-Portal, "La fin de siècle : invasion cosmopolite ou fermeture obsidionale ?" in *Histoire des traductions en langue française. XIXe siècle* (Lagrasse: Verdier, 2012), 302-13 Blaise Wilfert-Portal, "Une nouvelle géopolitique intellectuelle. Entre nationalisme et cosmopolitisme," in *La vie intellectuelle en France. 1. Des lendemains de la Révolution à 1914* (Paris, Le Seuil, 2016), 559–91; di Méo, *Le cosmopolitisme,* 172–79.

Allemagne qu'en France, les auteurs se plaignent d'une certaine invasion."[889] The word "invasion," and semantically related concepts having to do with the idea of saturation, appeared also in Fadiman's contribution ("flot de littératures étrangères," "invasion" "deluge étranger" "encombrer un marché déjà embouteillé"). Fadiman's contribution is the one that more clearly adopts a doubtful view on translation, although he does not explicitly mention American writers. His article constitutes a very ironical piece that needs to be carefully examined. As has been previously described, Fadiman's piece lists a number of causes explaining the *invasion* of translations in the US: cases of individual success, the functioning of US trade and its literary marketplace, the lack of works penned by US writers possessing literary or commercial value, the idea that it was cheaper to publish a translation than an original, and the desire of some publishers to publish each year more than the previous onet with the corresponding need of new books. Fadiman was very critic on some of the works being imported in the US, whose literary marketplace he considered "embouteillé" in part also by translations.

> On traduit un grand nombre de livres qui ne le méritent pas du tout. (…) Le lecteur américain n'y trouve qu'un bien maigre enseignement. Leur influence est trop limité pour modifier en quoi que ce soit notre provincialisme littéraire. Même dans ces cas où ces œuvres atteignent un public nombreux, il n'est pas encore dit qu'elles répandent la lumière de cosmopolitisme. Le lecteur américain (…) accepte sans broncher des auteurs que l'européen cultivé daigne à peine remarquer. *Autrefois, les personnes quelque peu lettrées s'entretenaient rarement de littérature continentale, parce qu'elles n'en connaissaient rien. Mais tout au moins leur ignorance les empêchait-elle de tomber dans des erreurs de perspecti*ve. Aujourd'hui nous jonglons avec une douzaine de noms étrangers comme s'ils représentaient la tête du mouvement artistique européen, *alors qu'en réalité il s'agit souvent d'auteurs que l'Europe a rejetés* ou qui ont déployé à dessein certains artifices destinés à plaire aux Américains.[890]

In the previous paragraph, the reference to "la lumière du cosmopolitisme," deserves some comment. It is an idea that appeared also under Rychner's pen, and that makes explicit the way translation related to comospolitanism. I have alluded to it when countries used high intranslation rates to identify themselves as cosmopolitans. In both cases, cosmopolitanism designates "the relationship between the local and the universal or between the domestic and the foreign, referring to an openness to other cultures, thus it serves as a positive 'axiological operator.'"[891] If cosmopolitanism functioned,

[889] *La Coopération intellectuelle* (4), 234.
[890] Ibid., 210. My emphasis.
[891] Gisèle Sapiro, "The Transnational Literary Field between n(Inter)-nationalism and Cosmopolitanism," *Journal of World Literature* 5, no. 4 (2020): 483.

essentially in Europe, as a positive axiological operator, under Fadiman's ironic pen, it can be argued that he used said expression to ironically refer to the link between translation import and European cultural imperialism, something further suggested by his use of the expression "la lumière du cosmopolitisme." Fadiman also tackled two additional issues. On the one hand, he complained that next to the good quality books that had also been imported in the past, a lot of secondary literature was then being imported in the US. In his reasoning, there is a critique of the increased presence of low-brow literature in the literary marketplace, be they translations, or not. Excerpts in italics in the previous quotation go precisely in that direction, with their mention to a past when only the intellectual elite handled European literature. From this standpoint, his critique of translations is to be inscribed in a broader elitist view upon book offer. On the other hand, he questioned the fact that said works were appreciated merely given their European origin, a point that can be interpreted from a more political perspective. By questioning an almost automatic admiration for European works, also bad ones, Fadiman was also targeting US dominated position in the intellectual field. Articulating both issues is the ambiguous position of the US in two different forms of power: in the economic field, the US constituted a raising power, with its market awakening the interest of European agents, including writers in the case of its literary marketplace. On the contrary, in the cultural or the literary field, the US constituted still a dominated agent given its young age and lack of masterpieces within the Western tradition, some of the main elements yielding symbolic capital according to Casanova.[892] One thing was gradually modifying the other, however. The last sentence in the previous quotation is especially relevant in this regard, for it touches upon the ways the discovery of a new market in the US on the side of European writers was not only introducing changes in the available offer in the US, but also in the European production.

> Tout cela crée la situation la plus intéressante et la plus déplorable qui se puisse imaginer. Des écrivains européens, animés par le succès de Ludwig et de Maurois, enflammés par l'appât d'énormes droits d'auteur et éblouis par une surabondance de généreux 'book-clubs', commencent à écrire pour le marché américain. Pourquoi pas ? Puis, ces Américains un peu écervelés semblent satisfaits qu'on les instruise, - à 500 dollars la conférence.[893]

The use of the adjectives "interesting" and "deplorable" conveys, in the previous excerpt, all the irony of the piece. Fadiman, having criticized US agents for their provincialism

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[892] Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, passim.
[893] *La Coopération intellectuelle* (4), 210–11.

and acceptance of their symbolic domination, also pointed the finger at Europeans for bastardizing their own literary production, if I might say so, by following commercial criteria. All in all, the translation boom was negative for both sides in his view because it ultimately derived from the greediness of European writers, and from the dominated attitude of the US public. The cherry on the cake arrived with his conclusions, where he anticipated the Americanization of European literary production, a topic that is of extreme actuality even for the analysis of our 21st century World Republic of Letters.

> Aussi se pourrait-il bien qu'on assistât pendant les dix ou quinze années prochaines à une américanisation partielle de la production littéraire continentale, correspondant, en moins vaste, à la carrière triomphale de nos méthodes industrielles. Les revues américaines sont déjà devenues le refuge des auteurs de nouvelle anglais ; elles pourraient bien, en même temps que les maisons d'édition américaines, devenir bientôt l'unique idéal et le but unique d'un grand nombre d'écrivains continentaux. *Quand ce beau résultat sera atteint, la dernière conquête américaine aura été accomplie, et nous aurons instauré une agréable féodalité littéraire où nous serons nous-mêmes les seigneurs du manoir, tandis que nos confrères européens joueront, parce que bien payés, le rôle de serfs volontaires.*[894]

In his caustic conclusion, Fadiman displayed a self-ironic attitude on the fact that the US were to occupy a dominant position for economic reasons that he disdained. But, at the same time, he was very critic and ironic toward the European agents, whose decisions would end up having the effect of putting themselves in a dominated position given their (voluntary) capitulation before the economic logic. Heaping scorn upon the two sides involved in the translations boom, he aimed at discouraging the overproduction of translations, especially in the domain of commercial literature.

Despite their different views, the invasion was referred to by agents from Germany, Czechosvlovaquia, France, and the United States, which suggests that, despite national specificities, similar debates and views developed in different geographies that were experiencing a translation boom, which requires us to deal with the issue from a global perspective. The convergence between countries from different origins in shared problems reflects the growing consolidation of an international literary field which was undergoing similar changes that however were acquiring specific declinations in each national field.

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[894] Ibid.

To conclude the present section, an additional perspective is found among contributions regarding the consequences of the link between translations and autochthonous writers. Rather than positioning themselves, some agents delved into the ways the issue affected institutional intervention in the field of translation. I am referring to Stefan Zweig and Zaleski. As we have seen, the Austrian writer lent his voice to those advancing a negative view upon the translations boom, but he did so to problematize the ways the latter's state of opinion should be taken into account by institutions promoting translation and internationalism. In Zweig's view, the existence of a negative view on translations could potentially hinder the diffusion of international ideas.

> ce développement [de l'intérêt international] est si constant, qu'il est à peine utile de chercher à l'amplifier. J'irais même jusqu'à recommander une certaine prudence dans ce domaine, (…) si de telles plaintes devaient se multiplier encore, elles finiraient par porter au sentiment international un préjudice qui ne serait pas compensé par les heureux effets de la diffusion des livres étrangers.[895]

In order to avoid counterproductive outcomes when promoting translation, he considered it necessary to attack the root of the problem, i.e., translations' pricing.

> Il ne s'agit pas ici, à mon avis, de traduire davantage ou de traduire moins d'ouvrages. Il faut éviter surtout que des livres étrangers, dont les auteurs sont des écrivains de premier plan, coûtent moins chers à l'éditeur ou au quotidien que les œuvres autochtones. Un quotidien allemand qui verse à un auteur du pays 20.000 marks pour un roman, peut, dans l'état actuel des choses, obtenir pour 5000 marks le texte traduit d'un auteur français de premier ordre. Aussi est-il porté à faire passer celui-ci avant celui-là, d'où une certaine aigreur parmi les écrivains du pays, irrités d'une manière de surenchère. (…) Il faudrait, par conséquent, chercher une voie d'entente internationale pour arriver à ce que les écrivains exigent à l'étranger les mêmes conditions que dans leur pays et ne cèdent pas leurs droits à des prix trop modiques en vue de satisfaire un sentiment de vanité. (…) Avant tout il faudrait parer aux dangers du 'dumping'[896]

Both Zweig and Zaleski refer, in their contributions, to translations' dumping as the main danger, i.e., a form of unfair competition consisting in charging a lower price for a translation than for the publication of an autochthonous work, with the ensuing injuring effects on the target literary marketplace and, especially, on the autochthonous production. Zaleski joined the Austrian in this regard by arguing that institutional intervention should not contribute to translations dumping, and instead, promote only the translation of a type of literary production.

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[895] Ibid., 234.
[896] Ibid., 234–35.

> Rien ne me paraît plus fâcheux que de pousser, à force de recommandations et d'interventions diverses, au *dumping* de petits romans à succès facile et de valeur discutable (…). Par contre, la traduction d'ouvrages de petit rendement en librairie, mais dont la valeur intrinsèque est fortement établie dans leur pays d'origine, est digne d'un encouragement moral et d'une aide matérielle raisonnable. Cet 'interventionnisme' discret –si délicat que soit son fonctionnement- me paraît recommandable du point de vue des intérêts les plus élevés des échanges littéraires et de la coopération intellectuelle des nations[897].

As can be grasped, the question of promoting translation in general, referring to the activity, soon became the question of promoting certain translations, that is, the circulation of specific works over others. Translation referring both to the activity or technical procedure, as well as to the material result, the question arises whether translation was the end pursued, or the means through which a specific literary production could increase its international circulation. In other words, it is not the same to promote translation per se as an activity, than promoting the translation of certain works. And this distinction is especially relevant in cases of organizations offering institutional support to translation. Can the promotion of the activity be separated from the promotion of specific objects, or are they inextricably bound together? One of the goals in following chapters will be to examine whether the ICO managed to promote translation and its institutionalization, or instead if its policy introduced a controlling element upon the works that circulated. To look deeper into the matter, let us now look more carefully at the question of selection of works to be translated in the contributions included in the 4th issue of *La Coopération Intellectuelle*.

8.2.2. The question of text selection: from translation as an activity to translations as books

In the previous section, I have shown that contributions presented similarities in their assessment of a translations boom, although with differences depending on whether intranslation or extranslation was being discussed. The promotion of translation in general, i.e., as a more or less professional activity, it has been described, was intimately tied to the works being promoted, thus making it necessary to tackle the question of text selection. Can the promotion of translation be separated from the dissemination of images, ideas, and values contained in the works being translated (and funded)? While

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[897] Ibid., 233.

this question is pertinent when discussing programs supporting translation irrespective of the agency animating it (governments, international organizations, NGOs, professional associations, private bodies), in the present case, the question arises whether the distinction between these two dimensions is to be linked with the coexistence, within the ICO, of an institutional logic promoting internationalism, on the one hand, and national(istic) dynamics, on the other. As we have seen, the ICO was the vehicle of different interests, some of which pursued the dissemination of an international consciousness, while others saw it as a tool to national strategies of cultural diplomacy and as a means yielding soft power. Sometimes, both options were complementary. The question is to examine how this ambiguity was refracted in literary terms. For some, literature was a key aspect of intellectual cooperation given its potential to represent the main values of a specific culture. In this understanding, literature is valuable as a means for an educational, social, or political project. For others, literature was seen as an artistic form possessing an intrinsic or inherent value, and literary circulation was to be promoted in the general interest of humanity, not of specific collectivities. In order words, literature and, more precisely, translated literature presented the ambiguity of potentially being a useful tool to disseminate soft power strategies, as well as to promote an internationalist ideal. Often, agents' views on the positive or negative character of translated was determined by their position in the previous question.

A few numbers of the contributors to the publication under study were appreciative of the works being translated in their countries. This was García-Calderón's case, who described an improvement in Latin America since the beginning of the century, although he did not provide details describing said change.

> Jusqu'en 1900, les désignations se faisaient d'une manière tant soit peu fantaisiste. A côté d'auteurs notoires et excellents, on publiait en espagnol des écrivains presque inconnus en Europe et qui, grâce au privilège qu'ils avaient obtenu d'être traduits en castillan, circulaient à profusion. Au cours des vingt dernières années, la sélection a été mieux entendue.[898]

Rychner was the second agent advancing a positive, or moderate, opinion on works being imported in Germany. He declared himself satisfied, although with some nuances. He declared that "les œuvres de la littérature française et anglaise modernes traduites en allemand sont bien choisies,"[899] although he also stated that "Il n'y aurait pas

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[898] Ibid., 211.
[899] Ibid., 219.

d'inconvénient cependant à se montrer plus sévère dans leur sélection."[900] In both cases, the use of impersonal, nominal or passive forms ("les designations se faisaient," "on publiait," "la sélection a été"…) enables the concealment of the agents operating said selection, be that because the choice could be made by different agents, or because the writer did not want to point fingers.

The dominant opinion, nevertheless, was the opposite. Two types of bad work are listed whose circulation should be discouraged: bad works, and bad translations. For the moment, I shall leave aside the second question, which will be discussed in the next subsection given its link to translators' skills. Instead, I look here into the issue of bad works circulation. One of the topics on which most contributors agreed was the idea that works being imported in translation in their respective countries were not the right ones, hence disapproving at least a part of works being circulated in translation. For example, Díez-Canedo considered that "La plupart des livres qui doivent être traduits – spécialement les français- le sont, mais en même temps que beaucoup d'autres livres dont la traduction apparaît comme tout à fait superflue."[901] Quotations used in the previous subsection by Zweig and Zaleski, but also by Fadiman, do not differ that much from this perspective. They agreed upon the idea that what should be promoted was not translation per se, but the translation of valuable, representative (i.e., high-brow) literature. Most contributors shared this assessment, animated by an implicit link between literary value and translation, which makes it necessary to introduce a class perspective as a shared feature of most of the agents here discussed. For most contributors, translation was seen as a form of consecration, and it was the logical consequence in the case of a work presenting a special interest. Valuable literary works should expand their circulation beyond national borders to illuminate the largest possible audience. Instead, the translation of works deprived of literary value was seen as undesirable given that it extended the readership of valueless literary works. If the latter type of work circulated, it was because translation was also (*is* also) a commercial operation, yielding potential benefits to involved agents, including publishers, translators, and authors, in terms of symbolic and economic capital. But since translation is intrinsically a form of consecration, the translation of commercial literature was seen as something to eradicate. For most contributors, commercial or popular literature was not deemed worth to being

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[900] Ibid., 220.
[901] Ibid., 206–07.

promoted. Institutional support, therefore, should avoid promoting this kind of literary production, if not actively discourage its circulation. Their translation for commercial reasons was considered impure and it was the object of strong criticism.

In relation to most topics discussed (translations boom, working conditions, method), substantial differences can be found when comparing different contributors' views. Similarities in terms of opinion can be encountered based on professional criteria (publishers in different countries thinking alike, authors also), as well as similarities depending on the position of certain countries in the specific literary or cultural power balance (center vs. peripheries). In the question of text selection, the common denominator is instead found in the social class, with the international intellectual elite that met at the ICO sharing values regarding literature and the works that ought to be promoted for translation. In a nutshell, in relation to the question of what works should circulate, class united their views. Selection of individual books could not coincide, but the type of literature was the object of a consensus. This is relevant because it sheds light on the variable geometries through which the history of intellectual cooperation can be analyzed, and especially, the need to combine said perspectives. Proving the fact that text selection was an issue assembling most contributors is also the fact that this is one of the rare issues on which contributors have the same reasoning for intranslation than for extranslation. The translations boom took different shapes when discussing intranslation and extranslation, and I shall discuss in the next subsection how quality issues in translation were not equally denounced in the case of intranslation or extranslation. Instead, the problem of selecting commercial literature to be translated and the latter floating literary markets is denounced in both source and target literary markets. The best example is provided by Linati who, referring to intranslation, declared that

> Les livres (…), ne sont pas toujours bien choisis. Le plus souvent, les traducteurs ou les éditeurs (…) se basent (…) sur le succès populaire que les œuvres en cause ont eu à l'étranger ou sur les probabilités de succès qu'elles pourraient avoir chez nous : la beauté littéraire est un critère bien rarement invoqué.

The same reasoning applied when discussing the choice of works for extranslation.

> le véritable esprit de notre littérature et de notre culture ne figure pas en son intégrité et son originalité dans les œuvres italiennes traduites à l'étranger. Il semble qu'on s'inspire, dans le choix de ces livres, d'une idée d'opportunité, de popularité ou de curiosité, et c'est avec une certaine stupeur que nous voyons traduits en français, et parfois discutés par la critique, des auteurs qui ne sont pas

très appréciés chez nous. Mais cela tient, à mon avis, surtout à l'absence de juges qualifiés qui pourraient indiquer aux éditeurs les meilleures œuvres à traduire[902].

Having covered the existence of a fairly general consensus on the works that ought to be translated (or promoted for translation), it is also necessary to look into the agents operating said selection. For, arguing that the choice needed to be improved, potentially implied pointing the finger at agents making those choices. Linati explicitly referred to translators and publishers as being responsible of wrong choices. The direct attribution of commercial motivations to these agents, coupled with the sentence "la beauté littéraire est un critère bien rarement invoqué," speaks of intellectuals as a minority, as the last bastion of autonomous motivations in a literary field where publishers and translators were guided by material motivations. However, Linati's statement constitutes an exception in an ensemble of texts where dominate elusive forms to refer to the agency behind text selection. Publishing houses are mentioned in parts of the text where available offer is described, thus attesting to publishers' role in deciding what works were imported. Curiously, when explicitly expressing discomfort with selected texts, grammar forms and sentence constructions that avoid the expression of agency (passive forms, nominalizations, and impersonal forms) are preferred. With Linati's exception, text selection disapproval never becomes direct accusation toward concrete agents. Another solution is that adopted by Díez-Canedo, who referred to the lack of literary directors in most publishing houses as one explaining factor. According to this reasoning, the blame goes not toward the publisher directly, but to the structure or internal organization of the publishing house. The avoidance mechanisms illustrate in this regard the difficult articulation between the spirit of international and inter-professional cooperation animating the ICO's work, and the cultural values defended by the intellectual elite. Publishers' work is slightly more openly discussed by English-speaking contributors, whereas European ones appear more enigmatic when discussing who and how text selection operated. Fadiman, for example, referred, to scouts and literary agents ("toute maison d'édition a ses agents permanents ou occasionnels en Europe des lecteurs spéciaux (…) chargés de rendre compte les livres étrangers pour les éditeurs"), as well as to the role of prizes in influencing text selection ("à peine un romancier a-t-il remporté l'un des innombrables prix, qui sont une des institutions françaises les plus intéressantes,

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[902] Ibid., 218.

que son livre est l'objet d'un contrat en Amérique."[903]). Waley, instead, referred to the role of the press.

> Par une tendance naturelle on est porté à choisir, pour les traduire, les seuls auteurs étrangers dont les noms sont déjà familiers dans les pays où doit paraître la traduction, soit, en d'autres termes, les écrivains mentionnés dans la critique des quotidiens.

Before concluding the comment on agents responsible for text selection, it should be noted that translators do not generally appear explicitly mentioned as being responsible of said choice, with Linati's exception. Some sort of role is implicitly attributed, especially in those cases where translations were not guided by commercial interest. Two temporalities emerge from discussed contributions regarding the practice of translation. On the one hand, a past where a translation project could take a lifetime and was guided by the translators' interest in disseminating that work. Since translation was quantitatively less important and its practitioners were recognized figures, no problem. On the other, a present where translation was inscribed in a more professionalized literary marketplace, in which case other agents had gained ascendancy over text selection. In said context, translators could occasionally have an advisory role. From this standpoint, the study of debates surrounding text selection illustrates the way the new necessities aroused for publishers with the professionalization of cross-border literary relations. On the one hand, text selection specialized in new professional figures, an on the other, in order to secure publishers' professional jurisdiction, translators were displaced from text selection, leaving them some ambiguous agency in this regard. The rivalry between publishers and translators in the institutionalization of cross-border literary relations can also be noted in the efforts publishers made during the same period so that author's rights were sold only to editors, not to translators.

If publishers were more or less explicitly recognized as dominant agents when it comes to text selection, an additional question emerges quickly. If decision-making had been badly oriented, did contributors considerate that other agents should assume the responsibility for text selection? Or should publishers be assisted in their work? The idea of this parties assisting editors emerges in several articles, with this role being served by cultural organizations. In this regard, Linati referred to "juges qualifiés" to propose an improvement, an abstract designation whose plural form, however, points into the direction of collective subjects. Indeed, several contributors allude to the role of source-

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[903] Ibid., 209.

culture cultural organizations in assisting target-culture agents. This is made explicit in Rychner's contribution, who alluded to the role of national associations and other national bodies in correcting available offer. In his view, "les associations nationales d'écrivains –ou un organe spécialement créé à cet effet- devraient veiller à ce que des auteurs insignificants ou des œuvres de mauvais traducteurs n'arrivent pas sur le marché." Again, bad quality translations will be discussed in the next subsection, for the moment let us analyze the main mechanism proposed to reduce the circulation of *insignificant* literary works. The institutional intervention that was repeatedly referred were lists of books recommended for translation. Zaleski argued for the convenience of similar measure in the following terms.

> Quoique l'intervention dans le choix des ouvrages à traduire me semble une tâche infiniment délicate, il faut cependant à l'entreprendre (publication de listes d'ouvrages recommandés). En effet, tout ouvrage traduit dans une langue étrangère n'est pas nécessairement un gain intellectuel ou artistique pour le pays d'origine, ni même pour son auteur : une sélection, un choix s'imposent. Ce choix doit viser à établir une distinction entre les 'volumes à succès' et l'œuvre représentative d'une valeur intrinsèque. [904]

Despite acknowledging said lists' delicate character, Zaleski also expressed their need. It should be stressed that, in addition to constituting a measure assisting target-culture publishers, this idea is, after all, a way of trying to re-nationalize the task of text selection. It implies that intellectuals from each national field were better positioned to express judgement calls on the national literary production.

His opinion differed in this sense from Zweig's, who alluded to lists of books recommended for translation that PEN Clubs had started elaborating in the previous years, but he did so to immediately cast doubt on the method's suitability:

> [Les listes des livres de valeur et qui n'ont pas encore été traduits], en dernière analyse, ne sauraient être établies qu'en tenant compte de l'individualité de chaque pays. L'éditeur français, par exemple, marque une certaine réserve à l'égard des romans dépassant les 300 pages. (…) Les Allemands et les Anglais, en revanche, avec leur appétit d'œuvres plus vastes, marquent peu d'intérêt (…) pour le roman français qui remplit à peine 200 pages en édition allemande (…). Nous devons respecter de telles particularités, précisément parce qu'elles existent et qu'elles sont inéluctables.[905]

Zweig, in this regard, focused on the fact that literary taste was not universally shared, which diminished the potential universal interest of lists of books recommended for

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[904] Ibid., 232–33.
[905] Ibid., 234.

translation. In the previous quotation, he focused on publishers' preferences in terms of extension, but other factors were mentioned by his colleagues that further reinforced the situated character of literary appreciation. Waley, for example, introduced the weight of ideological considerations for text selection, by alluding to the fact that "Une sévère censure de moralité est en vigueur dans beaucoup de pays. Les pays anglo-saxons risquent de plus en plus d'être privés de tous les produits du génie latin qui tiennent à son côté païent plutôt qu'à son côté catholique." [906] On the same topic, he complained that publishers did not always take into account those differences.

> Le goût des lecteurs diffère aussi étrangement d'un pays à l'autre. (…) Les éditeurs ne tiennent pas un compte suffisant de ces différences de goût, et ils ont une tendance naturelle, fort erronée d'ailleurs, à supposer que, si 100.0000 exemplaires d'un livre peuvent être vendus dans un pays, eux-mêmes, devront nécessairement en vendre du moins 1.000 à leur tour. [907]

Wiley's statements illustrate the ways the internationalization of the literary space, with the ensuing institutionalization of literary translation, problematized a universal understanding of literary value. This, in turn, questioned the location of decision-making on works to be translated. If literary taste was necessarily situated, and presenting different shapes in each country, this meant too that a given community lost control over value creation of their own literature. In other words, it meant accepting the possibility that new publics could appreciate works that the autochthonous public had neglected. Also, his considerations inserted translation not only in the domain of aesthetics and literary taste, but also in the economic domain. Translation appears in this regard as a profitable activity and as a commodity, but a profitable activity that was not necessarily universal, hence the difficulty, on publishers' side, to anticipate the reception of a translation in each target market by editing the right number of print-runs.

As can be grasped in previously quoted material, in addition to difficulties in the choice of works recommended for translation, another source of reluctance regarding translations stemmed from quality issues in circulating works. The latter could be attributed to several potential causes, among which the possession of certain skills or technical knowledge on the side of the translator (or lack thereof) or the activity's conditions of exercise. These are the topics that will be examined in the next two subsections.

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[906] Ibid., 227.
[907] Ibid., 227.

8.2.3. What should be rendered, and how? On translation methods and techniques

Having asserted that translations received considerable criticism by interested parties, in the previous subsection I have examined disapprovals stemming from the type of works selected for translation. Instead, in the present subsection, I examine ideas having to do with the features a good translation should possess. In other words, translation is here approached from the perspective of the methods and techniques that appeared desirable for the ICO's collaborators. This brings us to the domain of the translators' textual decisions and choices, which constitutes a vast topic given that it covers views on the method employed in general, to specific translation problems and contributors' views on their best solutions, with the added difficulty that some figures decided to tackle one specific translation problem that was not necessarily the same commented upon by other collaborators. Proceeding from general to particular considerations, I start the present subsection by examining expressed views on translatability, that is, the very possibility of translation and the existence of untranslatable elements within a literary work. Secondly, I cover the question of abridgments in translations, question that I then link to the broader issue of translation methods. In this context, I situate the views advanced by the ICO's contributors within a continuum established between two extreme positions, one being word-to-word (or literal) translation, and the other, free translation.

The question of translatability, i.e., the very possibility of translation, has inevitably constituted one of the central debates in writings about translation, both before and after the development of TS. Whether it is possible to express the content or meaning of a text written in a different language and whether form should also be preserved to some extent has made rivers of ink run during centuries, although the term translatability has not always been used. Building on Herman's synthesis, two main historical positions can be depicted in this regard depending on whether one's view on language and meaning is universalist or monadist.[908] The universalist position defends the possibility of translating between languages because it presupposes a distinction between form and meaning. "Form is material and perceptible, and varies from language to language, while

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[908] Theo Hermans, "Translatability," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (London and New Yorok: Routledge, 2020), 603-04.

meaning, that which is denoted by the form, remains invisible and constant across languages" (Baker & Saldanha 2020, 603). According to the monadist view, instead,

> due to the asymmetries between languages and cultures and the organic link between language, thought and culture, translation – understood as a linear discourse replicating another discourse with regard to both length and meaning – is not possible. Approximate renditions or explanatory paraphrase can be achieved, and texts may be translatable up to a point or in certain limited respects, but that is all. (…) There always remains an untranslatable rest, for instance in the shape of connotation, nuance or poetic quality.[909]

The two positions have characterized different historical periods, with the universalist view having been dominant in Roman antiquity, the medieval period, Early Modernity, and the Enlightenment. The monadist view, instead, can be linked to the end of the 18th century and the 19th century. The views advanced by the collaborators of *La Coopération Intellectuelle* can be organized along these two extreme poles. Díez-Canedo, in the contribution opening the section "Opinions sur la question des traductions," offered a defense of translation, irrespective of the goal pursued.

> Je crois fermement à la possibilité de la traduction. (….) Traduire, c'est transmettre, c'est livrer. On livre à la connaissance, à l'étude, aux disputes, à la curiosité des autres, la pensée d'un écrivain, d'un philosophe, que l'on s'efforce d'interpréter ses idées en les exposant, en les commentant, voire même en les contredisant.[910]

In his view, the main virtue of translation was precisely to bring a text to a new audience, that is, that it introduced some continuity where discontinuity was present. In the previous excerpt, Díez-Canedo legitimized translation by linking it with an ethic dimension. For Díez-Canedo, all translations entailed some untranslatable elements or parts. Comparing the relation between original text and its translation to that existing between a painting and a gravure, he referred to some "quelque chose d'indéfinissable qui ne passe pas dans la reproduction."[911] And, in turn, the fact that translation was governed by an ethic dimension is considered the very factor justifying that the presence of untranslatable elements within a given work did not undermine the possibility of translation as such. He remained, nevertheless, quite abstract in defining the nature of untranslatable elements.

> Dans une œuvre littéraire il y a toujours cependant une part qui demeure intraduisible : voilà ce qu'il faut ne pas perdre de vue. (….) Mais fût-ce l'ouvrage le plus dépourvu de matière susceptible d'être racontée, le plus attaché au son et à la valeur des mots –indépendamment du sens – on pourra toujours s'arranger

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[909] Ibid., 604.
[910] *La Coopération intellectuelle* (4), 205.
[911] Ibid.

> pour transposer dans une autre langue *tel effet*, pour redonner au lecteur *la sensation que l'auteur a voulu exprimer*.[912]

Untranslatable aspects could appear, according to Díez-Canedo's view, in either the form or the content, and he identified the original's effects as the main aspect the translator should try to render. In Díez-Canedo's view the agency assigned to the translator is especially noteworthy, given his key role in identifying the effects and aspects that need to be preserved.

> Un traducteur scrupuleux doit se rendre compte des parties de l'original qu'il faut absolument maintenir dans la traduction, et s'abstenir d'entreprendre une traduction s'il n'est pas en mesure de les préserver. Il doit connaître aussi ce qu'il faut substituer aux parties qu'il ne pourra pas transcrire exactement, et qui ne sont pas essentielles. (…) Traduire c'est toujours sacrifier ; mais il ne faut rien sacrifier d'essentiel.[913]

In the previous excerpt, literary criticism (term by which I refer to the skills necessary for the translator to analyze a literary text and ascertain what parts that should be maintained) appears as an essential part of translators' skills, which in turn need to be coupled with the ability to render those elements considered noteworthy into the target language. Although texts present certain difficulties or even untranslatable parts, he confers a salient role to the translator in deciding what to do with them, going as far as to recommend the translators' abandonment if he did not know how to identify and convey the essential elements in a given text. The previous recommendation introduces a self-conscious dimension in the translator's work on the fact that both ability as a literary critic and ability to actually render those elements in the target language were necessary to obtain a good translation. His advice for translators to refraining from doing translation work can be justified by the pernicious effect of bad translations, which, in his view, "sont redoutables non seulement en ells-mêmes, mais parce que le simple fait de leur existence ruine toute perspective d'une bonne traduction."[914] It ensues that, from his standpoint, translators were responsible for the quality of their works, and thus responsible to refraining from doing bad translations. Díez-Canedo's view on translatability can be compared to that expressed by Rychner:

> Quant à savoir s'il est possible d'arriver à une traduction égalant l'original, c'est là un problème complexe. L'expression lyrique ne pourra jamais être transposée de manière à *rendre* parfaitement l'impression de l'original. Pour la prose, la

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[912] Ibid. My emphasis.
[913] Ibid., 205.
[914] Ibid., 206.

question est plus simple, bien que l'atmosphère particulière de la langue disparaisse nécessairement dans la traduction, car chaque mot détient une résonance qui lui est propre. Il ne faudrait pas, pour autant, discréditer l'art de traduire.[915]

Díez-Canedo's and Rychner's views can be paralleled given their identification of abstract elements as those constituting the source of a work's literary interest. Where Díez-Canedo referred to *effects* and *sensations*, Rychner alludes to the original's *impression* or a language's particular *atmosphere*. Both also, acknowledge certain difficulties or problems when translating, which do not go as far as invalidating translation. Rychner, similar than Díez-Canedo's association of translation with an ethic dimension, elaborated given that most texts would not be accessible to readers in their original form, translation constitutes ultimately a gain. Apart from that, their positions slightly differ in that the German voices a degree of skepticism that is less present in the Spanish's view. More precisely, he identifies aspects whose loss is inherent or irremediable ("ne pourra jamais être transposée," "disparaisse nécessairement"), without referring to possible interventions to mitigate them, which is the case for Díez-Canedo given precisely his focus on the translator's agency.

Díez-Canedo's and Rychner's views can also be commented regarding the specific considerations they formulate on specific literary genres or textual features. As we have seen, Díez-Canedo explicitly tackled formalist works to illustrate that there is always something to be done to convey the original's effects. He tackled specifically the problems posed by the translation of poetry,

> Qu'en est-il, maintenant, de la traduction d'un poème, d'une œuvre en vers ? La traduction en prose sacrifie toujours quelque chose qui apparaît comme essentiel dans l'original. Mais la traduction en vers sacrifie-t-elle plus ? Pas nécessairement. Nous avons là le cas type de re-création. Du fait qu'il y a de très mauvaises traductions en vers, on ne doit pas conclure que les traductions en vers sont toujours mauvaises.[916]

Again, in the case of poetry, the assessment of certain difficulties does not imply for Díez-Canedo a questioning of translatability of a poem, per se. In coherence with the degree of agency assigned to translators in previous excerpts, in the case of poetry he considered the resulting work as constituting a specific form of re-creation, thus conferring to the translation a relative autonomy vis-à-vis the original. Rychner also

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[915] Ibid., 220. Underlined parts, my emphasis.
[916] Ibid., 206.

tackled the question of translating poetry when referring to lyricism. It should be noted in this regard that his reasoning opposes lyricism and prose, that is, verse and prose. Showing again certain reluctance ("L'expression lyrique ne pourra jamais être transposée de manière à *rendre* parfaitement l'impression de l'original"), this did not go as far as invalidating translation per se. A similar statement was offered by Zaleski, who, rather than focusing on the aspect that should be preserved in a literary work, linked the question of translatability to the different factors that needed to meet:

> parlant d'une façon absolue, le problème de la traduction *surtout dans le domaine de la poésie pure*, me paraît quasi insoluble. Je veux dire que sa solution dépend du jeu imprévisible des talents, du parallélisme des sensibilités et des inspirations.[917]

In this regard, his referring to abstract elements such as talent, sensibility, and inspiration brings his thought close to those expressed by Díez-Canedo and Rychner when they referred to effects, sensations, impressions, and atmosphere. Distinguishing them is the fact that abstract thought refers to the translator's skills under Zaleski's pen, whereas in the other two cases it resides rather on what makes a text literary value. Coming back to specific reflections depending on the textual genre, it is true that verse or poetry are the object of greater doubt and reluctance, most authors also allude to difficulties of prose. In those cases, however, they are tackled as specific translation problems present in a given text, rather than as problems derived from prose per se. Díez-Canedo tackled the use of dialect, for instance. He considered in this regard that there was not a universal answer on whether dialect expressions should be maintained or ignored, with the main skill of the translator residing in deciding whether that trait is essential or whether it can be sacrificed. By advancing that view, he anticipated contemporary TS theories that argue for the need to take into account "the function and dynamic nature of translation" when evaluating a translation technique.[918]

The question of a work, a genre or a textual features translatability brings us to the question of translation methods and techniques. If we approach translation methods first, historical debates on the two main translation methods, literal vs. free translation, resonated as well in this publication. Although we have seen that most authors complained about the quality of most translations, some authors referred to an improvement regarding translation methods if comparing their contemporary period with

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[917] Ibid., 230. My emphasis.
[918] Lucía Molina and Amparo Hurtado Albir. "Translation Techniques Revisited: A Dynamic and Functionalist Approach," *Meta* 47 no. 4 (2002): 509.

previous historical periods. This was García-Calderón's view, who referred to a relative improvement in the second half of the 19ᵗʰ century regarding French translations of Latin American writers. A similar improvement had taken place in Germany according to Rychner, who declared that "Les méthodes qui se révèlent actuellement dans le domaine de la traduction sont préférables à celles qui furent en usage au XIXe siècle – chez nous tout au moins."[919] Therefore, their negative assessment on contemporary practices is to be made compatible with the acknowledgment of certain improvements vis-à-vis translation methods dominating previous historical periods. To delineate the translation methods and techniques defended in that special issue, we can try to situate them in a continuum that would find free translation at one end and word-to-word translations at the other end. Without there being a clear defendant of free translations as such, among the figures advocating in favor of certain freedom on the side of the translator is André Gide. In his view, the latter was necessary to preserve the genuine character of the target language. Speaking from the double profile of translator and author, he questioned word-to-word or literal translation in the following terms:

> Le souci de littéralité, excellent en soi, qui, de nos jours, tend à prendre le pas sur le reste, devient parfois néfaste. Ayant eu beaucoup à m'occuper, il y a quelques années, de la traduction des œuvres de Conrad, j'eus affaire parfois à certaines traductions si consciencieuses et si exactes, qu'elles étaient à récrire complètement : - en raison de cette littéralité même, le français devenait incompréhensible, ou tout au moins perdait ses qualités propres. Je crois absurde de se cramponner au texte de trop près ; je le répète, ce n'est pas seulement le sens qu'il s'agit de rendre, il importe de ne pas traduire des mots, mais des phrases, et *d'exprimer, sans en rien perdre, pensée et émotion, comme l'auteur l'eût exprimées s'il eût écrit directement en français*, ce qui ne se peut que par une tricherie perpétuelle, par d'incessants détours et souvent en s'éloignant beaucoup de la simple littéralité. Chaque fois qu'il m'est arrivé de traduire, j'ai eu pour règle de m'oublier complètement moi-même, et de traduire l'auteur comme je pouvais souhaiter d'être traduit moi-même, c'est-à-dire pas littéralement.[920] (My emphasis)

In his reasoning, he benefits from his double profile as both a translator and an author, with each role bearing on the other.

> Dans les premiers temps, je demandais que les traductions de mes œuvres me fussent soumises, et celle-ci me paraissait la meilleure qui suivait de plus près le texte français : j'ai vite reconnu mon erreur, et, à présent, je recommande à mes traducteurs de ne jamais se croire esclaves de mes mots, de ma phrase, de ne pas rester trop penchés sur leur travail… Mais, encore, une fois, ce conseil n'est bon

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[919] *La Coopération intellectuelle* (4), 220.
[920] Ibid., 214.

que si le traducteur connaît admirablement les ressources de sa propre langue, et que s'il est capable de pénétrer *l'esprit et la sensibilité de l'auteur* qu'il entreprend de traduire, jusqu'à s'identifier à lui.[921]

 In the context of his article his profile as an author functioned, from the discursive perspective, as an argument from authority, which legitimized his point of defending certain freedom in translations. From the perspective of translation theory, his statement raises the question on whether the translation method should depend on the author's desires or not. Next in the continuum would be Carlo Linati, who openly opposed word-to-word translation too and, instead, advocated for the need to find equivalences.

> En raison de la liberté et de l'amplitude du langage employé dans ces œuvres [œuvres modernes], il n'est pas possible de les traduire à la lettre : on aboutirait de la sorte à des pastiches inintelligibles. Il s'agit de trouver des équivalences et, sans modifier le sens de la période ou de la phrase, de remanier celles-ci, de découvrir des tournures nouvelles afin d'adapter la traduction à notre langue. (…) J'estime donc que le traducteur est aujourd'hui un peu un créateur lui-même.[922]

Following Linati we could place Díez-Canedo in an intermediate position between free translation and word-to-word translation. And this, even though he overtly declared himself to be opposed to *belles infidèles* and stressed faithfulness as a key element in a good translation. Even though his insistence on faithfulness could justify his positioning in the end of the continuum closer to literal translation, I reckon that the meaning of "faithfulness," nevertheless, should be carefully interpreted. As showed by Weinmann et al.,[923] throughout the 19th century and first decades of the 20th century it was not rare to find words such as "faithfulness" used with very different meanings and to refer to eminently different practices. Indeed, understanding Díez-Canedo's defense of "faithfulness" as a defense of literal translation would be contradictory with the generous agency he assigned to translators. For this reason, despite his discursive emphasis on faithfulness, I propose to situate him in the closest position to literal translation among the different contributors, but, in absolute terms, he should be inscribed in the intermediate zone between the two poles.[924]

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[921] Ibid., 214.

[922] Ibid., 218.

[923] Frédéric Weinmann et al., "Théories," in *Histoire des traductions en langue française* (Lagrasse: Verdier, 2012), 140.

[924] In a previously quoted except, for example, "on pourra toujours s'arranger pour transposer dans une autre langue tel effet, pour redonner au lecteur la sensation que l'auteur a voulu exprimer. Un traducteur scrupuleux doit se rendre compte des parties de l'original qu'il faut absolument maintenir dans la traduction, et s'abstenir d'entreprendre une traduction s'il n'est pas en mesure de les préserver."

The questions that have been previously examined presuppose a certain assessment of the translations the different collaborators had been in contact with. Therefore, without this suggesting that collaborators had a systematized theory on translation assessment, it can be enlightening to better understand their takes on good or bad translations to examine the main translation errors and translation problems identified by the different collaborators. In order to organize the different considerations, I draw on Hurtado Albir distinction between errors emerging in the relation between source text and translation (countersense, wrong sense, addition and suppression, for example) and errors related solely to the target text (mainly having to do with errors in the target language).[925] To those two categories, I shall also add a third category present in a couple of contribution, and that refers to errors found in the source text.[926]

Among the errors emerging in the relation between source text and translation, the first one is problems of interpretation. For Díez-Canedo, this type of mistake was especially frequent in translations between close languages. Distant languages required a superior knowledge on the side of the translator, he argued, whereas in the case of close languages (in the case of Spanish, he gives the example of translations from French, Portuguese, Italian, and Catalan) "n'importe qui croit les comprendre et être à même de les traduire à cause de leur parenté avec l'espagnol. Il est des traductions signées de noms assez connus qui fourmillent de contresens, toujours fâcheux, mais parfois très divertissants."[927] His humorous tone contrasts with that of Chukovsky, who was very severe with inexact translations:

> Lorsque les défauts de la traduction résident dans l'inexactitude de certains mots, le texte peut être mis facilement au point après plusieurs révisions. (…) les traducteurs ne doivent ne pas perdre de vue l'exactitude textuelle. Que d'erreurs sont commises parce qu'on traduit trop librement, en introduisant des phrases entières, qui ne figurent pas dans le texte original ! L'ignorance du sens exact d'un mot conduit souvent à des monstruosités ! (…) Pour éviter ces erreurs il faudrait que chaque traduction fût revue par un rédacteur compétent qui, sans toucher à l'ensemble de la traduction, amenderait toutes les inexactitudes textuelles. [928]

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[925] Nicole Martínez Melis and Amparo Hurtado Albir, "Assessment in Translation Studies: Research Needs," *Meta* 46, no. 2 (2001), 281.

[926] The latter do not properly constitute translation errors, given that they preexist the translation as such. However, the translator is necessarily confronted with them, and they require a specific action on his side, which is why they are in determining what constitutes a good or bad translation.

[927] *La Coopération intellectuelle* (4), 206.

