

Professional Identity of Multicultural and Multilingual Individuals in Exile

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Abstract

In this article, I suggest following the professional paths and exile ways of the multilingual and multicultural agents, who worked as translators before exile and changed (or not) their professions in American, British, French, Hungarian and Palestinian exile. This article offers a translation studies perspective on exile research, and its qualitative approach provides a deeper understanding of the experiences of multilingual agents in exile. I analyse the circumstances before and after the exile of (mostly) Jewish¹ literary translators, who, before the exile, worked at the same publishing company, the Paul Zsolnay Verlag, and were forced to flee from interwar Vienna. This case study compares agents in a similar situation before the exile and reveals differences and similarities in their ways of exile, underlining the intersections of their trajectories. Moreover, I show why and how language knowledge and networks established by translators before exile facilitated their emigration and integration. Furthermore, I analyse why the translators left interwar Vienna, which is not always connected to anti-Semitism. Finally, I examine if any of the multilingual refugees had ever come back to