[928] Ibid., 224

One of the pressing concerns in the different contributions is that of text cuttings in translations and, more broadly, the difference between translations and adaptations. Adaptation was a term employed in France since the last decades of the 19th century, especially in the context of ALAI's work, to refer to pirate versions. However, during that period, other meanings were alluded to by using that term, for example, genre modifications of a single work, but also change from one language to another.[929] In that context, adaptations could refer to translations that applied certain naturalizing strategies, such as the use of equivalents. This term appears often associated to the verb "mutiler," and it is not always possible to ascertain whether contributors lay emphasis on omissions or, instead, tackle broader changes. For example, García-Calderón referred to the fact that, in general, in the 19th century translations from Latin American works were "fort mal venues" give that "On mutilait parfois le texte original ou on le traduisait sans aucun soin."[930] Along the same lines, Lengyel, who focused on drama, used similar phrasing:

> Les ouvrages hongrois (…) ne sont presque jamais convenablement traduits dans les langues étrangères ; ils arrivent, pour ainsi dire, *mutilés* chez les éditeurs et devant le grand public des théâtres. (…) Il en va de même aussi lorsqu'un écrivain étranger '*adapte'* un ouvrage hongrois quelconque. En pareil cas, il n'est pas capable de revivre l'inspiration primitive de l'auteur hongrois et il transforme au gré de son tempérament ou à celui du public auquel il s'adresse.[931] (My emphasis)

The use of quotation marks in the previous excerpt further stresses the polysemy of the term adaptation. The question of text completeness is quickly linked to broader issues having to do with translation method and techniques. The same thing happens under Díez-Canedo's pen, who declared himself to be

> absolument ennemi des adaptations – du moins quand il s'agit de faire connaître un auteur étranger (…). Et si je veux bien croire à ce que l'on nomme 'le génie de la langue', ce n'est pas pour se servir de cette expression comme d'un masque protégeant et excusant les libertés et commodités d'un traducteur. Il ne nous faut plus de 'belles infidèles'. La fidélité est la première des beautés. Il nous faut des traductions belles et intégrales.[932]

In addition to referring to omissions and to the desirability of texts preserved in their integrity, he used the notion of "genie de la langue" and its abstract character as a subterfuge put at the service of the translator's interest when facing a translation problem or difficulty.

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[929] Weinmann et al., "Théories," 114.
[930] *La Coopération intellectuelle* (4), 212.
[931] Ibid., 216.
[932] Ibid., 207.

Having examined the mentioned errors emerging in the relation between original and translation, a certain number of problems were specific to the latter given that they found their origin in the target language or text. This kind of error is extensively commented by Chukovsky, who argued that, in general, translators' vocabulary tended to impoverish literary works. In his own words,

> le vocabulaire des traducteurs est toujours plus restreint que celui des auteurs. Leurs ressources en synonymes sont d'une pauvreté accablante. (…) Les traducteurs appauvrissent le vocabulaire des originaux, et le langage d'un Balzac ou d'un Kipling déviant singulièrement anémique.[933]

For this reason, he agreed with French writer Théophile Gautier, who recommended that translators read the dictionary. But problems with the target language could go beyond vocabulary. At the syntactic level, he complained that some translations were written in a language that was heavily influenced by the foreign language.

> Le traducteur doit penser dans sa langue maternelle, - ou, d'une façon générale, dans la langue de sa traduction. C'est dire qu'il évitera à tout prix l'influence des tournures étrangères, incompatibles avec le génie de sa langue. Il arrive trop souvent qu'une langue conventionnelle se forme, celle des traducteurs, qui n'a rien de commun avec la langue autochtone. C'est ainsi que nous trouvons dans les traductions russes des phrases entières qui attestent des tournures germaniques, françaises ou anglaises, inadmissibles au point de vue de la syntaxe russe.[934]

His standpoint in this regard was very similar to Waley's, who considered that translators were afflicted by "un genre particulier de paralysie linguistitique" that made them unable to properly write in their own mother tongue given the influence of foreign languages. I will discuss Waley's proposal to overcome said challenge in the next section. For the moment, it is relevant to crisscross Chukovsky and Waley's complaints on the potential negative effects of translations for the target language with the considerations formulated by the same authors on idiomatic expressions. Indeed, both saw problematic their use, for the latter risked suggesting that the action was taking place in a different setting. Chukovsky's in this regard condemned the use of idiomatic expressions of the target language in translations "car un tel procédé dénationalise les héros d'un roman"[935]. Despite admitting that "dans une traduction une certaine dénationalisation est inevitable," he argued that it was necessary to keep idiomatic expressions at the minimum. Waley, similarly, complained that some American translations were played in the UK, with the

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[933] Ibid., 224
[934] Ibid.
[935] Ibid., 223.

awkward result of an Italian play (for example) being played in London in an American English, thus with expressions suggesting to the English public that the action was taking place in the US. Even though his primary goal was to remind continental authors the difference between American and British English, ultimately his example points toward the problems emerging with the use of idiomatic expressions as well, and, more broadly, with the geographic setting of the translation. Should traces of its original geographic setting be maintained, or instead action should be reframed in the target culture? The answer depends on the autonomy one assigns to translation vis-à-vis the original. However, if we articulate Chukovsky and Waley's considerations, a clear challenge emerges in trying to find an equilibrium between a target language that was too heavily influenced by source language structures, and a use of the target language that was too heavily marked in cultural terms. Additionally, in the previous quotation, a nuance is to be noted when Chukovsky refers to translator's target language being their mother tongue. A introduces, with prudence, the idea that they can translate into other other languages, a prudence that WAs not shared by all contributors. For example, Lengyel argued that "pour traduire du hongrois en d'autres langues étrangères, il faut être, non seulement traducteur, mais aussi un homme de lettres de premier ordre *et ressortissant du pays dans la langue duquel on traduit*"[936](my emphasis).

Other contributors focused on errors in the original work. Gide, as we have seen, defended a relative autonomy for the translator. In consequence, when facing incongruencies in the original, he defended the translator's intervention: "Ce sont presque toujours les phrases les plus mal écrites, celles que l'auteur a écrites le plus vite, qui donnent au traducteur le plus de mal. Il lui faut souvent pallier les défauts de logique, si fréquent aux esprits anglais."[937]

Before concluding the present section, it should be noted that given the focus on textuality, most comments on method are underpinned by the will to improve the quality of translations. This aspect, instead, is considered secondary in some contributions, which instead privilege other social functions. Stock-Manien, for example, argued that "ce ne sont du reste pas toujours les œuvres les mieux traduites qui se vendent le mieux,"[938] thus implicitly suggesting that the quality of translations was more an

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[936] Ibid., 215.
[937] Ibid., 213.
[938] Ibid., 222.

intellectual than a commercial concern. Rychner, instead, focused on the political function of translations. To him, translations presented a special interest in times of political rapprochement, when "Il est de grande importance qu'on puisse apprendre à se connaître réciproquement, le plus largement possible, et que les lecteurs ignorant les langues étrangères et pourtant ouverts aux choses de l'esprit puissent trouver à comprendre l'âme des autres peuples For this reason, he saw with optimism literary exchange and saw, therein, " un avantage pour lequel il vaut de supporter 'les défauts de ses qualités.'"[939]

8.2.4. Translation, between art and craft. On translators' skills and work conditions

When addressing quality issues in circulating translations, a reflection on the translators' necessary skills developed, which in turn was tied to an underlying view on the nature of translation. Was translation an art, thus vocationally practiced by rare figures who naturally possessed certain hardly describable skills, or, instead, a craft, for which certain skills could be learned by receiving specific training? Those questions gave birth to some considerations on the nature of the activity and the figure of the translator, two aspects related to the way translation was conceptualized.

Several contributors referred to writers as the best translators. A relevant difference can be found in this regard between central and peripheral cultures regarding the role of translation in the career of renowned writers. Zaleski illustrated this in the case of Poland, where "les grands écrivains, presque tous de grands poètes, se font un devoir de traduire, de transposer, et cette activité est considérée comme une très digne partie de leur moisson créatrice."[940] He listed, in this regard, names of "traducteurs-poètes" and "intermédiaire-artiste": Lucas Gornicki, Jean Kochanowski, Morstin, Mickiweicz, Slowacki, Wyspianski, Kasprwcz, Przesmycki… This was also the translator Canedo had in mind when mentioning that "autrefois on consacrait à la traduction d'un auteur, d'un livre, plusieurs années peut-être une vie entière."[941]

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[939] Ibid., 220.
[940] Ibid., 230.
[941] Ibid., 206.

However, both the Polish and the Spanish were aware that said situation was changing. In the words of the latter,

> A côté de l'art de traduire, il y a le métier du traducteur, métier difficile et assez ingrat parfois. Le nombre de traductions grandissant, le marché augmentant de plus en plus sa capacité d'absorption, la nécessité s'est fait sentir d'organiser professionnellement les traducteurs en Pologne.[942]

The previous excerpt perfectly illustrates the ways the translations boom modified the conception of translation, or, in more analytical terms, how the increase of translations provoked changes in the activities' institutionalization, which was not seen anymore as only an art, but also an occupation or a trade in construction. The same change is alluded to by the Spanish critic:

> Aujourd'hui la traduction, qui n'est plus un plaisir, n'est pas encore un métier. Une traduction, même si elle est très bien payée, ne rémunère pas suffisamment l'effort qu'elle exige. Ceux qui traduisent doivent travailler très vite et traduire des textes auxquels ils n'apportent qu'un médiocre intérêt.[943]

The previous quotations perfectly illustrate the two temporalities at play in the interwar period, temporalities that crucially marked the ICO's functioning too. Regarding the specific issue of translation, in the past, translation was mainly seen as an art or as a hobby, practiced by agents that had alternative income sources. The activity was generally not tied to financial considerations, which means that translators could select works of which they possessed an intimate knowledge, and that they possessed more or less unlimited time to carry out the translation. Instead, with the increase of cross-border cultural relations and their ensuing institutionalization, the practice of translation underwent notorious changes in the interwar period. Although the previous model continued to exist, a new market developed around translation Time devoted to translation was necessarily inscribed in a capitalistic logic, hence reduced to make the occupation cost-efficient. The knowledge possessed by a translator on the translated work or author was necessarily compromised, given also the introduction of new considerations in the selection of works to be translated and translators' displacement in said decision. Necessarily, practitioners' social profile also changed. Next to translators that possessed other sources of income, a new class of practitioners emerged that needed the remuneration of translation tasks. Systematization of knowledge was necessary for a

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[942] Ibid.
[943] Ibid., 206.

growing professionalization of the activity, which in turn was required to satisfy existing demand.

The question is thus, to what extent agents consulted were more familiar with the past than with ongoing changes. To answer this question, their age at the moment of publication can be useful, provided in Table 16.

	Date of birth and death	Age in 1929
André Gide	1869-1951	60
Carlo Linati	1878-1949	51
Enrique Díez-Canedo	1879-1944	50
Max Rychner	1879-1965	50
Melchier Lengyel	1880-1974	49
Stefan Zweig	1881-1942	48
Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski	1882-1967	47
Korney Chukovsky	1882-1969	47
Francisco García-Calderón Rey	1883-1953	46
Nikolai Gumilev	1886-1921	43
Arthur Waley	1889-1966	40
Otakar Štorch-Marien	1897-1974	32
Clifton P. Fadiman	1904-1999	25

Table 16. Dates of birth and death and age of the contributors to the 4th issue of La Coopération Intellectuelle

Without implying a direct link between an agent's age and its progressive character, the previous table illustrates that most collaborators in this volume were consecrated figures who had deployed their professional careers in the past, a past that was still very present in the ICO's collaborators practices and habitus.

As we have seen through Zaleski's and Díez-Canedo's quotations, some of these contributors were attentive to the changes the global literary space was undergoing. Although writers are mentioned as ideal translators several times, reference to current or real practitioners can also be found therein. Some contributors express a certain distrust from translators, be that for reasons related to insufficient skills, gender, or political reasons. Several examples are quoted below:

> Hélas ! Les traductions restent confiées le plus souvent à des êtres subalternes, dont la bonne volonté ne supplée pas l'insuffisance.[944] (Gide)

> En Tchécoslovaquie, quiconque possède un diplôme (..) veut faire de la traduction et c'est ainsi qu'on voit sur les récentes listes de traducteurs tchécoslovaques tout à la fois : des professeurs de langue étrangère, des étudiants ès lettres ou de jeunes filles préparant leurs examens. Parfois ces traducteurs, la dernière catégorie surtout, obtiennent de l'auteur le monopole de la traduction de ses œuvres en Tchécoslovaquie. Il va bien sans dire que des travaux entrepris dans de pareilles conditions doivent être suspectés.[945] (Storch-Marien)

> Le danger réel, dans le régime actuel des traductions, je le vois dans le fait qu'un grand nombre de personnes dont ce n'est pas la fonction, -des femmes en particulier, - se jettent sur les dernières nouveautés étrangères sans discernement ni méthode pour en faire la traduction, afin de se procurer ainsi un revenu supplémentaire[946]. (Zweig)

> La plupart des traducteurs sont des auteurs sans succès, des réfugiés politiques, des personnes appartenant à plusieurs nationalités et dont les moyens d'existence sont incertains.[947] (Waley)

As can be grasped, quality issues in translations were often attributed to the social profile of practitioners. In the previous quotations we find a list of agents that occupied a dominated position in society: women (opposed to men), students (opposed to professors or already-established professionals), little-success writers (opposed to consecrated writers), stateless peoples or migrants (as opposed to well-established and stable citizens). Translators appeared as potentially disrupting figures in a fixed social order. Reference to these unreliable practitioners illustrates the development, in several Western countries, of a two-tier market when it came to translation, to use the characterization by Wuilmart[948] to describe the process leading to a growing recognition of the craft of translation in in the 20th century France. One the one hand, by a group of agents practicing translation in addition to other intellectual occupations, and who possessed a certain social, cultural, or, more broadly, symbolic capital, as well as economic capital enabling them to invest part of their time in translation tasks. From a longue durée perspective, the interwar period constituted a transitional period in which consolidated changes initiated in the 19th century. For example, technical innovation in the publishing industry and progress in terms of literacy favored the growth of the literary marketplace and its internal

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[944] Ibid., 212.
[945] Ibid., 222.
[946] Ibid., 233.
[947] Ibid., 228.
[948] Françoise Wuilmart et al. "Traducteurs et traductrices," in *Histoire des traductions en langue française : XXe siècle* (Lagrasse: Verdier, 2019), 181.

restructuration in a pole of restricted production and a pole of mass production. In turn, this led to the necessary diversification of sold books, which favored translations. In parallel, since the second half of the 19th century and first decades of the 20th century, knowledge of foreign languages extended from the elites to other constituencies (be that women, who accessed superior studies, or migrants, given demographic movements derived from armed conflicts in different geographies). Said processes, converging and taking place in parallel, led inevitably to the reconfiguration of the social conditions in which translation was practiced, the diversification of translators' socio-economic profile, as well as the heterogeneity of works being translated.

Several contributors referred to two main skills as constituting the precondition for a good translation: knowledge of the source language and the capacity to write in the target language. Those two skills are mentioned as necessary by Díez-Canedo,[949] Gide, Lengyel, and García-Calderón. For example, the latter argued for the need to train "un personnel de traducteurs qui fussent à la fois des écrivains de grande réputation et des personnalités connaissant bien l'espagnol (…) L'écrivain de marque ignore l'espagnol ou ne le connaît que superficiellement. Le traducteur consciencieux n'a pas les dons de l'écrivain."[950] The previous quotation serves us to introduce the main challenge identified, namely, to find those two skills in a single person. Given that difficulty, especially for some language pairs, Díez-Canedo elaborated on frequent alternatives, which included indirect translations, and the recourse to collaborative work were one party mastered the source language and the other the target language ("pour les livres russes [traduits en espagnol], il y a toujours deux traducteurs do not l'un ne connaît pas le russe et l'autre ne manie que très imparfaitement l'espagnol."[951]) A special contribution deserves comment in this framework, and that is Waley's. The English considered that the quality problems presented by most translations did not always derive from insufficient language skills on the side of the translator. Instead, he considered that the possession of those two skills altered, in some way, the translator's capacity to write in her own language.

> Cette déficience n'est pas due essentiellement à un manque de connaissance de la langue étrangère (bien que ce facteur y soit pour quelque chose) ; il faut y voir

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[949] When addressing quality issues, Canedo mentioned : "La connaissance du français chez le traducteur, et même la pratique du métier d'écrivain en espagnol, sont frequemment tres sommaires." *La Coopération intellectuelle* (4), 220.

[950] Ibid., 212.

[951] Ibid., 206.

plutôt le fait que le traducteur, influencé par la langue étrangère, n'est plus capable d'écrire en bon anglais. Cette inhabileté n'implique pas une incapacité générale à s'exprimer correctement dans sa propre langue : il s'agit là plutôt d'un genre particulier de paralysie linguistique qui atteint le traducteur.[952]

Hence, he proposed a method to avoid the difficulties in balancing knowledge of foreign language and of the target language. In his view, the translator

pourrait apprendre à diviser son travail en deux temps, soit à se pénétrer tout d'abord du sens de l'original pour, ensuite, exprimer les mêmes idées dans la langue en usage dans son pays et non dans un idiome bizarre modelé sur la syntaxe de la langue originale. Cette manière de procéder devrait être enseignée aux cours de langues étrangères des Universités. Il serait beaucoup plus intéressant de former de bons traducteurs que de faire composer des thèses sur 'l'usage de la conjonction que dans les dernières pièces de Corneille', etc.

Waley's contribution illustrates the worries in relation to modifications of the target language, but also his ideas on the spaces that could potentially be developed for translation training. Departments specializing on foreign languages and foreign literatures were inevitably spaces where an early focus on translation developed, with Waley arguing in this context for a more practical training that was professionally oriented, rather than a training focused on grammar.

Another relevant contribution regarding the difficult articulation between knowledge of the source and target language in one single person is that by Lengyel, who introduced the way in which the number of speakers and, more importantly, the number of foreign speakers, influenced the likelihood of skilled translators existing in different language pairs.

(…) Une différence énorme se révèle entre la situation des pays dont la langue prête à une grande diffusion et celle des petits pays dont la langue est totalement inconnue à l'étranger, ou à peu près. (…) les intellectuels, les hommes de lettres, les littérateurs des petits pays possèdent plus ou moins bien, -et souvent à la perfection, - par exemple, l'allemand, l'anglais ou le français ; en revanche, il est très rare que les ressortissants d'un grand pays apprennent la langue d'un petit pays. Le cas peut se présenter, néanmoins, soit par curiosité d'ordre philologique, soit par un intérêt commercial, mais il arrive très rarement.[953]

In his view, one of the obstacles faced by Hungary (and, by extension, small countries), is the lack of native speakers of central languages being also fluent in peripheral languages. And this, he argued, affected the quality of existing translations from small

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[952] Ibid., 228.
[953] Ibid., 214–15.

countries, while also granting the quality of works published in the centers and circulating in the peripheries:

> Nos traducteurs, nos hommes de lettres, etc. traduisent d'une manière impeccable en hongrois presque la totalité de la production littéraire étrangère ; en revanche, nos romans, nos poésies, nos pièces de théâtre, etc. ne sont presque jamais convenablement rendus dans une version étrangère.[954]

Although Lengyel raised a relevant point when mentioning that skilled practitioners can be hard to find when translating from peripheral into central languages, a semantic shift is introduced in his argumentation if we compare the two previous quotations. The Hungarian dramatist started his article by referring to and distinguishing between small countries, on the one hand, and big countries, on the other. In the previous excerpt, nevertheless. The two elements opposed are, on the one hand, Hungary and "what is ours" ("our" writers, translators, romans, poetry, etc.), and abroad or "what is foreign" ("foreign" literary production, versions), on the other hand. Indeed, Lengyel's contribution presents a fiercely nationalistic orientation according to which all translation practices were unimpeachable in Hungary. At the same time, said country appeared as the prey of other country's wrongdoing.[955] Without undermining the value of Lengyel's analysis of the structural factors shaping translation flows, which is salient given its chronological framing, the reference to big and small countries appears more as a rhetoric ruse to advance a nationalistic discourse, than an effort to shed light on the challenges faced by small countries in general. By the same token, the contraposition between Hungary and abroad makes it impossible to tackle inter-peripheral translation flows and its specificities.

Having commented the main reflections made in relation to knowledge of source and target language, I shall now discuss some additional necessary skills that appeared under the pen of several contributors. In this regard, Gide introduced a quality difference between knowledge of the source and the target languages.

> Un bon traducteur doit bien savoir la langue de l'auteur qu'il traduit, *mais mieux encore la sienne propre*, et j'entends par là non point seulement être capable de

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[954] Ibid., 215.

[955] "La littérature hongroise est riche en traductions excellentes des œuvres des plus grands écrivains du monde (....) Ces traductions hongroises –on peut le dire sans exagération – on même dépassé, dans certaines parties la beauté de l'original (...). En revanche, l'œuvre la plus grandiose de la littérature hongroise (...) reste en deçà de nos frontières" p 215. Another exemple: "Tous les écrivains modernes de marque sont traduits en hongrois, et les traductions sont toujours entreprises par les soins de nos homes de lettres les plus en vue. (...) Que les auteurs étrangers se rassurent donc : leurs œuvres sont entre bonnes mains en Hongrie (...). En revanche, nos écrivains, nos auteurs pourraient longuement énumérer leurs doléances (...), Ibid., 216.

l'écrire correctement, mais *en connaître les subtilités, les souplesses, les ressources cachée*s *; ce qui ne peut guère être le fait que d'un écrivain professionnel*. On ne s'improvise pas traducteur. [956]

In other words, if knowledge of the target language sufficed, potentially everyone knowing a foreign language could translate. Instead, Gide argued that the good literary translator needed to possess a certain stylistic sensibility, which was generally found among professional writers. In the same vein, Gumilev stressed the importance of the translator's ability for literary analysis ("le traducteur doit être non seulement un poète[957], mais aussi un critique attentif, afin de discerner les éléments essentiels qui caractérisent un poète et savoir ce qu'il peut sacrifier sous l'influence de la langue dans laquelle il traduit").[958] His conclusion can be approached to that of Díez-Canedo. The Spanish did not go as far as to argue that a good translator needed to be a good literary critic but argued that the key aspect in a translation was the translator's ability to "se rendre compte des parties de l'original qu'il faut absolument maintenir dans la traduction." For him, "traduire c'est toujours sacrifier ; mais il ne faut rien sacrifier d'essentiel." Although he did not explicitly mention how to make that decision, his reasoning seems to go in the same direction than Gide's and Gumilev's. Other contributors included, among necessary skills, a certain correspondence or affinity between author and translator (in stylistic, ideological, philosophical terms) as a precondition for a good-quality translation. Chukovsky argued that a good translator

> doit non seulement connaître la langue, mais aussi les particularités de l'œuvre de l'auteur qu'il veut traduire (….). Le traducteur doit aussi pouvoir sentir le monde extérieur de la même manière que l'auteur qu'il traduit. (…) Pour traduire Balzac, il faut autant que possible se laisser imprégner de sa personnalité, en acquérir le tempérament. (…) le traducteur doit, lui aussi, se confondre avec la volonté de l'auteur. Un traducteur choisira un auteur qui lui est sympathique et qu'il peut comprendre. Le traducteur qui se sent attiré par Victor Hugo ne doit pas entreprendre une traduction de Zola. (…) un traducteur choisira les ouvrages qu'il veut traduire en harmonie avec son caractère et son tempérament.[959]

This aspect replacing emulating the translator. However, in his view this dimension also avoided problems related to cuttings and what can be termed as differently motivated forms of censorship, all executed on the ground of bettering the original work.

> Beaucoup de traducteurs prétendent améliorer les auteurs et, lorsqu'ils interprètent Rabelais ou Fielding, ils sont choqués par leur 'grossièreté' et veulent

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[956] Ibid., 212–13. (My emphasis)
[957] Gumilev was explicitly discussing poetry translation.
[958] Ibid., 226.
[959] Ibid.

l'atténuer. La première règle pour le traducteur, il faut le répéter, est de choisir le texte d'un auteur auquel le lie une certaine affinité.[960]

Parallel to the question of skills was that of translators' work conditions. This is an aspect covered by some contributors, although it is far from constituting the main object of concern in the whole issue. Among included contributions, some attested to an ongoing improvement regarding translators' compensation. For example, Rychner (les éditeurs rétribuent les traducteurs plus largement qu'autrefois."[961] In this regard, one of the elements commented by several authors was the low monetary compensation obtained from translation work. Díez-Canedo argued that a translation, "même si elle est très bien payée, ne rémunère pas suffisamment l'effort qu'elle exige."[962] This, in turn, hindered professionalization, that is, directly impacted on resulting works. And this, in two ways. On the one hand, the low remuneration made so that skilled practitioners did not prioritize translation among their multiple occupations. Illustrating this opinion was Linati, who argued that "Nous avons certainement de bons traducteurs, mais ils sont si mal payés qu'ils préfèrent se consacrer à d'autres travaux : au journalisme, à la critique d'art, à l'enseignement."[963] On the other hand, low remuneration was tied to the problem of time. Translations being poorly paid, its practitioners needed to translate fast so that the occupation was profitable. And this was the main obstacle against good-quality translation work. Díez-Canedo referred to the fact that "Ceux qui traduisent doivent travailler très vite et traduire des textes auxquels ils n'apportent qu'un médiocre intérêt."[964] Financial pressure to reduce time invested in translation clashed, in this regard, with the time consuming character of the activity. Recalling his own experience as translator, Gide compared translating with writing and

> Les traductions que j'ai pu faire d'auteurs non tombés dans le domaine public (Conard et Tagore), ne m'ont à peu près rien rapporté, et pourtant je leur ai consacré plus de temps qu'il ne m'en eût fallu pour écrire un livre, plus de temps sans doute qu'il n'en fallut à l'auteur pour écrire le livre que je traduisais.[965]

The introduction of translation in a functioning proper of a capitalist society and an economy market developping in the interwar period appeared as directly detrimental to the quality of the resulting work. Lengyel went further by linking the time devoted to a translation with publishers' decision to edit a given work, thus directly damaging the

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[960] Ibid., 224.
[961] Ibid., 220.
[962] Ibid., 206.
[963] Ibid., 218.
[964] Ibid., 206.
[965] Ibid., 213.

possibilities of a given culture (especially peripheral ones) to see their works circulating abroad.

> Les traductions qui se fabriquent à la hâte, qui ne sont que des brouillons des textes traduits, ne reproduisent rien des beautés du texte primitif, et on perd souvent chez l'éditeur, déjà, la bataille engagée en vue de la publication à l'étranger des traductions d'œuvres hongroises.[966]

It can be added that most authors did not look elaborate on the reasons behind translators' low compensation, with, however, André Gide's exception. The latter directly linked translators' compensation to authors' rights requested by publishers.

> Les éléments économiques jouent également un certain rôle dans l'état actuel de la traduction : les éditeurs étrangers demandent pour la traduction de leurs auteurs de tels droits, qu'il ne reste presque aucune marge qui permette de rémunérer suffisamment le traducteur ; celui-ci doit se contenter d'une somme dérisoire, et s'il ne travaille par pur dévouement, est par la même invité à bâcler son travail.[967]

When discussing the project of the international translation office, reference was often made to authors' interests and the need they be protected. In that context, authors' rights were not considered detrimental to literary exchange, but precondition for preserving authors' capacity to make a living from their intellectual production. In the present context, instead, foreign publishers' demands in relation to "their authors' rights" are considered the main hindering element making it impossible to properly remunerate translators. In other words, publishers were repeatedly alluded to in negative terms throughout the ICO's work in relation to translation, as main representatives of commercial or material interests –and this, even though other agents obtained material profits from translations, such as authors. This adds nuance to the ICO's professional representativity. In Section 8.1, I describe the elective affinities between the ICO and translation, and more precisely, alluded to the multi-sectorial character of the ICO as an added value when approaching translation. The analysis of their work on the ground, instead, reflects the existence of certain ideological hierarchies within the intellectual domain.

8.2.5. Sketching possible solutions: expert input

Even though, at this stage of the ICO's work, experts' function was more focused on a diagnostic than on finding solutions, some ideas appear in the different contributions

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[966] Ibid., 216.
[967] Ibid., 213.

regarding measures that could improve the problems identified, as well as measures that contributors saw as pointless. I am referring here to extratextual solutions, that is, measures that went beyond the recommendation of a given translation technique for instance. Some of them have already been tangentially mentioned. To systematize their enumeration, I recover them here.

Several contributors mentioned the possibility to create new bodies from scratch specializing on translation, or on specific aspects from the translation process. For example, Lengyel considered that specific bodies could be created to facilitate "literary mariages" between authors and translators.

> Je conçois donc parfaitement l'organisation d'un bureau spécial à Paris, qui pourrait employer des lecteurs intelligents, dont l'unique devoir consisterait à rechercher des traducteurs d'un certain genre pour les œuvres du même genre. Lorsque cela se présenterait, ils pourraient éventuellement servir d'intermédiaire entre l'un et l'autre de ces hommes de lettres, et le reste se ferait par la voie de contacts personnels. Ce serait le meilleur moyen, à mon sens, d'arriver à des traductions parfaites, dans la limite des possibilités humaines. [968]

Chukovsky's take on the need that translations were proofread has been mentioned. He added in this regard that "l'institution d'un comité de rédacteurs compétents est nécessaire si l'on veut donner au lecteur une certaine garantie sur la justesse de la traduction."[969] It can be reasonably argued that this aspect was carefully mentioned by the ICO in that it reinforced their proposal to create some sort of specialized body in translation. And this, especially because it was an idea on which some contributors casted doubt. It was one of the more renowned figures who voices those reserves more clearly. Zweig regretted the presence of mistakes in translations, but he warned against official solutions: "il me semble également dangereux de vouloir y parer par des mesures officielles quelles qu'elles soient. L'art, en effet, est un terrain libre et qui doit le demeurer."[970] Next to the creation of international bodies, the creation of bodies working on translation in each country was also mentioned. This was thanks to Zaleski, who provided the most ambitious proposals when it comes to measures potentially improving the situation of translation. He illustrated his ideas by referring to recent developments in Poland:

> Le nombre de traductions grandissant, le marché augmentant de plus en plus sa capacité d'absorption, la nécessité s'est fait sentir d'organiser professionnellement les traducteurs en Pologne. 'L'Union syndicale des traducteurs', fondée il y a peu de temps à Varsovie, est une expression vivante de

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[968] Ibid., 216–17.
[969] Ibid., 225.
[970] Ibid., 234.

cette tendance. Ce syndicat veut réaliser l'unification du taux des honoraires (tant des auteurs que de leurs traducteurs) : il a créé un service d' 'autorisations' et une sorte de 'service de placements' : il appuie les propositions de ses membres auprès des éditeurs. Il veut, en outre, 'surveiller la pureté de la langue des traductions, c'est-à-dire qu'il se propose de relever la valeur professionnelle des traducteurs, tâche que l'existence même du syndicat va certainement favoriser. Il veut enfin dresser une liste des ouvrages en langue étrangère particulièrement dignes d'être traduits.[971]

As can be grasped, the union's prerogatives were broad and, as Zaleski himself acknowledged, "cette tâche me paraît nettement dépasser le domaine de l'activité normale d'un syndicat des traducteurs." Indeed, Zaleski's proposals in quality of solutions are broad, ambitious… and perfectly aligned with measures proposed in the framework of the ICO's previous work in the domain of translation. See the following excerpt:

> Pour mieux orienter et coordonner les échanges littéraires, il semble utile d'encourager la formation de syndicats nationaux de traducteurs, et d'offices de traductions ; de publier des listes de traducteurs ; de dresser et de tenir à jour les listes comparées des traductions déjà faites. Il faut tendre à élever le niveau général du métier du traducteur, et cela en augmentant sa part de responsabilité esthétique, en supprimant en fait l'anonymat des traductions, en contribuant à la défense de l'intérêt matériel du traducteur, en encourageant la fondation de prix de traductions.[972]

Translation unions, translators lists, lists of existing translations, signed translations, translation awards… The measures proposed exactly replicate the conclusions reached by the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters and the experts committee in the previous years. This is a clear example of the way the ambiguous status of some collaborators could be used. On the one hand, Zaleski's proximity to the ICO[973] made him perfectly informed about the lines of work interesting the organization. However, formally, and in the eyes of external actors, he voiced an opinion representing a specific country and other cultural organizations. Indeed, in the paratext preceding his statements on translation, he is introduced in the following terms:

> Délégué en France du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique polonais, chargé de cours de littérature polonaise à l'Institut d'études slaves de l'Université de Paris

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[971] Ibid., 230–31.
[972] Ibid., 232.
[973] In Feb. 1926, Zaleski attended a meeting at the IIIC where the possibility of organizing periodic conferences at Palais Royal on interuniversity relations was discussed. As a result, he participated in several conferences on the organization of the university system in different countries during the first months of 1926, and pronounced one in June on the development of universities in Poland. Being at that moment secretary of the Polish Section at the Slavonic Studies Institute, and Delegate in France of the Polish Ministry of Education, university relations seem to constitute his first entrance door to the ICO's work. *Travaux de l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle pendant l'année 1926*. Paris : Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1927. UN Archives, R2194–5B-3589-396.

> [et] vice-président du Conseil de la Société des échanges littéraires et artistiques entre la France et la Pologne.[974]

By echoing the conclusions of previous work in the domain of translation, Zaleski benefitted himself and his country given that both appeared well-informed about current debates on the institutionalization of translation and perfectly aligned with the work being done at the international body. By the same token, his views reinforced the ICO by illustrating that national efforts advanced in the same direction than its own work.

Next to ideas having to do with the creation of specialized bodies, some agents also mentioned the potential assistance that could be offered by existing cultural organizations which had a broader scope. Díez-Canedo, for example, referred to their potential assistance in facilitating the selection of translators. He admitted that the Madrid PEN Club was not functioning, but its members "considéreront de leur devoir de donner à leurs collègues de divers pays les renseignements dont ils auraient besoin,"[975] thus illustrating the human continuity despite institutional discontinuity. Rychner, instead, referred to national organizations of writers should "veiller à ce que des auteurs insignifiants ou des œuvres de mauvais traducteurs n'arrivent pas sur le marché." He added that the press played a crucial role in that regard, fact that he illustrated by referring to the "interprétation défectueuse" published in German of a work by Proust, in which case it sufficed "une critique sévère de Ernst Robert Curtius pour mettre l'éditeur en demeure de confier à des mains plus dignes la tâche difficile de traducteur."[976]

Looking into another type of cultural organization, Waley tackled the potential role of universities. When discussing the "linguistic paralysis" afflicting translators, he delved into the need to modify the ways foreign languages were taught in universities. In his view, the latter should train their students to properly develop translation skills, rather than grammar knowledge.

> Je crois qu'il y aurait lieu de signaler la chose à l'attention des autorités universitaires. Actuellement, les exercices de traduction dans les cours et les examens des universités tendent à démontrer que l'élève est parfaitement au fait des détails de la grammaire et de la syntaxe de la langue qu'il traduit. On en arrive ainsi à des semblants de traduction qui, tout en ne violentant pas nécessairement la langue, n'en demeurent pas moins complètement dépourvus de vie.[977]

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[974] *La Coopération intellectuelle* (4), April 15, 229.
[975] Ibid., 207.
[976] Ibid., 219.
[977] Ibid., 228–29.

By arguing so, he was one of the first defendants that a specific training in translation could improve the quality of translations. By arguing so, he extracted translation from the domain of vocation, and introduced it in a context where it was conceived as an activity that could be learned and perfected by means of a specific training.

With said considerations, I conclude my analysis on the contributions included in the 4th issue of *La Coopération Intellectuelle,* which is why I now move on to some preliminary conclusions. In the previous subsections, I have delved into a cross-reading of the different articles included in that issue. While their heterogeneity and different orientation could be seen as a lack of cohesion, by crisscrossing the different topics covered my goal was to show the rich character of that publication. And this, regarding especially the institutionalization of translation. Indices of an incipient institutionalization of the practice of translation can be seen in most of the topics discussed so far, starting by the social value assigned to that activity, but also its economic and political value. Topics such as the social profile of the translator, his working conditions, the creation of associations or other collective bodies gathering translators, whether translation constituted an art or a craft, translation in the process of industrialization of the book market and its commodification, its pricing, the creation of awards, the role of a translations critique in the press, institutional support on governments' side, questions on methods and techniques and, more broadly, a shy theory of translation, are all clear indices reflecting the way the ICO favored a specific reflection upon translation from the perspective of its institutionalization. Also, beyond single topics, indices of an incipient institutionalization can be seen in the approach advanced by the different contributions and by their joint presentation, which constitutes a relevant effort to reflect upon translation beyond single cases (a translation, an author, a translator), and instead doing it in terms of collectivities, patterns, dynamics, principles, i.e., in structural terms. Without using the terms intranslation and extranslation, the distinction is present in several contributions, as well as the weight of a literature's position in the world order for processes of literary circulation. The different profiles of the selected collaborators, which include representatives from the literary field, the field of education, and the publishing field, brought about an extremely innovatory multi-dimensional approach to translation. Their interest in translation from a relational understanding of the literary field (authors, publishers, translations) is also a sign in that regard, with both aspects anticipating contemporary debates in the domain of a sociology of translation.

When putting in dialogue their different standpoints, translation appears as a linguistic and textual operation, as an occupation, as a commercial venture, as an ethical activity, as a political tool. In this regard, several processes crisscrossed in relation to translation: the quantitative expansion of printed materials, the expansion of reading skills, the development of a capitalist publishing industry, the professional structuration of the book market,[978] as well as the spread of knowledge in foreign languages, and the institutionalization of inter-national relations in different fields. Considering the names referred to in each subsection, it can also be seen that, unsurprisingly, different professional profiles can be linked to some topics rather than others. For example, publishers (Fadiman and Stock-Manien) appeared more interested in legitimizing the presence of translations in their economic activity, rather than on the skills of translators or on questions of method. Agents with a more salient intellectual profile, instead, devoted more attention to questions of method or to the issue of text selection. Given the variable geometries at play, resulting from the different nationalities and professions, it is not possible to establish a clear-cut correspondence between a positive or negative assessment about the translations boom and the position of a given country in the intellectual or literary field. This being said, it is striking that most mentions of invasions appear under the pen of contributors speaking about France, Germany, and the United States, that is, central countries. While this negative assessment is also expressed in Czechoslovakia, most peripheral countries express a more positive view on translation.

Jurisdictional struggles repeatedly emerged not only between importing and exporting countries. Crisscrossing the territorial dimension with the occupational one, it is possible to retrace the conflict of jurisdiction between agents of the source literary field and agents of the target literary field (source culture publisher vs. target culture publisher, author vs. translator) between agents within a same literary field (autochthonous authors vs. foreign authors, publishers vs. translators in selecting texts to be translated or possession of translation rights, for example). However, they were veiled by an apparent spirit of interprofessional and international cooperation. It is worth asking whether the broad intellectual character of the ICO turned it into the perfect context to raise awareness on the different jurisdictional conflicts raised by translation, but maybe not the best one to actually settle them. In this regard, the previous analysis has also shed light on the fact

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[978] Blaise Wilfert-Portal, "Traduction littéraire: Approche bibliométrique," in *Histoire de la traduction en langue française, XIXe siècle*, 259.

that most ICO's collaborators and the institution itself adopted a discourse that was to be inscribed in the autonomous pole of the intellectual field, as opposed to the commercial pole, especially, thus nuancing the implicit hierarchies within intellectual professions and (sub)fields represented by the ICO.

The difference between promoting translation and promoting the circulation of specific works appears as one of the more relevant conclusions to be extracted from the previous analysis. A clear difficulty transpires in several opinions to distinguish the promotion of translation per se as a process or mediating mechanism, from its result. The conflation of both dimensions is of extreme interest for the study of any translation policy, especially in the framework of ideologically marked contexts.

8.3. The attempt to bring together two lines of work. Cahiers de Traduction, a specialized reflection and a practical tool

In the introduction to Chapter 8, I have elaborated on the idea that the ICO's main lines of work in the late 1920s in relation to literary translation consisted in promoting collaboration with agents differently involved in translation, and also in favoring a specific reflection on translation. The two lines of work were brought together in in a publication that, under the title of "Cahiers de la Traduction," would gather the lists of translators and their contact information, with analytical data regarding the state of translation in a single volume to be published by the IIIC. The project of Cahiers was, however, broader. In a sense it constituted the crystallization of several-year efforts to establish a form collaboration between the ICO and PEN Clubs and their multiple lines of work. Indeed, the PEN's congress constituted the venue where Braga proposed the idea to publish a gazette

> destinée à préciser les éléments du problème des traductions, à apporter aux auteurs, aux critiques, aux traducteurs et aux éditeurs des différents pays des renseignements d'ordre pratique en cette matière. Le 'Cahier' (..) comprendra des déclarations autorisées sur les traductions, l'historique des traductions, une étude sur le régime actuel des traductions, des listes bibliographiques et des listes de personnalités spécialisées dans le domaine des traductions.[979]

Therefore, the idea was to bring together all projects examined or developed with PEN Clubs in a s single publication. The latter's contents can be complemented by referring to

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[979] Ibid.

the documents attached to the circular letter previously quoted.[980] Authorized statements about translations referred to interventions by eminent writers, and the historical study on translations was intended to focus on their role in the past, as well as the modern conception on translation and changes regarding translation techniques. Translation's régime, instead, would include information on the "usages et pratiques, efforts faits en vue d'une organisation, contrats, contrôle, répertoires des traducteurs, rapports entre traducteurs et éditeurs, entre traducteurs et auteurs, statistiques, améliorations à introduire dans les bibliographies, coordination des efforts."[981] In sum, the idea was to promote a specialized publication presenting both a theoretical interest given its inclusion of early forms of theorization on translation and gathering of historical data on translation, and a practical interest given the presence, therein, of lists of addresses regarding translators, publishers, and other agents interested in translation. In other words, it was a publication that sought to directly intervene in the institutionalization of that activity by encompassing contributions in different domains. In this regard, it is relevant to note that, often, the ways the carriers of intellectual cooperation referred to their work in relation to literary translation "problèmes de*s* traduction*s*," or "problèmes de la traduction," a nuance that reveals the ongoing switch between a reflection upon translations in plural, and translation as a more or less specialized domain.

However, its development in practice suffered from problems in the collaboration between the ICO and PEN Clubs. Indeed, the origins of the idea were found in the 1928 resolutions, where the IIIC engaged in disseminating among authors, publishers, and other agents interested in translation, lists elaborated by PEN Clubs. While efforts had been done in 1928 to obtain said information, it seems that PEN Clubs did not receive any input information for a while. Having enquired about the causes, Luchaire found out that, in PEN Club's views, it was of little interest to gather information for it to be stored at the IIIC. In other words, they conditioned their collaboration to a broader dissemination. A qualitative change in regard PEN Club's collaboration took place affect PEN Club's executive committee, held on November 6, 1929, which was also attended by Braga. Therien, it was agreed that the IIIC would publish said repertoires. Having approved said publication from both sides, both PEN Clubs and the IIIC mobilized their respective networks to gather the necessary information. PEN Clubs focused on building

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[980] "Annexe I. Plan du Cahier des Traductions." Circular Letter 59.1929. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-IV-4 "Cahiers des traductions." Préparation.
[981] Ibid.

the repertoire of addresses, which was to include addresses of publishing houses more or less specialized on translation, lists of periodicals publishing translations or reports on foreign literary works, lists of personalities interested in foreign literatures and with mention of the languages in which they worked (scholars, teachers, authors…), lists of literary critiques who comment foreign works, lists of translators proposed by PEN Clubs with indication of their working languages, and lists of works recommended for translation. To that end, the International Federation of PEN Clubs sent a circular letter to its center requesting them to send information to the IIIC. In parallel, Dominique Braga sent a circular letter to some 40 branches of PEN Clubs in January 1930. Among receiving organizations, most of them were based in Europe, although some exceptions included PEN Clubs from Buenos Aires, Mexico, Santiago, Cape Town, New York, and Toronto.[982] Also, it should be noted that the ICO addressed centers as well not based in the state's capital. For example, in Spain, Madrid and Barcelona PEN Club were contacted. In Poland, Warsaw and Vilna, hence revealing that, without the ICO modifying its formal structure, they relied on PEN's transnational structure. Correspondence exchanged in this framework also reveals the strategic importance of Braga's participation in PEN's congress given that all letters include personal comments related to informal conversations and shared interests. Also, he also used his contacts when official letters remained unanswered.[983] In a similar vein, where national centers were not active, the ICO also tried to use NCIC to activate said national field. In this regard, rather than possessing concurrent networks, each body's respective network was used complementarily. Therefore, in the volume's preparation, collaboration from different national fields was sought for, as well as from different social fields, from the academic field to the commercial field. In preserved correspondence, it is also possible to reconstruct arguments employed to legitimize said project and awaken public interest. In their defense of their publication project, the IIIC often stressed the scientific or intellectual interest of the resulting work, but also its commercial potential as a tool for publishers. For example, in the following letter addressed to Ciarlantini, who has already been introduced in the framework of the IIIC's efforts to collaborate with the Publisher's Congress.

> Vous voyez donc qu'à l'aide de ces répertoires, tout auteur ou éditeur, dans un
> pays déterminé, sera en mesure de connaître les débouchés qui lui sont ouverts

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[982] Ibid.

[983] This was the case of Spanish PEN Club, for which Braga contacted with the ICO's long-date collaborator, Enrique Díez-Canedo. Braga to Enrique Díez-Canedo, Jan. 8, 1930.

dans tous les autres pays, saura à qui adresser tel ou tel ouvrage avec quelque chance de le voir traduire ou d'obtenir en tout cas qu'il en soit fait un compte rendu. C'est l'amorce de services de presse internationaux (envois de livres à la critique littéraire, aux revues et journaux, etc.). Il sembla qu'une publication de cet ordre devrait intéresser au premier chef les éditeurs.[984]

Results from their efforts started arriving in March 1930. In a few months, they had obtained 2500 names and addresses of publishers, literary critiques, translators, and periodicals interest in translation. With said information at their disposal, Braga started preparatory work for the publication during 1930 given the fact that the IIIC's budget did not allow its publication in the 1929-1930 budget. However, a crucial change took place in 1931. In occasion of the session the ICIC's Executive Committee held in January 1931, Bonnet alluded to the fact that the resolutions approved by the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters in 1928 referred to the IIIC disseminating lists of agents interested in translation provided by PEN Clubs. The IIIC had been working since then by following said resolution and, in that regard, Braga had done salient efforts to foster a publication containing the indicated information. However, technically the ICIC had not pronounced itself regarding said publication, hence why Bonnet requested the opinion of the ICIC's Executive Committee. [985] And then the Pandora box opened. Several members of the Executive Committee declared being skeptical regarding the way those lists could be useful, as well as regarding their exact character.[986] Also, they saw it dangerous that, by publishing itself said lists, the IIIC engaged its responsibility for contents that they had not directly prepared. And in that framework, the Executive Committee delved into a debate on the best way to withdraw from the project, which was problematic because several voices were of the opinion that the IIIC (and Braga personally) had engaged their responsibility. Ultimately, the Executive Committee decided that the ICO would formally withdraw from the project and grant some financial support to PEN Clubs if they decided to carry on the publication. [987] As it can be imagined, this was a source of no little tensions

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[984] Dominique Braga to Franco Ciarlantini, Dec. 22, 1930. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-V-4 Congrès des éditeurs.

[985] UN Archive, International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation C.I.C.I. Executive Committee. C.I.C.I./COM.EX./1st to 6th SES./P.V., 0000766233_D0007.

[986] PEN Clubs themselves had recognized "l'inconvénient de publier de telles listes, auxquelles on peut reprocher un caractère arbitraire," but they did not see it as an obstacle to proceed. Indeed, they offered to "les prendre sous leur responsabilité Il ne s'agit d'ailleurs pas, dans leur esprit, de listes exclusives. Ils seraient disposés à faire, le cas échéant, une déclaration précise à cet égard." But said precautions did not suffice in the eyes of the Executive Committee. Ibid.

[987] Ibid., 0000766233_D0008.

between the ICO and PEN Clubs. A negotiation was undertaken regarding the sum granted, which finally consisted of 4,500 French francs.[988]

Ultimately, the volume was published by PEN Clubs in 1934 at the French publishing house Rieder. It had a bilingual title, *Annuaire International de la Traduction / International Yearbook of Translations*. In the title, the singular in the French version and the plural in English are illustrative of ongoing changes in the way to conceptualize their object of interest. As the title suggests, the volume was primarily a yearbook, i.e., it contained the lists referred to previously (publishing houses and journals publishing translations or reviews, writers and literary critiques interested in foreign literature, and translators. For all its relevance, the result was quite modest, if compared to the initial description of Cahiers de Traduction, which combined a section devoted to the yearbook, but also analytical contents on translation.

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[988] Ibid., 0000766233_D0011 and 0000766233_D0014.

9. Tracking Translation Flows: the *Index Translationum*, an International Bibliography of Translations

The idea to establish yearly lists of published translations has surfaced repeatedly in previous chapters. Translation experts referred to this question, as well as collaborators in the issue devoted to translation in the ICO's gazette. The Sub-Committee's 1929 resolutions also mentioned it in the framework of possible forms of collaboration with PEN Clubs. The project saw the light in 1932 under the name of *Index Translationum* and becoming the first international list of published translations, that is, the first international bibliography of translations. Published quarterly, it included lists of books translated in several countries, as well as several appendixes: an index of authors, an index of translators, and a list containing publishers' addresses.[989] At first the *Index* included Germany, Spain, the United States, France, Great Britain, and Italy as trial countries, but it covered 14 countries by 1940.[990] After an interruption during WWII, UNESCO resumed its publication in 1948, first as a book, then as a compact disc, and ultimately as an online database, and significantly expanded its geographic coverage, thus pushing it to become one of the main resources for scholars studying translation flows.

Its existence can be linked to a growing interest in translation statistics. As it transpires from some quotations in Section 8.2, some of the contributions to the 1929 issue of *La Coopération Intellectuelle* included translation statistics. Kippenberg's report in the Sub-Committee's 1929 session largely commented translation statistics too. For example, he addressed the fear of an inundation of translation and proved it wrong by referring to translation static. Indeed, Kippenberg considered that the IIIC's contribution in relation to data of published translations touched precisely on translation statistics. In his view, establishing an international bibliography of translations exceeded the IIIC's capacities, and for this reason he considered that its contributions should be twofold. On the one hand, promoting the creation of national bibliographies in the countries where the latter did not exist. On the other hand and considering that the synthesis and publication of all national lists of translations in a single volume was hardly reachable for economic reasons, he argued that the ICO's main function was to use said materials to publish

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[989] This aspect is relevant, because it suggests that one additional reason for which the ICIC's Executive-Committee decided to withdraw from the project Cahiers de Traduction was its practical overlap with that of the Index, although this does not appear explicitly mentioned in consulted archival records.
[990] Banoun and Poulin, "L'âge de la traduction,", 47–54.

translation statistics, and comparisons between them in La *Coopération Intellectuelle.* In this regard, and despite the novelty of translation statistics, literary statistics were far from new. The 19th century witnessed the publication of multiple national statistics, some of which were used to formulate considerations regarding the place of foreign literatures and translation in the national marketplace… already in 1827.[991] It is indeed true that their main interest was the national production, but an early interested can be already perceived, at least in France, since the 19th century. Elaborating on the latter, Wilfert-Portal argued that "la statistique littéraire, qui restituait le mouvement d'ensemble de la librairie, permettait ainsi de statuer sur l'ouverture ou la fermeture de la vie intellectuelle nationale, et donc de penser la position de la littérature dans le 'grand filet'.[992] This reveals that, despite the innovations, the approach followed needs to be situated in continuity to efforts deployed in the 19th century to obtain literary statistics. By echoing said interest and applying it to the domain of translation, the ICO showed a clear awareness regarding the role of translations for the circulation of printed materials, be that in the framework of a history of science or of ideas, be that from the perspective of the development of a capitalist publishing field.

In what follows, I reconstruct the preparation process for the creation of the Index Translationum and some of the debates having appeared during its first years of existence. More precisely, in Section 9.1 I reconstruct the first elements that prompted the adoption of this line of work under the auspices of the ICO. This includes allusion to several resolutions passed by external bodies than when later on approved by the ICO. In Section 9.2, I delve into the work of the Committee of Experts for the Bibliography of Translations, the technical body that designed the details of the project. In concrete, I discuss its composition, and its resolutions. In Section 9.3, instead, I adopt a more analytical approach and discuss some of the topics that created controversy in the Index's form and contents.

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[991] I am here referring to an analysis formulated by Charle Louandre, quoted by Wilfert-Portal. Blaise Wilfert-Portal, "Traduction littéraire: Approche bibliométrique,"258–59.
[992] Ibid., 259.

9.1. External input to the ICO and first steps

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, a shared interest in translation, and more precisely, on translation bibliographies, can be recognized in different national literary and publishing fields. This is to be linked with an impetus coming from outside the ICO itself. Among the bodies having played a crucial role in that regard, the first one that can be mentioned is the ALAI. In their Cairo congress, held in December 1929, the creation of a yearly international bibliography of translations appeared in a report prepared by its Commission on the Control of Translations.[993] More precisely, they issued a resolution through which they expressed their interest in the establishment of a yearly bibliography of translations. Also, the ALAI formally expressed the desire that the IIIC informed the ICIC about the importance the ALAI attributed to the translation's bibliography. In the same period, PEN Clubs also manifested interest in the topic. In their London Congress, held on November 6-7, 1929, the idea of a yearly international bibliography of translations was examined, without however reaching specific conclusions. In that occasion, the Executive Committee of the International Federation of PEN Club's requested to one of its members to author a report on the international bibliography of translations, with a project presented in the congress the Federation held in Warsaw in 1930. The same topic was discussed in the 1st international congress of the Fédération de Sociétés professionnelles de Gens de Lettress.

Against a backdrop attesting to a generalized interest in the intellectual field on the project of a list of translations, the IIIC started moving the ICO's machinery to develop said line of work. To that end, a report was presented by the IIIIC to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters in June 1930.[994] The latter constituted a strong defense of

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[993] The following resolutions were approved on what was referred as "contrôle des traductions": First, that the editor always communicate to the author the translator's name when signing a translation contract; second, that no translation was published without the translator's name (or pseudonym); third, that the original title appear, in its original language, either on the cover, the fly leaf or the inside title page of the translation, as well as the original publisher's name. Also, that national bibliographies mention the original title and the original publisher when referring to translations. Fourth, that translations comprise indication of modifications applied (cuttings, adaptations or other), keeping in mind that author or copyright holders must approve modifications; fifth, that the publication of an international yearly bibliography of translations was promoted. Sixth, that the IIIC informed the ICIC on the importance the ALAI conferred to said bibliography. *Le droit d'auteur. Revue du Bureau de l'Union Internationale pour la protection des œuvres littéraires et artistiques*, n° 2, 15 Feb. 1930. Online access : https://www.wipo.int/edocs/pubdocs/fr/copyright/120/wipo_pub_120_1930_02.pdf.

[994] "B. Bibliographie Internationale Annuelle des Traductions" in Rapport de l'Institut à la sous-commission des Lettres et des Arts sur la question des traductions. UN Archive, R2224/5B/19344/2140 - Documents presented to and discussions at the 7th session of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, July 1930.

the project. IIIC representatives emphasized the relevance of such an instrument in the following terms:

> Une telle unanimité montre (…) l'importance qui est attachée à cette question dans les milieux littéraires et éditoriaux. L'Institut tient à attirer particulièrement l'attention de la Sous-Commission des Lettres et des Arts sur ce point, et à lui indiquer que l'établissement d'une bibliographie internationale annuelle des traductions lui apparaît comme le pivot des activités qui peuvent lui être confiées dans le domaine littéraire, comme la pierre angulaire de l'édifice qui pourrait être construit en vue de favoriser les échanges d'œuvres de pays à pays. Sans une bibliographie internationale des traductions, rien de stable et d'effectif ne saurait être fait en cotte matière.[995]

Several arguments were alluded to justify the useful character of a list of translations. First, the bibliography was considered a necessary tool for literary history, especially considering the growing awareness of the role of translations in said domain. Second, the existence of a social demand in need of information regarding whether an author or a work had been translated or not was attested by the requests of information revolved to the IIIC itself. Similar consultations enquired on whether a translator had published translations from one or another author. The IIIC had endeavored to reply said requirements of information, but not being officially entrusted with this task, lacked the necessary means to actually provide said information. The IIIC argued in this regard that replies to this kind of queries required inquiries from interested parties that were costly in economic and temporal terms. By publishing a yearly list of published translations, and accompanying it with a translator index, said queries would be replied. Third, the bibliography of translations would come to replace "fichiers des traducteurs" in use before. Having formulated said reasons, the IIIC also sketched a work program including 1) the elaboration of a plan and methods of classifying the bibliography, in agreement with authors and publishers' associations, 2) the adoption of shared criteria by the institutions preparing national bibliographies, criteria that would in turn their compilation in an international bibliography. Said criteria included the distinction between a translation, unifying procedures of classifying and announcing translations, such as the mention of the original work's title. 3) Compilation of information and publication of the bibliography. As to the economic previsions, the report recognized the impossibility to

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[995] Ibid.

elaborate a cost estimate but mentioned that the publicity of publishing houses in the bulletin, together with yearly subscriptions, would probably constitute sources of income.

After the approval of the Sub-Committee, the project was presented to the ICIC in its 7th session, held in July 1930, where the periodic publication of a bulletin announcing the translations appearing in the different countries was approved. The project was slightly paused during 1930-1931 given the IIIC's reorganization. Dominique Braga contacted the International Publishers' Congress in June 1931 to know whether they had considered this matter given the "incontestable utilité" qu'une Bibliographie internationale annuelle des Traductions, outre son intéret évident pour l'histoire littéraire, pourrait en effet être d'une inconstestable utilité pour led éditeurs."[996] Their answer was not as enthusiastic as those received from ALAI and PEN Clubs, for publishers considered that considerable preliminary work was necessary in each national field before the elaboration of an international bibliography was effectively possible.

> Il ne semble pas qu'il soit possible, à l'heure actuelle, d'entreprendre une bibliographie internationale, étant donné que les organisations de chaque pays ne sont pas à même de vous fournir les renseignements dont vous pourriez avoir besoin. Il faut tout d'abord que chaque association puisse prendre individuellement des dispositions pour établir les bibliographies nationales, soit en faisant une publication particulière, soit en modifiant dans les organismes professionnels les rubriques où actuellement elles sont publiées.[997]

Despite Hachette's initial reluctance, the topic was ultimately considered of interest by the International Publishers' Congress. The organizers of its 9th congress, to be held in Paris in 1931, contacted Dominique Braga to express their interest in the bibliography of translations. In July 1931, the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters held its first session, and in the latter, they confirmed their desire to continue ongoing efforts and projects in the domain of literary translation. In that occasion, Braga defended the project of the list of translations,[998] which gave birth to the following resolution:

> Le Comité permanent des Lettres et des Arts, ayant pris connaissance des vœux émis par diverses organisations internationales d'écrivains, d'éditeurs et de bibliothécaires, ainsi que du rapport de l'Institut, au sujet de 1*établissement d'une bibliographie internationale des traductions,
>
> Considérant :

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[996] Ibid.

[997] Hachette to Braga, June 29, 1931. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-V-4 Congrès des éditeurs.

[998] International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation. Sub-Committee of Arts .and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./6th to 7th SES./P.V./1929-30. C.I.C.I./PERM. L.A./1st to 2nd SES./P.V./1931-32. C.I.C.I./L.A./ENTRETIENS/1-10/1932, 0000766243_D0018.

1. Qu'une bibliographie internationale des traductions rendrait les plus grands services, tant dans le domaine littéraire et artistique que dans celui des sciences ;

2. Qu'une publication de cet ordre pourrait être le point de départ d'autres tentatives qui auraient pour but d'apporter plus tordre et de méthode dans le domaine de la tradition ;

3. Qu'elle permet de rassembler d'une manière rationnelle les renseignements utiles aux auteurs, aux éditeurs et aux traducteurs comme aux historiens, aux critiques littéraires, et enfin aux lecteurs eux-mêmes,

[La Commission] Demande à la Commission internationale de Coopération intellectuelle d'étudier les moyens de réaliser le plus tôt possible cette publication.[999]

With their approval, the following necessary step was the ICIC's endorsement. The project generated some debate in the ICIC's 13th session, which took place some days after the meeting of the Permanent Committee, given that its members anticipated several difficulties. The first was Czech historian Josef Šusta (1874-1945)[1000] referred to the difficulty in identifying works when titles had been changed by translators, and also in locating translations published in periodicals and not in separate volumes. Colombian essayist and journalist Baldomero Sanin Cano (18611-1957) referred to procedure doubts in the cases where a well-known translator who had signed a translation with a Publisher had actually given the translation to somebody else, as well as in the cases of published translations whose editors had not previously informed the author or paid the appurtenant copyright fees. He noted in this regard the different regimes, regarding copyright law, in Latin America and in Europe. Other agents raised the question of whether library experts should get involved in the bibliography of translations. Adopting a pragmatic position, Bonnet referred all doubts to an expert committee that would focus only on this issue. With this idea in mind, it was decided to organize another expert committee. Several debates took place in that session regarding whether the experts should only address the project of a list of published translations, or instead address the different projects the IIIC had examined in recent times. Ultimately, the first option was preferred.

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[999] Ibid., 0000766243_D0020.
[1000] Šusta was appointed in 1928 to replace the late professor Lorentz.

9.2. The Committee of Experts for the Bibliography of Translations: composition and work

In October 1931, the IIIC started work to constitute an expert committee appointed to decide the best publication modality. In what follows, I first reconstruct some of the debates surrounding the committee's composition, especially regarding its representative character, and then I summarize their work and the resolutions approved.

The IIIC decided to constitute said committee by bringing together representatives of international associations that had previously pronounced themselves in favor of publishing a bibliography of translations, opposite to the expert committee organized in 1927, where individuals were convened individually, for their expertise. Organizations represented included the Federation of PEN Clubs, the International Publishers' Congress, the ALAI, as well as the Fédération Internationale de Sociétés professionnelles de Gens de Lettres. Also, librarians were to be represented given the interest of this project in the domain of bibliography. The ICIC's requested to keep the expert committee to a restricted number of participants, in part to facilitate work, in part due to budgetary reasons.[1001] To the previous determinants, an effort to find a political equilibrium between represented countries was added. In Table 17, I summarize Braga's first proposal.

His proposal, however, received a negative reply coming not from the ICIC, but from the Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaux Section. Braga having sent his proposed composition to his counterparts in Geneva, Albert Dufour-Feronce, in Montenach's absence, considered that the committee should to "tenir suffisamment compte des besoins particuliers des petits pays dont la langue et d'une faible diffusion," which is why he recommended giving them a broader representation especially considering that their interests "ont toujours été pris en considération avec bienveillance par les membres du Comité des Lettres et des Arts."[1002] More precisely, he suggested two additions to the previous composition, one of a representative of Scandinavian and one of Slavic languages. Braga confirmed his intention to see Slavic languages represented through Zaleski. Indeed, he intended to solve ALAI's need of a representative and Dufour-Feronce's request with one appointment, given that Zaleski was Polish and

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[1001] The experts' trip (round trip in first class) of its members and the stay in Paris were covered by the IIIC, in addition to a stipendium of 300 French francs for session day. Instead, experts living in Paris received a stipendium of 150 French francs.
[1002] Albert Dufour-Feronce to Henri Bonnet, Oct. 20, 1931. UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F-IV-12 Bibliographie de la traduction - Réunion d'experts.

member of the ALAI's Translations Commission. Not considering it enough, however, Dufour-Feronce insisted that Hungary or the Nordic countries should also be represented.[1003]

Body represented	Candidate	Position	Nationality
Committee of Expert Librarians	Julien Cain	French National Library (General admin.)	FR
Fédération Internationale de Sociétés de Gens de Lettres	Roberto Forges Davanzati[1004]	Féd. Int. de Soc. de Gens de Lettres (Vice-pres.) ; Italian Society of Authors and Editors (President)	IT
	Valerio de Sanctis		
International Publishers Congress	Stanley Unwin	Publishers' Congress (vice-president)	EN
International Federation of PEN Clubs	Salvador de Madariaga		ES
	Enrique Díez-Canedo	Madrid PEN Club (secretary)	
Organization publishing national bibliography	Albert Hess	Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler in Leipzig (Director)	DE
	Heinrich Uhlendahl	Deutschen Bücherei (Director)	
ALAI			"représentant d'un petit pays connu pour publier pas mal de traductions"

Table 17. Braga's proposal for the Committee of Experts for the Bibliography of Translations

Even though Braga tried to legitimize his choice alluding to material constraints ("la CICI nous a prié d'organiser une réunion restreinte et, d'autre part, notre budget ne nous permet guère de prévoir plus de six experts"), he included a consideration on representativity that made explicit the way he understood institutional representativity.

> J'ajoute que nous devons réunir, dans les huit ou dix mois à venir, une vingtaine de petits Comités (…) des satisfactions seront ainsi données à d'autres cultures : à titre d'exemple, M. de MAGGIARY (hongrois) sera sur la liste des Directeurs de l'enseignement (…). Pour les scandinaves, nous aurons certainement d'autres occasions en cours d'année, et en matière de traductions, les langues scandinaves

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[1003] Albert Dufour-Feronce to Henri Bonnet, Oct. 27, 1931. Ibid.
[1004] Forges Davanzati failed to attend at the last minute and was thus replaced by Pilotti.

sont assez proches de plusieurs autres, représentées dans le Comité, pour que la présence d'un expert de ces pays, ne soit pas indispensable.[1005]

Bonnet's line of reasoning was not welcomed in Geneva. Given the absence of Dufour-Feronce, it was Armi Hallstein-Kallia who replied, a female member of the LON Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaux Section… who happened to be Finish.

> the chief point he [Albert Dufour-Feronce] wished to draw your attention to was that of a rather unequal representation of world languages and small languages on your committee of experts. It was not principally with a view to getting this or that particular group of languages represented (…) that he mentioned Slav or Scandinavian languages, but really with a view of getting several of these language groups represented.[1006]

For Geneva, the diversity of problems concerning translation needed to be approached from the contrasting perspectives of big and small languages. Given the implicit impossibility that big European countries were not represented, it was clear that the number of members in said committee needed to be slightly enlarged to satisfy both the political need to give representation to the main West European countries, but also the technical need to give fair representation to big and small languages. In this regard, Hallstein-Kallia's allusion to linguistic groups clearly differs from Braga's allusion to states and reveals the inability of the Institute to take into account the specifics of translation and make them operative in their institutional functioning. To make it even clearer that their observations had not a political original, Hallstein-Kallia added that she

> should like to emphasize the fact that he took into account the diversity of problems concerning translation, whether viewed from the big countries or small, and that, your suggestion that the interests of these countries would be satisfied in the composition of other expert committees does not exactly meet the problem we in Geneva were considering.

So far, the question had been mainly identified either as a problem of representativity (Braga), or as a technical proved derived from the fact that small and big countries and languages had different views and problems related to translation (Hallstein-Kallia). However, Dufour-Feronce, in his initial letter, had mentioned emphasized the fact that the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters was especially attentive to small countries. This must have been mentioned in a personal meeting between Dufour-Feronce and Bonnet because the latter, referring to that in person encounter, solved the disagreement by referring precisely to the fact that the Institute, too, had this issue at heart.

[1005] Henri Bonnet to Albert Dufour-Feronce, Oct. 30, 1931. Ibid.
[1006] Armi Inkeri Hallstein-Kallia to Henri Bonnet, Oct. 31, 1931. Ibid.

> Comme vous l'avez justement relevé, un des buts que l'Institut se propose, en publiant une bibliographie internationale des traductions, est précisément de permettre au monde cultivé de mieux apprécier la littérature des pays dont la langue est moins répandue. M. Braga partage entièrement votre manière de voir (…)[1007]

From that moment, the IIIC confirmed that they would try to find a translator living in Paris, if possible, and that had distinguished themselves by translating Scandinavian, Irish or Hungarian works. By playing with the country or culture represented by translators, who could provide ambiguous forms of representation, they tried to circumvent both the financial problem, as well as the technical issue of granting representation to small countries – even though, if the translator worked with French as her target language, chances existed that he was a French national. Among the proposed names, Norwegian writer Johan Bojer, Hungarian writer and president of the Hungarian PEN Club, Dezső Kosztolányi, who had to go to Paris for a meeting of PEN Clubs, and Romanian essayist et publicist Basile Munteanu, who lived then in Paris.[1008] However, the formal approval of prof. Murray, which functioned as the Institute's authorization to invite new members, reached the Institute on December 15, 1931. Invitations left the Institute the 16, two days before the beginning of works. In these conditions, most of them could not attend the proposed meeting. Table 18 summarizes the Committee of Expert's final composition. Some collaborators can be recognized from previous ventures: Díez-Canedo had been one of the members of the expert committee organized in 1927, and that same year he collaborated with the IIIC in relation to one of its collections of translations (Chapter 10), and he also authored one of the contributions in the 1929 publication of *La Coopération Intellectuelle.* In this regard, he emerged as one of the experts. Unwin had been in contact with the ICO in relation to the International Publishers' Congress. Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski had also published an article in the 1929 gazette and collaborated with the ICO as a representative of the Polish government. Massimo Pilotti, instead, appears as a different profile, with his main involvement having to do with the fact that the was Italy's representative before the IIIC. Indeed, given the different names proposed, it seems that, considering the negatives of Italian specialists, this decision was made to confer an official representative to that country.

[1007] Henri Bonnet to Jean Daniel de Montenach, Nov. 7, 1931. Ibid.
[1008] Dominique Braga to Daniel de Montenach, 10 Dec. 1931. Ibid.

Representative	Position	Nationality
Julien Cain	French National Library (General admin.), member Committee of Expert Librarians	FR
Massimo Pilotti	Italy's National Delegate before the IIIC	IT
Stanley Unwin	International Publishers' Congress (vice-president)	EN
Enrique Díez-Canedo	Madrid PEN Club (secretary)	ES
Ernest Reinhardt	Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler in Leipzig (Administrator) and publisher	DE / CH
Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski	Member of the at the ALAI's Translations Commission, Féd. Int. de Soci. De Gens de Lettres (vice-pres.)	PO
Basile Munteano	Essayist, literary critic, and former librarian of the Romanian Academy	RO

Table 18. Final Composition of the Committee of Experts for the Bibliography of Translations

The expert committee convened on December 18 and 19, 1931. The meeting was also attended by Montenach, as secretary of the ICIC, Attilio Rossi in his quality of the IIIC's acting director, Dominique Braga as Chief of the Section for Literary Relations, and Valerio Jahier as drafting officer at the IIIC. Jean Belime and Daniel Secretan were also present as secretaries of the IIIC. Finally, even though minutes do not contain mention of the officials having taken part in the works relating to the Index, complementary sources indicate Jeanne Taburet's substantial contribution in relation to this project.[1009] The expert meeting started with materials prepared by Braga, who had gathered, during the previous months, specimens of national bibliographies to facilitate the experts' work, with letters having been sent requesting this type of material to cities in the five continents, for example, Leyden, Reykjavik, Calcutta, Johannesburg,

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[1009] "Mme Taburet m'a rendu ces derniers mois de très grands services. (…) Je peux dire sans exagération que sans elle l'Index ne serait peut-être pas paru en temps voulu et dans de bonnes conditions. Outre le secrétariat du service littéraire (correspondance en français et en anglais, dossiers,) Mme Taburet prend la sténographie de mes réunions d'experts, fait les stencils des procès-verbaux ainsi que des circulaires (en français, anglais et en espagnol) envoyées par le service de publications pour la diffusion des publications du service littéraire. En ce qui concerne l'Index Translationum Mme Taburet fait les fiches pour la partie espagnole ainsi que l'index des traducteurs." Dominique Braga to unkwnon receiver (probably Ristorcelli, chief of the Administration Service), June 11, 1932. UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-A-IV-28.43 Personnel de l'Institut - Taburet Jeanne.

Washington, Oslo, Warsaw, Canberra, or Saint Sebastian. In result, he prepared a booklet containing the main questions on which the expert's decision seemed necessary.

At that stage, one of the first documents addressing in detail the project of a list of published translations, is Kippenberg's report on translation, presented in the Sub-Committee's 1929 session.[1010] Therein, Kippenberg argued the need to include in said lists information that was not always provided in the originals. He referred to the name of the author, the original's title, the source language, the edition that had been used for the translation and the original edition, and a mention acknowledging whether the work constituted a complete translation, an abridged version, an adaptation, a collection or selection of stories, or a revised and corrected edition.[1011] Also, the project was to span the domain of letters but also human, natural and exact sciences. The main idea was to draw on national general bibliographies published in each country to gather the necessary information[1012], with the IIIIC exercising a compilation role. Among the choices made by the experts, that of publishing the list of translations in the two official languages of the League, French and English, but with its title, Index Translationum, written in Latin, a dead language, to avoid favoring any other language. Also, to avoid using a specific language in the categories (author, title, etc.), font selections offered a solution: bold characters were used for the author, small caps for the translation's title, italics for the source title, and so forth. It was decided that the Index would be published quarterly, and, regarding its scope, it was initially agreed that a first test would only cover the translations issued in Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain, and the United States. Nevertheless, experts considered that to fully serve the ends that motivated its creation, it

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[1010] UN Archive, 0000766243_D0007.

[1011] Ibid.

[1012] A request of information, in form of an exemple of their work, was sent through circular letter C.49 1931 to: US Copyright Office (Washington), South Africa Printer & Stationner (Johannesburg), H.W. Wislon & Cie (New York), Directeur du Service de la Bibliographie de Belgique (Brussel), Association en vue du développement de la librairie (Amsterdam), Bureau des Echanges internationaux de la Bibliothèque (the Hague), Association Néerlandaise des Bibliothécaires (Amsterdam), Bibliothèque universitaire (Oslo), Association des Libraires (Oslo), National Library (Warsaw), Institut Scientifique Ossolineum (Warsaw), Institut de littérature et de bibliographie (Bucharest University, Cartea Românească (Bucharest), Service bibliographique (Bucarest), Journal de la Librairire auprès Association Suédoise des Editeurs (Stockholm), Directeur de l'Association des Libraires Suédois (Stockholm), National Library (Prague), Chambre Ukrainienne de Librairie (Kharkiv), Commonwealth National Library (Canberra), Bulletin Bibliographique de la Compañía Ibero-americana de Publicaciones (San Sebastian). A subsequent request was sent to India Central Publication Branch (Calcutta), Société des Libraires Islandais (Reykjavic) and Société de littérature finnoise (Helsinki), Société des Écrivains Estoniens (Tartu), Editions Revai (Budapest), Association des Éditeurs et Libraires (Budapest), Bibliothèque Athénée (Luxemburg) Librairie Internationale (Athens). Among the replies, suggesting they purchase a subscription or, in other terms, impossibility to send a free copy, publications interrupted after the war, bibliographies not covering translations. Ibid.

recommended that the IIIC undertake the necessary measures for the progressive extension of its scope to those countries whose national bibliographies conformed to certain standards.[1013] Concerning the types of works it would include, it was decided that the Index would mention, in alphabetical order, all the works referenced in national book lists. The IIIC adopted a compilation role in an attempt to deflect responsibility for any omissions, and also to avoid subjective judgments involved in thematic classification (in categories like literature, art, science, etc.). Regarding the system of classification, the experts initially agreed that countries in the alphabetical order having been selected as the practical way to proceed. Also, they recommended that, within each country, books would in turn be divided by subject matter, although this raised further questions given the different methods employed by national bibliographies. Considering this, the experts recommended convening "small committee of two or three experts who would be invited to propose a standard method of a classification according to subject matter, the adoption of which would be recommended to the different national bibliographies." And, in the meantime, they propose that notices were classified depending on the original language.

Also, experts issued a series of recommendations to be followed by national bibliographies to harmonize their work methods, hence facilitating the IIIC's compilation role. Given that most national bibliographies did not contemplate to mark if a work was original or a translation, they recommended that "national bibliographies devote a special section to translations, or failing this, that they call attention to translations by means of a special and conspicuous mark in the margin of the entry, this mark possibly taking the form of a heavy black spot." They also recommended publishing bibliographies each three months, indicating when a work was translated for the first time, following the same order when writing a reference. Regarding said issue, they offered a guide on how to quote both translations and their originals.[1014] Most importantly, the experts formulated a series of recommendations for publishers given the crucial dependence of the project of an international bibliography of translations on national sources. Acknowledging the fact

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[1013] "a) These bibliographies shall be published or compiled by an official organization (academy, library, etc...) or a professional organization (associations of publishers, booksellers, authors, etc...). b) These bibliographies shall be published at regular intervals. c) These bibliographies shall give in their entries, at least the name of the author and the title of the translation, the name of the translator, the town in which the translation is published, the name of the publisher and the date of publication." Ibid.

[1014] The latter would be referenced in Roman characters, with reference per se including author, title of the work (in the target language), name of the translator followed in brackets by names of other collaborators, such as author of the foreword, town of publication and publisher. Originals, instead, would be references in italics, and the reference would include the language from which the work was translated with the original title in the source language, town, date of publication, and translations.

that some national bibliographies should be completed to maximize the Index scientific and practical value. Their recommendations included: 1) mention of the translator's name (or her pseudonym) on the cover of the work or on the inside title page, 2) mention of the title of the translated work in its original language on the cover, on the fly-leaf or on the inside title page, 3) mention whenever they published the first translation of a work with the formula "Translated from (English, German, etc.) for the first time, by…" on the cover, on the fly-leaf or inside title page, 4) distinction between complete translations, on the one hand, and abridged translations or adaptations on the other. To that end, they recommended contained either the formula "translated from" for unabridged translations, and the formula "adapted from" for abridged translations or translations in which the text had been modified, 5) mention of the title of the work in its original language, the town in which the work is published, the date of publication and the edition from which the translation has been made on the cover, the fly-leaf or inside title page, 6) distinction between the first edition of a translation and reprinted editions, and 7) that publishers mentioned the name of the source culture publisher. With the experts' resolutions having been approved by the Executive Committee in March 1932, the IIIC soon started preparation of the volume, which first volume saw the light in July 1932.

9.3. The immediate reception and first dissemination efforts

The creation of the Index Translationum was predicated upon the collaboration of several agents in the literary field. On the one hand, bibliographers, who were responsible for the elaboration of national lists of translations, but also publishers, who were in turn in charge of determining the information contained in a book. Their work, in this regard, was intimately related. The experts' recommendations were differently received depending on whether they targeted bibliographical or commercial practices. On the one hand, in the domain of bibliography, the IIIC requested to a number of national institutions to uniformize their practices so as to facilitate their compilation role, request that was satisfied in most cases. Preserved correspondence mentions that the *Bibliographie de la France* included a chapter specifically devoted to translations following the IIIC's request. The Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler from Leipzig stopped the publication of their bibliographical supplement devoted to German books translated abroad to avoid replicating the IIIC's work. The *Bollettino delle Pubblicazioni italiane*

adopted the practice of sending their list of published translations to the IIIC prior to including them in their general bibliography. The British and the American counterparts (respectively, magazines *The Publisher and Bookseller*, and *Publishers Weekly*) also confirmed they would adopt experts' recommendations.[1015] Instead, in the domain of publishing, reception of the experts' work was more hostile. Their unwillingness to comply with experts' recommendations was observed to the IIIC by Ciarlantini, who acted as the spokesperson that had to present the ICO's work to the Publisher's Congress.

> La deuxième observation que je me permets de vous faire concerne le vœu émis de distinguer les traductions intégrales des traductions avec coupures et des adaptations (…). À mon avis, ce sera bien difficile d'obtenir que les éditeurs indiquent eux-mêmes que leurs traductions, ayant des coupures, ne sont pas complètes, car par cela même ils ôteraient de la valeur à leurs ouvrages ; c'est là donc une sincérité que –il faut se l'avouer- ne pourra être obtenue avec facilité.[1016]

In his view, publishers' interests were not aligned with the idea of distinguishing between different types of works (full translations, adaptations, abridgements, etc.) because said distinction could undermine some of their products' value. Indeed, the *Index* included the expert's resolutions to contribute to their dissemination. Also, in its 4th issue, which marked a year from its first publication, the IIIC decided to include a note addressed to the Index's readers, where they directly pointed a finger at publishers.

> It was necessary for us to induce publishers, who, up to the present, were little accustomed to making any distinction between translations and other works published by them, to supply us in the future with additional references concerning translated books. (…) We therefore call the attention of publishers once more to the desirability of indicating in future, on one of the inside title pages of translated works, certain indispensable references, particularly *the language from which the translations are made* and *the original title of the work*. When we are in possession of this information, it will be possible for us to publish lists of works by each author translated into the different languages and indexes arranged according to these languages, both of which will be of incontestable value. (emphasis in the original)[1017]

In the previous chapter, I have commented on the cold relations between the ICO and the publishing milieu, a coldness that manifests again in this case. The public acknowledgment of publishers' unwillingness to comply with experts' resolutions is to be noted, as it contrasts with the ICO's customary diplomatic style. Said gesture can be

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[1015] *Cooperation Intellectuelle*, 1932, 37.
[1016] Carlo Marrubini, secretary general of the Federazione Nazionale Fascista Industria Editoriale, to Dominique Braga, March 8, 1933. UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F-IV-12 Bibliographie de la traduction - Réunion d'experts.
[1017] "To Our Readers," *Index Translationum. Répertoire international des traductions / International Bibliography of translations*, num. 4, April 1933. Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

read as an attempt to put pressure on publishers, while also enabling the ICO to evade responsibility for the *Index*'s imperfections. The latter was a persistent preoccupation, as attested by the fact that the following statement was included in the Index's initial notes:

> It should be noted that, as at present published, certain useful references are not always given by all the national bibliographies. The editors of the *index translationum* have approached publishers and bibliographical organisations in the different countries with a view to obtaining the regular mention of these references. The *index translationum* will, in this way, gradually become as complete as possible.[1018]

By doing so, the ICO acknowledged the imperfection of the outputs, but redirected the responsibility for the latter to publishers and bibliographical organizations, hence implicitly reminding their *merely* compilation function.

Also, a quick word on distribution is also necessary to get a clearer view upon the ways the ICO addressed this part of work. The first intention was to give for free several thousands of copies of the Index' first edition. However, following a suggestion of Reinhardt, he published an article in the Börsenblatt, the magazine of the German Book Trade Association, in which he announced that copies would be sent to all those who requested them by contacting the IIIC. This triggered a new procedure, contacting key intellectuals to identify the key journals or corporate bulletins (writers, publishers, librarians, booksellers, academies, universities) where said articles could be published in each country. This was all the more important if considered that the experts' recommendations, which the IIIC had all the interest in disseminating among the appropriate audience and not among the general public. Therefore, the pursued line was to write said articles. In the case of Germany, Reinhardt had already solved it. In the case of Spain, Díez-Canedo was requested to publish said articles and to mediate between the IIIC and the *Bibliografía General Española y Hispano-Americana*. Carlo Marrubini, secretary general of the Federazione Nazionale Fascista Industria Editoriale (National Fascist Italian Publishers Federation), confirmed that Italian publishers would obey the recommendations of the experts and assumed responsibility for their publication in the *Giornale della Libreria*. The same was requested to Unwin. In parallel to those articles, the IIIC also considered the possibility to publish similar notes in other countries' press, signed by the IIIC itself. Two additional distribution means were followed. The Index, as

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[1018] "Note," *Index Translationum. Répertoire international des traductions / International Bibliography of translations*, num. 3, Jan. 1933. Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

the other publications issued by the IIIC, could be purchased in reseller bookshops that received the IIIC's publications. The Index itself included a list of the latter, with the first edition mentioning bookshops in Cape Town, Leipzig, Viena, Brussels, Sofia, Ottawa, Shanghai, Barcelona, Boston, Helsinki, Paris, London, Calcutta, Tokyo, Wellington, The Hague, Bucharest, Prague, and Belgrade. Additionally, it was decided to send free copies of the Index only to libraries. More precisely, *only* to "toutes les bibliothèques du monde."[1019]

9.4. In the Index Translationum's kitchen

During the expert committee's early work, but also with the publication of the Index first volumes, a series of topics related to the *Index*'s contents sparked off debate. In the meetings held prior to its launch, and throughout its first years of existence, it was generally established that the *Index* would pay special attention to "small countries whose languages are little known."[1020] This reflected expert's view that the ICO's policy needed to improve knowledge about lesser-known literatures, hence fostering more egalitarian relations in the international literary field. Although the idea to work with small languages and literatures was maintained in the project's horizon, in the reality of practice the areas initially covered did not correspond to said definition. When practical work started and it was decided that, as a first step, the bulletin would enumerate only translations which had appeared in countries the language of which was the most commonly used,[1021] in an attempt to legitimize the project and the organization promoting it. Indeed, a note in the first volume mentioned that "L'*index translationum* publie trimestriellement la liste des traductions paraissant les principaux pays" (in English, "The *index translationum* publishes quarterly a list of translated works appearing in the principal countries"[1022]), with all the ambiguity contained in the words "principaux" and "principal." The goal was to end up creating a "universal" resource, to use the word Braga used to refer to the

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[1019] Dominique Braga to Enrique Díez-Canedo, March 15, 1932. To be noted that Braga had received a few months earlier a list with all the libraries in the world from Fritz Schnabel, head of the League of Nations Publications Department.

[1020] Albert Dufour-Feronce to H. Bonnet, Oct. 21, 1931. UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F-IV-12 Bibliographie de la traduction - Réunion d'experts.

[1021] Dominique Braga to J.D. Thompson (American National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation), 20 Nov. 1931. Ibid.

[1022] "Note / Avertissement," *Index Translationum. Répertoire international des traductions / International Bibliography of Translations*, num.1, July 1932. Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

project's geographic horizon when he stated that they would study "l'examen des bibliographies des pays de langue de petit diffusion, afin que grâce à une certaine uniformation des méthodes le bulletin bibliographique devienne progressivement universel."[1023] Despite an initial work focused in big countries from Western Europe and the US, the extension of the Index did not take long: Denmark, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Sweden, and Czechoslovakia were added in July 1933, and in October that year the URSS was also added to the list.[1024] The participation of some countries was irregular, with its last issue in July 1939 including 12 countries (Spain and Czechoslovakia disappeared, the Low Countries were added, etc.).

However, the most problematic aspect regarded whether books had to be listed according to source language and country of origin was also discussed, but the issue was tricky given the mismatch between linguistic and political borders. The question, we have seen, was already touched upon by the experts in their meeting of December 1931. However, it produced quick reactions in the following months. From Germany the experts' decision to organize the *Index* according to countries, rather than languages, was quickly problematized.

> Le Boersenverein der deutschen Buchhändler et la Deutsche Nationalbibliographie (…) sommes éloignés de toute arrière-pensée politique lorsque nous posons le principe que seule la langue peut constituer la base d'une bibliographie, car les contrats d'édition s'entendent toujours pour l'ensemble d'un territoire linguistique (…). Le commerce du livre, dans son ensemble, part du principe que c'est la langue dans laquelle paraît un ouvrage qui en détermine le débouché.[1025]

The same idea was expressed by J. David Thompson, executive secretary of the American NCIC. The latter was informed about the experts' decisions given the absence of a formal representative of the US in that meeting and sent in turn his suggestions on the arrangement of titles in said bibliography. He suggested in March 1932 to amend the primary divisions, so that the list of translations was organized along target languages rather than by country of publication.

> This, I believe, will make a more practical arrangement from the standpoint of use of the bibliography, which is the most important thing to be taken into account. (…) The important questions is what translations into a particular language have been issued not that translations of all kinds have been issued in a particular

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[1023] Dominique Braga to Forges Davanzati, 27 novembre 1931. UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F-IV-12 Bibliographie de la traduction - Réunion d'experts.

[1024] Ibid.

[1025] Directing Committee of the Boersenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler to the IIIC's Executive Committee through Julien Cain, June 3, 1933. Ibid.

country. This would mean that all translations into English are brought together whether they are published in Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Japan, Italy or anywhere else. Similarly, translations into French would be brought together whether they are published in France, Belgium, Switzerland or any other country.

To reinforce the arguments deployed, Thompson also pointed out that a structure based on languages was being adopted by several national bibliographies. For example, in the US, where "a year or so ago, the American national bibliography *Cumulative Book Index* has been extended to include not only American books, but books in English published anywhere in the world."[1026] In his view, two reasons justified that the same criteria be adopted in the case of the *Index Translationum*. On the one hand, since the latter would draw from information in national bibliographies, it should follow the same structure. On the other hand, by arguing that a movement was taking place in several countries to favor an organization of bibliographies based on language, he implicitly suggested that if the ICO did otherwise in the case of the *Index Translationum,* it would buck the current trend in the literary field. At the ICO, however, their arguments were dismissed. Braga put forward several counterarguments to reject Thompson's idea. Among them, the fact that experts had from the very beginning based their work on the category of country. He also recalled Unwin's recommendation to distinguish between the translations published in England and those published in the United States. He noted in this regard that they were sensitive to his point, which is why the *Index* included indexes for each language at the end of each number, where all translations into Russian, for example, would be listed irrespective of the country of publication. Ultimately, the strongest argument he advanced concerned their complete dependence on national bibliographies, and the differences, in terms of completeness, between countries:

> one of the reasons which led the Experts to abandon the system of classification by languages was that, for the time being, it would be materially impossible to adopt this method. In point of fact: All English-speaking countries, for instance, do not possess bibliographies which ware sufficiently complete for them to be utilized. It is true that the *Cumulative Book Index* endeavors to indicate all the translations issued in every English-speaking country, but the information furnished by that publication is not always sufficient to permit of its being used for the *Index Translationum*. In addition to the English translations published in English speaking countries, translations are occasionally published in countries the language of which is totally different, not only in Japan and India, for example, but in other countries whose bibliographies are inadequate on a number of points and will, moreover, not be used for the purposes of the *Index Translationum*. In

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[1026] J. David Thompson, Executive Secretary of the American National Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation, March 2, 1932. Ibid.

these conditions, how would it be possible to announce all the translations published in English? [1027]

Classification by country was finally adopted for practical reasons given that the data would come from national institutions it would simplify the work involved. And within each country, translations would be divided according to their source language.

However, that criteria had to be nuanced. And this, for several reasons. One was that some countries did not join the project until several years or decades later, but the ICO possessed some information about the translations published therein thanks to bibliographies published elsewhere but following the criteria of language. This was for example the case of translations published in Spanish in some Latin American countries. For Spain, the source used was the *Bibliografía Española e hispano-americana*, which, as its title suggests, covered also Latin America. The IIIC decided not to open a section for countries that did not participate in the *Index*, as the information regarding them was extremely fragmentary and reached them by secondary means, but their works were included in the lists of other countries with an asterisk. And this, from the very first issue of the *Index*, which contrasts with Braga's reluctance in preserved correspondence. For example, under the section devoted to Spain, books were included that had been published in Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, or Havana. In the section devoted to Germany, it was possible to find books published in Viena, Innsbruck, Bale, Lausanne, Prague, Copenhagen, or Amsterdam (of course, until the corresponding countries did not join the *Index*). France included books published in Leuven or in Neuchâtel, as Belgium and Switzerland, but also Canada, were not represented between 1934 and 1940.[1028] From the second issue, published in October 1932, an additional mark was added. Were marked with a square in the margin books published within a given country in languages that were not those generally spoken therein. For example, we can find books published in English, French or German in Prague, books published in German and Norwegian in Polland, as well as books published in German in the USSR (Figure 32). Additional marks were added to convey some countries' internal language diversity. For example, in the section devoted to Spain, were marked with a "C" books published in Catalan. However, different states applied different criteria over their own internal language diversity, with this decision corresponding to each national field rather than to the ICO. This reveals that,

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[1027] Dominique Braga to J. David Thompson, March 29, 1932. Ibid.
[1028] Banoun and Poulin, "L'âge de la traduction," 48.

despite institutional attempts to prioritize countries as main organizing category to apprehend the intellectual field, the complexities intrinsic in the reality of practices forced the organization to combine the criteria of countries with the acknowledgment that languages were a strong organizing factor in the intellectual field. By subsuming that fact within a general organization based on countries.
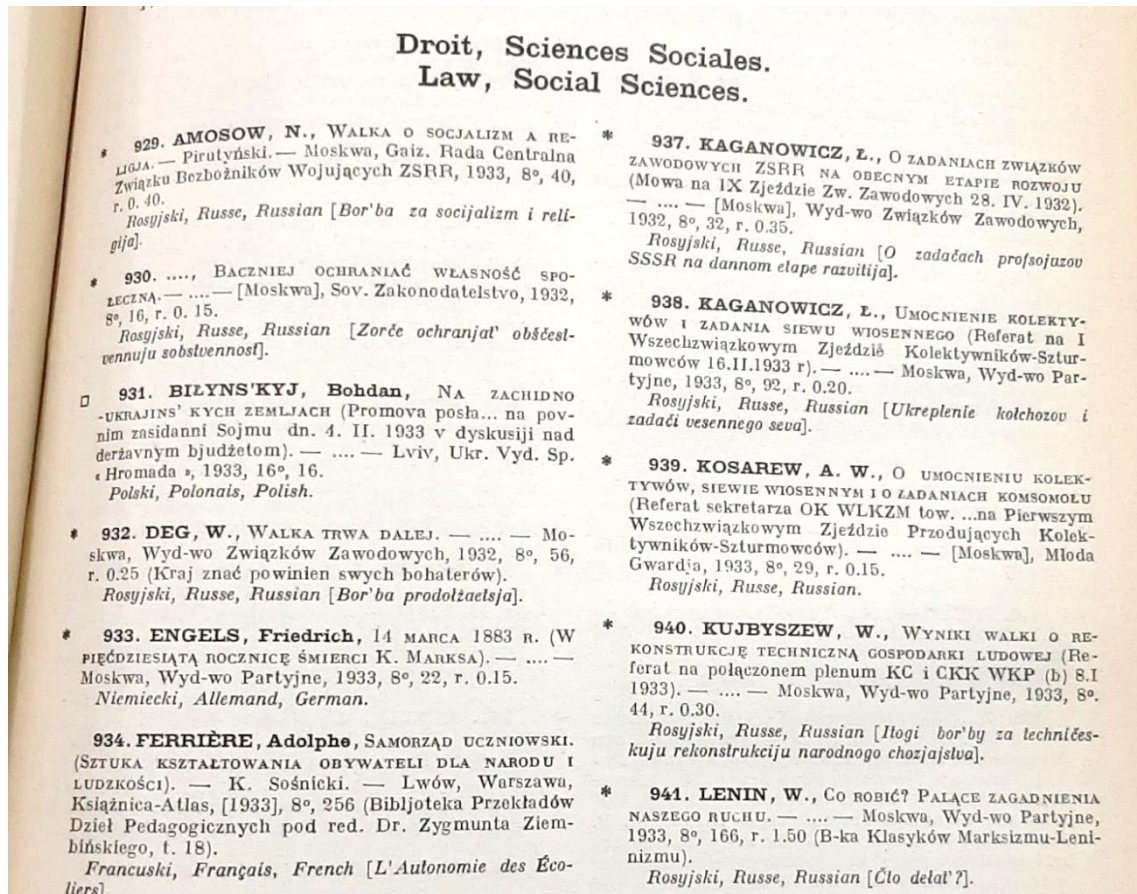

Figure 32. Example of asterisks and squares in the Index. Source: Index Translationum. Bibliography of Translations, num.5, July 1933. Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, p. 55.

The fact that the discussion between linguistic and national criteria was settled in favor of the national is suggestive of those mechanisms that have historically naturalized the national as a structuring category in the cultural domain. The debate resonates with contemporary scholarly discussion on methodological nationalism. In relation to literature, for example, we can refer to Leperlier work on language in the definition of fields,[1029] but also to Cussel's critique of methodological nationalism in Translation Studies and in some of its most used concepts.[1030] In this case, we obtain a of the

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[1029] Tristan Leperlier, "La langue des champs. Aires linguistiques transnationales et espaces littéraires plurilingues, " Contextes 28 (2020).
[1030] Cussel, "Methodological Nationalism."

difficulties encountered to abandon the category of country. In the following excerpt, Bonnet admitted IOs dependence upon states (and their corollary dependence on national organizations in the intellectual domain).

> Le but général du travail entrepris par la Commission internationale de Coopération Intellectuelle et l'Institut dont l'œuvre toute entière doit s'appuyer sur les forces nationales existantes en cherchant à créer entre elles un lien et une collaboration (…). Pour le moment, les moyens dont disposent les organismes internationaux sont trop restreints pour qu'on puisse aller plus loin.[1031]

In previous sections, it has been argued that IOs have historically been a favorable space for the institutionalization of translation. While the project of the *Index Translationum* bears witness to this fact, its history also illustrates the ways the national logic conditioned the ICO's work.

The dependence of IOs vis-à-vis states, and hence the former's dominated position, is reflected in another dimension to be mentioned when reconstructing the history of the *Index Translationum*, namely, the link between translation statistics and nationalism. From the work of the experts, one of the goals in the project of the Index was the elaboration of national statistics on translation that were included once per year to synthesize the translations published during the previous year. Experts agreed to publish both states and language statistics. From its very origins, a vivid interest in creating statistics on importing versus exporting countries, and on frequently versus rarely translated authors, can be gleaned by studying the IIIC's work meetings related to this project. This reflects the way translation export rates may be indicative of a country's hegemony in the cultural field, and, on the other hand, it also reveals how translation emerged as a source of prestige in the internationalist mindset, in which predominantly importing countries were commended for their openness toward and interest in other countries. This explains why Thompson, from the American NCIC, enquired what was the ICO's policy when two translations were simultaneously published in two countries. Also, it was decided, following Thompson's request, that when a translation was published almost simultaneously in two countries (for example, England and the United States), the complete notice would be included under the name of the country in which the translation was first published. In other words, chronological order and not the alphabetical arrangement of the countries was observed.[1032] However, several precautions

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[1031] Henri Bonnet to Thomas Mann, 12 April 1932. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-IV-12 Bibliographie de la traduction - Réunion d'experts.
[1032] Dominique Braga to Stanley Unwin, March 21, 1932. Ibid.

were mentioned when reading translation statistics. When Holand joined the Index, a note was introduced that mentioned the fact that "la liste des traductions donne pour certains pays, une image très incomplète des lectures du public. Il en est particulièrement ainsi en ce qui concerne la Hollande, où une élite intellectuelle nombreuse lit des ouvrages français, allemands et anglais dans la langue originale."[1033] Despite the egalitarian values guiding the IIIC, the archives show that the *Index* fulfilled specific functions around (power) relations in the literary space. From this standpoint, it can be stated that the IT was an attempt at developing a supranational infrastructure for translation, or a supranational form of institutionalization for translation. Even though the inter-national character of the ICO shaped its concrete realization and maybe limited its potential, it is worth stressing the fact that a specific equilibrium of forces between the two main constituencies represented within the ICO, intellectuals and politicians, enabled the creation of the IT. The IT was an infrastructure created primarily to give response to an intellectual need. It was, thus, the role of intellectuals within the ICO, and more precisely, their needs that made it possible to imagine and bring to reality this undertaking. As a tool, the IT does not *do* things, it can be *used* to do things. Its use can be politicized: the statistics that one can access thanks to the IT can be used in the framework of competition between states and they can be interpreted in terms of self-interest. But they can also open the door to analyze multidirectional interactions in the intellectual field, the structure of the transnational literary field, as well as to shed light on the structural role of translation.

[1033] "Rapport des Commissions nationales de Coopération intellectuelle sur leur activité de l'année 1937-1938 », UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-C.N.-C.N. 1937-1938-g.

10. The IIIC as an Editor of Translated Literature: a focus on the Ibero-American Collection

The bodies composing the ICO addressed the possibility to promote or publish literary anthologies since their very first sessions of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters (Section 7.2). As mentioned earlier, the Sub-Committee adopted in 1926 the recommendation to publish a collection of national literatures, through which the broader goal of promoting "the translation of works of every period (and more particularly of works appealing only to a public which is too limited to make publication a financial success) and the translation of literary works written in the less well-known languages"[1034] was pursued. The experts in translation, in their 1927 meeting, also discussed and recommended the publication of literary collections.[1035]

Against this backdrop, the IIIC became an editor itself and published two literary collections containing translated works, and envisioned the publication of, at least, two additional collections. The first two had a geographic focus, the Iber-American and the Japanese Collection, and were both published during the 1930s. In the first case, the collection comprised works written by Latin-American writers published in French translation. Preliminary work started in 1927, although the first volume did not see the light until 1930. [1036] Instead, work to publish the Japanese Collection started at the ICIC in 1935, with the first volume having been published in French translation in 1936. Three volumes were published until 1939.[1037] Among them, it is to be noted that the second volume was not a translation from Japanese to French, but a translation from English to French (Anesaki's *Art, Life, and Nature in Japan*). The two projects received grants from Latin American and Japanese governments and the editorial process was managed by the appurtenant Publishing Committees.

[1034] Annex I. Resolutions proposed by the Sub-Committees and approved by the Plenary Committee." In UN Archive, A-28-1926-XII_EN International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. Eighth Plenary Session. Report of the Committee submitted to the Council and the Assembly.

[1035] UN Archive, R1050/13C/60682/24804 - Translation of Intellectual Works - Report of International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, on the Meeting of the Committee of Experts, July 1927.

[1036] Juliette Dumont, "De la coopération intellectuelle à la diplomatie culturelle : les voies/x de l'Argentine, du Brésil et du Chili (1919-1946)," PhD diss., Université Paris 3, 2013, 184–93; Pita González, "América (Latina) en París."

[1037] Millet, "Esprit japonais," 79–90; Saikawa, "From Intellectual Co-Operation," 208–39.

Two additional literary collections were proposed that however never saw the light, one ethnographic and one regional collection. Most work regard said collections having taken place in the second half of the 1930s, it can be argued that they were favored by the success of the Ibero-American Collection and the recent approval of the publication of a Japanese Collection. The first of said projects was known as American Ethnographical and Historical Collection, or as the "Levillier proposal," after the name of its promoter.[1038] Roberto Levillier (1886-1969) was an Argentine diplomat and historian. He put forward the project to publish at ethnographic and historical collection, covering the 16th and the 17th centuries, in 1934. Indeed, in the framework of the Ibero-American Collection, debates had aroused regarding the interest of historical materials, as some of the volumes attest to despite its a priori literary character. The proposal found a positive reception on the side of several Latin American governments, which confirmed their disposition to offer sums for the establishment of the project. The same happened at the ICO, and this despite some early given that the topic could tackle controversial aspects on Spanish colonization.[1039] The ICIC approved said publication in its 18th session, held in July 1936, and that same year the LON approved it in its 17th session.[1040] In result, the IIIC organized an expert committee directed by Paul Rivet to bring forward its publication, initially, in Spanish and French. Despite interest, the outbreak of the Second World War interrupted the project, which ultimately never saw the light.

The regional collection was an idea proposed in 1935. Regular procedure to set forth a new project or line of action within the ICO implied, generally, decision-making at the ICIC and then execution by the IIIC. In this case, procedure employed differed. Romanian poet Ion Pillat (1891-1945) proposed that the IIIC publish a collection of regional literatures in the 16th Assembly of the LON, held in September 1935.

> The countries whose languages are not widely known experience, in spite of the growing number of translations, real difficulty in making their intellectual achievements known outside their own boundaries. In order for mankind not to be deprived of this intellectual contribution, M. Pillat would like to see a collection of representative and classic works of European literatures written in regional languages.[1041]

[1038] For more details, see: Alexandra Pita González, "La Colección de etnografía e historia de América y el embajador Roberto Levillier en México, 1934-1939," *Historia Mexicana* 68 no. 4 (2019): 1697–1742.

[1039] UN Archive, R4032/5B/25855/8756 Latin-American Classics - Ethnographical [Ethnological] and Historical Collection - Discussions at the 17th Session of the Assembly, September 1936 [Plans and proposals].

[1040] Pita González, "La Colección de etnografía," 1712–19.

[1041] (International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, Report of the Committee on the Work of its Eighteenth Plenary Session, 64, R4002-5B-25731-1976, UN Archives Geneva).

Pillat's proposal additionally referred to the fact that the translation of regional literatures into English or French would contribute to a better understanding of "the spirit of their neighbors, and this cannot but help them [in gaining] a mutual understanding."[1042] His proposal made explicit the disconnectedness and lack of mutual knowledge of peripheral cultures and sought to facilitate their visibility by using central languages as bridge languages. It is possible to glean a certain ambiguity in the terms employed in Pillat's proposal, which include "countries whose languages are not widely known," "regional languages," and "small countries," terms that he used as synonyms but that are not necessarily so. However, they all refer to countries or languages occupying a peripheral position. Indeed, nuances regarding the collectivities included in the proposal are mentioned in some of the following interventions, for example in the Bulgarian intervention to approve the proposal. In this regard, Pillat's proposal provided with an occasion for different types of peripheries to become allies. This can be grasped in Joan Estelrich's speech to communicate the approval of the Spanish delegation, where he thanked

> the illustrious poet Ion Pillat, for encouraging the dissemination of knowledge of the masterpieces of minor literatures—minor in the linguistic and geographical sense, but possibly major due to the maturity, excellence, and genius of their productions. Apart from the four or five great European literatures, there have been a considerable number of literatures that have created an unfailing source of civilization and spiritual wealth. They have helped to maintain the style, originality, and fertility of spirit that found its expression in diversity. It should be possible to bring the most representative works of these literatures to the knowledge of readers who knew only one or two of the great international languages. In this case there was no question of local patriotism or propaganda.[1043]

His use of the term "minor" complements the terms previously quoted to refer to the peirpheries, hence illustrating also that the ICO's and the LON's work in the interwar period offer a platform for peripheries to conceptualize their position. In his intervention, Estelrich made himself the advocate of cultural diversity, as reflected in the fact that his intervention includes an expression of support for the recent request by the Indian representative, Siremal Bapna, to also publish a collection of masterpieces of the main "Oriental literatures," a project that was never developed, just as the regional collection. Some mentions can be found relative to the collection of "regional" literatures in the

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[1042] Ibid.
[1043] "League of Nations, Sixteenth Ordinary Session of the Aseembly. Sixth Committee. Provisional Minutes. Sixth Meeting held on Friday, September 20th.," UN Archives, R5235-15-19849-19783.

IIIC's archive, but concrete work to develop this line of work was never undertaken. In Mayoux's words, "la guerre survint trop vite pour que ce projet put prendre le corps."[1044]

Illustrating the relevance of the IIIC's collections, the fact that they prefigured ambitious endeavors undertaken by UNESCO, such as the Collection of Representative Works,[1045] which was published until 2005. This is probably one of the most solid legacies of the IIIC. By working on collections of literary translations, this international organization took part in the creation of world literature, either understood prescriptively, that is, as a selection of works that are representative of the world, or in descriptive terms, that is, as the literature that circulates.[1046] In one understanding or the other, the ICO stands as a relevant actor, not only for the study of what constitutes world literature, but, for the study of how world literature is produced from a materialist standpoint, i.e., in terms of material conditions, actors, and processes.

In the present chapter, I focus on the Iber-American Collection. In the interwar period, Latin America occupied a peripheral position in the context of the LON. In Wehrli's words:

> Le concept de marginalité s'applique à merveille lorsqu'il s'agit de penser les relations entre les États latino-américains et la SDN. Tout d'abord, du fait de l'absence des États-Unis, la région se situe sur les marges de la carte géographique de l'organisation par rapport au centre genevois. La distance supposait des délais et des coûts importants dans les communications postales et télégraphiques. La durée des voyages transatlantiques compliquait et renchérissait également l'envoi de délégations. La région se trouvait aussi à la marge dans les centres de pouvoir de l'organisation.[1047]

By drawing on the previous consideration we can focus on the case study of the Ibero-American to examine if Latin America was equally marginal in the intellectual domain and how the Ibero-American Collection affected its position. To reconstruct the history of the Ibero-American Collection, Section 10.1 opens with a general introduction where the collection's main features are presented. Then, it develops in several Subsections Subsection 10.1.1 I offer a general description of the collection and delve into the genesis of the project. Subsection 10.1.2 is devoted to the introduction of the agents that

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[1044] Jean-Jacques. Mayoux, *L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle, 1925-1946* (Paris: Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle, 1947), 439.

[1045] Miriam Intrator, *Books across Borders: UNESCO and the Politics of Postwar Cultural Reconstruction, 1945-1951* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 105–36.

[1046] Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?,* passim.

[1047] Yannick Wehrli, "Un Uruguayen à Genève : Julián Nogueira et l'internationalisme latino-américain à la Société des Nations, *Monde(s)* 19 (2021): 164.

distinguished themselves in the history of the Ibero-American Collection, therefore articulating the focus on the individual with a focus on the institution. More precisely, I approach them as "agents of translation," here understood in a broad sense, including "text producers, mediators who modify the text such as those who produce abstracts, editors, revisors and translators, commissioners and publishers."[1048] Examined aspects include whether they had similar profiles or not and what type of agency exerted individual agents in such a collective endeavor. Then, in Subsection 10.1.3, I examine the tricky division of tasks between involved agents, which means that I examine the relations between them. In Subsection 10.1.4, I delve into the ways the political made itself present in the decisions taken surrounding the volumes included in the Ibero-American Collection. This section provides material to delve upon the intersections between the cultural and the political, with an in-depth discussion of the entanglements between cultural and political power relations, as well as a discussion of the potential of translations as tools of soft power. The section closes with Subsection 10.1.5, where I approach the IIIC's role as editor of as many translation projects as books were included in the Collection. This will provide the occasion to discuss the coherence between the values the IIIC' defended in relation to translation, i.e., the need to improve the quality of translations, translator's social status and working conditions, with its own practices, marked by time and financial constraints.

As can be derived from the precedent summary, in following sections I examine the Collection's history from the perspective of translation studies and global literary studies, and, more precisely, translation history, publishing history and a historical sociology of literature. Without necessarily renouncing to delve occasionally on some textual analysis, what predominates is the analysis of extratextual material.

10.1.   The Ibero-American Collection: genesis of the project and main features

The idea of publishing literary collections having awakened certain interest in the first sessions held by the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, it reappeared in early 1927 in other institutional spaces. Several sources mark two main events as having played a

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[1048] John Milton and Paul Bandia, "Introduction. Agents of Translation and Translation Studies," in *Agents of Translation* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2009), 1.

foundational role in the creation of the first literary collection of translations edited by the IIIC: a meeting of Latin American intellectuals held at the IIIC on January 28, 1927, and a meeting of Latin American national representatives held at the IIIC as well on March 15, 1927. The distinction between intellectuals and national representatives is significant, as it illustrates the collaboration between two collectivities that, despite partial overlaps, did not necessarily function along the same principles or pursuing the same goals, but that were brought to work together in the framework of this project. A connection existed, however, between the Sub-Committee's early sessions, meetings of Latin American intellectuals, and the meeting of national delegates. This was Chilean poet and diplomat Gabriela Mistral, who took an active role in all spaces. As chief of the Section for Literary Relations, she had participated in the previous months in debates and conversations to design a program of activity in the field of translation, debates that included the possibility of publishing literary collections. Mistral cunningly used her double position as Chilean national delegate and Section Chief to consolidate this project in the interest of Latin American cultures and in this regard, she can be characterized as the Collection's main driving force. Thanks to the collaboration between Mistral and the Peruvian intellectual Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, the first volume of the Ibero-American Collection was published in 1930.

Considering the spaces where the Ibero-American Collection was first proposed, the process that led to the creation of the Ibero-American Collection offers interesting material to analyze the mechanisms that guided policymaking at the ICO. This is all the more necessary if considered that meetings of intellectuals and meetings of national delegates was not the usual spaces where projects were designed in the official policymaking process. The program of activity, in theory, was designed by the ICIC in Geneva and implemented by the IIIC in Paris. Instead of being a project recommended by the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, as the statutory division of tasks would have envisaged, in this case its creation resulted from direct collaboration between Latin American intellectuals and government representatives. What factors explain then the realization of a project that emerged bottom-up, that is, from an assembly of intellectuals to an assembly of national representatives, and then approved by the ICIC? A growing interest in translation within the IIIC, a favorable context in the broader politics of the LON, as well as a literary framework where foreign literatures were the object of growing demand. Mistral and Belaúnde's individual actions and foundational role need to be

framed in a wider confluence of interests to explain why a project proposed from the organization's margins was retained. There was the perfect confluence between the right idea at the right moment, a moment that offered the necessary fertile ground for this editorial project to flourish. While the institution foresaw certain hierarchies and processes of decision-making, its need for legitimacy and supports opened the door to other procedures, thus stressing the relational character of policymaking and the multiplicity of interests that shaped it. The dynamic I am trying to describe stems less from causality thinking and, instead, seeks to reassert the interdependency and co-constitutive character of social processes.

Additionally, two broader frameworks favored the subsequent creation of the Collection: the political relations between Latin American countries and the LON, and the interest in or the demand for translations in the French contemporary literary field. If the focus is put on the former, from the perspective of Latin American governments, there was an interest during the 1920s and 1930s to consolidate relations with the LON as a way of countering the growing influence of the United States since the end of the Great War. The LON, in turn, was interested in involving more countries in its activities in order to improve its international legitimation, and Latin American countries were considered a privileged target. Attesting to this mutual interest, Wehrli has reconstructed the different spaces and mechanisms created to strengthen relations between the LON and the continent, which include the progressive augmentation of the seats at the League's Council, some of which were given to Latin American states as a consequence of their numeric relevance within the LON, the appointment of Latin-American employees at the LON the creation of a Latin American Bureau (1922-1926), and the appointment of correspondent members in several Latin American countries (1926-1940).[1049] Within this framework, the League considered that advancing a project that Latin American representatives supported and agreed about was a way of consolidating their involvement with the whole organization:

> The Secretariat of the League of Nations has had occasion to appreciate the interest which the ideas of intellectual co-operation arouse in Latin America. We have much to do in this field. There is no better means of showing the Latin-American peoples the desire we have to work with them on the programme of intellectual rapprochement than to arrive at last at some definite agreement as to the regulations and general guiding lines of a publication in which all the Latin-

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[1049] Wehrli, "Un Uruguayen à Genève," 167–73.

American countries, as we are informed from very different quarters, are specially interested.[1050]

This points to the functions intellectual cooperation fulfilled for the LON. Membership in the latter was not a prerequisite to take part in the ICO's activities, and in this sense the ICO offered a platform where countries could explore a rapprochement with the multilateral political body.

On the other hand, a specific literary framework can be alluded to which has to do with the growing interest in foreign literature collections, especially in France. In said country, literary collections specialized in translation started being published in the 1920s,[1051] and the 1920-1940a period has been considered as the beginning of a literary dialogue between France and Latin American countries. France saw an increase in the number of Latin American translations, the publication of the first anthologies of Latin American literatures, and the first manifestations of literary criticism focused on Latin American literatures no longer penned by Latin American emigrants alone, but also by French intellectuals.[1052] The collection echoed and promoted French literary field's growing openness to foreign literatures, and, as such, it was a sign of the times.

Against this backdrop, if the Collection's origins are examined, a Publishing Committee was soon established in the meeting of national delegates on March 15, 1927,[1053] as it was considered necessary to organize a technical committee entrusted with the task of drawing up a program of titles to be translated, fundraising, managing the negotiations with a publishing house or a printer, etc. The Publishing Committee started as a small body, to which additional members would join later on. If its early steps are to be retraced, we can refer to a report authored by the Spanish literary critic Enrique Díez-Canedo, dated May 18, 1927,[1054] which contains several general principles that were

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[1050] "International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. Executive Committee. Fourth Session. Held at Geneva, July 13, 1931. Point VII of the Agenda: Ibero-American Collection. Note by the Secretary of the Committee." UN Archive, R2237/5B/5053/5053 Latin American classics - Publication of a series by the International Institute Intellectual Co-operation. Emphasis in the original.

[1051] Sapiro, "Les grandes tendances," 62–64.

[1052] Sylvia Molloy, *La diffusion de la littérature hispano-américaine en France au XXe siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1972), 15–32.

[1053] A meeting between Belaúnde, Mistral and the Director was organized on March 8, 1927. Giuseppe Prezzolini to Gabriela Mistral, March 4, 1927, "Enquête documentaire sur les associations littéraires (1928)," UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F-V-2.

[1054] "Rapport de M. E. Díez-Canedo sur la Collection des Classiques de l'Amérique Latine." UN Archives, R1050/13C/60353/24804 - Translation of Literary Works - Report to the Sub-Commission on Arts and Letters on the Activities of the Literary Relations Section of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. The full report is reproduced in Appendix II.

agreed upon by the literary critic and the two collection founders', Gabriela Mistral and Victor Andrés Belaúnde. In their view, the project should consist in the publication of a literary collection entitled "Hispanic-American Culture," which would in turn comprise several series of 10 or 12 volumes. By organizing the collection in series, the goal was to test if the first series was successful, to then decide if other series could follow suit.

Regarding authors and genres included in the collection, the Ibero-American Collection assembled Latin American classics, works also referred to as "masterpieces" or "representative works" in preserved records, all by writers who were no longer alive at the time of publication, which is implicit in the "classic" category. It was agreed that no more than one volume per author could be published, and that all Latin-American countries should be represented in the Collection, with ideally, one volume per country. In the report, Díez-Canedo sketched a first proposal of the works to be included in the collection, with allusion to authors and/or works, as well as some of foreword authors he had in mind (Table 19). In Díez-Canedo's view, "la principale richesse littéraire de ces pays [était] la poésie lyrique," a genre that nevertheless was considered to "supporte[r] mal une traduction,"[1055] which explains why, despite his insistence to publish works with an eminently literary value, the door was open to other genres, among which essays and historical works, a topic that originated several disagreements between members of the Publishing Committee. It is interesting to note that, although title selection would become a coveted decision disputed by several agents in the years to come, half of the titles contained in Canedo's list were actually published in the following decade. This reflects a relative continuity with initial plans in the editorial project, but it also suggests the need to examine what factors determined the replacement of six volumes, something that I shall endeavor to reconstruct in the following pages. With Díez-Canedo's report having been approved by the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters and by the ICIC in July 1928, this document represented the starting guide for the editorial project, a starting guide that acknowledged the weight of translatability in text selection, and that made room for works expressing in codes other than language, which was the case of graphic volumes. The latter, it can be argued, constituted a corpus that would potentially "travel well" given precisely the unnecessary character of interlingual translation.

[1055] Ibid.

Díez-Canedo's proposal		Volumes published in the Ibero-American Collection			
Author and/or work	**Foreword author**	**Author, work, and country**	**Year**	**Foreword autor and country**	**Translator**
J.E. Rodó	G. Zaldumbide				
R. Darío	E. Diez-Canedo				
J. Martí	G.Mistral	*América,* José Martí (Cuba)	1935	Jorge Mañach, Juan Marinello, Félix Lizaso (Cuba)	Francis de Miomandre.
Folklore hispano-américain	P. Henriquez-Ureña	*Folklore chilien* (Chile)	1938	Gabriela Mistral (Chile)	Jacques and Georgette Soustelle.
L'art de l'ancien Mexique (graphic volume)	Dr. Atl. (Gerardo Murillo)				
Sarniento [sic], Facundo	L. Lugones	*Facundo* by D. Faustino Sarmiento (Argentina)	1934	Aníbal Ponce (Argentina)	Marcel Bataillon.
Historiens du Chili	H. Diaz Arvieta	*Historiens chiliens : pages choisies* (Chile)	1930	Carlos Pereyra (Mexico)	Georges Pillement
Palma, traditions péruviennes	V. G. Calderón	*Traditions péruviennes*, Ricardo Palma (Peru)	1938	Clemente Palma (Peru)	Mathilde Pomès
Machado de Assis, Don Casmurro,	V. Larbaud	*Dom Casmurro*, Joaquim Machado de Assis (Brazil)	1936	Afránio Peixoto (Brazil)	Francis de Miomandre.
L'art de l'ancien (graphic volume, Peru)	I. de la Riva Agüero				
Bolívar, Lettres et discours	Belaúnde, Blanco Fombona, or García Calderón	*Choix de Lettres, discours et proclamations*, Simón Bolivar (Venezuela)	1934	Laureano Vallenilla Lanz, Caracciolo Parra Pérez (Venezuela)	Charles Vincent Aubrun.
Poetic anthology					

Table 19. Composition of the Ibero-American Collection. Comparison between Díez-Canedo's proposal and published volumes

Over time, and with the intervention of new agents and selection criteria, other volumes were added to the Collectiion. They were the following: *Le Diamant au Brésil* published

in 1931 with a foreword by Afonso Celso de Assis Figueiredo Júnior (Brazil, 1860-1938) and translated by Manoel Gahisto; *Essais* by Eugenio María de Hostos (Puerto Rico, 1839-1903), published in 1936 with two forewords, one by Pedro Henríquez Hureña (Dominican Republic, 1884-1946) and one by Antonio S. Pedreira (Puerto Rico, 1899-1939), and ranslated by Max Daireaux; *Mes montagnes* by Joaquín V. González (Argentina, 1863-1923), published in 1937 with a foreword by Rafael Obligado (Argentina, 1851-1920) and in a translation authored by Marcel Carayon; *Théâtre choisi* by Florencio Sánchez (Uruguay, 1875-1910), published in 1939 with a foreword by Enrique Díez-Canedo (ESP, 1876-1944) and translated by Max Daireaux; and *Pages choisies* by Joaquim Nabuco (Brazil, 1849-1910), published in 1940 with a foreword by Graça Aranha (Brazil, 1868-1931) and translated by Viktor Orban and Mathilde Pomes. As implied from the previous list, some 12 volumes were published between 1930 and 1940, when the Second World War interrupted the IIIC's work and left the publication of several volumes that were already underway unfinished. Some of the books that had their publication interrupted included *María* by Jorge Isaacs, *O mulato* by Aluísio Azevedo, and *Martín Fierro* by José Hernández. All in all, it can be appreciated that published books included both fiction (mostly novels, but also folklore and theater) and non-fiction (historical volumes and essays). It can be noted that graphic volumes were not published, as well as several volumes on folklore. This decision is one of the causes that grated a positive reception of the Levillier proposal.

Having presented the spaces that favored the Collection's genesis and the volumes included, let us now look into some of the collection's main features. The initial intention was to publish such volumes in French, English, German, and Italian translations, but only the French one saw the light. Each volume was financed by a national government, with the IIIC being responsible for managing said funds, organizing the selection of the volumes, as well as their translation, edition, and distribution. To set up this editorial project, the IIIC collaborated with a group of intellectuals that constituted the Collection's Publishing Committee, as well as with two publishing houses for printing, Les Belles Lettres and Stock. In general terms, a print run of 2000 copies were edited of each volume, with extensive information existing on their circulation. 500 volumes were gratuitously offered to the sponsoring country. In most cases, the latter were sent to the corresponding Paris Embassy, which would in turn send them to the involved ministry in each country for distribution (mostly, Foreign Affairs Ministry or Education). Luxury editions were as well edited, from 10 to 60 copies per volume, depending on the economic possibilities of

the moment and on the grant offered by the government. The latter mainly consisted in copies printed on wove paper, numerated, and sold at 60 French francs, while the regular edition was sold at 20 French francs. They were mainly distributed among the members of the ICIC and relevant political figures, such as head of states.

Finally, a few words on the distribution of the volumes included in the collection can be provided. As previously mentioned, one quarter of the standard 2000 volumes was submitted to the country having sponsored the publication in question. Of the remaining stock, some copies were sold thanks to subscriptions to the Collection, and a part was put at sell by Stock Librairie, in Paris, which was charged with distribution and publicity. But most information preserved at the IIIC archives has to do with donated volumes, which included donations to collaborators of the Collection (members of the Publishing Committee, authors of the foreword or introduction, intellectuals who had collaborated in some way in the editorial process); to government actors (especially those having sponsored the volume in question, generally the head of government and the minister of Foreign Affairs, or Education). Another group of copies circulated among key figures in the ICO (that is, members of the Executive Committee, of the ICIC, relevant figures working at the LON, etc.). This group needs to be considered a recipient not so much, or not only, because of their interest in Latin American literatures, but as a group to which the IIIC wanted to show their material results. Translators received some 20 copies, to be distributed among intellectuals and literary critics in order to maximize the Collection's dissemination. In the same spirit, distribution included in some cases figures related to NCIC, such as the president of the English National Committee This group is constituted by agents the IIIC wanted to convince to invest their economic resources and/or workforce in homologous projects. It is necessary to note, in this sense, that the Ibero-American collection was published with the expectation that other countries or regions would follow suit, thus giving shape to a "world library" published by the IIIC. Among the recipients of courtesy volumes, agents through which the IIIC sought to enlarge the languages in which the Ibero-American Collection was published, especially English. Finally, the IIIC also received a few external requests to be donate specific volumes to literary or cultural organizations, such as Maison de l'Amérique Latine in Brussels. A press service was also made.

10.2. Agents in the history of the Ibero-American Collection and their communication flows

The history of the Ibero-American Collection can be examined by zooming in the agents involved in said project and, more interestingly, their interactions. To reconstruct said information, we can build on correspondence preserved in the IIIC's archive. Figure 33 illustrates the evolution of the correspondence flows in relation to the Ibero-American collection, which is preserved in Subsubseries VI "Collection de Culture Ibéro-américaine" in the IIIC's archive (AG 1-IICI-F-VI) and whose contents have been manually indexed and explored with a dashboard created with the resulting material (see Section 4.3.2 for a detailed account of the methodology employed to index it).

The initial period contains a low number of letters and contrasts with more stable flows having been preserved between 1929 and 1939. This can be read as the logical consequence of the beginning and consolidation of works, which entailed the growth of the set of agents involved, and to the publication of the first volume in 1930, which occasioned a deep reorganization and the establishment of more systematic practices and procedures. For example, regarding the elaboration of minutes in the Publishing Committee's meetings, but also regarding correspondence preservation, which attests to an increased will of memory on the IIIC's side. Distinguished actors are Dominique Braga, which is consistent with his role in the editorial project. In the case of outgoing correspondence, he is followed by his counterparts at the head of the Section for Literary Relations, Blaise Briod and Gabriela Mistral. Braga, Briod, and Mistral have already been introduced as employees of the IIIC's Section for Literary Relations (Section 7.1.). In the case of incoming communications, in addition to Braga and Mistral, the position occupied by Elysée de Montarroyos, Brazil's delegate before the IIIC, reveals the importance and control said country consecrated to the editorial project, something also reflected in the fact that Brazil was one of the very few countries having sponsored three volumes.
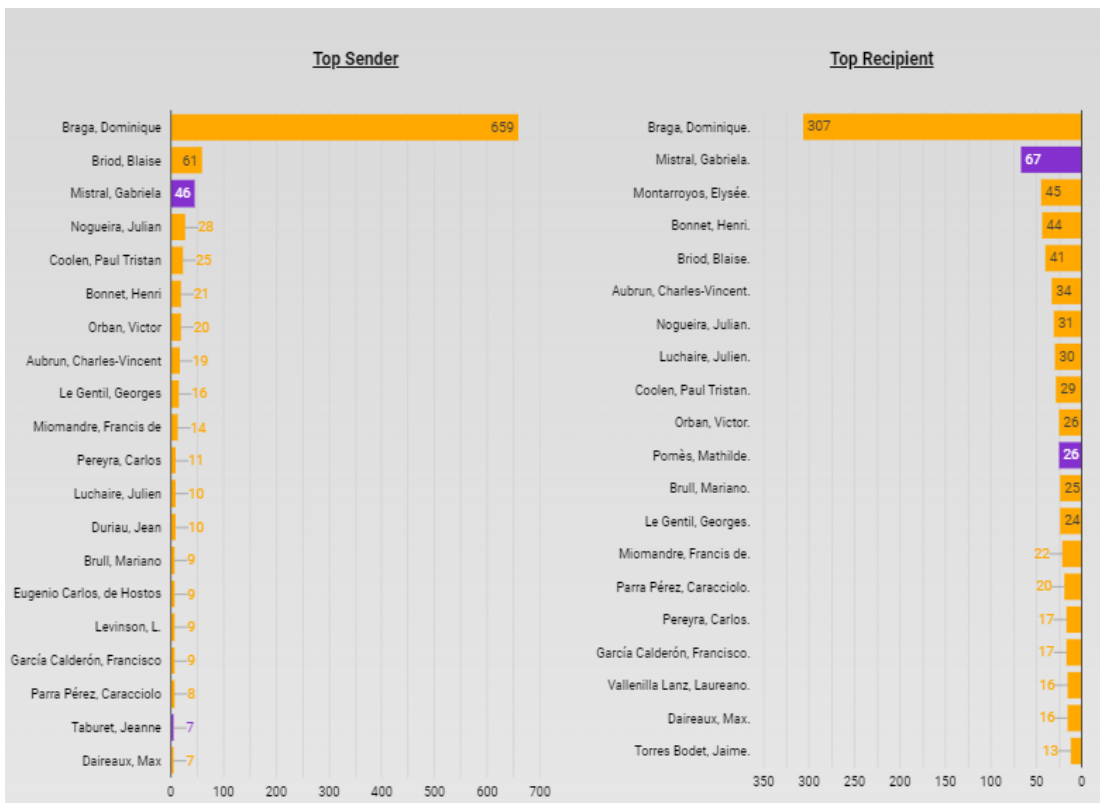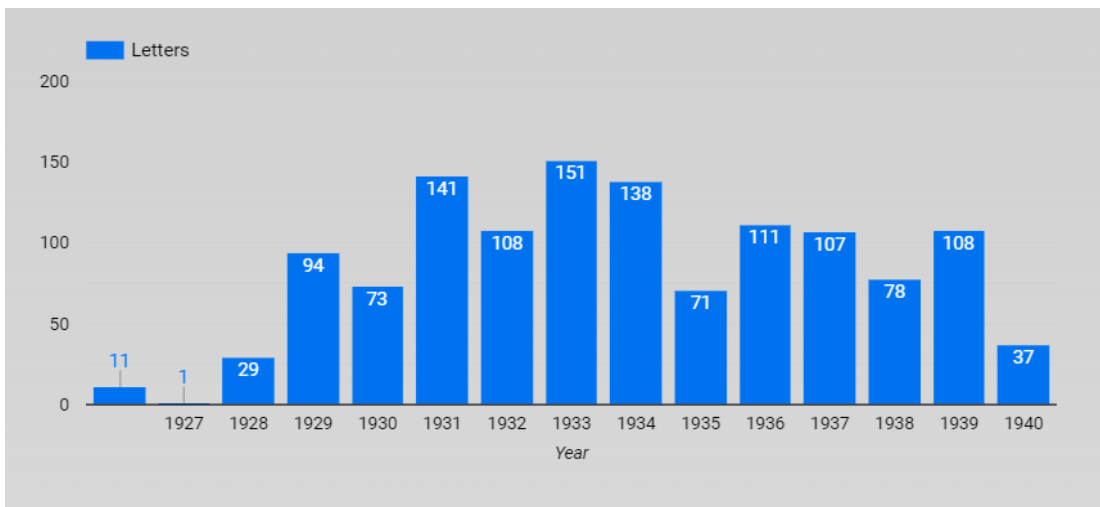
Figure 33. Correspondence regarding the Ibero-American Collection in the IIIC's archive: evolution and main agents mentioned.

From a statistical standpoint, two agents clearly stand out: Gabriela Mistral and Dominique Braga, whose mentions in correspondence over time can be appreciated in Figure 34. Their profiles have already been introduced, and their protagonism in correspondence preserved in the IIIC's archive needs to be linked with their roles within the same organization. Mistral can be considered one of the key figures in the history of

the Ibero-American Collection given her role in the proposal and materialization of the idea. But it is interesting to note, as reflected in the following figure, that her involvement with the works surrounding the volumes of the Ibero-American Collection was sustained over time, including well after she ceased her position as Director of the Literary Section in the mid-1927. Indeed, during the decade of the 1930s, she frequently advised her successor, Dominique Braga in decisions related to the choice of translators and authors of paratexts, as well as financial matters. Also, she used her social and symbolic capital to obtain funds from several Latin American governments. For example, her acquaintances in government circles were key in relation to a Colombian volume, to obtain funds to translate María by Jorge Isaacs.[1056] She read conferences to collect funds for volumes whose countries could not sponsor the publication (e.g. Cuba). Another domain where her influence could be sensed was that of literary decisions: opposite to the scholarly character some members of the Publishing Committee envisioned for the Collection, Mistral was a key figure in preserving the Collection's literary character. In the domain of title and genre selection, Mistral was a promoter to translate Latin American folklore, which she considered the only Latin American production truly original. In this framework, she was the main promoter of several volumes on folklore (Chilean folklore, published in 1938, and two volumes hat never saw the light, one on Center-American folklore and one on Panamanian musical folklore), and supporter of the Levillier proposal.

Dominique Braga is the other noticeable figure in quantitative terms. As Chief of the Section for Literary Relations during the '30s, one of his main occupations was the publication of the Ibero-American Collection. In this framework he acted as editor, reviewer of translations and, occasionally, translator and secretary. If Mistral's and Braga's profiles and roles are compared, some differences can be noted. Braga seems to have played a more technical role and relied upon other actors (Gabriela Mistral, Henri Bonnet, Georges Le Gentil) for decision making. In this regard, his social profile was different from Mistral's, which reflects the IIIC's change of priorities. In its early days, appointing Mistral was a one way of establishing a direct link to Latin America, please the appurtenant governments and intellectual circles. However, it can be argued that her

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[1056] Dominique Braga to Gabriela Mistral, Sept. 30, 1931, Braga to Mistral, June 16, 1931. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-4 Colombie. Also: Braga to Mistral, August 12, 1931. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-15 Porto Rico.

intellectual profile and recognition did not correspond to the ideal anonymity or subservience of a public servant. In Mistral's contribution to the IIIC's work, we can glimpse a strong individuality, a certain independence of ideas, and an effort to influence decision-making and the IIIC's policy, as reflected in her proactive role in the foundation of the Ibero-American Collective.
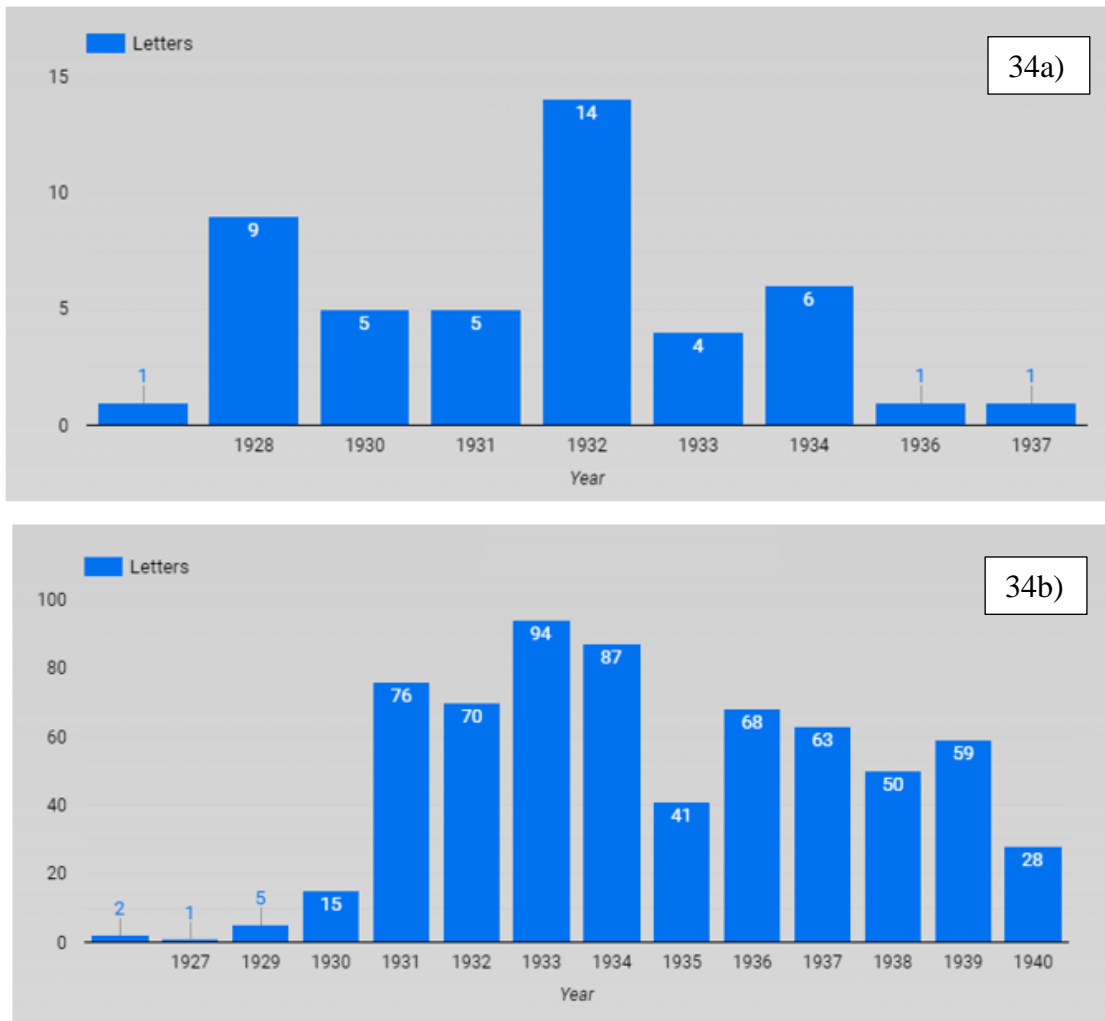

Figure 34. Mentions of Gabriela Mistral (top) and Dominique Braga (down) in the correspondence regarding the Ibero-American Collection

Dominique Braga, instead, fitted more with the ideal profile of a public servant. He possessed some recognition in the intellectual field but occupied therein a secondary position. His Brazilian origins could be strategically useful to the IIIC, his language skills and cultural knowledge were useful to the post and conferred him a source of capital that

was especially valuable in the framework of international cooperation, but he had no direct links with power circles in Latin America that he could leverage to push forward his own agenda. And additionally, his French education and adult socialization facilitated day-to-day work. The different functions of those features can be illustrated by referring to the fact that, while he was the secretary of the Publishing Committee as director of the Section for Literary Relations, he was also appointed representative of Brazil within the same Committee to safeguard that countries' interests, as we will see later.

The dashboard employed to explore said data can also be used to narrow down the chronology under discussion to specific periods. Since records from the early period are scant, we can focus on 1929. For that year, letters preserved are related to the selection of authors to be translated, fundraising, and negotiations with the publishing house Les Belles Lettres. The main protagonists include Briod and Mistral, followed by some exchanges with Gonzalo Zaldumbide, member of the Publishing Committee, and other collaborators from the IIIC such as Giuseppe Prezzolini and Julien Luchaire. The only member of the Publishing Committee that was already active in the project, according to correspondence, is Georges Le Gentil, who will, therefore, be considered as one the first members of the Publishing Committee, especially in his quality of external expert. Le Gentil (1875-1953) was a French national, trained in modern literatures and, more precisely, in the emergent Hispanic Studies at Sorbonne University, he discovered Portugal during his mobilization in the First World War and lived there between 1916 and 1919. Upon his return, he started teaching the first classes in Portuguese Studies and, from 1922, Brazilian literature. He is considered "the founder of Brazilian and Portuguese Studies" in French universities.[1057] During the early 1920s, he also published two volumes by Portuguese writers in the collection "Cent chefs-d'œuvre étrangers" of the publishing house La Renaissance du livre. This double profile, both as an expert in Hispanic and Lusophone literatures, and as someone who was familiar with other editorial projects, explains the different forms of capital he possessed that could prove useful in the design and management of the IIIC's upcoming collection.

In order to refine my analysis, it is possible to look into structural aspects of the interactions between the agents involved in the Ibero-American Collection by using SNA tools. Figure 35 contains a directed network (i.e, indicating the directionality of letters),

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[1057] Marcel Bataillon, "Georges Le Gentil (1875-1953)," *Bulletin Hispanique* 56, no. 1 (1954): 5.

in which nodes are individuals, edges denote the exchange of letters between them, and edges' thickness denotes the number of letters exchanged. Nodes are colored according to the values of the betweenness centrality, which is a measure to pinpoint nodes bridging different parts of the network. As such, it attests to dynamics of circulation of information. Low values appear with a dark color and high values with a light color. The size of the nodes is relative to the node's weighted degree, that is, to the sum of sent and received letters.

If we first approach the network by conducting a visual analysis of the names corresponding to biggest nodes, Dominique Braga clearly stands out, as he appears to be the focus of a huge number of letters. This is coherent with his position within the IIIC as chief of the Section for Literary Relations, hence as main coordinator of the Ibero-American Collection. Also, other figures related to that Section stand out (Blaise Briod and Gabriela Mistral), as well as leading figures in the structure of the ICO such as Julien Luchaire and Henri Bonnet. However, a series of NCIC representatives is noticeable too, for example, Francisco Walker Linares, secretary of the Chilean NCIC, and also unexpected figures, such as Uruguayan Julian Nogueira, who worked in the LON between 1922 and 1939.[1058] It is noteworthy that his involvement with the Ibero-American Collection, spans from 1931 until 1939, that is, a time span that covers two formal positions on his side. This suggests that his role of mediator with Latin America was transversal. His presence and position in the network also illustrate that, while certain figures were responsible for specific tasks in relation to that literary Collection (members of the Publishing Committee and personnel of the departments specialized on literary affairs), complementary dynamics existed as well. Nogueira acted as main mediator between the ICO and political and intellectual circles in Uruguay, and in a number of Latin American countries. This reflects the fuzzy character of the boundaries existing between duties and institutions. Also, in the previous network we find represented a list

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[1058] Member of the Information Section, he worked in the relations with the press and the promotion of the League's activities until 1934. Having gained Drummond's recognition and his colleagues', he was moved to the Political Section, where he worked between 1934 and 1939. These positions do not seem to explain his direct involvement with the Ibero-American Collection, but his crucial and sustained role as mediator between Latin American countries and the League of Nations does. Wehrli, "Un Uruguayen à Genève," 168–76.

of collaborators reflecting the main names that distinguished themselves in the promotion of Hispano-American literature in French from the '20s to the '40s.[1059]

Figure 35. Network of the correspondence of the Ibero-American Collection

Among them, consecrated translators such as Francis de Miomandre and Max Daireaux and renowned scholars such as Georges Le Gentil and Ernest Martinenche. This proves to what extent the collection contributed to consolidating and expanding preexisting

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[1059] Molloy, *La diffusion de la littérature hispano-américaine*; Gustavo Guerrero and Gersende Camenen, La literatura latinoamericana en versión francesa (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021).

relations. Additionally, in the top left part of the network, two elements can be noted. On the one hand, the presence of Henri Bonnet, who emerges, intuitively, as one of the network's secondary centers given his high betweenness centrality. More to the left, a community that does not fit with the overall network structure. Indeed, therein we find agents who exchanged for very concrete aspects (i.e., spontaneous postulations to work as translators, one-time exchanges to request funds), but also some of the secretaries and low-rank officials working at the IIIC (Valerio Jahier, Daniel Secretan, Jeanne Taburet), who are generally not directly in addressed in preserved correspondence. Also, in the bottom left part of the visualization, two agents stand out, despite not being related to Braga through correspondence. They are Briod and Luchaire, who occupied relevant positions within the IIIC and, therefore, did not directly exchange with the Franco-Brazilian. However, their betweenness reveals the way their formal positions in the institution is reflected in correspondence exchange.

The network in Figure 36 can be analyzed with computational methods, more precisely, by examining different centrality measures.[1060] Degree centrality measures the involvement of a given node in the network by considering the number of nodes with which the latter is connected.[1061] In other words, it refers to the number of neighbors.[1062] Central actors from this standpoint include Dominique Braga, Blaise Briod, Gabriela Mistral, Henri Bonnet, and Julián Nogueira. The fact that they all worked for the ICO or the LON is coherent with the source selected to construct this network. It can also be relevant to distinguish between agents with a high weighted in-degree (agents that received a lot of letters) and agents with a high weighted out-degree (i.e., agents that sent a lot of letters). In Table 20 are listed the top 15 agents that received and sent more letters according to preserved correspondence (respectively, in-degree and out-degree), with an additional field indicating the nature of their involvement with the Ibero-American Collection.

[1060] Phillip Bonacich, "Power and Centrality: A Family of Measures." *American Journal of Sociology* 92, no. 5 (1987): 1170–82; Stanley Wasserman and Katherine Faust, *Social Network Analysis* (Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[1061] Nieminen, Juhani. "On the Centrality in a Graph." *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology* 15 no. 1 (1974): 332–36.

[1062] Martin Grandjean and Mathieu Jacomy. "Translating Networks: Assessing Correspondence Between Network Visualisation and Analytics." Paper presented at Digital Humanities, Utrecht, Netherlands, 2019, appendix.

Name	Body or profession	Out-degree	Name	Body or profession	In-degree
Braga, Dominique	IIIC	143	Dominique Braga	IIIC	88
Bonnet, Henri	IIIC	14	Bonnet, Henri	IIIC	23
Briod, Blaise	IIIC	14	Luchaire, Julien	IIIC	12
Luchaire, Julien	IIIC	9	Briod, Blaise	IIIC	8
Taburet, Jeanne	IIIC	9	Montarroyos, Elysée	State delegate	8
Mistral, Gabriela	IIIC / expert	8	Mistral, Gabriela	IIIC / expert	5
Levinson, Louis	IIIC	8	Prezzolini, Giuseppe	IIIC	5
Montarroyos, Elysée	State delegate	5	Brull, Mariano	External collaborator	5
Prezzolini, Giuseppe	IIIC	5	Coolen, Paul Tristan [Manoel Gahisto]	Translator	4
Nogueira, Julian	LON	5	Levinson, Louis	IIIC	3
Coolen, Paul Tristan [Manoel Gahisto]	Translator	4	Walker Linares, Francisco	NCIC	3
Walker Linares, Francisco	NCIC	4	Orban, Victor	Translator	3
Orban, Victor	translator	4	Secrétan, Daniel	IIIC	3
Brull, Mariano	External collaborator	3	Hickel, Jacques	IIIC	3

Table 20. Mentions in the correspondence of the Ibero-American Collection

The first fact to be commented is that 13 over 15 names are shared between both categories, which indicates that involved agents constituted a relatively stable group. The names that do not coincide are in all cases public servants (three from the IIIC: Jeanne Taburet, who assisted Dominique Braga, Daniel Secretan, Jacques Hickel; and Nogueira from the LON). Four agents occupy leading positions in both fields: Braga, Bonnet, Luchaire, and Briod, something that is not surprising given their roles in the ICO. However, their leading positions in both cases suggest that they were focal points for the circulation of information, irrespective if they provided or requested it. However, it is interesting to note that Braga and Briod sent more letters than they received (143 vs. 88 in the first case, 14 vs. 8 in the second). Instead, Bonnet and Luchaire received more letters than they sent (23 vs. 14 and 12 vs. 9), which suggests that in a number of cases they were contacted given their leading posts in the IIIC, but that their involvement was less active. Also, the high difference between Braga's value in terms of outgoing correspondence if compared with the agents occupying the next positions in the ranking (143 in his case vs. 14 corresponding to Bonnet in second position) suggest that he was

the source of most information, something that is coherent with his de facto role as main editor or project coordinator. This is also confirmed by the fact that he possesses the highest degree, i.e., the highest number of relations with other nodes (231 vs. 37 for the second position). In practice, he is connected with everyone and connects the whole network.

If we continue with our computational analysis, other centrality measures can be examined. Eigenvector centrality is the metric associated with the measure of prestige[1063] given that it measures nodes connected to well-connected nodes. The agents with a higher eigenvector centrality are Dominique Braga, Henri Bonnet, Julien Luchaire, Elysée Montarroyos, Gabriela Mistral, and Mariano Brull. If the three first names are in a sense to be expected given that they include the IIIC's Chief of the Section for Literary Relations and the two directors of the IIIC, in the other cases this result is a consequence of said actors' connections with Braga. Going further in the identification of people acting as bridges in the system, betweenness centrality[1064] indicates agents that bridged different clusters or subcommunities. Dominique Braga has the highest betweenness centrality, which confirms again our previous findings regarding his crucial role in the Collection. Other agents with a high betweenness centrality are Henri Bonnet, Elysée Montarroyos, Julien Luchaire, Francisco Walker Linares, Blaise Briod, Gabriela Mistral, and Louis Levinson. Their high value in this regard suggests that he probably facilitated contacted with agents that, otherwise, would not have taken part in that venture. Closeness centrality is the measure that examines the geographical center of the graph.[1065] Therein, we find Daniel Secrétan and Victor Iagolnitza, who worked at the IIIC, Juan Alfonso Carrizo, and Dominique Braga.

The previous analysis has been conducted by building on preserved correspondence, which introduces agents belonging to different circuits and working in different organizations in a single network. However, the analysis of social relations can be complemented with other forms of social interaction. If we adopt an institutional approach, the Collection's Publishing Committee presents a salient interest, whose history is inextricably bound to that of the Ibero-American Collection. Said body oversaw

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[1063] Grandjean and Jacomy. "Translating Networks," appendix.

[1064] Linton C. Freeman, "A Set of Measures of Centrality Based on Betweenness." *Sociometry* (1977): 35–41.

[1065] Sabidussi, Gert. "The Centrality Index of a Graph." *Psychometrika* 31 no. 4 (1966): 581–603.

the various stages of publications' life cycles, including fundraising, text selection, translation, selection of forewords and other paratexts, and distribution. The latter was an eminently masculine space, where we can find a variety of figures: on the one hand, intellectual-diplomats with a temporary or permanent residence in Paris, for example, Peruvian diplomat Victor Andrés Belaúnde, Peruvian brothers Ventura and Francisco García Calderón, and Cuban poet Mariano Brull. On the other hand, French specialists in Latin-American literatures or cultures. This included, in addition to Georges Le Gentil, Ernest Martinenche, who was a professor at Sorbonne University together with Le Gentil, Paul Rivet from Musée de l'Homme, and Raymond Ronze, historian specialized in university relations between France and Latin America. A third group can be added, composed by Janus-faced figures who were there as both specialists and national representatives before the IIIC. It was the case of Gabriela Mistral herself, who, after having left the post of Chief of Section, became Chile's delegate, but also that of Gonzalo Zaldumbide, who represented Ecuador. The most systematic way to reconstruct the unsystematic work of the Publishing Committee is to examine its meetings, whose dates and participants are summarized in Table 21. Data for the second and third sessions has not been found. Indication is provided when someone was present as somebody else's substitute. In terms of participation, Dominique Braga stands out for his sustained participation, which is coherent with his role as secretary of the Collection. Among the members of the Publishing Committee with a more systematic participation, we can identify Raymond Ronze and Georges Le Gentil, followed by Aurelio Viñas, someone who, according to the correspondence, occupied a much more peripheral position. In Table 21, it is interesting to see that Viñas and Torres Bodet replaced Alfonso Reyes and Enrique Díez-Canedo, two figures who were, nominally, members of the Publishing Committee, but who never attended it, as their absence from the agents listed in the previous table reflects. This adds nuance to what we understand as replacement, in the sense that, rather than replacing someone who did not generally attend said meetings, the replacement mechanism also enabled the participation of newcomers. Also, it should be considered that certain individuals attended specific meetings given the topics in the agenda, such as d'Harcourt and Langlois, who attended two meetings specially destined to folklore.

	Nov. 18, 1927	Dec. 9, 1927	Feb. 7, 1931	March 29, 1932	May 20, 1932	Nov. 4, 1932	Dec. 16, 1932	Dec. 21, 1933	Dec. 17, 1934	Dec. 19, 1935	Nov. 27, 1936	Dec. 18, 1937	Dec. 21, 1938
V. A. Belaúnde	x												
Blaise Briod	x												
Henri Bremond	x												
Dominique Braga				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Gonzalo Zaldumbide	x												
Gabriela Mistral	x			x							x		
Roberto Gache											x	x	
F. Garcia Calderon	x								x	x	x		
Georges Le Gentil	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
Paul Rivet					x	x				x	x	x	
Aurelio Viñas				x			r[1066]		x	x	x	x	x
Ernest Martinenche	x									x		x	
Daniel Secretan									x				
Gonzague De Reynold							x	x	x	x		x	x
Mariano Brull				x	x	x							x
Raymond Ronze				x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
Henri Bonnet									x			x	
Antonio Aíta													x
Valério Jahier					x	x	x	x					
Raoul D'Harcourt					x	x							
General Langlois						x							
Jaime Torres Bodet							r[1067]	x		x			
Daniel de Montenach										x	x		
TOTAL	8			6	7	8	7	6	8	10	8	8	7

Table 21. Participants in the meetings of the Ibero-American Collection's Publishing Committee

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[1066] Replacing Enrique Díez-Canedo.
[1067] Replacing Alfonso Reyes.

The insights obtained with SNA can be linked with those obtained by looking at the agents that participated in the meetings of the Publishing Committee. If we look at correspondence flows, some agents that never or seldom attended meetings appear in the analysis. It is also noticeable that most members of the Publishing Committee do not appear in central positions in the network reconstructed from correspondence. Both forms of participation need to be taken into account, especially when interpreting the results of the network visualization. Mistral's centrality in the latter can perfectly be a consequence of her physical absences from the meetings, thus concentrating her interventions in the correspondence. While correspondence flows provide us with key information, the conclusions need not be universalized but formulated bearing in mind that the physical participation in the Publishing Committee's meetings was another form of participation, as were also informal conversations in person. Also, our sources need to be taken into account when interpreting the results of the previous network visualization. Our gateway to the history of the Ibero-American Collection is an institutional archive, which in a sense makes it foreseeable that central actors are Dominique Braga or Gabriela Mistral, who occupied formal positions at the IIIC. Personal archives are not part of this picture: the private letters exchanged by Gabriela Mistral with Minister Sagarna are not included, as well as eventual communications between the translators and the members of the Publishing Committee, and so on. To put it plainly, we need to be especially careful with the illusion of totality when reading this network visualization, as well as with the conclusions we draw from it. Still, the IIIC's archive constitutes the source of the organization managing the Collection and, for all its partiality and possible biases, it constitutes the better option in terms of volume of contents and variety of actors on this editorial project.

In the present, I have examined the agents involved in the history of the Ibero-American Collection by drawing on the IIIC's archive and by examining them with complementary methods. First, I have used statistical and SNA tools to examine the correspondence flows motivated by this editorial project. This methodology seems more appropriate given that the Publishing Committee's work was weakly institutionalized. Division of tasks between members was not always clear, and depended to a large extent on the personal contacts each member could mobilize when a specific need aroused. Therefore, the list of collaborators that contributed to some of the stages this editorial project's life cycle is extremely wide and varied. This included selection of works,

fundraising through personal and professional contacts, translation and resolution of linguistic doubts, preparation of introduction and prefaces, and distribution. From this perspective, the network visualization could be considered the equivalent of the credits list at the end of a film, following the simile Howard Becker uses to underline the cooperative network that is at the origins of an art project.[1068] However, this approach based on social interaction has been complemented with data regarding participation in the meetings of the Publishing Committee, hence basing my analysis not only on interactions and flows of information between involved agents, but also the role of agents' formal position.

Before concluding the present section, a last note can be added regarding agents having participated in the history of the Ibero-American Collection, and it has to do with the presence of women in this history. No woman was included as author in the books selected for translation. In the case of women in preserved correspondence, Figure 36 presents the previous network by coloring nodes in terms of gender. Among women who collaborated in the editorial project, we find, a category with a single member, i.e., the only woman member of the Publishing Committee, Gabriela Mistral. In a secondary role in the social network, her aide, Palma Guillén. A second group is that of female translators, which includes the figure of Mathilde Pomès (translator of *Tradutions Peruviennes* and *María* de Isaacs), as well as Georgette Soustelle, Jacques Soustelle's wife. While the translation of *Folklore chilien* had been commissioned to the husband, he wrote a letter to the IIIC requesting that her name be included as well in the cover. He was mobilized in 1940 and it was her who finished the translation. Indeed, she was an ethnologist and expert in Mexican culture.[1069] A third and last group can be mentioned, composed by the invisible functionaries: secretaries and stenographs whose daily work in the history of the IIIC's undertaking can hardly be traced.

[1068] Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2008), XVIII.

[1069] Braga to Ocampo, Jan. 5, 1940. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-2 Chili.
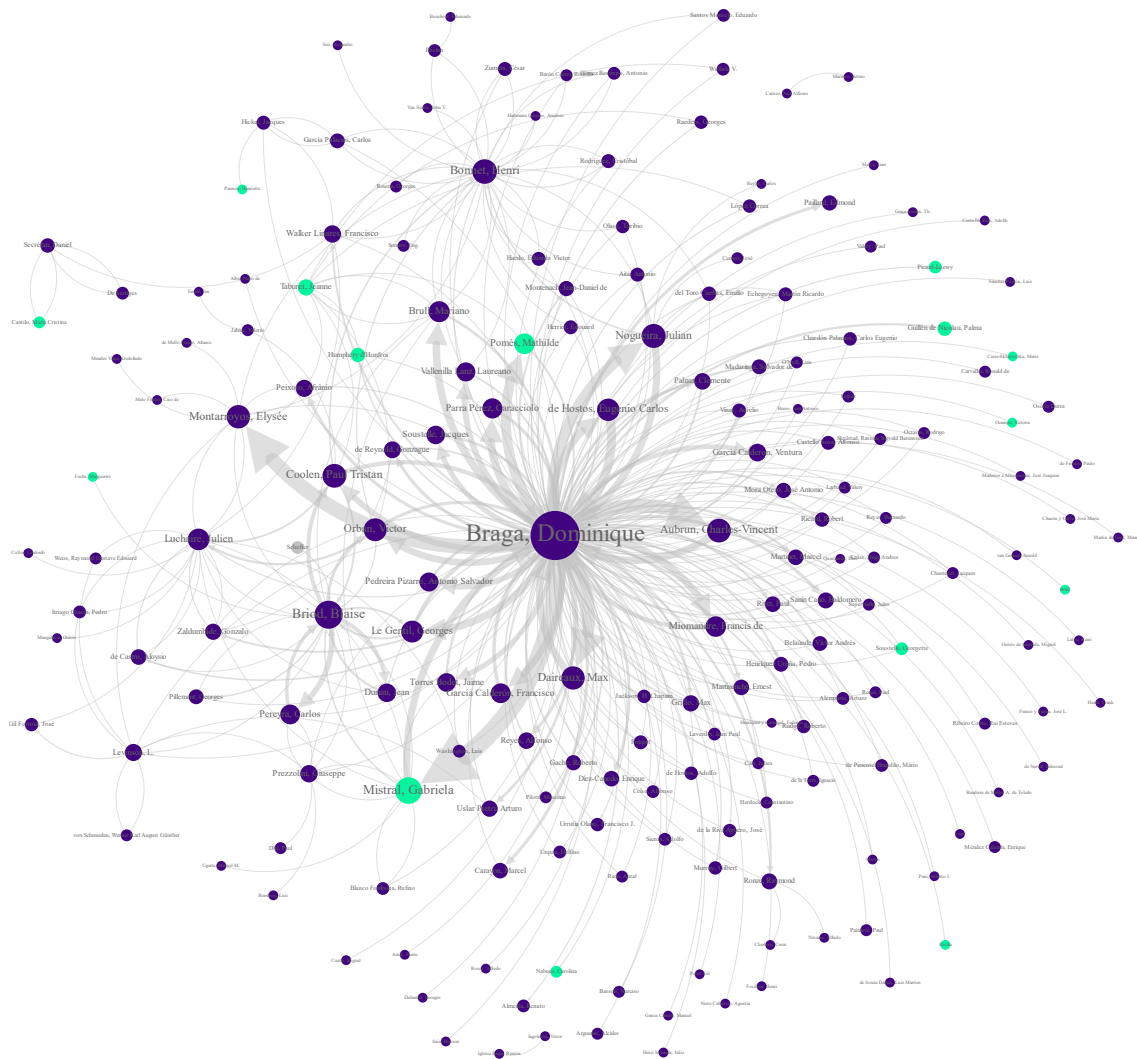
Figure 36. The network of the Ibero-American Collection with a focus on gender

Further analytical possibilities include the analysis of dominant nationalities, as well as dominant bodies (IOs, governments, embassies and related bodies belonging to the diplomatic corps, intellectual organizations, etc.). To that end, the database resulting from our manual indexation can be explored by using an interactive dashboard[1070], as well as downloaded to apply additional or complementary tools of analysis.[1071]

[1070] https://global-ls.github.io/int_cooperation-dataviz/

[1071] R. Rodríguez-Casañ, et al. -- People, Places, and Languages in the correspondence preserved in the archive of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation -- Open dataset (2024). https://doi.org/10.34810/data985

10.3.   A tricky division of tasks

Having analyzed the agents involved in the publication of the Ibero-American Collection and their interactions, I will now address some aspects related to collection's editorial history, having to do with the division of tasks between involved parties. The publication of the first volume, *Historiens chiliens,* in July 1930 attracted the work done by the Publishing Committee, an interest that nevertheless did not manifest in the form of eulogistic comments but as critiques of the latter's work, especially on the ICIC's side. The latter can be reconstructed thanks to a report prepared by de Reynold in 1931,[1072] after having joined the Publishing Committee and its working sessions. One of the main problematic points in the history of this editorial project that first surfaced in the occasion of the publication of its first volume was the division of tasks between the IIIC, the ICIC, Latin American governments, the Publishing Committee, where several intellectuals were present, and the printer that had published the first volume, i.e., Les Belles Lettres. In his 1931 report, De Reynold did not mention the ICIC among the actors whose division of tasks was not clearly delineated, although it should be added to the list given that the same report contains the regret that the ICIC was not informed of several decisions regarding the collection, nor mentioned in the Chilean volume, thus pointing to the conflictual hierarchical relations between the ICIC and the IIIC. Several covers of volumes published in the Ibero-American collection are reproduced in Figure 37, that graphically attest to this ambiguity given changes in the information contained in the volumes' covers regarding especially references to the IIIC, to the Collection's name, and to other publishers or printers (or lack thereof).

One of the Reynold's concerns was, in this regard, that allusion to the collection's name, and not to the Publishing Committee, obscured the latter's role and for this reason, the ICIC decided to suppress said reference. To that, other critiques added, having to do the fact that the ICIC had not been informed on certain technical decisions.

> Certains de mes collègues de la Commission Internationale de Coopération Intellectuelle s'étonnèrent de voir que la forme donnée aux volumes de la collection ne correspondait pas à l'idée qu'ils s'en étaient faite. La Commission aurait aimé être tenue plus complètement au courant des tractations qui avaient eu lieu depuis 1928.[1073]

[1072] UN Archive, International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation C.I.C.I. Executive Committee. C.I.C.I./COM.EX./1-30, 0000766231_D002.
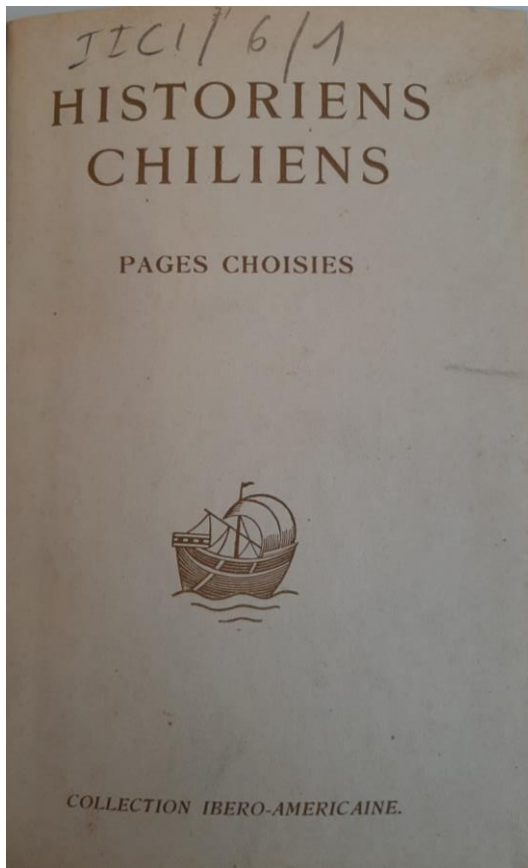[1073] Ibid.
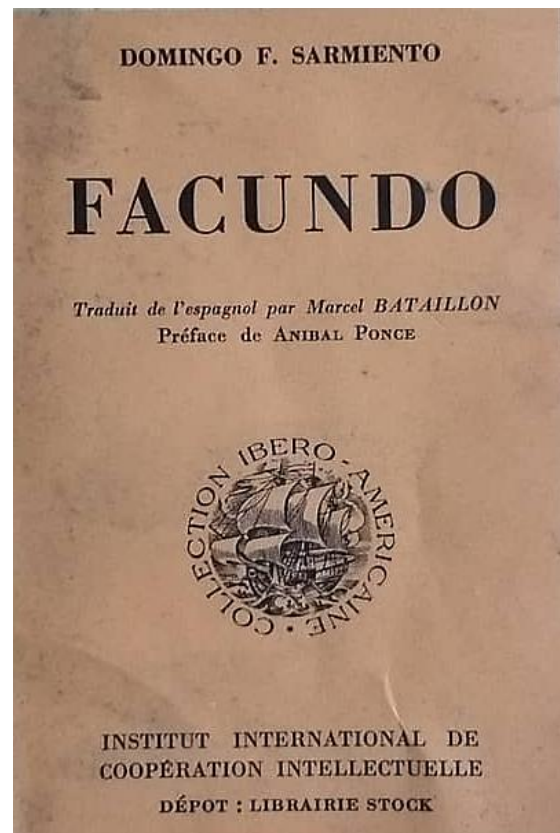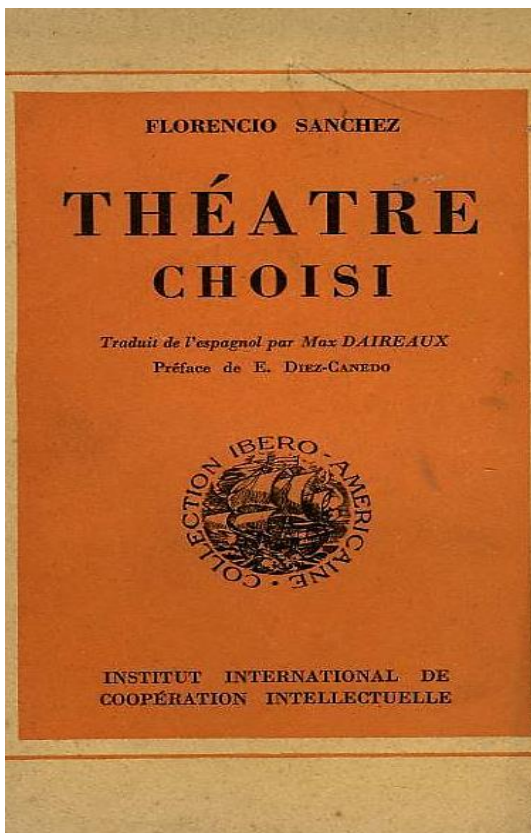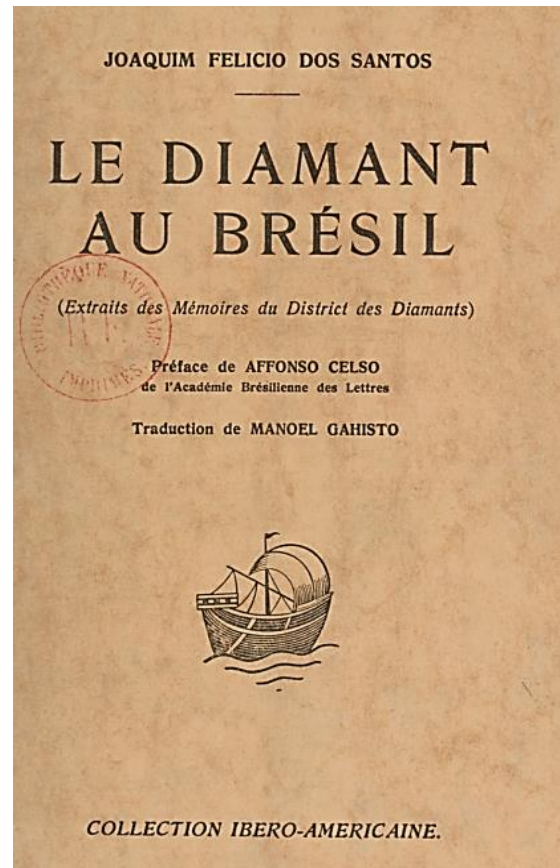
Figure 37. Covers in the Ibero-American Collection: an ambiguous institutional framing

Indeed, one of the problematic aspects in this regard was that the Collection's literary character had not been respected given States' intervention in text selection, which in turn resulted, in his view, from the Publishing Committee erratic functioning. Said critiques prompted a reorganization of both the collection and its Publishing Committee.

In his reorganization, De Reynold clarified that the literary direction of the collection needed to be in the hands of the Publishing Committee, which meant being responsible for text and translator's selection. This was theoretically the case since Díez-Canedo formulated a first proposed list, although correspondence shows that certain members of the Publishing Committee preferred to leave to State representatives the choice, as experts did not seem to agree on a final list.[1074] Indeed, several letters attest that experts consulted other colleagues from National Academies and similar institutions to make the difficult decision of selecting one (or a few, in the best case) of representative works. For the first volumes, National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation provided as well lists of works recommended for translation.[1075] By introducing said change, De Reynold wished to clash certain attempts by States to intervene in the choice of texts to be published. Tacitly, it also preserved the ICIC and the IIIC from any complaints regarding text selection, thus conferring to the decision a technical character. This problem, indeed, had since the very beginning been identified by the members of the Publishing Committee, who also advocated for the preservation of the decision on the Publishing Committee's hands.

> El señor director me dice en una carta reciente, que varios países de la América piden ver incorporados a la lista de obras a varios autores más. Yo creo, señor Prezzolini, que se pueden añadir, sin daño para la colección, unos doce libros más; pero que no podemos ir muy lejos, porque la colección perdería todo crédito. Respetuosamente le indico la conveniencia de solicitar de los delegados que han hecho el reclamo que entreguen al Instituto las obras que ellos recomiendan, en cinco ejemplares cada una, con el objeto de que sean leídos separadamente por los miembros del Comité, a fin de que en una sesión próxima hagamos las aumentaciones con plena consciencia, sin prejuicios y con eficacia. Algunos

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[1074] "Puisque M. de Montarroyos a été désigné officiellement pour représenter le Brésil auprès de l'Institut, il est préférable de lui laisser toute la responsabilité en ce qui concerne le choix des auteurs. Les académiciens que j'ai consultés ne se sont pas mis d'accord pour nous donner, comme je l'espérais, une liste définitive." Le Gentil to Blaise Briod, April 9, 1928. UNESCO Archives, AG 1-IICI-F-VI-3 (1) Brésil.
[1075] For exemple, the Brazilian National Committee proposed *Ensaios* by Ruy Barbosa, *Ensaios* by Euclydes da cunha, *Contos* by Machado de Assis, *O Guarany* by José de Alencar, *O Diamante no Brasil* by Joaquim Felicio dos Santos, *Excerptos* by Joaquim Nabuco, and *O Mulato* by Aluizio de Azevedo. Aloysio de Castro to Julien Luchaire, March 7, 1929. Ibid.

reclaman con razón; otros solo piden por política nacionalista… Los miembros del Comité son todos capaces y harán una crítica leal de los libros.[1076]

(The director tells me in a recent letter that several countries in America ask to see several more authors incorporated into the list of works. I believe, Mr. Prezzolini, that some twelve additional books can be added, without harm to the collection; but we cannot go very far, because the collection would lose all credit. I respectfully indicate the convenience of requesting that the delegates who have made the claim deliver to the Institute the works recommended, in five copies each, so that they may be read separately by the members of the Publishing Committee, and so that, in an upcoming session, we can increase the volumes included with full awareness, without prejudice and effectively. Some of them rightly claim; others only ask for nationalist politics... The members of the Committee are all capable and will make a loyal criticism of the books.)

Despite Mistral's insistence and faith, the fact that De Reynold addressed said aspect indicates that the states had managed to have a saying in at least some of the publications.

Another aspect that De Reynold modified had to do with the role played by the publishing house Les Belles Lettres, which had edited the first Chilean volume. It should be noted, in this sense, that Les Belles Lettres was not any other publishing house. Founded in 1919, it was the publishing house of the prestigious Association Guillaume Budé, specialized in the publication of Greek and classics in translation. Promoted by specialists, the collection became a reference and a synonym of quality and scientific rigor in the French literary field. A confluence of interests seems to have taken place that led to a collaboration between Les Belles Lettres and the IIIC. Mazon, the director of the publishing house, expressed his wish to extend said collection to modern classics, with a special interested in the classics of what he referred to as Latin culture. In that framework, he grew interested in Belaúnde and Mistral's agreement to organize a collection of Latin American classics in French translation. The Chief of the French Service at the IIIC, Emile Bremond being aware of both, he decided to organize a meeting between Mazon, Mistral, and Belaúnde. Therefore, by associating its name with that of Les Belles Lettres, the IIIC sought to profit from the latter's symbolic capital in the literary field. Just as the Association Guillaume Budé functioned as the guarantor of the scientific quality of the collection of classics Mazon published, the IIIC and more precisely, the Publishing Committee, were to be the guarantors of the Collection's quality. The symbolic capital Les Belles Lettres possessed, however, came at an economic cost that was not the object

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[1076] Gabriela Mistral to Giuseppe Prezzolini, Oct. 6, 1928. UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F-VI-2 Chili.

of consensus, especially during the early 1930s, when the IIIC's finances and functioning were questioned. In De Reynold's words:

> If the Collection had been published at the outset with the full literary responsibility of the Publication Committee, the Institute only assuming responsibility for its financial and administrative management, there would have been no reason to entrust the publication to a private publisher. The Institute might have entrusted the work of printing to a printer and the sale and advertisement of the volumes to a book selling agency. The Collection would then have been published directly by the Institute, and the payment of heavy commissions to the private publisher who has been selected would have been avoided.[1077]

While the Swiss explicitly mentioned the economic grudge imposed by Les Belles Lettres on the collection's finances for what he considered a very technical service, his critiques go beyond the financial aspect and need to be related in relation to the symbolic profits derived from this editorial project. Les Belles Lettres were indeed mentioned in the title page (Figure 38), whereas the IIIC or the Publishing Committee were not. This, coupled with Les Belles Lettres' prestige in the literary field, resulted in the appearance that Les Belles Lettres eclipsed the ICO's role, thus depriving the latter of its share of symbolic capital. And this, in consequence, was another aspect De Reynold modified by deciding that the names of the Publishing Committee's members would appear on the title page, next to the publisher's name.

> As the names of the members of the Publication Committee will appear alone on the title page of each volume, together with the name of the publisher (i.e. Les Belles Lettres Company), the public will conclude that, as is usual in the case of this kind of publication, Les Belles Lettres are the publishers under the patronage of a Committee; this would be a complete reversal of the roles. All that Les Belles Lettres Company has to do is to print a Collection in connection with which it is receiving the benefits of the work of the Publication Committee and the Institute.[1078]

From this perspective, De Reynold preferred a more discreet role of the publishing house, as the latter acted in the present case as a printer and did not perform any editorial tasks. However, as the economic grudge became excessive with time, the Publishing Committee decided to replace Les Belles Lettres by Floch publishing house in a meeting on March 29, 1932. Floch was responsible for the publication of most subsequent volumes in the Ibero-American Collection.

[1077] UN Archive, R2237/5B/5053/5053 Latin American classics - Publication of a series by the International Institute Intellectual Co-operation.
[1078] Ibid.

The third aspect de Reynold was not satisfied with regarded relations between the Publishing Committee and the bodies composing the ICO. The former was composed mainly by external intellectuals who were summoned as experts but whose decisions were not always necessarily aligned with the goals of the IIIC and the ICIC. The Publishing Committee, in de Reynold's view, had to be a committee of experts and, at the same time, a managing committee, which yielded them considerable powers. To better coordinate the latter's work with institutional priorities, de Reynold proposed that the Publishing Committee's chairman be

Figure 38. Title page in the first volumes of the Ibero-American Collection

always a member of the ICIC and its secretary-general, an IIIC's official, which was a way of orienting and keeping an eye on the development of things.

Among the aspects he wanted to supervise was text selection, which was probably the central decision in the context of the Publishing Committee's literary responsibility. While de Reynold tried, with the reorganization of the Collection, to preserve the autonomous character of this decision, archival records reveal that it was never a fully autonomous decision. Choosing texts for publication was a delicate step that involved plenty of discussion, given the stalwart objective of balancing literary, political, and strategic considerations. It was decided to publish a collection of classics rather than a collection of contemporary literature, given that this was a way of avoiding favoring single individuals. No trace has been found in preserved records regarding what a classic or representative work was in their view, and the ambiguity inherent in said concepts probably explains why it was avoided in the collection's title. Once the time frame was decided, the question of preferred genres was posed. Throughout its existence, the collection published a variety of genres, even though several opinions were present even within the Publishing Committee, where some members advocated for literary or aesthetic criteria and others preferred erudite or historical works that bestowed the

collection with a more specialized or academic character. The literary criteria were ultimately favored, also because experience proved that other genres, like historical volumes, posed greater challenges. Thus, the decision made by experts was to be guided by considerations regarding literary value, a criterion that was combined with other aspects such as works' translatability. Poetry, for example, was excluded from the collection given that it was untranslatable without significant loss, according to an opinion already present in Valéry's report and voiced also by the chief of the IIIC's Literary Section, Dominique Braga. This also applied to specific volumes. For example, in a letter from Blaise Briod to Georges Le Gentil, dated April 5, 1928, Briod considered that Brazilian writer Machado de Assis wouldn't lose anything if translated, whereas "da Cunha is too original to pass fully in another language."[1079] The same problem emerged regarding the eventual publication of *Martín Fierro* by the Argentinian José Hernández, regarding which Torres Bodet "assured his colleagues that it would be something in the nature of a miracle if one succeeded in obtaining a good translation."[1080] Guided by the enthusiasm of several members of the Publishing Committee, it was agreed that an excerpt from *Martín Fierro* would be sent as an experiment to Mathilde Pomès, who, in Raymond Ronze's words, was "one of the very few translators to whom such an undertaking could be entrusted." This would become the second Argentinian volume, and instead, the Publishing Committee had initially agreed that the second Argentinian volume would be *Mis Montañas* by Joaquín V. González or *Martín Fierro*. Indeed, the Publishing Committee had already proposed the translation of the latter work to Marcel Carayon, who submitted a first excerpt that largely satisfied the Publishing Committee. Therefore, Braga had undertaken negotiations with the Argentinian government to negotiate the necessary amount. In this framework, nevertheless, Roberto Gache let the Publishing Committee know that the Argentinian Academy considered that it was impossible to fully render *Martín Fierro* in translation and that, therefore, they preferred Carayon work on *Mis Montañas*. Said academy also proposed as a third volume, *Una Excursión a los Indios Ranqueles* by Lucio V. Mansilla.[1081] Considering that the latter would not present the same interest as *Martín Fierro*, the Committee decided to insist in their desire to publish Hernández's work. Among the reasons argued, the Committe

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[1079] UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-3 (1) Brésil.

[1080] "Minutes of the Meeting of the Publication Committee for the Ibero-American Collection, held at the Institute on Dec. 21st, 1933," UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F 1932-1939.

[1081] "Procès-Verbal de la Réunion du Comité de Publication de La Collection Ibero-Américaine tenue à l'Institut le 19 décembre 1935,", UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F 1932-1939-24.

stressed its will to "publier les oeuvres les plus caractéristiques d'une époque, dans chaque pays" and advanced the opinion that "l'on comprendrait mieux l'Argentine actuelle en la mettant, grâce à la traduction de Martin Fierro, puis à la traduction de Mis Montañas, en parallèle avec l'Argentine d'aujourd'hui."[1082] The Publishing Committee's insistence forced Argentinian representatives to elaborate on the reasons behind their preference, with Roberto Gache having clarified that "certains Argentins estiment que Martin Fierro n'est pas une œuvre de véritable folklore argentin. Il importe donc d'attirer l'attention de l'Académie sur la valeur de ce poème au point de vue philologique, en précisant que nous publierions le texte français en regard du texte espagnol."[1083] As can be grasped, the choice was marked by contrasting views on national identity and the derived national culture. In a conciliatory tone, Martinenche proposed that Argentinian intellectual milieus expressed their point of view in a foreword "s'ils craignent que l'ouvrage ne donne une opinion erronée de l'Argentine actuelle aux Européens."[1084] And, as a last argument, Torres Bodet considered it important to warn Argentinians that other translators and publishing houses did not offer the same guarantees offered by Carayon and the IIIC, hence implicitly suggesting them to choose the lesser of two evils: if *Martín Fierro* was to be translated, it was best that they could control the translation. Against this backdrop, *Martín Fierro* was included in the Publishing Committee's plans to be issued in November 1938.

The second Argentinian volume, or rather, the disagreement surrounding its choice, offers rich material to discuss several aspects related to the functioning of the Publishing Committee. De Reynold's reorganization took place in 1931, and the debates surrounding the selection of the second Argentinian volume were held in 1935. This shows that, despite de Reynold's efforts to secure the autonomous character of text selection, they were not completely successful. The differences in criteria argued by the Publishing Committee, the Argentinian Government and the Argentinian Academy suggest that title selection was not decided by a single agent but was the result of multiple proposals and efforts to find a consensus. As can be grasped between the lines, an underlying question was related to the tricky question of what represented Argentina best in the eyes of French readers and who was more legitimate to decide it. Although the Argentinian Academy advanced its own position, the Publishing Committee suggested

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[1082] Ibid.
[1083] Ibid.
[1084] Ibid.

they reevaluate their decision and therefore their opinion on one autochthonous literary work, something that, from the national perspective, could be rather displeasing. Finally, this debate also underscores the relevance of translatability in the design of a literary collection designed to address an international readership, thus prefiguring current debates on the role of translatability in the creation of international bestsellers.

In other cases, the genre selected made it difficult for the IIIC to find the necessary material. This was the case with folklore. Even though initial plans included the publication of two volumes on general folklore at Mistral's request, the members of the Publishing Committee struggled to obtain the necessary material. According to Mistral, only Brazil, Chile, and Mexico had studied said production and could provide them the necessary material, which made it difficult to move forward with the idea of general volumes.[1085] In this case, however, several governments had already offered their contributions with previous knowledge of the IIIC's intention to publish a general volume on folklore, and therefore their decision to back out could generate mistrust among Latin American governments. In practice, it was also a problem from an accounting perspective because, in some cases, governments had offered a sum for a single volume and an inferior sum allocated to general volumes. Therefore, once the single volume had been published, the remaining sum became too modest to use if it was not in the framework of a multiple-country collaboration.

The problematic dynamic between experts' preferences and political and institutional considerations can be further illustrated if we focus on paratexts, a part of the book where actors that were external to the Publishing Committee (in its majority) found space to develop their own ideas. Two anecdotes, however, can be mentioned here to illustrate their interplay. The first can be found in relation to the foreword Ventura García Calderón prepared for Palma's volume. More precisely, Braga asked if he could erase the word "merde" from a quotation García Calderón had used because "la Coopération Intellectuelle Internationale, quoique récente, a des allures de vieille dame,"[1086] Braga argued. The Peruvian, less sensitive to the morality of the elderly, rejected Braga's request.

> Non, mon cher ami, je tiens à mon anecdote crapuleuse qui nous portera bonheur. Si le plus français des mots vous choque, écrivez-le avec une majuscule suivie des

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[1085] Gabriela Mistral to Dominique Braga. September 8, 1930. UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F-VI-2 Chili.
[1086] Dominique Braga to Ventura García Calderón. April 8, 1937. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-7 Pérou.

points d'arrêt habituels. Tout en étant à demi genevoise, la Coopération intellectuelle ne doit pas dépasser en pruderie l'éditeur calviniste de Paris, Felix Alcan, qui inséra froidement une variante de ma petite histoire dans la préface des Pages choisies de Darío.[1087]

Something slightly similar happened with Afranio Peixoto's foreword to *Dom Casmurro* by Machado de Assis. According to several letters exchanged between Peixoto and Braga, the latter would have intervened in its contents, and, among other modifications, he would have suppressed Peixoto's reference to the fact that de Assis stuttered. Peixoto's reaction was lively.

> Vi o prefácio de que vocês retiraram a "gagueira" de Machado de Assis… Não sei por quê. Gide gaba-se da sua pederastia. A de Wilde é histórica. A surdez de Beethoven não é jamais esquecida. Antes das pedrinhas, Demóstenes era gago (Perdão!) (...). A epilepsia de Flaubert é assunto de livros. O alcoolismo de Musset anda por todos os livros. (...) Por que não se poderá falar da gagues de Machado de Assis? (...) Montarroyos falou-me em aumentar o prefácio, não em castrá-lo… Eu poderia pedir escusas e retirar simplesmente o tal prefácio… Mas [?] amigo de vocês que permito que saia, assim mesmo, mutilado e incoerente… (...) Meus caros amigos, vocês estão há muito tempo fora do Brasil e nos fazem a injustiça de crer que somos ainda tão 'ombrageux'... Como na Botocudolandia[1088]... Temos progredido. Não falemos mais nisso. Más tem importância. Na publicação da Academia direi "prefácio feito a pedido de Cooperação intelectual." Se alguém os confrontar, verá que a ilustre dama capou a demasia.[1089]

> (I saw the preface in which you removed Machado de Assis's 'stuttering'… I do not know why. Gide boasts about his pederasty. Wilde's is historical. Beethoven's deafness is never forgotten. Before the pebbles, Demosthenes stuttered (Sorry!). (...). Flaubert's epilepsy is the subject of books. Musset's alcoholism is all over the books. (…) Why can't we mention Machado de Assis' stuttering? (…) Montarroyos told me about making the preface longer, not about castrating it... I could apologize and simply remove that preface... But [?] friend of yours that I allow it to go out, just like that, mutilated and incoherent... (...) My dear friends, you have not been in Brazil for a long time and you do us the injustice of believing that we are still so 'ombrageux'... Like in Botocudolandia... We have progressed. Let's not talk about it anymore. But it is important. In the Academy's publication I will say "preface made at the request of Intellectual Cooperation." If anyone confronts them, they will see that the illustrious lady concealed too much.

In Peixoto's reply, he assumed that Braga's choice was guided by the will not to offend anyone in Brazil. But apparently something else was going on too with Peixoto's

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[1087] Ventura García Calderón to Dominique Braga. April 13, 1937. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-7 Pérou.

[1088] The term "botocudo" refers to the indigenous peoples living in eastern Brazil, known for the fact that they wooden plugs or disks in the lower lip and the ear. "Botocudolandia" should be here understood as an ironic reference to Brazil.

[1089] Afrânio Peixoto to Eliseu de Montarroyos and Dominique Braga, February 20, 1936. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-3 (2) Brésil.

foreword. In this case, it was Francis de Miomandre, the volume's translator, who contacted Braga with the complaint that Peixoto's foreword presented *Dom Casmurro* "comme un ouvrage d'excellent second ordre"[1090]. Braga's reply is laconic: "Ne remuez pas le fer dans la plaie. Cette préface, j'ai fait tout ce que j'ai pu pour l'adoucir, l'amollir, la modeler… et j'ai eu une correspondance à ce sujet avec notre ami Peixoto… j'aurais, comme vous, été porté à être plus flatteur."[1091] From this standpoint, it can be argued that Braga's decision to delete that sentence was to be inscribed in the context of relatively disparaging statements on Peixoto's side, in which context a defect of pronunciation could contribute to a rather belittling image. Ultimately, therefore, it was a question of legitimizing the work itself and, by extension, the Collection and the IIIC.

Another key aspect posing problems related to the way the collection functioned was related to its economy. The sum the IIIC considered necessary to publish a 250-page volume was 25,000 French francs[1092], which included translation, printing, selling and publicity costs, as well as a contribution to the general expenditures of the Publishing Committee. In other words, the IIIC did not make any economic profits from the Collection, something the members of the Publishing Committee often stressed in correspondence: all eventual benefits were reinvested in the publication of further volumes. The finances of the collection possess several specificities derived from the fact that the publishing institution was not a publishing house but an international organization whose funds were assigned by national governments. In the case of the collection, volumes were financed with an ad hoc subsidy. In its initial steps, several individuals intervened in fundraising, and for this reason, the management of the collection's finances was reorganized in the occasion of de Reynold's intervention. The Swiss attributed the tasks of fundraising, management of state subsidies, and profits from sales to the IIIC, thus narrowing responsibility for financial negotiations to the IIIC's officials. The Publication Committee was to instruct the IIIC to procure the necessary funds for

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[1090] Francis de Miomandre to Dominique Braga, June 21, 1936. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-3 (2) Brésil.

[1091] Dominique Braga to Francis de Miomandre, June 26, 1936. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-3 (2) Brésil.

[1092] The necessary amount changed in the late 1930s because of the devaluation of the French franc and the increase in paper prices. The IIIC considered that 22,000 French francs covered the translation and printing of a 250-page volume in a print run of 1,200 copies (opposite to the initial 2,000 copies) and without luxury editions. To print some luxury editions and increase the print run, the IIIC requested 25,000 French francs. Also, the first volumes costed 20 French francs, but later on the IIIC reduced the price and the last ones' price oscillated between 15 and 18 French francs. UNESCO Archives, AG 1-IICI-F 1932-1939-35. Collection ibéro-américaine. Généralités.

publication, but its members would not intervene in this domain. Through this decision, de Reynold put an end to the previous dynamic, in which "negotiations have been conducted, directly or indirectly, partly by members of the Publication Committee, partly by representatives of the States, partly by the officials of the Institute; and this has led to a number of misunderstandings which are difficult to put right."[1093] He probably referred to a problem with the Argentine subsidy in 1928. The government decree assigning funds to the IIIC mentioned the publication of four volumes in four editions, one in French, one in Italian, one in German and one in English. But the IIIC's agreements were made by considering only the French edition, and within this framework, a print run of 2,000 copies per volume had been agreed, from which the IIIC would offer 500 copies for free to the sponsoring government.[1094] However, the inclusion of the four target languages in the decree multiplied the volumes offered, which, following Prezzolini's estimates, would receive 8,000 volumes at a price of 10 francs per volume, which was half the price the IIIC sold the volumes of the Ibero-American Collection. In consequence, the financial agreements needed to be revised and for this reason Mistral tried to solve the issue with Antonio Sagarna, Argentina's Minister of Justice and Public Instruction, but by the time she did, Sagarna was not in office anymore, and the question became more complicated in lack of any personal acquaintances with his successor. Therefore, de Reynold tried to diminish the weight of one's own personal network in official affairs.[1095]

Also, regarding the form of states' financial support, de Reynold preferred that funds constitute subscriptions to a given number of copies of the volumes announced for publication, which would preserve the prerogative of text selection in the Publishing Committee's hands. However, he acknowledged the difficulty of changing a procedure already in use. For this reason, he accepted to maintain ad hoc subsidies but stressed the need to clarify that the Publishing Committee kept for itself the prerogative of deciding the works to be translated and the order of publication. The financial management of such

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[1093] Ibid.

[1094] Giuseppe Prezzolini to Gabriela Mistral, Oct. 13, 1928, Paris. UNESCO Archives, AG 1-IICI-F-VI-2 Chili.

[1095] In previous chapters, I have provided several examples of individuals (IIIC's officials or external collaborators) having personal connections to some key ICO's employees, which suggests that, despite efforts to turn the ICO's work into impersonal, that is, purely technical work, one of the main resources driving it was the social capital the carriers of intellectual cooperation possessed. From this standpoint, work at the IIIC and the ICIC involved, often, a quite closed community. In this regard, it can be argued that de Reynold's declarative efforts to avoid personal negotiations were a pretext to clearly organize the duties of the parties involved in the editorial project, rather than adopting a rigid position excluding resorting to one's social capital in all cases.

funds would be administered independently of the IIIC's finances, and all benefits from sales would be used for the publication of new volumes. Another source of founding was explored and employed when the economic situation of several Latin American countries worsened, which consisted in the constitution of popular committees that would gather donations from national institutions or citizens. This system was employed to publish funds from the Cuban volume thanks to Mariano Brull's intervention and was also explored in the case of the Colombian volume. In a letter related to the publication of Florencio Sánchez's translation, Julián Nogueira proposed to create popular subscriptions, an idea that, in Braga's opinion, would reinforce the collection because "La collection n'en serait que plus directement représentative des peuples américano-latins."[1096] Several letters were sent with the aim of seeking subscriptions to the Collection from Latin Americans living in Paris too, which makes explicit that the IIIC saw them as a potential audience.

To conclude the comment on the collection's financial aspects, the dynamic of ad hoc subsidies can be further commented upon. This type of functioning constitutes an early example of what is today known as the "donor-driven approach,"[1097] a term employed to describe a contemporary dynamic in the UN's functioning according to which the diminution of the organization's funds has favored the development of a series of projects sponsored by individual donor states. According to Müller, this mode of financing has, among one of its consequences, the fact that the "political equality that all states have in the assembly becomes negotiable."[1098] Without going as far in the ICO's case, it cannot be overlooked that the fact of investing additional sums in the ICO's projects improved the marginality, to use Wehrli's word,[1099] of Latin American countries.

As the previous pages illustrate, the division of tasks proposed by de Reynold and subsequently adopted pursued several goals: first, legitimizing the collection by assigning text selection to a committee of experts (i.e., the Publishing Committee), which at the same time preserved the ICO from the political responsibility of text selection, or, in other words, of being considered accountable for the content, ideology of published authors, etc. At the same time, however, de Reynold's proposal zealously tried to preserve for the

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[1096] Dominique Braga to Julián Nogueira. Nov. 30, 1931. UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F-VI-3 (1) Brésil.
[1097] Birgit Müller, *The Gloss of Harmony: The Politics of Policy-Making in Multilateral Organisations* (London: Pluto Press, 2013), 11.
[1098] Ibid.
[1099] Wehrli, "Un Uruguayen à Genève," 164.

ICO the symbolic capital derived from the collection's publication. In addition, he clearly distinguished two spheres of work, one that was literary and that was the object of the Publishing Committee, and another one that was related to financial decisions and management of the funds assigned by Latin American governments and that needed to become the sole prerogative of the IIIC. The latter's contribution, therefore, was not that much decision-making over literary affairs nor even a salient economic contribution. Instead, its contribution was that of acting as a bridge or as a chain of transmission: on the one hand, by bringing together Latin American governments in a shared editorial project that was broad enough to encompass varied literary traditions, and on the other hand, by facilitating the circulation of Latin American literatures in other linguistic areas, thus improving knowledge about Latin America abroad. The equilibrium between these goals was more often than not precarious and although division of tasks improved after de Reynold's intervention, interference from different actors in stages and decisions that were not theoretically part of their prerogatives continued to mark the history of the Ibero-American Collection until its last days. In the following pages, the political aspects that tainted this editorial project will be reconstructed.

10.4. Between the literary and the political field. Politics and power in the Ibero-American Collection

Political considerations manifested in the history of the Ibero-American Collection in at least four ways: the agents involved, among which government representatives abounded; the criteria structuring the collection; the political pressures to which the members of the Publishing Committee were subjected; and the latter's own political agendas. Said dynamics can be analyzed in detail to see how the relations between the intellectual and the political fields were articulated.

Examining the agents involved in the Ibero-American Collection is the standpoint that more clearly reflects the fact that two fields entered relations with said project, as some agents can be considered as representatives of the intellectual or literary field, and as agents belonging to the political field (governments, legations, ministers, etc.). Both collectivities intervened in the different stages of the production process, from fundraising and text selection to distribution. For example, state actors were also key in the

distribution stage, which relied largely on ministries of Foreign Affairs and Education and on diplomatic circuits. This had certain vantages, such as the exemption from paying customs, but it also marked the final audience receiving said books.

If we look into the criteria structuring the collection, the structure of the state system was reproduced in the criteria structuring the editorial project. The Ibero-American Collection was organized on a national basis. Each volume was financed by a single country, and forewords and other paratexts accompanying the text were preferably authored by intellectuals from that same country (see Table 22). Forewords are often used to legitimize a foreign work in the eyes of the audience, and for this reason they are usually signed by renowned figures in the target culture. In this case, national criteria presided over intellectual ones, as reflected in the fact that very few exceptions were made to said rule. Also, the prevalence of the national in the organization of the Ibero-American Collection made it so that the Ibero-American character of the collection was the result of a juxtaposition of volumes representing single states. In other terms, the collection resulted from the cooperation between each country and the IIIC itself, rather than a direct cooperation between Latin American countries per se.

Volume	Author	Author Nationality	Foreword author	Nationality
Historiens chiliens: pages choisies	Collective volume	Chili	Carlos Pereyra	Mexican
Le Diamant au Brésil	(various authors)	Brazil	Afonso Celso de Assis Figueiredo Júnior	Brazil
Choix de lettres, discours et proclamations	Simón Bolivar	Venezuela	Laureano Vallenilla Lanz	Venezuela
			Caracciolo Parra Pérez	Venezuela
Facundo	Domingo Faustino Sarmiento	Argentina	Aníbal Ponce	Argentina
América	José Martí	Cuba	Jorge Mañach	Cuba
			Juan Marinello	Cuba
			Félix Lizaso	Cuba
Essais	Eugenio María de Hostos	Puerto Rico	Pedro Henríquez Ureña	Dominican Republic
			Antonio S. Pedreira	Puerto Rico

Dom Casmurro	Joaquim Machado de Assis	Brazil	Afránio Peixoto	Brazil
Mes montagnes	Joaquín V. González	Argentina	Rafael Obligado	Argentina
Folklore chilien		Chile	Gabriela Mistral	Chile
Traditions péruviennes	Ricardo Palma	Peru	Clemente Palma	Peru
Théâtre choisi	Florencio Sánchez	Uruguay	Enrique Diez Canedo	Spain
Pages choisies	Joaquim Nabuco	Brazil	Graça Aranha	Brazil

Table 22. Volumes of the Ibero-American collection with authors, collaborators, and their nationalities.

Indeed, Gabriela Mistral used her influence in the Publishing Committee to oppose and overcome national (and nationalistic) dynamics and promote Latin American direct cooperation. She was the tireless promoter of co-financed volumes, which transgressed the structuring principle of one volume per country. For instance, she worked to publish a volume devoted to Rubén Darío, cofounded mainly by Nicaragua, Colombia, and Argentina, with minor contributions from other Latin American countries. She also tried to promote folklore volumes from two or three countries. In her view,

> El ideal es una colección no solo dirigida, sino hecha, por folkloristas técnicos, que trate el continente, sin división de países, porque mitos, supersticiones, romances, etc., varían ligeramente de una nación a otra. Pero no tenemos dinero para pagar esta labor de carácter tan serio. Hay además que contar con que la vanidad de nuestros países no concedería fondos para un número crecido de volúmenes que no llevara en la carátula el nombre de tal o cual país… He dicho a nuestros amigos varias veces que yo creo que nuestro folklore es la única literatura original que tenemos, a pesar de las filtraciones españolas. Démonos pues, el lujo de intentar la publicación de varios volúmenes por nación.[1100]

> (The ideal option is a collection not only directed, but made, by technical folklorists, that deals with the continent, without division of countries, because myths, superstitions, romances, etc., vary slightly from one nation to another. But we do not have the money to pay for this serious work. We must also assume that the vanity of our countries would not grant funds for a large number of volumes that did not carry the name of this or that country on the cover... I have told our friends several times that I believe that our folklore is the only original literature that we have, despite the Spanish leaks. Let us therefore give ourselves the luxury of trying to publish several volumes per nation.)

[1100] Gabriela Mistral to Dominique Braga, Nov. 26, 1934 [received]. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-1 Collection ibéro-américaine.

Not only did the IIIC fail to some extent to promote Latin American regional cooperation, but competition between Latin American countries was a tool mobilized to promote the participation of those who had not yet materialized their participation in the collection. To this end, the economic contributions from collaborating countries were systematically mentioned in correspondence to obtain funds from newcomers joining the collection later on.

More broadly, the mere fact of publishing one volume per country deserves comment. The IIIC operated by mechanically applying the category structuring the international political system, the State, to the organization of the intellectual space. Such an operation equated political maps with cultural ones, and by doing so, it planted the seed that blurred the distinction between cultural and political representation, as well as cultural and political recognition or consecration. In the understanding that translation already constitutes a form of consecration of a text, its inclusion in a collection published by an international institution would confer it further value and suggest it was worthy of international interest. Each volume thus simultaneously represented and consecrated a culture, the country each volume represented by metonymy —and, by extension, the region the collection was designed to represent. From the symbolic recognition of a literary or cultural collectivity, we shift to the consolidation of national and regional collectivities. From this standpoint, the collection of literary translations was used as a tool contributing to the symbolic existence and recognition of concrete territorial collectivities. And, as historians have abundantly shown, the symbolic is the glue that ties social groups (and states) together. From this standpoint, the collection can be seen as a "soft power resource," that is, "a resource that has the ability to attract others."[1101]

Following a rigid national structure in organizing literary affairs, however, was not always possible. The life experiences of several authors published in the collection spanned different geographies, in the sense that the latter circulated and played key roles in countries other than their homeland. This was Florencio Sánchez's case, who was born in Uruguay, but part of his career developed in Argentina, which added nuance to the geography he represented. In other cases, several agents from the literary field were faced with situations in which they contested the imposition of a political logic over their work, as the following examples illustrate.

[1101] Batchelor, Kathryn. "Literary translation and soft power," 403.

Members of the Publishing Committee were subject to several political pressures. For example, when the Publishing Committee decided to publish a volume titled *Le Diamant au Brésil*, professor Georges Le Gentil voiced the difficult situation he found himself in as he was held responsible for the book's content:

> Je viens d'apprendre indirectement que les Portugais ont très mal accueilli le livre de Joaquim Felicio dos Santos sur les Diamants au Brésil et qu'ils me rendent responsable, dans une certaine mesure, de la publication d'un ouvrage qui renferme des appréciations sévères sur le régime colonial[1102].

It ought to be mentioned as well that Le Gentil's statement was written despite the fact that Dominique Braga and Eliseu de Montarroyos, Brazil's national delegate to the IIIC, had previously "tâché d'éviter que ne soient traduits les passages pouvant éveiller des susceptibilités portugaises." [1103] As a result of such complaints, Le Gentil requested that a Brazilian member be present in the Publishing Committee to avoid future misunderstandings, thus making explicit the strategic relevance of the origins of experts or officials taking part in the IIIC's work. Dominique Braga, who was Franco-Brazilian, was then requested to be the Brazilian representative in the committee, a choice that offered Brazil the security that a key member of the IIIC had the county's interests in mind. French professor Ernest Martinenche had also verbalized similar reservations regarding book selection, as he preferred to leave certain decisions in this regard to national representatives. Said manifestations can be considered examples of the choices faced by non-state actors in the ICO's work, and how their awareness developed vis-à-vis their expected functions.[1104] By requesting the presence of a Brazilian member or by declining to exercise text selection, both professors rejected to reproduce forms of agency that compromised their own independence. The fact that it was Braga who became the Brazilian representative, thus a member of the IIIC's staff, stresses the latter's role in terms of mediating between experts and government actors and, more precisely, his ambiguous position. As reflected by the previous examples, publications were carefully monitored by states so as not to counter national interests or tarnish their image. The control under which professors of foreign literatures and foreign languages were maintained reflects the difficulties of reconciling specialized or scientific criteria with the

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[1102] Georges Le Gentil to Dominique Braga, April 18, 1932. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-3 (1) Brésil.

[1103] Dominique Braga to Georges Le Gentil, April 22, 1932. Ibid.

[1104] Kate O'Neill, Jörg Balsiger, Stacy D. VanDeveer, "ACTORS, NORMS, AND IMPACT: Recent International Cooperation Theory and the Influence of the Agent-Structure Debate," *Annual Review of Political Science* 7, no. 1 (2004): 158.

fact that such agents were considered, to some extent, unofficial diplomats or relays of foreign representation. This, in turn, nuances any aprioristic distinction between autonomous and heteronomous logics (or literary and political logics) depending exclusively on the agent involved, as the presence of intellectuals was not an element that granted the autonomy of decision-making. And this was not only because of external pressures but also because intellectuals carry with them their own national habitus. Also, because in some cases, it was not state representatives that expressed political considerations, but the very intellectuals who anticipated reactions from the political field and adapted some of their decisions.

As can already be grasped in some of the previous examples, the experts who collaborated with the Publishing Committee did not share the same ideology and were guided by their own intellectual interests and political agendas. Illustrate this are the discussions surrounding the possible publication of *Le Crime de la guerre* by Juan Bautista Alberdi, a book "published shortly after the war of 1870 [that] contained a number of ideas of present interest, particularly on the organization of peace. But it also contained certain passages attacking Germany and it was questioned whether it would be advisable to publish the work in a collection issued by the Institute."[1105] The solution of text cutting was contemplated but ultimately abandoned.

> Les passages contenant des attaques contre certaines nations ne peuvent être supprimés sans donner l'impression d'une mutilation volontaire. Je me suis entretenu de la question avec des Argentins résidant à Paris, et notamment avec le correspondant de la Prensa qui est un spécialiste d'Alberdi. Il avait le texte chez lui, s'y est reporté et m'a dit spontanément qu'on ne pouvait détacher les passages visés, et d'un autre côté, ces passages sont, en effet, dangereux. Pourtant, puisque le livre est up to date, ce que nous ne pouvons faire officiellement, pourquoi un éditeur privé ne le ferait-il pas ? Quoique les délais soient bien courts, peut-être pourrions-nous signaler "Le crime de la guerre" à une des collections de traductions.[1106]

Ultimately, it was decided not to include said volume in the collection but to promote its publication elsewhere, hence reflecting the crucial way in which political aspects affected text selection in the Ibero-American Collection.

[1105] UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F 1932-1939-13 Minutes of the Meeting of the Publication Committee for the Ibero-American Collection, held at the Institute on Dec. 21st, 1933.
[1106] Dominique Braga to Salvador de Madariaga, November 9, 1931. UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F-IV-12 Bibliographie de la traduction - Réunion d'experts.

Several examples can be found, reflecting the fact that each agent acted guided by her own ideology and affinities. The discourses surrounding the translations published within the Ibero-American Collection reflect contrasting efforts to modify the nature of the relationships between Latin American countries (and cultures) and Europe, as well as to (re)negotiate power relations between Latin American countries and former colonial empires. This is especially the case with Gabriela Mistral, who promoted several ideas aimed at building a Latin American regional identity. She managed to make the most out of her absences from the Publishing Committee's meetings, sometimes using them as occasions to collaborate with other intellectuals regardless of their origins, thus prioritizing intellectual criteria over political prerogatives.[1107] On other occasions, she used her absences to address political jealousies and give representation to those countries that begrudged their lack of influence in the Publishing Committee. This was the case of Argentina, with Mistral's absence giving way to Argentine Manuel Ugarte's participation rather than that of a fellow Chilean. On the other hand, several actors voiced arguments to problematize the power relations between Latin American countries and former colonial empires. This was especially the case on occasion of the publication of historical volumes, in which framework several struggles aroused between Latin American agents who wished to take ownership of the region's historical narratives, and representatives of former colonial empires who wanted to maintain certain control over said narratives.

The Ibero-American Collection was entangled with cultural power relations, which, given their symbolic character, are harder to grasp or measure and are not always acknowledged. From this perspective, the political dimension of the Collection appears not only in what was said in letters and official documents but also in what was not explicitly said but conveyed in the choices guiding the Collection, in the materiality of books, in the translation choices, and so forth. For example, it is telling that a *Latin American* Bureau existed at the LON,[1108] but in the cultural domain, an *Ibero*-American, not a *Latin* American, collection was published. The collection's title referred to Ibero-America despite there being no Spanish or Portuguese authors in the collection, and despite its foundational events comprising two meetings of *Latin* American intellectuals and *Latin* American government representatives. In the IIIC's documentation and correspondence, one can quickly glean the terminological heterogeneity in reference to

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[1107] The standard procedure was to have any absent member replaced by an intellectual from the same country.
[1108] Wehrli, "Un Uruguayen à Genève," 170.

the collectivity being represented, with terms such as "Latin American," "Hispano-American," and "Ibero-American" being complementarily used. Also, under Latin American pens, intellectuals used the possessive pronoun ("our America," "our literatures," and so on) commonly as well. Such terminological heterogeneity has to be read as conveying different representations of regional identity regarding several aspects: the relations among Spanish-speaking countries in the Americas and their shared culture, whether a unity existed between Spanish-speaking countries and Brazil, their relations with Spain and Portugal as former colonial empires, the acceptance or rejection of European culture as constitutive of Latin American culture without denying Latin America's originality, and, last but not least, the region's relations with the United States. In this regard, the use of one form or another was not always consistent in archival records. There is also the question of the forms that have a tradition of use in Spanish, English, or French. As regards the name of the literary collection, no document has been found explicitly addressing the reasons behind the choice of the term "Ibero-American" for the collection's title, although this conversation must have taken place, especially considering the fact that, in Enrique Díez-Canedo's report, he suggested calling it "Collection of *Hispano*-American Classics."[1109] Also, the official name Blaise Briod employed when signing related correspondence in the collection's first years referred to the "Comité des Classiques de l'Amérique latine."[1110] Several conjectures can be advanced to justify the collection's name. One possible factor can be due to what has been called the "thinking in civilizations" characterizing the IIIC's and the LON's functioning.[1111] According to Laqua, one of the limitations in intellectual cooperation as practiced by the League of Nations was its attachment to categories such as race and empire, as well as its stressing of shared heritage, which greatly informed their understanding of "civilizations." Therefore, the preference for the form "Ibero-American" stressed the debt of Latin American cultures to former colonial empires' cultures. The issue of what place the legacy of European culture occupies in Latin American culture is a debated topic still today and has occupied a preeminent position in

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[1109] "Annex 2. Report by Enrique Díez Canedo on the Collection of Latin American Classics," May 18, 1927. UN Archive, R1050/13C/60353/24804 - Translation of Literary Works - Report to the Sub-Commission on Arts and Letters on the Activities of the Literary Relations Section of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

[1110] For example, letter from Blaise Briod to Georges Le Gentil, April 5, 1928. UNESCO Archive, AG 1-IICI-F-VI-3 (1) Brésil .

[1111] Laqua, "Transnational intellectual cooperation," 231.

Latin American intellectual history.[1112] However, another factor oriented the reflection of European intellectuals towards a failed acknowledgment of Latin American cultural autonomy, and rather, towards a tendency to think Latin America in relation to Europe and, more precisely, what it could do for European culture. And this factor is the moral crisis of European intellectuals after the First World War. This is explicit in some of the texts published by the IIIC and in the writing penned by key figures involved with the ICO,[1113] where America is considered in terms of its relationship to Europe and the ways it could help Europe, but not as an autonomous cultural space. This same derivative conception can be gleaned from the collection's imprint, where a ship is inscribed (Figure 37). In the first volumes published in the Collection, the ship sails from West to East, while in subsequent volumes said ship changed path, sailing from East to West, with clearly imperial, if not colonial, resonance. The change is not commented on in preserved correspondence.

Another aspect related to the manifestation of power relations in the literary domain has to do with the directionality of translation flows. What is relevant here is not that the initial target languages in the initial project were French, English, German, and Italian. It is the unrealized possibility of discussing other target languages or the search of mechanisms to find additional target languages.

To illustrate the ways translation can shape territorial imagination and yield soft power, I will discuss the circulation of the Ibero-American Collection. In her pioneering analysis of the circulation of Hispano-American literatures in France, Sylvia Molloy qualified the Ibero-American Collection as a partial failure when commenting on the following quotation from Jean-Jacques Mayoux, the last director of the IIIC:

> Le résultat pratique a été de faire plaisir à l'Amérique latine, ou plus exactement aux milieux intellectuels de ces pays, ce qui est bel et bien. Mais le public auquel ces livres étaient destinés n'a pas mordu, ce qui est tout de même fâcheux.[1114]

Indeed, Mayoux commented negatively on the outcomes of the Ibero-American Collection given that it sold more copies in Latin America than in France, despite being

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[1112] Eduardo Devés Valdés, *Del Ariel de Rodó a la CEPAL (1900-1950). El pensamiento latinoamericano en el siglo XX, entre la modernidad y la identidad* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblios y Centro de Investigaciones Barros Arana, 2000).

[1113] See, for example, the volume *Europe-Amérique* edited by the IIIC in 1936, as well as some articles by Paul Valéry, where he described America as "a projection of the European mind," a land where, given Europe's decadence, European ideas could find new, more fertile soil. Paul Valéry, *The Collected Works of Paul Valéry. Volume 10: History and Politics* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1962), 329.

[1114] Molloy, *La diffusion de la littérature hispano-américaine*, 105.

a collection of translations from Spanish into French. This assessment is underpinned by a normative perspective on literary circulation. according to which translations should necessarily circulate in the target culture. If we adopt a more analytic perspective on the fact that the Ibero-American Collection circulated mainly in the source culture, several aspects can explain it. First, the ways in which distribution was promoted, as well as the collectivities involved in that stage, needs to be put in relation with the collection's circulation in the source culture. We have previously seen the considerable presence of political agents among recipients. The IIIC made salient efforts to disseminate the collection among Latin American intellectuals (i.e., elites) and Latin American nationals, but fewer efforts were made to call the attention of French readers. Sometime would need to pass by before UNESCO revolved its policy toward the masses, as the latter's efforts to guarantee the affordability and widespread circulation of its Collection of Representative Works illustrates.[1115] From this standpoint, the selected audience needs to be linked to institutional goals rather than to literary ones. Second, we must interrogate the effects of the IIIC's framing of the collection itself and, more precisely, the latter's heteronomous position in the literary space. In other words, the fact that the collection was published under the auspices of an international organization imposed a certain "effet de marquage" upon literary works. If it is true that it would be interesting to examine the Collection's effective reception in future research, for now I would like to tackle the question of translations circulating in the source culture. On the one hand, this mode of circulation can be linked to the fact that it constituted a source-driven project, not a translation motivated by demand in the target culture. In other words, the project was proposed by Latin American representatives. Also, the fact that France housed the desired target culture but that effective circulation took place in Latin America compels us to problematize the notions of source and target culture and the underlying binary representation of translation,[1116] and more broadly, to open the door to multidirectional dynamics in our analyses of translations' reception. In the traditional scheme of source and target cultures, the feedback dimension of this form of circulation is simply not considered. The Latin American circulation of the Ibero-American Collection reflects the role of translations in terms of symbolic construction, especially as a means to boost the self-esteem of a cultural group that recognizes itself as the object of interest of the other. Put plainly, the Ibero-American Collection suggested that Paris, the Greenwich meridian

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[1115] Intrator, *Books across Borders,* 105–36.
[1116] Cussel, "Methodological Nationalism," 2–7.

of the World Republic of Letters, recognized and valued Latin American intellectual production and, by extension, an international intellectual community. In this framework, we may conjecture that these translations functioned more as book-objects among Latin American intellectuals than as bolsters for certain ideas. In other words, their social meaning did not emanate from their content as much as from their publication's features. Published in French by an international organization, translation functioned as a form of consecration of a cultural group.

10.5.   From words to facts: the IIIC as manager of a translation project

One of the issues agreed upon by the committee of experts in translation that reunited at the IIIC in 1927 was that the working conditions of translators needed to be improved. This was not a decision based on solidarity toward translators, but a derived need from the effects bad translations had for readers, editors, and especially authors. The Ibero-American Collection and its documented history offer vast material to analyze the IIIC's role as employer in a translation project. Therefore, in what follows, I examine what the position was of translators in said editorial project, what their working conditions were, and how eventual disagreements with the IIIC were resolved. In this subsection, therefore, we won't completely abandon the previous protagonists, that is, the members of the Publishing Committee, but their activities will be discussed in relation to another set of actors composed by the translators hired to bring into French the volumes included in the Ibero-American Collection. The list includes Francis de Miomandre (1880-1959), Max Daireaux (1883-1954), Georges Pillement (1898-1984), Manoel Gahisto (1878-1948), Charles Vincent Aubrun (1906-1993), Marcel Bataillon (1895-1977), Marcel Carayon (1899-1960), Jacques et Georgette Soustelle (respectively, 1912-1990 and 1909-1999), Viktor Orban (?-?) and Mathilde Pomès (1886-1977). In this regard, it can be argued that this case study presents analytical interest because of the latter's entanglement between institutional needs and institutional discourses on the situation of translation. On the one hand, the IIIC's practices in relation to the translators' working conditions can be seen as the result of established and consolidated practices, habits, and rules the members of the Publishing Committee had learned in their previous experiences. On the other hand, being the IIIC an organization entrusted with the goal of protecting the interests of intellectuals,

it could also promote change and provide a model to follow, playing an exemplary role in the management of translations.

One of the first elements to be mentioned regarding the acknowledgment of translator's function is that all translations edited by the IIIC included a mention of translator's names in the title page, after the title and before naming the preface author.

> Il va sans dire que les traductions de notre collection ne sont pas anonymes et que le nom du traducteur figurera sur ces volumes. C'est d'ailleurs dans cette pensée que le Comité de la Collection a tenu à faire appel à des écrivains qui se sont déjà fait un nom dans la traduction des lettres ibéro-américaines en France.[1117]

As made explicit in the quotation, the translator's name made a legitimizing function in the eyes of the French reader. Choosing a recognized translator was a way to secure better results and fewer surprises during translation work, and to benefit from his position in the subfield of Hispano-American literature in France. In this regard, the IIIC relied on translators' symbolic capital to grant a better circulation of translations, something reflected in the practice of having press services signed by translators. This practice, conferring some public visibility to translators, provoked certain reluctance in the case of Manoel Gahisto, who rejected to sign press services considering that "le rôle du traducteur s'accorde plutôt avec une discrétion proche de l'effacement."[1118] Additionally, he argued that people receiving said books would prefer that they be signed by the preface's authors rather than by himself.[1119] With this example, some of the views advanced by translators' on their own work can be appreciated.

The management of the translatorial aspects was far from unproblematic. One of the biggest conflicts regarded the translation of *María* by Jorge Isaacs, a project that went from bad to worse. The first difficulty was raised quite early in the history of the collection, that is, in the very same month when Latin American representatives gathered to approve the project's idea. Apparently, Mathilde Pomès had translated *María* because she had understood that Giuseppe Prezzolini had made her an official order eight months earlier. The time frame she described is surprising given that, by then, only preliminary conversations on the idea of publishing literary collections had taken place. All in all, she undertook the work's translation, but when she sent the resulting work to the IIIC the reply received was that there had been a misunderstanding because, even though the

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[1117] Blaise Briod to Jean Duriau, Aug. 1, 1929. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-3 (1) Brésil.
[1118] Manoel Gahisto to Dominique Braga, 13 April 1931. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-3 (1) Brésil.
[1119] Ibid.

project of publishing some literary collections existed, they did not have the necessary funds yet, so they denied having made such an order.[1120] To this situation, it should be added that, by 1931, the Publishing Committee found out that *María* had already been translated in the 1870s. And, additionally, Isaacs' heirs asked for the payment of author rights, which meant that the IIIC needed 24,000 additional francs, a sum that blocked the publication process.[1121] Braga proposed that the Colombian government pay this amount, an idea that never worked. The project was apparently abandoned until 1937, when Baldomero Sanin Cano mentioned that Isaacs' centenary would be a good occasion to resume it. The project regained interest, and in the session the Publishing Committee celebrated on December 21, 1938, referred to ongoing efforts to find the necessary funds. However, the outbreak of the Second World War interrupted the project. *María* was never published under the IIIC's umbrella, but it was under UNESCO's during the 1950s. No payment was made to Mathilde Pomès on the IIIC's side.

The previous case illustrates several problematic aspects: first, a lack of formality on both sides in terms of establishing translation projects. The fact that Pomès undertook the translation without signing a translation contract reveals that it was a regular practice. From that moment on, the IIIC established translation contracts with their collaborators in all cases.[1122] Second, no systematic research was conducted to verify if a given work had previously been translated (or the difficulties in finding the right answer to said question); third, no provision was made for funds destined for translation rights. Indeed, this aspect adds nuance to the IIIC's decision to focus on classics rather than on contemporary literature to avoid favoring some agents over others. Said decision had a direct bearing on the costs derived from the editorial project given that, despite the early institutionalization of translation rights, a collection of translated contemporary literature would have confronted the IIIC with much higher costs, costs it could not assume but from which it could not escape given his direct involvement in the consolidation of an international regime framing the international literary circulation from a legal standpoint. And finally, the vulnerability of a translator who was never remunerated for her work.

This, however, was not the only conflict that arose in relation to translation. The second one regarded *Pages choisies* by Joaquim Nabuco, whose translation was

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[1120] Dominique Braga to Gabriela Mistral. April 14, 1930. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-4 Colombie.
[1121] Dominque Braga to Gabriela Mistral, May 6, 1939. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-2 Chili.
[1122] A copy of Jean Duriau's contract is provided in Appendix V.

undertaken in 1929 by Jean Duriau. After several months of work, Duriau submitted his translation to the Publishing Committee, which, however, rejected it for quality reasons in the Summer of 1930. As per contract, the translator would receive his remuneration once the work was ready for press, which meant that Duriau did not receive any compensation. After several efforts to review his translation without success, in 1932 the Publishing Committee entrusted the project to the Belgian writer Viktor Orban. Contrary to Duriau, Orban took a translation test to prove his skills, which he successfully passed in the first instance. But a translation test did not prove sufficient to grant the quality of the results, as Orban's work was not considered completely satisfactory either. Nabuco's translation saw the light in 1940, with the mention "Translated by Viktor Orban and Mathilde Pomès." Indeed, Pomès reviewed Orban's work because she had successfully translated *Traditions péruviennes* by Ricardo Palma for the IIIC in 1938. By selecting her for Nabuco's work, the Publishing Committee contravened one of its guidelines, that is, that of varying translators in order not to favor anyone in particular. If it is considered that a second translation signed by Max Daireaux was published in 1939, it seems justified to argue that the Publishing Committee struggled to conciliate the quality criteria with that of varying translators.

Indeed, in both Duriau and Orban's cases, it is interesting to see what the IIIC's policy was in relation to the payment of a commissioned work that was, however, unsatisfactorily carried out. When Duriau was made aware that the IIIC was not satisfied with his work, he requested to receive the sum of 3,000 French francs (that is, the total amount as per contract), to which the IIIC replied negatively: since they did not want the translation, they would not pay it. In an interesting note Braga sent to Bonnet, the former argued that, in his opinion, some kind of indemnity should be paid given that the IIIC had commissioned the translation. Also, he was of the opinion that the IIIC had failed in not requesting a translation test, and considering that Duriau's previous translations constituted enough proof of his skills and concluded that a refusal to pay such indemnity would be inconsistent with their mandate to defend intellectual workers' rights.[1123] Braga's note is extremely relevant because it constitutes one of the rare examples of preserved documents explicitly addressing the IIIC's contradictions between its financial interests and the values it was supposed to defend, as well as an acknowledgment of their oversight in not making translation tests for their collaborators. However, the decision

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[1123] Dominique Braga to the Director, Jan. 16, 1930. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-3 (1) Brésil.

was not his. Henri Bonnet asked Raymond Weiss' opinion, that is, the IIIC's legal advisor, who considered that they were covered in legal terms. For him, if they accepted to do so, it would constitute a gesture of good faith but not a legal requirement. A few days later, Braga formally communicated to Duriau that no payment would be made effective, a decision Duriau contested, also by questioning the procedure employed to revise translations.

> Je suis très surpris que l'IICI n'ait pas adopté pour ses traductions les règles qui président à l'établissent des collections classiques de Guillaume Budé par exemple, où les travaux de révision sont faits en coopération entre gens compétents, ce qui a pour avantage d'éviter toute discussion et de faire partager à plusieurs les responsabilités d'erreurs inévitables dans une traduction.[1124]

In the previous quotation, Duriau implicitly targeted the Publishing Committee's skills and, rather than denying the presence of mistakes, argued that they were inevitable and diluted translators' responsibility in a collective revision work. However, his efforts were ineffective, and his work was never remunerated.

Duriau's experience can be compared to Viktor Orban's, the second translator to undertake the translation of *Pages choisies*. In the latter's case, the rejection of his translation was more delicate for two reasons, i.e., he had been personally recommended by Georges Le Gentil and Eliseu de Montarroyos, Brazil's delegate, and he was the second translator whose translation of the same work was rejected. Despite the previous experience, negotiations in this case were not smoother. Orban submitted his manuscript in October 1930, and it was considered unacceptable by reviewers, who embarked in a revision process that extended between January and June 1931. During said period, Orban was requested to make the necessary changes to arrange it, but, even though he complied with the request, the result was not considered good enough. In April 1932, the Publishing Committee decided that some of its members would make the revision of the text themselves, so Orban's work would not be lost, and Orban agreed to accept all modifications. At the end of the revision, Orban requested that a partial sum be paid, as well as the expedition costs, but he encountered the same obstacle than Duriau, namely, that, as per contract, the IIIC did not make the payment effective until the translation was submitted and the prepress proof was ready. However, given the considerable revision work the text had required, other volumes were published in its place, and publication was delayed without date. In that context, Orban was requested to return the original to

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[1124] Jean Duriau to the IIIC, Feb. 9, 1930. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-3 (1) Brésil.

the IIIC and the latter agreed to pay half the promised sum. The last straw in the cursed history of *Pages choisies* was that the original Orban had used (which was the only one the IIIC possessed) was lost in the post in May 1932, which further delayed its publication. Time went by and it was not until December 1932 that Orban was paid half the total sum (1,500 French francs). At that moment, he was also requested to accept that the translation, which would be published in 1934 at sooner, be published with the mention that he had authored it and somebody else had reviewed it. Additionally, it can be noted that in 1933, Orban found himself in a situation of material difficulties and, thanks to the intervention of some personal contacts in the Publishing Committee, the latter agreed to pay the remaining 1,500 French francs. The volume was published in 1939, with Mathilde Pomès also appearing as translator.

As can be grasped, practical institutional needs sometimes clashed with the defense of translators' needs. It is also telling that the different treatment Duriau and Orban received was, in part, motivated by the personal contacts Orban possessed, which reveals additional contradictions on the IIIC's side. In this regard, both examples unveil some vagueness in terms of providing clear indications to the translators regarding their expectations, as well as an arbitrary functioning.

To dig deeper into the conflicts between the IIIC and the literary translators it hired, I will now move on to reconstruct traces of indications provided regarding the form the translation should have. Some features of the IIIC's translation policy at the textual level can be reconstructed by referring to the corrections the Publishing Committee proposed in correspondence exchanged with translators. For instance, they prioritized style in the target language ("The translation is clear, smooth, quite French").[1125] All corrections proposed on the IIIC's side clearly attest to the importance assigned to style in French rather than fidelity to the original.

> D'une façon générale la traduction peut être considérée comme correcte, bien que M. Martinenche eût préféré une transcription moins littérale des textes archaïques, alors que le traducteur a préféré maintenir dans la version française l'allure un peu gauche et fruste de l'original.[1126]

This preference was also reflected in the Committee's requests to edit translations that it deemed too literal or too faithful to the original's style.

[1125] Georges Le Gentil to Blaise Briod, Nov. 8, 1929. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-3 (1) Brésil.
[1126] Giuseppe Prezzolini to Blaise Briod, July 27, 1929. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-2 Chili.

> Le Comité croit donc devoir vous demander (…) de bien vouloir procéder à un travail de révision de votre texte. Remarquez qu'il s'agit avant tout de s'écarter un peu plus peut-être que vous ne l'avez fait de la traduction littérale. Vous avez voulu, certainement par fidélité à l'œuvre originale, rester très près de la langue portugaise. (…) Il y aurait intérêt à se déprendre maintenant du texte brésilien, de façon à donner dans la langue française l'élégance et la qualité littéraire qui caractérisent la prose de Nabuco.[1127]

The Publishing Committee operated with a preexisting understanding of what constituted a good or bad translation, but the concrete stylistic criteria they privileged were rather implicit, as gleaned through the following complaint by a translator who received conflicting suggestions from the two reviewers having examined his work.

> Ce travail [de révision] me laisse souvent perplexe ; d'une part, les observations du lecteur brésilien tendent à obtenir une transposition presque littérale du texte ; de l'autre, celles du lecteur français tendent à établir une phrase française de même sens, mais d'un langage souvent plus fluide et même plus correct. D'accord avec le dernier, je ne trouve pas toujours aisément la solution convenable pour tous deux.[1128]

Indeed, in the previous quotation, it should be noted that each reviewer had a different nationality, one representing the source language and the other the target language, something that, coupled with a lack of guidelines on the IIIC's side, can explain the application of different criteria. The fact that translators were not given clear indications prior to their work is also made explicit in the following quotation:

> Je vous remets ci-joint, d'une façon en quelque sorte officieuse, les traductions que j'ai faites jusqu'à ce jour et qui constituent l'ensemble des textes qui m'ont été remis, afin que vous les soumettiez à M. Martinenche, chargé de les revoir, pour qu'il me dise si c'est bien dans cet esprit-là qu'il entend que les traductions soient faites, c'est-à-dire, en laissant à l'espagnol archaïque son archaïsme et sa gaucherie dans un français qui se rapprocherait autant que possible de celui du XIème siècle et gardant cette même allure gauche et si besoin est, incorrecte.[1129]

Preserved correspondence suggests that the elucidation of the main guidelines took place after the translation was submitted and not before, when it was commissioned, something that reveals that they were formulated *in reaction to* effective work.

Another feature of the IIIC's translation policy at the textual level had to do with the cuts in translation. On the one hand, the IIIC advocated for a clear distinction between a partial translation and a full translation, with Braga systematically requesting translators

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[1127] Dominique Braga to Victor Orban, Feb. 17, 1931. Ibid.
[1128] Manoel Gahisto to the IIIC's Director, Jan. 27, 1929. Ibid.
[1129] Georges Pillement to Blaise Briod, June 13, 1929. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-2 Chili.

to avoid and correct omissions. However, in practice, this was not complied with. Indeed, in Duriau's contract (appendix VI), point 7 referred to the fact that "Le traducteur aura, le cas échéant, à prendre contact avec les délégués du Comité pour la remise au point définitive du texte, comme pour les coupures qui auront pu lui paraître opportunes," something that reveals that cuttings were generally accepted. Two types of reasons justified cuts. On the one hand, material considerations. The IIIC had agreed with the publisher to maintain volumes under 250 pages in respect of the cost estimates. However, some selected works surpassed said number. It was the case of Jean Duriau's translation, on which he commented that he would be obliged to "pratiquer un bon nombre de coupures attend que les extraits choisis par l'Académie Brésilienne (…) le volume dépasserait et de beaucoup les limites dont vous m'aviez parlé."[1130] Other reasons had to do with translation doubts, something revealed in a letter from Gahisto where he mentioned that "La traduction comportera les réductions nécessaires ou bien elle sera établie de manière à permettre des suppressions faites de certains passages sur lesquels il y aurait hésitation, au moment de son examen par le Comité de publication."[1131] All in all, the IIIC's role as an editor left much to desire in terms of coherence between the principles defended and the practices undertaken, regarding both translators' work conditions and textual aspects.

[1130] Jean Duriau to Blaise Briod, July 29, 1929. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-3 (1) Brésil.
[1131] Manoel Gashito to Blaise Briod, August 5, 1929. UNESCO Archive, AG 01-IICI-F-VI-3 (1) Brésil.

Conclusions to Part 3: The IIIC, the de facto international office on translation

Favored by different waves of increased translation flows between primarily European countries but also between European and some non-European countries, the interwar period was a moment in which intellectual, economic, and political factors favored an emergent institutionalization of translation in Europe. Topics covered throughout Part 3 fill with wide contents the policy the ICO deployed in the domain of literary translation to promote the internationalization of the literary field. To summarize them, a synthesis of the projects discussed in the present third part can be provided.

In Chapter 7, I have reconstructed the first efforts conducted by the ICO to establish a program of activity in the field of translation. This included the first sessions of the appurtenant bodies specialized in literature, i.e., the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, and the early work of the Section for Literary Relations. It also comprised the organization of an international inquiry on the situation of translation and an expert committee. Said initial steps constituted eminent brainstorming spaces in which varied ideas were explored: lists of works recommended for translation, lists of published translations, the creation of an international body specializing in translation (with however different functions), and the study of the problems translations posed from the perspective of copyright law. Also, since its early efforts, the ICO conducted exploratory work to repertory knowledge on the segment of the literary field interested in translation: its agents (be they individuals, such as translators and literary critics interested in translation, but also organizations, including publishing houses, periodicals, associations of practitioners, etc.). Even though said work can sometimes appear scattered given the large number of topics approached, its dispersion is nuanced if considered that most of the proposed lines of work reappeared in the following years and, in most cases, were put into practice. This fact can be seen as the result of coherent work but can also point to the binding character of the ICO's initial work, which crucially marked the possible paths developed in the following years.

Contrary to what happened in relation to other intellectual activities, translation constituted a practice that was not yet institutionalized, which confers value to the ICO's work and suggests the latter's contribution to the historical process leading to an increase institutionalization. The fact that translation found an impulse for its institutionalization

in the framework of an international organization is relevant in that it opposes the traditional dynamic that goes from the national to the international and not the other way around. At first glance, it could be argued that the ICO did not manage to make the most out of its "elective affinities" with translation because its working methods were deeply anchored to preexisting national structures. This impression could be further reinforced by their decision to promote the creation of national organizations devoted to translation and their international federation, without however going beyond some resolutions in that regard. However, one of the conclusions I would like to put forward is that, de facto, the ICO, and especially the IIIC, acted as the international translation office that never was. Despite obstacles, failures, and imperfections in the ICO's working methods, it is noteworthy that the IIIC implemented several of the projects for which the latter's creation was proposed. In this regard, it engaged in work toward the development of forms for an international governance of translation. In other words, in a discursive level, the ICO promoted the organization of translation in the national scale. However, through its actions, said body promoted the institutionalization of translation and did so with a clearly international perspective. Institutionalization in this case did not deploy from the national to the international, but from an international body that not only promoted a reflection on translation, but the creation of national organizations. As can be seen, the ICO's translation policy conveyed all the ambiguity of international organizations regarding the way the national and the international scale relate.

One of the ICO's main contributions is to have shed light on the collaborative and relational nature, where "collaborative" refers to several agents working together in a given undertaking and "relational" refers to the fact that translations create relations, not only between individuals, but also between the different fields in which the latter are inscribed. The approach the ICO developed to translation was innovative: it was not formulated from a single, specific professional perspective but tried to correlate the perspectives of the different intellectual subfields (or what Bourdieu refer to as the field of cultural production),[1132] as well as the perspectives of the economic and the political fields. In chapter 8, I have shed light on the ICO's efforts to give voice to the varied interests converging in translation, hence elucidating their intrinsic mutual dependencies. The projects better revealing translation's relational character were, in this respect, the organization of professional relations between individual or collective agents involved in

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[1132] Including the literary field, the scientific field, the artistic field, etc.

translation processes. In that framework, the ICO created a translator's repertoire, a professional directory that can be seen as a relevant step to favor the emergence of a professional collectivity and ultimately an esprit de corps. Also, it explored forms of collaboration with external organizations, such as PEN Clubs and the International Publisher's Congress, among others. From the perspective of publishers, I have demonstrated that, despite the a priori all-encompassing representative function of the ICO regarding intellectual professions, its elitist and intellectual bias were ill-suited to foster a harmonious relationship with publishers. While publishers were given voice in the ICO's work, the latter did not manage to overcome the effects of its own positioning in the autonomous pole. Another line of work reflecting an emphasis on translation from a relational standpoint was the publication of different types of materials: on the one hand, practical tools facilitating contacts between said agents, but also, on the other hand, analytical contributions formulated from different professional and national perspectives. The first publication in that regard was the issue of *La Coopération Intellectuelle* published in April 1929, whose contents have been extensively commented on. Said publication is relevant given its international character because the identification of similar debates and topics in different countries suggests the interest of a transnational history of translation. Most histories of translation focus on a single language or country even today, which reveals the methodological challenge of such an undertaking. In this regard, it is to be noted that, in said publication, some authors expressed themselves from a specifically national perspective, but in some cases, an effort to think of translation beyond one's national context, i.e., in structural terms, can be noticed. That issue also comprised a section listing published translations in several European countries, which can be considered the first test for the subsequent development of the *Index Translationum*. The second publication emphasizing translation's collaborative character was the project Cahiers de Traduction, which ultimately became a yearbook published by PEN Clubs under a different title. However, the project to gather in a single volume a series of contributions conceptualizing translation, together with a practical tool for practitioners, can be seen as an attempt to promote the emergence of a subfield built around translation. In its final form, the first section disappeared, hence diminishing the ICO's signification as a space having fostered a specific and specialized reflection upon translation, with a low vertical autonomy from the national on the ICO's side having crucially marked its lines of work.

In Chapter 9, I have reconstructed the making-off of the *Index Translationum* with an emphasis on the problematic aspects that emerged in its first years of existence. I am referring essentially to the difficult reconciliation between two criteria used to classify literatures, namely, countries and languages, a challenge that in this case was intensified by the ICO's inter-national understanding of the world and by the way its work was marked by representation challenges. Despite the ICO's initial focus on lesser-known literatures, the project's geographic coverage included mainly European or Western literatures, and it was not until the second half of the century, under UNESCO's umbrella, that it was significantly extended. In this regard, the question of representation of regional languages within the *Index* has revealed the ICO's efforts to conciliate the state structure that provided it with its very framework of legitimacy with the reality of the intellectual field, where languages and countries do not necessarily match in a one-to-one equivalence, and where languages that do not benefit from an official recognition on the side of states are used for creative and intellectual purposes. The publication of the *Index* and the first production of translation statistics constitute two extremely relevant milestones for the history of translation, milestones that can be put in relation with a growing awareness of translation's historical role, especially in domains such as literary history, but not only. Indeed, the *Index* has been a crucial tool to develop relatively recent lines of inquiry, such as bibliometric approaches to translation and the quantitative analysis of global translation flows, and this is an enduring legacy. The *Index* constituted the only project created by the IIIC that UNESCO continued after the Second World War, including the preservation of its name (which was not the case for the literary collections). However, it did not become the central repository of information about translation flows it had the potential for. The project suffered, in both the interwar and postwar periods, from serious shortcomings regarding the accuracy and exhaustiveness of the data. In this regard, a more concrete analysis of the way national institutions received experts' recommendations to harmonize bibliographic practices would be required. Said weaknesses could not be overcome by UNESCO, a body that abandoned said line of work in recent years. Today, most available data on translation flows is provided by national institutions that keep their own databases,[1133] publish their own book import and export

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[1133] For example, the databases TRAC and TRADUCAT, listing, respectively, translations and translators from Catalan into other languages. For translations, see: https://www.llull.cat/catala/literatura/trac_traduccions.cfm . For translators: https://www.llull.cat/catala/literatura/tralicat_traductors.cfm

statistics,[1134] elaborate their own translator databases,[1135] and create tools to facilitate contact between professionals in the publishing industry,[1136] which reveals that despite translation's international character, data on translation remains anchored in national structures.

In Chapter 10, I have described the different collections edited by the IIIC and I have zoomed in on the Ibero-American Collection. More precisely, I have examined who were the agents involved in the project by building on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of preserved correspondence and on the work of its Publishing Committee, thus combining attention to interactions with attention to institutional membership. Some of the relevant aspects to be noted include the IIIC's profound reliance on agents from the diplomatic corps, as well as the existence of connections between the circuit of scholars of foreign languages and literatures and the sphere of official foreign representation. Also, the case of Gabriela Mistral and her role in the project under study illustrate the way certain peripheral agents managed to use their positions in different fields to advance their own agendas through the ICO's policy. Then, I have reconstructed the tricky division of tasks between agents taking part in the editorial project and the interplay between intellectual and political considerations. This aspect clearly illustrates the trial-and-error dynamic animating the ICO's work, and the progressive differentiation and comprehension of each agent's role within the organizational network. Finally, I have delved into the Ibero-American Collection with an emphasis on the IIIC's role as an editor. In that context, the body contradicted most of the values it sought to promote regarding the quality of translations and translators' work conditions. While translations were always signed, the conditions proposed to translators were rather changing and arbitrary. Likewise, cutting and modifications to original texts were practiced, either for financial reasons (to reduce a volume's content to fit the page number agreed with the printer) or for political ones (to avoid statements on a country's past that could be potentially offensive to the governments in power during the ICO's work, for example). Also, the IIIC's incapacity to provide clear guidelines regarding what their understanding

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[1134] By way of illustration, see: Alexandra Büchler and Giulia Trentacosti, "Publishing translated literature in the United Kingdom and Ireland 1990 - 2012 statistical report" (Literature Across Frontiers and Mercator Institute for Media, Aberystwyth University, May 2015). Available online: https://www.lit-across-frontiers.org/new-translation-statistics-from-laf/

[1135] For example, the "Worldmap of Finnish Literature," https://fili.fi/en/literary-exports/worldmap-of-finnish-literature-en/

[1136] An exemple is the Ecosystem database maintained by the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports. See: https://greeklit.gr/ecosystem-categories/

of a good translation was produced no little disputes with translators, with their derived vulnerability when their customer, i.e., the IIIC, was not satisfied with the resulting work. By combining the different perspectives, I have contributed to illuminating how contrasting motivations (on governments' side, on intellectuals' side, and on the ICO's side) materialized a project perfectly illustrating the potential of translation in terms of soft power. From the perspective of TS, said editorial project also sheds light on the multidirectional effects of translations, which compels us to problematize key notions structuring our understanding of literary circulation, such as source and target cultures. In this regard, whether translations are source- or target-driven introduces a relevant nuance to our understanding of the ways said activity articulates relations with otherness and self-construction.

Having delineated the main topics covered in each chapter, the ICO's translation policy in the literary domain can be characterized by referring to the nature of the concrete projects composing it, from the perspective of the geocultural areas it gave voice to, and from the perspective of the forces driving it.

First, in terms of the projects it promoted, its main feature was an emphasis on structural measures that were beneficial to a multiplicity of agents rather than putting the emphasis on specific works or individuals. This applies to the case of literary collections, which are to be seen in the broader framework of creating a world literary collection rather than in the interest of single volumes, as well as to the project of lists of books recommended for translation. It is true that the latter focused on a certain type of literature, but its ultimate function was to build a world canon simplifying the problem of text selection (and for this reason several agents were reluctant to this line of work). Derived from its structural focus is the fact that the ICO's policy in the literary domain was articulated around several projects sharing a main feature, i.e., they were forms of synthesis or simplification. I am referring to lists of different sorts: repertoires, directories, statistics, and literary collections animated by an implicit anthological orientation. Although each form presents its own specificities, they all constitute efforts to synthesize information about the international literary field: its agents, its numbers in terms of import and export, and its relevant books. The ICO, it follows, functioned as a space centralizing information and exploring the best ways to organize and synthesize it. All forms of synthesis need to be seen as mechanisms to facilitate exchange and comparison, to harmonize practices in the different countries for a better "mutual understanding," and,

by doing so, introduce certain order in the virtual disorder in the international literary field. However, synthesis forms were highly ambiguous because they perfectly retranslated the interplay of internationalist and nationalist logics animating the ICO. On the one hand, lists turn a juxtaposition of individual elements into a unified group brought together by a shared feature. This applies to lists of translators, lists of books, as well as to anthological collections, which delineate the contours of a professional community and a literary community. The same goes for translation statistics, which provide comparable data regarding different countries, and comparison, in this regard, is a unifying force predicated upon a *tertius comparationis*, i.e., a quality shared by elements compared that makes possible the very act of comparison. At the same time, lists presuppose a selection operation and, as such, the creation of value and the establishment of a hierarchy. Lists, therefore, can unite but also become tools of exclusion. The form of the list is inextricability connected to the idea of rankings or classifications, which, as a "very powerful and enduring value-organizing tool,"[1137] fits well with the nationalistic height of the period. This aspect became especially tricky given the ICO's entanglement with cultural and political representation.

Second, from a geographic standpoint, most projects and the meeting spaces they created primarily engaged West-European countries and the US. In this regard, the translation policy in the literary domain reveals an ICO having functioned as a space of regional integration of Western Europe and Northern America and, to a lesser extent, other parts of Europe and the globe, mostly in Latin America and some Asian countries. In a nutshell, the ICO served an eminently European or Western internationalization with some steps toward a more global reach. Therefore, from the perspective of languages or cultures favored by the ICO's policy, the consequence of the previous elements was that, in most projects, a declaratory desire to favor lesser-known languages or literatures was superseded by decisions that systematically favored leading countries in the international order. The inconsistency between, on the one hand, the input provided by experts and the principles the ICIC members declared pursuing, and the measures the ICO ultimately implemented on the other, sheds light on the ways the political logic dominated and conditioned work. And this, in different ways: because the institutional machinery could be used to block certain projects awaking suspicions from a political standpoint, but also

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[1137] Ernest A. Hakanen, "Lists as Social Grid: Ratings and Rankings in Everyday Life," *Social Semiotics* 12, no. 3 (2002): 246.

because intellectuals were, themselves, the carriers of their own national habitus that they retranslated in their intellectual positionings, an aspect I shall return to.

Third, from the perspective of the forces driving the ICO's policy, relations between the literary and the political field, and between the national and the international scales, had a crucial bearing on the work undertaken and, on the visions and ideas defended on literary translation. The incipient institutionalization of literary translation was not mainly prompted by an action driven by translators themselves but was largely favored by other professions of the literary field which, since the 19th century, tried to better organize their work beyond their primary borders. This included mainly authors and publishers. In this regard, the early institutionalization of translation promoted by the ICO needs to be inserted in broader processes unfolding in the literary field, such as the international organization of intellectual property, the development of a capitalistic publishing industry, and the professionalization of book-related tasks (such as the distinction between publisher and printer or, subsequently, the creation works specialized in the international book trade), among others. The history I have reconstructed is one in which authors and publishers had more voice than translators as such. Heteronomy appears as the main driving force behind the incipient institutionalization of translation in Europe in the interwar period. To understand the weight of heteronomous forces in the ICO's work it needs to be considered that the former professions were nationally and inter-nationally organized. I have argued that the prevalence of heteronomous organizations was linked to the fact that the ICO was marked by a low vertical autonomy, that is, its dependence on national dynamics, which made it difficult to function as an organization promoting dynamics that went from the international to the national (which it did, *malgré soi*).

From an ideological perspective, the interplay between internationalist and nationalist ideologies also promoted translation exchanges in different ways, the first given its belief in cosmopolitanism, the second as a tool for national competition. In this regard, both national governments and the international organization sought to promote certain translations, although the reasons behind their interest in the affair were not necessarily the same. In this regard, I have shed light on the ways a country's position in the international book market determined their views upon the nature of translation and the ways it should be organized. In this regard, the views on translation that transpire from the ICO's work appear torn between the organization's international character and its

domination by central powers. For example, the defense of authors' paternity on translations can be interpreted as perspectives serving the interests of central countries, which are generally those exporting translations (and hence the coincidence between French and German interests). They privileged the jurisdiction of source cultures because they were often in that position. However, from a textual standpoint, when the IIIC acted as an editor, it privileged style in the target language, that is, French. In that case, the privileged culture was not the source but the target, because they were also in that position. Therefore, if it is true that a genuine interest on translation existed as a tool for mutual understanding, in practice, ideas defended were marked by intellectuals' national habitus.

Finally, from the perspective of individuals, attention paid to the agents shaping the ICO's translation policy has illustrated the ways some agents used their positions within the institution to advance their own views, especially Paul Valéry, Gabriela Mistral, and Anton Kippenberg, in the field of translation, thus reflecting the multiple articulations between individual and institutional agency. Their successes, it has been argued, are to be linked with dynamics unfolding in the different fields crisscrossing the ICO's work.

General Conclusions. The ICO's Translation Policy in the Institutional and Literary Domain: a Multiscale and Relational Functioning

In the present dissertation, I have approached the history of intellectual cooperation from the perspective of its language and translation policies. In this undertaking, I have employed a series of theoretical and methodological tools to construct my research object. More precisely, I have employed the concept of "translation policy" to examine several domains in which the ICO became explicitly involved with languages and translation. Among them, I have focused on institutional translation and literary translation. To reconstruct the ICO's efforts in said domains, I have built on field theory and some of its revisions from a global and relational perspective. In practice, this has meant combining scalar thinking with field theory, something visible in my use of the concept "vertical autonomy" to refer to the ways the national and the international interrelate. Indeed, the latter are not to be understood as two distinct spheres of activity or realms, but as part of complex multiscale processes. In field theory terms, this means acknowledging the fact that fields possess different scalar dimensions of practice, or, in other words, that they possess a multiscalar architecture. Rather than examining relations *between* the national and the international, I have proposed to examine the ways the national is constructed also through the international, and vice versa. Through the ICO, single states made embryonic steps to rescale themselves to a supranational scale where they deployed, together with intellectuals, forms of propertization of intellectual activities and nation-building processes. Several projects attest to the weight of national strategies in their undertaking, thus proving that national interests constituted one driving force in the ICO's work, but not the only done. Efforts to consolidate the body's vertical autonomy were also at play and limited states' capacity to use the ICO as their tool. Working with a relational understanding of fields has meant putting the emphasis in the relations between them rather than on their autonomy. Approaching the ICO from an inter-field perspective has led me to reassert the constitutive role of heteronomy. If it is true that the intellectual field is in a dominated position vis-à-vis the political field, the present work has also shed light on the ICO's role as a mediating agent between said fields. However, the latter are not to be understood as two completely distinct spheres, especially given the fact that

intellectuals carry with them their own national habitus and retranslate in their own position-taking their position in the global field of power.

In addition to field theory, my tool set also included a specific methodology that combined qualitative and quantitative means of analysis. Historic archival research has provided the main source of information in the present dissertation, with source criticism, detailed reading and note-taking having constituted some of the key foundations of subsequent qualitative and quantitative analysis. In the qualitative domain, I have conducted considerable source criticism and worked with the silences of the archive thanks to the traces found in the inventory. Indeed, absences in the IIIC's archive have become an occasion to put to the test the ICO's relational character. The present dissertation illustrates that a good part of information can be retrieved by drawing on the ICIC's archive and on the IIIC's publications, although in some cases considerable gaps persist, for example, regarding the inquiries on translation, the translator's repertoire, and, above all, the IIIC's internal translation practices for input and documentation reasons. Qualitative knowledge has emerged as a precondition for any quantitative work, which additionally requires a series of technical skills. In the case of this dissertation, quantitative analyses have been collaboratively conducted with a team of scholars possessing different backgrounds, and this has been the occasion to experience the *translation* needs between disciplines, as well as the challenges of collaborative research. Quantitative means of analysis have been used to uncover certain aspects of the ICO's functioning regarding its language use and its geographic organization, as well as the dynamics in relations between some of the agents involved. In addition, it has also confirmed previous knowledge and illustrate results. An effort has been made to avoid a self-explanatory use of visualizations and instead adopt a pedagogical approach to their use in the SSH.

Having went over the tools employed, in the present general conclusions my goal is to put into dialogue the insights obtained when reconstructing the ICO's translation policies in the institutional and literary domain to shed light on their comparability. As different domains, each one presents its own specificities. However, several parallelisms or structural similarities can be identified in their main guiding lines. By doing so, my goal is to illustrate the heuristic potential of the concept "translation policy" to put in dialogue different spaces of social action and shade light on translation's transversal social function and on the properties and behavior of agents involved in translation tasks.

One of the clear similarities between the policy enacted in the institutional and the literary domain is the fact that both contributed to the institutionalization of translation. In the institutional domain, translation emerged as a necessary tool in the work of international cooperation, and this, despite the use of one or two linguas francas. The work developed at the ICO in terms of institutional translation covered each body's communication needs with other agents involved in their work, but also documentation and dissemination activities, hence appearing both at the beginning and at the end of the ICO's work. The ICO's use of institutional translation contributed to change a certain number of aspects related to the practice of translation within organizations, such as 1) reasserting the functional character of translation for forms and bodies of global governance, 2) promoting a more nuanced understanding of the nature of translation as an activity for whose practice skills could be trained, 3) fostering a better differentiation between general and technical translation, and 4) reinforcing its consolidation as a professional asset. By doing so, the ICO contributed to the early institutionalization of translation in institutional settings. Also, the IIIC's oscillations between in house translators or outsource service providers sheds light on the organization's difficulty to find a correspondence between their changing practical needs and the necessary stability of its staff, an aspect that anticipates contemporary practices and challenges. In the literary domain, the ICO's work contribution to the institutionalization of literary translation emerges clearly in discussions to establish professional organizations, the development of a legal framework, the elaboration of a specific reflection upon translation (and thus, developing its own theories, methods, and concepts), the creation of practical tools (from yearbooks to select the best collaborators to an arbitration tribunal), tools to create value (from mentioning translators in their own translations and in national bibliographies to prizes), discussions regarding institutional support (translation grants, awards), development of a training and. In both domains, the ICO's contribution to an incipient institutionalization of translation need not be interpreted as derived exclusively from its originality but linked to broader processes unfolding in the social field, including the extension of language skills beyond elites, the creation of forms of global governance (of which the LON and the ICO were part), as well as specific processes unfolding in each field, such as the internationalization of the literary field and its professionalization, or its insertion in the logic of a capitalist market. In this dissertation, I have focused on the ways an international organization contributed to an incipient institutionalization of translation. The fact that the institutionalization of translation was favored by international

organization is relevant because it opposes the traditional dynamic that goes from the national to the international, and that assigns ontological primacy to the state. This being said, it would be wrong to equate translation with the international scale. Combining a focus on an international organization with a social history of translation narrated from each national field would shed light on the multiscalar dimensions of said process.

The second aspect to be commented is the fact that the linguistic and geographic scope resulting from the described domains of activity is similar in both the institutional and the literary domain: central languages (and countries) were favored. In short, an eminently European or Western horizon, with shy steps toward a more global scope. This is visible, in the domain of institutional translation, on languages used in preserved documents and correspondence, and on the IIIC's staff language skills. The focus was systematically on France and French, then English, opening the door for representation to countries such as the United Kingdom and the US, and then some other Western-European languages and, to finally include some peripheries, either from Europe and especially Latin America and Japan. In literary domain, it can be grasped in target languages in the written outputs the ICO published and in languages and nationalities represented in technical meetings, for example, in the languages and nationalities represented in the two expert committees, in the inquiry on the situation of translation, the origins of the contributors to the 4th issue of *La Coopération Intellectuelle*, or the countries initially included in the *Index Translationum*. In the domain of the languages of publication, a difference is to be noted in the fact that information was disseminated almost exclusively in French in the literary domain, something favored by the fact that implementation was developed by the IIIC. Indeed, most written outputs of the work on literary translation did not appear in English, with two exceptions. First, the *Index Translationum*, a bilingual publication in which, additionally, the use of formal signaling mechanisms bypassed the language problem. Second, the *Annuaire International de la Traduction / International Yearbook of Translations*, i.e., the volume published by PEN Club's after the failed collaboration with the ICO.[1138] Regarding nationalities represented, main collaborators were European. The progression, in terms of more to less representation, follows a similar dynamic: French and English agents, then agents from

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[1138] PEN's ultimate responsibility in shaping the volume's form should be taken into account, in the sense that said volume's final features escaped the ICO's control. However, in the reality of facts, this aspect does not modify the conclusions proposed.

Western European countries, then agents from European peripheries, to finally include non-European peripheries.

The third relevant aspect, derived from the second one, is that this dominance was retranslated in the two technical domains examined. In the institutional domain, the official policy of French and English as the two official languages directly served the interest of central countries. The ideology of the lingua franca, be it one or two, served the interests of central countries, especially because languages born as international, such as Esperanto, were discarded. This ideology was further reinforced, on the one hand, by rivalries between countries and languages occupying peripheral positions, and by functional and economic criteria used to legitimize institutionalized practices and conceal their ideological nature. The flexibility in the ICO's policy, in this regard, can be seen as a reply to practical needs, but also as a pragmatic response in front of peripheral agents' efforts to re-politicize the official policy. In other words, a strict application of the official language policy would have re-politicized it as well and revealed its ideological foundations. By the same token, the presence of agents fulfilling translation duties despite them not being officially entrusted with said task made institutional translation in or to non-official languages unnecessary. Or what is the same, by honestly trying to reinforce the ICO's or the LON's international character, said agents contributed to conceal the ideological functions of institutional policies and favor the prevalence of a national logic in which the different national governments (and languages) competed against each other. In the context of the ICO's literary activities, major languages and countries were favored as well through some of the ideas the ICO contributed to disseminate regarding translation. If it is true that said body clearly promoted a reflection upon translation and its embryonic institutionalization, concrete views on the practice of translation were marked by power politics retranslated in intellectual terms. Illustrating the latter was the defense of author's jurisdiction over translations, which was, in practice, synonym with defending exporting countries' interests. In its role as editor, the IIIC privileged style in the target language, hence revealing the priority given to one's own interests when being in the position of source or target agent. Said views distinguished considerably to those advanced by agents from countries occupying a peripheral position, as clearly illustrated with Anatloy Lunacharsky's quotation when discussing the inquiry on translation and copyright law.

The previous considerations can be expanded to formulate a fourth point of discussion, namely, that both internationalism (or cosmopolitanism) and nationalism underpinned the ICO's translation policy. On the one hand, the ICO favored a germinal institutionalization of translation because of the structural homology between international cooperation and translation as activities deeply anchored in the international scale. On the other hand, however, the ICO had a low vertical autonomy from national fields, which is why it saw in collaboration with preexisting *national* organizations their main working methods. This aspect has appeared clearly when addressing the ICO's attempts to collaborate with collective bodies interested in translation in the domain of literary translation. To put it differently, in the concrete way to promote an incipient autonomization of translation, the ICO could promote a specific reflection upon translation, and indeed this is one of its main outputs (but it became so from the ICO's own policymaking in the institutional and literary domain, not from the implementation of projects exploring this line of action i.e., by directly promoting an original reflection or theorization on translation on the side of scholars, practitioners, and other interested parties). In the domain of policymaking, it could also implement practical measures favoring translators. However, in said domain, implementation favored the *symbolic* recognition of translator's contribution, rather than their *material* interests. Indeed, what the ICO did was promoting the institutionalization of translation while, in material terms, it mainly protected the interests of nationally organized professions, i.e., authors and publishers. I argue that a link can be established between the ICO's low vertical autonomy and the fact that it consolidated the incipient institutionalization of translation driven by heteronomous interests that were nationally organized, i.e., authors' and publishers.

The previous considerations can be put in dialogue with the question of the ICO's two souls, one of which was eminently practical, and the other was anchored in the domain of ideas. Slightly simplifying, the first soul was often voiced at the IIIC, a body eager (and under pressure) to present practical results that would legitimize its mandate and that strived to find projects conferring on it a form of agency based on the idea of coordination and connection of preexisting efforts, such as the *Index Translationum*. The second soul, instead, was often voiced by the ICIC's members, which saw the ICO as a body possessing an eminently intellectual character and whose work, in consequence, focused on ideas rather than on the conditions in which intellectual occupations and professions were practiced. Their tension manifested repeatedly and conspicuously in the

projects related to literary translation, with miscommunication and discoordination between the ICIC and the IIIC being one of the elements that hindered the work in the domain of translation. In practice, the latter can be appreciated in the number of times the ICIC complained that specific projects had been implemented in ways differing from what they imagined or that their resolutions had not been interpreted in the sense they expected. In this regard, it can be argued that the debate on the ICO's two souls also reverberated in its translation policy. In the domain of institutional translation, a lack of attention to the preconditions making international communication possible is the very reason explaining why translation work was relegated to the organization's peripheries (NCIC and external collaborators mainly). It is telling that, in the domain of literary translation, the practical aspects overshadowed a theorization of translation. And within practical aspects, it was authors' and publishers' interests that prevailed over translators'. In other words, the IIIC promoted practical work, but the latter only developed in directions protecting the interests of agents in power.

Another conclusion has to do with the way the ICO's own organizational network functioned in the domain of institutional and literary translation. I have shed light in Part 2 on the fact that, for the translation of the work done at the ICO into non-official languages, the contribution of agents occupying a structurally peripheral position was key. NCIC and experts have emerged as relevant instances to disseminate and translate the ICO's work in national circuits, often in languages other than French and English. The focus on translation has contributed to shed light on the network functioning of the bodies composing the ICO and, more precisely, the specific ways decisions and practices in one body prompted other necessities, or lack thereof, for the remaining organizations. If said perspective is applied to the ICO's policy in the literary domain, the question arises of whether the institutional network functioned equally. That is, whether target-driven translations were promoted in the literary domain. To answer said question, we can focus on the material outputs produced in the context of literary work, which comprise the 4th issue of *La Coopération Intellectuelle* and the volumes included in the Ibero-American and the Japanese Collection. Said volumes were all published in French and, in coherence with the official translation policy, no source-driven attempt was made to see said outputs translated into non-official languages. No trace has been found regarding eventual attempts to translate the 4th issue of *La Coopération Intellectuelle*, or some of the articles included, into other languages. Instead, in the case of literary works, the Czech translation

of some parts of the first volume included in the Japanese Collection constitutes one example of the role of NCIC as translation spaces. This was also the case of American NCIC's efforts to publish the Ibero-American Collection in English, which were however not successful. In the literary domain, the consequences of devolving translation duties to the organization's peripheries appeared in all its light, that is, a lack of translation. We have seen that financial and efficiency criteria were used by the ICO to justify the reliance on one or two lingua francas, and the lack of translation in non-official languages. It is possible to conjecture that the financial aspect was also one of the reasons why target-driven translation work did not take place, especially if the limited resources of most NCIC are considered. This difference between what happened in the case of institutional or literary translation is relevant in order to question the way the ICO's work reached national fields. In the domain of institutional translation, a truly organizational network emerged, where translation needs of one body were directly related to practices of the other. In the literary domain, a much narrower organization appears, with preserved records revealing mainly the IIIC's work with external agents providing input information, but with little dynamics revealing how said work circulated in national fields. This can suggest, first, that the carriers of intellectual cooperation put more effort and interest in propaganda for the ICO itself, than in the dissemination of its technical work in the relevant venues; and second, that language was indeed one of the factors hindering a broader reception of the ICO's work in national fields. Additional research would be required to examine whether NCIC's contribution focused on disseminating a general idea on the LON's and the ICO's work, rather than on disseminating technical work. In this regard, the functioning of the institutional network differed in the two domains analyzed.

From a structural standpoint, the previous reasoning brings us to ponder over the way institutional and financial criteria underpinned political and symbolic functions. Did institutional and financial considerations create certain political and symbolic effects, or were certain political and symbolic goals articulated via concrete institutional and financial policies? And this, I contend, is a question that is ill put. It can be reformulated by discussing the role of individual agents, because either one imagines a Machiavellian mastermind orchestrating a political strategy or one acknowledges the complexity of social forms of organization and the ways structures and individuals mutually shape and produce each other. In the domain of institutional translation, individual language skills

were put at the service of the IIIC's (and the LON's) international character, as well as those of experts and other collaborators. I have already elaborated on the ambiguous effects of putting individual linguistic capital at the service of non-official translation because it concealed the ideological underpinnings of institutional practices. In the case of literary translation, certain individuals crucially shaped the different lines of work and the directions in which they developed. Gabriela Mistral's role in the development of the Ibero-American Collection reveals the way one single person could influence institutional work. Other figures having considerably shaped the ICO's translation policy in the literary domain included Paul Valéry and Anton Kippenberg. Were they Machiavellian masterminds? I won't be the one to say so. Rather, their doings illustrate the ways agents carry with them their own professional and national habitus, and they manage to put it at work in concrete situations given the positions they occupy in different fields thanks to the different forms of capital they possess. Their examples add nuance to an understanding of translation policy as a previously and rationally defined program of activity, and instead reveal the intrinsically relational character of any policy. Addressing translation's relational character, I have argued, consists in looking beyond collaboration between individuals to take into account the activity's intrinsic complexity, which derives from the fact that it thrives in the very act of establishing inter-field relations. The ICO's policy was not the result of a design by certain agents, but that it was produced by the field, emerging from each agent's positions in different fields, from their ability to put their different forms of capital at work in defense of their own interests, and from the relations between said fields themselves, which can deploy in the national or international scale given field's multiscalar architecture.

From another standpoint, one of the conclusions in the present work is that, without dismissing the relevance of concrete outcomes, other types of results can be appreciated from the reconstruction of the ICO's translation policy. First, information gathered or generated by the bodies composing the ICO is a relevant output. For example, work developed to obtain a general view of the problems in the literary field is an interesting tool to base policymaking on a knowledge of the field. Second, ideas and projects that never were possessed an intrinsic relevance given the discussions they fostered. As mentioned earlier, reconstructing projects that never were illuminates paths that were not taken and whose existence has been forgotten. Third, and more importantly, the material and symbolic effects generated by the ICO's work shed light on the ways

society and its institutions work. This brings us to the present and to the ways the topics examined enter into dialogue with contemporary challenges related to the situation of translation and its institutional forms. In said framework, the fate of the projects created by the ICO and having endured under UNESCO's umbrella offer food for thought. The *Index Translationum* witnessed its geographic scope extending under UNESCO's impulse in the second half of the 20th century. Data for a good number of African states was added in the 2000s: Malawi in 1994, Guinea in 2000, Mali in 2003, Congo and Kenya in 2006, and so on. In a number of cases, data were collected from some years and countries by the *Index* team itself, rather than by national organizations, which suggests that the enlargement of the *Index*'s geographic coverage has been an institutional-driven process rather than one based on local demand. Alternative sources to analyze translation flows can be found in book-industry databases, which, however, are not open to the wide public, commercial websites such as Amazon, and online catalogs from libraries such as Worldcat.[1139] In other words, said resources are being developed on the one hand by national institutions, and on the other hand by the private sector. In the first case, they basically generate data between states, thus shedding light *only* on bilateral interactions. The creation of translation statistics remains anchored in national institutions and in national forms of institutionalization. In the second case, their access is limited, and no international or transnational public tool exists today crossing data on translation flows. As a consequence, it is harder to track phenomena and dynamics that fall beyond bilateral relations. This, in turn, obscures the structural role of translation in the circulation of knowledge and information or, what is the same, the concrete practices generating globalizing dynamics and the way they function.

On the other hand, the idea of an IO publishing literary collections also had a long legacy in UNESCO's Collection of Representative Works. The project, however, was also suppressed. In this regard, it can be argued that the ICO's proximity to government circles conferred it with a meta-capital that had certain consecrating power in the literary domain. Nevertheless, given that it worked in the intellectual field as a whole, its diversification or all-encompassing action weakened its work in the sense that it did not confer it with a symbolic capital specific to each subfield. In this regard, this constitutes

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[1139] Sandra Poupaud, Anthony Pym, Ester Torres Simón, "Finding translations. On the use of bibliographical databases in translation history," Meta: Translators' Journal 54 (2): 264-78; Diana Roig-Sanz and Laura Fólica, "Big translation history. Data science applied to translated literature in the Spanish-speaking world, 1898–1945," *Translation Spaces* 10, no. 2 (2021): 231–59.

an extreme case illustrating challenges related to cultural and political representation and representativity latent also in literary affairs, which indeed dialogues with current debates on what world literature is. From an institutional perspective interested in institutional forms of support to translation, the main takeaway is the distinction between institutional support to translation per se, or the promotion of certain works selected for intellectual, economic, or political reasons. Most organizations sponsoring translations today use a rhetoric to justify their line of work that puts an emphasis on the promotion of translation as an activity, although their focus on extranslation, rather than intranslation, frames their efforts in the domain of political and economic strategies.

The present conclusions cannot close without referring to future lines of research that could be explored to complement the work I present. Among them, my results could be complemented by reconstructing the ICO's translation policy in other intellectual subfields, for example, in the domain of scientific relations. My work could also be supplemented by further introducing other organizations' standpoints in the history here reconstructed, be them other technical bodies created under the LON's auspices, or intellectual organizations having collaborated with the ICO. Regarding the history of the ICO, some of the aspects presenting special interest would include the reception of the ICO's efforts in the different national fields and further study of NCICs as translation spaces, as well as a closer look on individuals. From the perspective of translation and its institutionalization process, further scholarship would be necessary to reconstruct the ways said process unfolded in different scales and the role concrete institutions or organizations, such as states or academia, play in it. More broadly, the history and conceptualization of translation would benefit from further examination of the ways field relations and heteronomous dynamics can help us understand translation's relational character, rather than orienting efforts towards the pursuit of an illusory autonomy. Also, the conceptualization of translation and the two spaces in which it operates would benefit from further engaging with scalar thinking. From a methodological standpoint, our work could be extended to include all records preserved in the IIIC's funds. Further work is necessary to facilitate navigation in the IIIC's funds after its digitization, especially regarding non-ocerized material. Also, our work has illustrated the difficulties encountered with a multilingual corpus, which points to the need that tools be developed in the broad field of Digital Humanities that take into account multilingualism and

language diversity to avoid reproducing existing hierarchies through contemporary analytical methods and tools.

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Index of tables

Index of figures

Appendixes

I.   Paul Valéry, report presented to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters regarding translation (1926)

In: UN Archives, "INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION. Sub-Committee of Arts and Letters C.I.C.I./L.A./1st to 5th SES./P.V.", 0000766242_D0006.

La Sous-Commission a bien voulu retenir et me demander de préciser quelques propositions que j'ai eu l'honneur de lui soumettre au sujet de l'aide et de l'encouragement à donner aux travaux de traduction.

J'ai appris, depuis, que cette idée que je croyais neuve, mais qui n'était que naturelle, avait déjà été envisagée par la Fédération des Pen Clubs. La rencontre me semble de bon augure. Les Pen clubs se sont surtout préoccupés d'établir des catalogues d'ouvrages dont la traduction serait particulièrement désirable, des listes de traducteurs experts et lettrés, d'éditeurs publiant des traductions, de critiques s'occupant de littératures étrangères. Ils comptent enfin dresser ultérieurement une table des ouvrages déjà traduits. Cette initiative est très remarquable. Elle confirme ce que nous avions pensé. J'ajoute, que le travail dont il s'agit est en voie d'exécution.

En dehors de cette entreprise privée, la section des relations littéraires de l'Institut International a rédigé une note sommaire dans laquelle la question des traductions a été l'objet d'un ensemble de propositions précises.

Quant à moi je dois confesser que le temps et la liberté de l'esprit m'ont fait défaut pour donner à cette question toute l'attention qu'elle exige. Mon idée initiale consistait à demander l'institution de prix ou de récompenses en faveur des traducteurs, j'entends des bons traducteurs ou du moins des traducteurs utiles. A la réflexion, il m'est apparu que le problème des encouragements à donner était fort complexe et fort délicat. Le nombre des facteurs en présence et celui de leurs relations, l'appréciation de la valeur des œuvres traduites, celle de la valeur des traductions, les considérations d'opportunité, d'utilité bilatérales, les questions juridiques et commerciales mises, en jeu me mettaient en présence d'un problème d'organisation dont le seul énoncé précis eût demandé un délai et des moyens qui m'étaient refusés.

Messieurs, vous savez fort bien que dans les affaires publiques toute chose embarrassante évoque immédiatement à l'esprit l'idée d'instituer une Commission. Je n'ai pas manqué d'y recourir.

J'ai pensé à l'institution d'une Commission spéciale internationale siégeant une fois par an qui aurait pour mission d'exprimer, d'entendre exprimer les désirs des diverses nations, et de débattre enfin la composition d'une liste d'ouvrages recommandés aux traducteurs. Ce serait en somme, une véritable "Bourse des valeurs littéraires transmissibles" -(Car il en est d'intransmissibles,-presque tous les poètes, hélas). Bourse des valeurs dans laquelle le jeu classique de l'offre et de la demande pourrait fonctionner. Tel peuple dirait à tel outre : Tu ne sais pas ce que j'ai fait de plus beau. Et il arriverait aussi puisque ce fait paradoxal s'est quelque fois produit, qu'une nation s'aviserait de la valeur d'un livre qu'elle-même a produit et méconnu parfois jusqu' à ignorer son existence pour le trouver traduit et en honneur chez une nation étrangère. C'est le cas de l'œuvre d'Edgar Poe que

la traduction et les louanges de Baudelaire ont faite si célèbre dans le monde sans excepter son pays d'origine. Et c'est le cas de l'œuvre de Gobineau que l'attention dont elle a été l'objet en Allemagne fait relire ou bien lire, en France, et reclasser un peu mieux parmi nous.

L'Institut International pourrait centraliser les demandes, desiderata, suggestions des particuliers; relever lui-meme des titres d'ouvrages et former pour chaque délégué un élément de son dossier. Le délégué de son côté ne manquerait de consulter et de s'informer dans son pays en vue de recueillir auprès des intellectuels, des corps enseignants, des désirs de voir traduire, des raisons de traduire, et même des motifs de ne pas traduire... Il y en a de plusieurs espèces.

Il est clair qu'on ne doit encourager que les traductions qui enrichissent véritablement la connaissance d'une nation, et lui communiquent des trésors qu'elle ne trouve point en soi-même. Il est des œuvres d'un type si banal, et il en est d'autres d'un succès si immédiat et si prompt que ce n'est point notre affaire de nous mêler de leur destinée. Elles trouveront toujours, les unes leurs succédanés, les autres leurs traducteurs.

De plus, comme on ne peut se flatter de faire passer d'une langue dans une autre, les valeurs de forme d'un ouvrage, ce sont les livres contenant ce qui se conserve, des faits ou des idées, qu'il conviendra principalement de retenir.

Si je détaille quelque peu ces restrictions, c'est que je divise dans ma pensée assez nettement l'œuvre entière que nous poursuivons qui est en somme d'exciter à la traduction. La Commission de classement dont je vous parle doit être spécialisée dans la besogne de recherche et de désignation des traductions à faire ou à faire faire. Permettez-moi une pauvre image. Elle s'occupe des monuments publics et d'utilité publique avant toute chose. Mais les demeures privées librement construites auront aussi leurs encouragements.

Achevons de définir le travail de la Commission. J'ai dit qu'elle se réunissait périodiquement. Ses délibérations doivent aboutir à l'établissement d'une liste où viennent s'inscrire, langage par langage les titres de livres ou d'articles dont il serait de l'intérêt général d'une coopération intellectuelle effective qu'ils soient transportés de telle langue dans telle ou telles autres.

La Commission proposerait à la Société des Nations de donner de primes à la traduction et à l'édition des ouvrages recommandés, traduction et édition, car les deux actes sont pratiquement indivisibles.

En dehors de l'action régulatrice et directrice de la Commission, dont l'objet principal est d'égaliser en quelque sorte par des moyens artificiels par des primes à la traduction les trésors de lectures des diverses langues, et de faire combler des lacunes parfois scandaleuses,-il y aurait lieu de récompenser la traduction spontanée, l'édition et la réimpression de traductions. C'est ici que je m'en rapporte à la note de l'Institut International. Vous y trouverez le schéma fort net et très complet dans sa brièveté, des propositions essentielles à notre dessin.

Tout ce que je viens de vous exposer n'est que le grossissement du paragraphe B, et une proposition d'organisation spéciale pour réaliser ce que demandent ces deux lignes : On consulterait régulièrement les divers pays sur les ouvrages qu'il serait opportun de traduire.

Vous trouverez également dans ladite note de la Section des Relations Littéraires parmi d'autres suggestions très importantes comme celle d'un syndicat de la traduction, mention du projet dont je vous ai naguère entretenus de provoquer la création dans les langues principales d'une collection de manuels d'histoire littéraire, complément souhaitable des instruments de coopération intellectuelle.

Je termine par l'exposé d'un cas particulier qui me frappe nécessairement car il est actuellement le mien. Mais il doit être connu de bien d'autres écrivains, et il présente un aspect intéressant, pratiquement intéressant de la question des traductions.

Il arrive, il m'arriva, que, sollicité par plusieurs traducteurs d'autoriser la traduction du même texte, ignorant de leur valeur respective, ignorant de la langue, l'on sa trouve fort embarrassé de choisir ; et non seulement de choisir entre traducteurs, mais encore entre maisons d'édition. Ou encore qu'une traduction toute faite vous soit soumise, mais impénétrable. Qu'arrive-t-il? On consulte au petit bonheur. Ces petits bonheurs ont parfois visage de catastrophes.

Ne faut-il pas, Messieurs, que nous qui songeons aux traducteurs, nous ayons aussi quelque regard pour ceux qui sont, devant être traduits ? Peut-être l'Institut pourrait-il nous venir en aide, et consulte confidentiellement nous dire à l'oreille : Traducteur dangereux, Editeur dérapant.

Au cours de la conversation que j'ai eue avec Mlle Mistral et M. Belaúnde, à propos du projet d'une bibliothèque de classiques américains, j'ai eu l'occasion d'exposer quelques points de vue personnels que je résume ici (et qui ont été ultérieurement approuvés par le comité d'experts de l'Amérique latine.)

Je crois, tout d'abord, que le titre choisi pour la collection doit être "Culture hispano-américaine." Elle pourra se composer d'un nombre assez grand de volumes, mais pour commencer et pour prévenir, dans la mesure du possible, toute chance d'échec, il faudrait, à mon avis, établir deux séries de 10 ou de 12 volumes ; en d'autres termes, il s'agirait de fixer un nombre restreint d'ouvrages dont la traduction et l'édition pourraient sb réaliser sans trop d'efforts. Si une première série donnait des résultats intéressants, on pourrait en envisager une seconde et ainsi de suite.

Dans la première série, aucun auteur no doit disposer de plus d'un volume. Il serait aussi opportun que tous les pays de l'Amérique espagnole y fussent représentés.

La principale richesse littéraire de ces pays étant la poésie lyrique, qui supporte mal une traduction, il faut, sans négliger la production lyrique, ne pas non plus s'attarder aux poètes dont un très grand nombre n'ont qu'un intérêt local ou des mérites do pure forme, - c'est le cas, en particulier, de la Colombie, - ou encore des innovations linguistiques. C'est pourquoi j'ai proposé qu'on admît seulement trois volumes anthologiques (deux au minimum) ; et un pour le Brésil. Cas trois volumes seraient ;

I - Mexique, Amérique Centrale, Antilles.
II - Colombie, Venezuela, Equateur, Pérou, Bolivie,
III - R. Argentine, Chili, Uruguay, Paraguay. (dans le cas de deux volumes, le Pérou et la Bolivie pourraient faire partie du second groupe).

Pour composer cette anthologie, il faut écarter soigneusement tout ce qui n'a pas une valeur humaine et universelle ou un pittoresque suffisant, A cet égard, la matière est heureusement abondante. Je ne vois que deux volumes de poésie qui puissent être indépendants : un pour Ruben Dario, un autre pour la poésie "gauchesca," avec Martin Fierro comme pièce la plus importante.

Il ne faut pas abuser des historiens - qui ont une grande valeur, mais non toujours une valeur précisément littéraire - et point non plus des essayistes. Il faut vouer une attention spéciale aux volumes consacrés aux arts du Mexique et du Pérou, qui doivent, à mon avis, paraître dans la première série. Ces ouvrages seront accueillis, si je ne m'abuse, avec une grande admiration, ces richesses artistiques étant à peu près inconnues du grand public auquel s'adressera la collection.

Je ne crois pas que le format de ces volumes artistiques doive être différent du format des autres, car il s'agit de ne pas donner l'impression de deux collections distinctes, mais d'un ensemble homogène. Les procédés de gravure que l'on possède permettront de faire des reproductions assez parfaites même si elles ne sont pas de grandes dimensions. Je crois

que le procédé qu'on appelle en espagnol noto-grabado ou mueco-grabado, n'est pas bien coûteux, et il me paraît tout indiqué.

Après examen de la liste qui avait été dressée, nous avons été d'accord sur le choix des volumes de la première série :

> I - J.E. Rodo - prologue de Zaldumbide
> II - R. Dario - " Diez-Canedo
> III - J. Marti - " G. Mistral
> IV - Folklore hispano-américain, prologue de P. Henriquez-Urena
> V - Volume graphique. L'art de l'ancien Mexique, prologue du Dr. Atl.
> VI – Sarniento [sic]-Facundo, prologue de Lugones
> VII - Historiens du Chili, prologue de H. Diaz Arvieta
> VIII - R. Palma, traditions péruviennes, prologue de V.G. Calderon
> IX - Machado de Assis - Don Casmurro, prologue de V. Larbaud
> X - Volume graphique - L'art do l'ancien Pérou, prologue de I. de la Riva Agüero
> XI - Bolivar - Lettres et discours - Prologue de M. Belaunde, de M. Blanco Fombona ou de M. Garcia Calderon (F). Pourquoi ne ferait-on pas trois études, l'une sur la vie de Bolivar, une autre sur son message politique, la troisième sur la matière du volume ? Je crois que les introductions ne doivent être ni trop longues ni trop érudites. Pour Bolivar on pourrait cependant faire une exception, l'homme étant beaucoup plus important que l'œuvre écrite, si intéressante soit-elle.
> XII - Un volume d'anthologie poétique ; celui-ci sera fait le premier. -Avec l'annonce des deux autres.

La deuxième série doit être annoncée sans mention des volumes, mais comme projet non encore arrêté. Dans cette série devrait paraître un volume de théâtre de Florencio Sanchez.

C'est tout ce que je vois, pour le moment. J'insiste sur l'utilité d'être fixé quant au nombre des volumes et de consacrer une attention exclusive à ceux qui sont choisis. L'ordre peut être modifié dans la série, mais il ne faudrait pas faire passer un volume non envisagé pour cette première série, du simple fait qu'il pourrait être prêt avant les autres. La seule exception me semble être celle concernant l'anthologie poétique, à moins que d'autres raisons ne déconseillent ce changement.

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Enrique Díez-Canedo
Paris, 18. 5. 1927.

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III.   Julien Luchaire, "Le monde comme construction intellectuelle. "

Il paraît chaque année des livres où l'on fait le bilan de l'activité du monde au point de vue économique, — d'autres où l'on fait le tableau de son état politique – nous ne voyons guère d'ouvrages consacrés à une révision d'ensemble du mouvement intellectuel humain pendant l'année qui vient de s'écouler. L'opinion publique dans chaque pays, préoccupée à juste titre de l'avenir, se demande comment sera fait, demain, l'édifice de la production industrielle, le réseau de la circulation commerciale et bancaire, le système des rapports sociaux et celui de la justice internationale : elle n'est pas encore curieuse de savoir suivant quel plan sera organisée sur la terre la production scientifique, littéraire, artistique, et la diffusion des connaissances.

Même, presque personne ne pense qu'il y ait là les éléments d'un seul grand problème. En général, dans chaque pays, les arts, les sciences, la littérature, l'enseignement sont l'objet de conceptions et d'initiatives séparées ; rarement on envisage la vie intellectuelle nationale comme une seule grande construction : encore moins songe-t-on à une construction mondiale.

Cependant, on proclame très haut, et depuis longtemps, que les progrès de la civilisation sont liés au progrès de l'instruction générale, — que la science est la créatrice du bien-être humain, - que la plus grande dignité de l'homme est dans sa faculté de créer et de comprendre l'art, — que la paix sociale et la paix internationale ne peuvent être fondées que sur la claire connaissance que les individus et les nations doivent avoir de leurs caractères respectifs et de leurs besoins. Et même les économistes reconnaissent que la hausse et la baisse des valeurs dépend, en dernière analyse, de ce que les gens pensent qu'elles valent. On s'est rendu compte que la catastrophe de la dernière guerre a été en grande partie causée par une série de malentendus et d'erreurs d'appréciation. On sait qu'une nouvelle imaginée par un journaliste, sans aucune base dans la réalité des faits, peut émouvoir en quelques heures le public de tous les pays, entraîner des ruines et faire couler le sang; - que la presse couvre chaque jour toute la terre d'une fine pellicule de pensées imprimées, qui pèse sur elle plus fortement qu'un réseau de chaînes; - on commence à comprendre que les nouveaux moyens d'action sur les cerveaux: cinéma, radiophonie, phonographe répandent à travers le monde un torrent d'images et de sons, de représentations et de suggestions, en comparaison duquel les courants intellectuels des siècles passés n'était que de minces ruisseaux...

Alors, ne serait-il pas temps de bien étudier le mécanisme de ce moteur profond de l'humanité, et, dans la mesure du possible, de chercher à le mieux régler et à le perfectionner ? Cela n'est ni plus ni moins facile que d'étudier et de régler le mécanisme de la répartition des matières premières, de la production industrielle et des échanges.

Ici, la matière première est le cerveau humain. Matière inépuisable, mais délicate, qui peut être très vite améliorée ou détériorée. Il y a encore sur la terre des centaines de millions de cerveaux incultes : n'est-ce pas une honte pour notre siècle qui se prétend civilisé? Mais si ces centaines de millions de cerveaux s'ouvrent, en quelques années, à la culture, - quelle révolution, et quel danger ! En réalité, les masses chinoises et hindoues vont à l'instruction élémentaire : en combien de temps y arriveront-elles, et surtout dans quel esprit?

Il y a quelque temps, le Comité d'études franco-allemand avait mis à ordre du jour l'étude de la formation des élites. Autre problème de matière première intellectuelle. Il y a des procédés pour pousser très haut le niveau de la culture supérieure dans un pays, pour

déterminer le nombre proportionnel de cette élite, pour modifier son orientation suivant les besoins : mais quelle nation peut dire qu'elle applique strictement une méthode à cela? D'ailleurs, aucune nation, désormais, ne peut développer en elle la haute intelligence, sans regarder de très près ce que font autres nations dans ce sens, et de plus en plus chacune devra s'entendre avec les autres pour cela : il faut, pour préparer la paix, que les classes dirigeantes se connaissent, se fréquentent, aient en commun certaines habitudes d'esprit et certaines idées. Il faut éviter aussi, sur tel ou tel point, la surproduction des spécialistes, ou la pénurie ; et même les échanges sont à prévoir.

Nous voici devant un autre ordre de problèmes : ceux de la production intellectuelle, et surtout de la production scientifique. Là, malgré certaines apparences contraires, le monde actuel est en plein chaos. L'ardeur avec laquelle les savants accourent, depuis la guerre, au congrès internationaux, et créent, pour chaque spécialité, des sociétés internationales, démontre bien combien nous sommes loin, sur ce terrain, de l'était d'organisation rationnelle, qui apparaît dès aujourd'hui comme désirable et possible. Le patriotisme le plus scrupuleux n'a rien à redire sérieusement à ceci : dans cinquante ou dans cent ans, la science doit être devenue une seule grande entreprise menée d'accord par tous les peuples.

L'art se prête moins au travail collectif. Cependant, la communauté humaine doit intervenir pour protéger les artistes et les œuvres, et pour faire jouir plus largement tous les peuples de la beauté créée par l'un d'entre eux. Amélioration des conventions relatives aux droits d'auteur, - accords relatifs aux expositions, aux exécutions musicales – entreprises méthodiques de traduction et d'adaptation littéraires et de reproduction graphique, - ententes entre les musées : vaste programme, qui ne devra plus être laissé au hasard des fantaisies individuelles, justement parce qu'il est propre à accroître et l'indépendance et la valeur universelle de l'artiste.

Cela nous ramène à la question plus générale du régime de la circulation de la pensée dans le monde. L'Assemblée de la Société des Nations a chargé l'Organisation de Coopération intellectuelle d'étudier les obstacles à la diffusion du livre et les problèmes de la traduction, — et ceux de l'enseignement des langues. Certains auraient voulu lui demander d'aborder le problème de la véracité des informations dans la presse quotidienne et périodique : il n'est pas dit en effet que la liberté du mensonge ou de l'erreur soit inséparable de la liberté de parler et d'écrire, et que des mesures prophylactiques internationales ne puissent être prises. D'autre part, il est des formes de transmission du savoir et de l'opinion qui sont internationales par nature : cinéma, radiophonie, phonographe réclament – et d'urgence – un régime international.
Ainsi, de quelque côté que nous nous tournions, sur cet immense domaine de l'activité spirituelle, nous rencontrons des problèmes d'organisation internationale. On a dit du haut de la tribune de la Société des Nations, en septembre dernier : " Le monde de demain sera un seul édifice bâti sur trois piliers : organisation politique, organisation économique, organisation intellectuelle. »

Cependant aucun des trois ne peut être construit par la seule autorité des conférences de ministres ou d'experts, surtout point le troisième. Ici la claire conscience et la volonté de tous les intéressés est nécessaire. C'est pourquoi le grand mouvement de la Coopération intellectuelle internationale se prépare avec lenteur.

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Julien Luchaire
Directeur de l'Institut International de coopération intellectuelle

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IV.   Anton Kippenberg, "Remarques sur l'état actuel des traductions, " 1929.

In: Sub-Committee Letters and Arts, 6th session, July 11, 1929. UN Archives, Item - 0000766243_D0007.

<u>A. Avant-propos.</u>

I. Les traductions augmentent constamment dans le monde entier : ainsi parurent, en Allemagne, en 1927, au total 975 traductions d'œuvres étrangères, dont pas moins de 689 appartenant aux belles-lettres. D'autre part, parurent dans 24 pays, comprenant 26 groupes linguistiques, 1648 traductions d'œuvres allemandes. Les rapports statistiques pour 1928 ne sont pas encore terminés, mais les travaux préparatoires laissent reconnaître, que pour cette année, du moins pour ce qui concerne les traductions d'œuvres allemandes, nous pourrons noter une augmentation considérable. Les informations qui nous viennent d'autres pays, constatent également une augmentation constante des traductions, spécialement en Russie, qui toutefois s'approprie le bien intellectuel des autres peuples sans aucune indemnité.

II. Dans plusieurs pays, notamment aux Etats-Unis et en Allemagne, on a vu naître dernièrement des scrupules contre une trop grande augmentation des traductions ; on a même parlé d'une inondation de la littérature nationale. Un tel danger n'existe pas, tout au moins à l'endroit de l'Allemagne : en 1927 parurent 689 traductions littéraires de langues étrangères contre 5066 publications en langue allemande. Le nombre des traductions était de 13,6 % du nombre total des publications : ce pourcentage n'a rien d'anormal. On doit toutefois prendre en considération, que précisément en Amérique et en Allemagne beaucoup de traductions ont été tirées à un nombre considérable d'exemplaires.

III. On doit convenir, que le choix des œuvres traduites ne fut pas toujours très heureux. La rivalité des éditeurs et des traducteurs a été la cause, que souvent des œuvres ont été traduites, qui ne méritaient pas de l'être, du moins dans certains pays. C'est une faute capitale que de se fonder pour le choix d'une œuvre à traduire sur le succès que celle-ci a obtenu dans son pays d'origine. Un livre, qui dans son pays d'origine a été couronné de succès, ne doit pas nécessairement intéresser le public dans les autres pays. Au contraire, on a pu constater souvent, que des œuvres, qui ont eu un succès remarquable dans le pays d'origine, ont échoué complètement dans le pays de la traduction.

IV. En résumé on peut dire que, à part les œuvres d'une valeur éternelle non encore reconnue, et qui tôt ou tard auront leur temps et leurs traductions, pour l'échange intellectuel, par la voie des traductions, entre les langues de grande diffusion, un encouragement, par rapport à la quantité, soit par des listes d'œuvres, dont la traduction serait recommandée, n'est pas nécessaire. Par contre, la décision du 7ème congrès des PEN Clubs (tenu à Vienne en juin 1929), émettant le vœu que le I.C.I., publie une liste d'œuvres, écrites dans une langue de diffusion plus restreinte et dignes de traduction en langues étrangères, mérite toute attention.

<u>B. Choix des traducteurs</u>

I. Si la qualité des traductions laisse souvent à désirer les auteurs eux-mêmes en sont pour une grande part la cause. Il paraît incompréhensible que presque toujours les auteurs exposent leurs enfants spirituels aux carrefours, dont les chemins mènent aux différents

pays de traduction, sans se soucier le moins du monde du destin de ces enfants en pays étranger ; ils se contentent pour la plupart de trouver leur compte au point de vue matériel. Il serait de la plus haute importance, si les auteurs eux-mêmes s'occupaient du choix de leurs traducteurs et de la qualité des traductions de leurs œuvres. Très rarement, ils seront en état de juger personnellement de la qualité des traductions et encore moins, ce qui serait naturellement le plus désirable, de contrôler et de corriger ces traductions. Mais les auteurs auront dans chaque pays des collègues, qui pourraient les aider dans cette besogne. Nous voyons ici une tâche importante et digne pour le P.E.N. Club international.

II. Au cas que l'auteur lui-même ne peut trouver un bon traducteur, il fera bien de se servir de l'intermédiaire de son éditeur, auquel il a confié le soin de la publication de l'œuvre originale. Celui-ci, de son côté devrait se mettre en rapport avec une maison d'édition étrangère ou un traducteur digne de confiance, et ne pas céder, soit directement, soit indirectement par l'intermédiaire d'une agence, les droits de traduction ou une option à un traducteur - ou plutôt une traductrice - inconnu, comme il arrive encore trop souvent. Voilà pourquoi nous voyons paraître tant de traductions misérables. Car trop souvent ces traducteurs sont absolument incapables. Ou bien ils trouvent un éditeur sans scrupules, qui imprime leur mauvais travail, ou bien un éditeur consciencieux fera réviser la mauvaise traduction, qui en devient rarement une bonne, ou il se voit forcé d'acheter les ''droits" du traducteur et par conséquent de payer deux fois le prix de la traduction. Un futur congrès international des éditeurs devra s'occuper intensivement de cette question.

C. Conditions pour la cession des droits de traduction.

Cette question importante peut seulement être effleurée ici. On ne pourra pas obtenir une réglementation générale pour l'indemnisation des traductions, puisque les exigences qu'on attend d'un traducteur sont trop différentes selon l'œuvre à traduire. En général on peut dire, qu'on ne pourra obtenir une bonne traduction qu'à moins de rétribuer suffisamment le traducteur, afin que celui-ci ait le temps de travailler à son aise. Mais ici souvent la taxe exagérée, réclamée par les éditeurs de l'œuvre originale pour la cession des droits de traduction constitue un obstacle. Pour permettre une rétribution suffisante du traducteur, elle ne devrait jamais dépasser 7 1/2 % du prix de vente et monter seulement à 10 % lorsqu'un tirage assez élevé d'exemplaires a été atteint. Les éditeurs d'œuvres originales devraient montrer une prévenance spéciale, quand il s'agit d'un auteur, qu'on traduit pour la première fois dans une langue étrangère, puisque, dans ce cas, le risque de l'éditeur de la traduction est naturellement plus grand.

D. Listes internationales do traducteurs et de traductrices.

Le congrès de Belgrade de l'Association littéraire et artistique internationale d'Octobre 1928 a pris une résolution, dans laquelle il exprime le vœu de voir établir par les soins de l'I.C.I., avec le concours des PEN Clubs, des listes des Principaux traducteurs, classés par langue et par spécialité, qui toutefois ne devraient donner aucune appréciation sur la valeur des traducteurs. Il est impossible de voir l'utilité pratique d'une telle liste, quand précisément les qualités des travaux n'y sont pas appréciées. Une telle liste aurait au contraire le désavantage de mentionner des noms de traducteurs mauvais et nuisibles, qui par le fait même de la mention seraient quasi officiellement reconnus et peut-être seraient chargés de travaux de traduction à cause de cette mention. D'un autre côté, une liste de traducteurs, contenant une appréciation sur la valeur des traductions, aurait de grands inconvénients. Une appréciation équitable d'une seule traduction exige des connaissances approfondies et beaucoup de temps. Quelles personnes ou quelles corporations se chargeraient d'examiner le nombre énorme de traductions, qui paraissent chaque année

dans le monde entier ? Et qui nous donnerait la certitude, que ces appréciations seraient basées sur des connaissances suffisantes de la matière et seraient absolument objectives ? En somme, la question, si une liste de ce genre doit être publiée ou servir de base pour donner des renseignements, devrait être examinée avec grand soin et traitée avec beaucoup de prudence.

E. Réglementation internationale du droit de traduction.

On ne peut le dire assez souvent, que les questions du droit de traduction doivent trouver enfin une solution internationale uniforme et claire. La convention de Berne contient sur ce point a des lacunes déplorables et la conférence du droit d'auteur, tenue à Rome en 1987, n'a malheureusement pas pu s'occuper assez de cette matière. Il est fort désirable que ces questions trouvent une solution à la conférence internationale prochaine du droit d'auteur, qui sera tenue à Bruxelles en 1933. Il faudrait, qu'on s'occupe entre autres des points suivants :

a) Des coupures et des modifications dans la traduction ne peuvent en principe être pratiquées qu'avec l'autorisation de l'auteur de l'œuvre originale. Dans le pays même la loi sur les droits d'auteur suffit généralement pour protéger l'auteur contre des modifications ou des coupures de la part des éditeurs ; mais pour ce qui regarde les traductions de ses œuvres, il n'est pas suffisamment protégé contre les empiètements sur ses droits. Il arrive assez souvent, qu'une œuvre se trouve mutilée par la traduction et même détournée de son sens original. Sous ce rapport une révision de la Convention de Berne ne suffirait pas, parce que dans plusieurs pays l'intervention de la justice laisse à désirer en efficacité. Ici, comme dans plusieurs autres cas, il est absolument nécessaire de créer un tribunal international, pour trancher les conflits entre les auteurs et les éditeurs de différents pays, ayant rapport aux droits d'auteur.

b) La protection du droit d'auteur pour les lettres d'auteurs, non encore tombés dans le domaine public, est réglée d'une manière très différente dans les différents pays et une réglementation internationale serait très nécessaire. La nouvelle loi sur le droit d'auteur de la république tchécoslovaque pourrait servir ici de modèle. Elle est exemplaire sur ce point, surtout parce qu'elle connaît pour la reproduction de lettres et autres documents personnels analogues à côté du droit d'auteur proprement dit, un droit moral.

c) Les éditeurs de traductions devraient être obligés de mentionner dans le titre le nom de l'auteur correspondant aux œuvres originales, de même - soit sur le frontispice, soit dans le livre même - que le titre original de l'œuvre (voir F).

F. Mention du nom de l'auteur et du titre original dans les traductions

Le congrès international des éditeurs, qui, nous l'espérons, ne tardera plus trop longtemps à se réunir, aurait à s'occuper sans doute de cette question. Si ce congrès, contre toute espérance, ne pouvait se réunir dans un avenir plus ou moins rapproché, il serait utile, que le I.C.I. s'adresse à toutes les organisations d'éditeurs du monde en les priant de bien vouloir tenir compte à l'avenir des propositions mentionnées.

Par contre l'éditeur et le traducteur doivent rester libres de mentionner ou non dans le livre le nom du dernier. Car il n'y a aucune raison, pourquoi le droit de rester anonyme ou de choisir un pseudonyme, dont jouit l'auteur, ne serait pas accordé au traducteur, ou avec son consentement à l'éditeur.

En cette occasion on pourrait peut-être recommander aux éditeurs d'ajouter aux traductions une préface ou un épilogue surtout à celles d'un auteur qu'on introduit pour

la première fois dans un pays étranger ; dans lesquels le lecteur serait renseigné brièvement sur la personnalité, la vie et les œuvres de l'auteur.

G. Bibliographie des traductions

Aux pages 5 et 6 de son Rapport à la Sous-Commission des Lettres et des Arts, le I.C.I. traite d'une façon profonde et digne de reconnaissance des questions, qui se rapportent à une bibliographie internationale des traductions. L'établissement d'une bibliographie internationale des traductions par le I.C.I. dépasserait de beaucoup ses forces. D'ailleurs, cette tâche a déjà été entreprise avec succès dans différents pays par des personnes compétentes. Une mission importante du I.C.I. serait de proposer l'établissement de bibliographies analogues dans les pays où elles font défaut, de réunir toutes les bibliographies lui parvenant et de les tenir à la disposition des intéressés. Une publication annuelle de toutes ces bibliographies en un seul volume serait certes financièrement impossible. Il suffirait de publier périodiquement comme par le passé, et à plus ample mesure encore, dans La Coopération Intellectuelle des statistiques sur les traductions dans les différents pays ainsi que des statistiques comparées, et de communiquer les événements principaux du mouvement des échanges littéraires.

II. Quelques souhaits concernant la bibliographie des traductions

l) Dans le cas, où le frontispice de la traduction ne mentionne ni le nom complet de l'auteur (nom et prénom), ni le titre original, ces données bibliographiques ne devraient pas manquer dans les bibliographies,

2) Il est nécessaire que la langue d'origine soit toujours mentionnée, en faisant attention à certaines nuances, (par ex, serbe ou croate ou Slovène, tchèque ou slovaque, etc.)

3) Quant aux traductions qui ne sont pas faites d'après l'œuvre originale, mais d'après une traduction de celle-ci, il est désirable d'avoir des données bibliographiques également sur l'édition, qui a servi de base à la traduction et sur l'édition originale.

4) On doit exiger que les indications explicatives des titres bibliographiques soient traitées avec plus de soins qu'auparavant ; par ex., là où il ne s'agit pas d'une traduction fidèle d'une œuvre complète et originale, on doit mentionner si la traduction en question constitue un choix d'un recueil, une édition revue et corrigée, un abrégé, etc.

H. Appréciation publique des traductions.

I. On pourrait discuter de nouveau la question, s'il ne serait pas souhaitable de fonder un prix international pour les meilleures traductions, soit une bourse ou un prix honorifique. Mais il est pratiquement impossible d'indiquer les "meilleures" traductions. Car où trouverait-on les personnalités capables de juger et d'apprécier les traductions des différentes langues d'un seul pays, et surtout de comparer les réalisations des différents pays. Mais on pourrait peut-être examiner s'il ne serait pas recommandable que la Société des Nations appelle de temps en temps à l'attention publique des personnalités, qui se sont distinguées dans le domaine des traductions. Les présentations devraient être faites de préférence par les Commissions nationales de Coopération intellectuelle.

II. Il est très regrettable, que presque toujours la critique s'occupe exclusivement de la matière des œuvres traduites et non de la traduction comme telle (tout au plus elle lui voue quelques phrases insignifiantes). La connaissance insuffisante des langues de la part des critiques, qui ne permet pas de juger de la qualité des traductions, est la cause principale de ce fait déplorable. Du moins les journaux et les périodiques, qui tiennent à

publier des critiques sérieuses, devraient par principe ne confier les traductions qu'à des personnes, qui connaissent suffisamment la langue de l'œuvre originale et exiger une appréciation, qui ne se borne pas à la matière de l'œuvre, mais qui comprend également le travail du traducteur. Malheureusement il est à craindre, que ce vœu ne reste longtemps encore un vain désir.

J. Buts à poursuivre.

Les fins prochaines, qu'il faudrait s'efforcer d'atteindre, sont les suivantes :

l) Reprise des congrès internationaux des éditeurs, dont le premier, s'il le juge à propos, devrait s'occuper entre autres :

a) de la question de savoir, comment et sous quelle forme il serait désirable de pratiquer la cession des droits de traduction ;

b) des conditions en général de cession des droits de traduction ;

c) du vœu général et fondé, que les traductions mentionnent le nom complet de l'auteur et le titre de l'œuvre originale. La commission permanente du congrès des éditeurs devrait naturellement se mettre en relation avec les organisations qualifiées d'écrivains.

2) Développement au sujet de ces questions. Des droits internationaux d'auteur touchant aux traductions.

3) Constitution d'un tribunal international d'arbitrage, ayant à tâche le règlement des différends entre les ressortissants des divers pays, ayant rapport avec les droits d'auteur.

4) Intervention auprès des auteurs en faisant appel aux offices des organisations nationales et internationales d'écrivains, aux fins d'encourager ceux-ci à prêter plus d'attention qu'autrefois au choix des traducteurs et à la qualité des traductions de leurs œuvres.

5) Publication annuelle de statistiques comparées relatives aux traductions dans le monde entier sous l'égide de la revue "La Coopération intellectuelle," qui a déjà commencé de s'occuper de la statistique de certains pays.

V. Translation contract established in the framework of the Ibero-American Collection (1929)

F. VI. 3

COLLECTION DE CULTURE IBERO-AMERICAINE

CONTRAT

Entre les soussignés :

Monsieur Jean DURIAU

demeurant à Paris, 29, Boulevard Murat

en qualité de traducteur,

d'une part,

et le Comité de la Collection de Culture ibéro-américaine dont le siège est à l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle (2, rue de Montpensier, Paris)

d'autre part,

a été convenu et arrêté ce qui suit :

1° Le Comité a proposé au traducteur, qui a accepté, d'établir une traduction d'un recueil de pages choisies des oeuvres de Joaquim Nabuco avec préface de Graça Aranha, destinée à faire partie de la Collection de Culture ibéro-américaine.

2° Le traducteur s'engage à établir cette traduction conformément aux principes énoncés par le Comité, dont il déclare avoir connaissance.

3° Le traducteur recevra pour ce travail la somme forfaitaire de 5.000 Francs qui lui sera payée au moment de la remise du bon à tirer.

4° Le traducteur s'engage, sauf réserves formulées dans sa lettre du 29 Juillet 1929, à remettre son manuscrit complet avant le 1° novembre 1929.

5° Le manuscrit sera présenté de façon définitive et remis sous la forme d'un texte dactylographié, attentivement relu et corrigé.

6° Le traducteur remettra son manuscrit au secrétaire du Comité qui se chargera de le transmettre aux deux membres du Comité de Publication délégués à sa lecture. Leur mission remplie, les délégués rendront

...

le manuscrit au secrétaire qui le fera alors parvenir à l'éditeur.

7° Le traducteur aura, le cas échéant, à prendre contact avec les délégués du Comité pour la mise au point définitive du texte, comme pour les coupures qui auront pu lui paraître opportunes.

8° Les épreuves seront remises au traducteur par le secrétaire du Comité et retournées après correction à ce dernier, d'abord en placards, puis en pages. Aucune correction de fond ni dans le texte, ni dans l'appareil critique ne pourra être faite sur épreuve.

9° Le présent contrat ne sera exécutoire qu'après l'acceptation du manuscrit par le Comité de Publication de la Collection de Culture ibéro-américaine.

10°Le traducteur s'interdit le droit de publier directement, ou indirectement, un ouvrage similaire pouvant faire concurrence à celui qui fait l'objet du présent traité.

11° Il sera remis gratuitement au traducteur pour ses hommages personnels 20 exemplaires. Dans le cas où le traducteur désirerait d'autres exemplaires pour ses besoins personnels, ils lui seront facturés avec une remise de 33 %.

12° Le service de presse est assuré par l'éditeur, d'accord avec le Comité.

13° Au cas où il serait procédé à une réimpression exigeant un travail complémentaire, ce travail sera rémunéré sur la base d'un accord nouveau entre les parties.

Fait en double original et de bonne foi,

Paris, le 31 Juillet 1929

Pour le Comité de la Collection
de Culture ibéro - américaine,
Le Secrétaire

Le Traducteur.
le 2 août 1929
Jean Sirinau

A. Aniod.

(B.BRIOD)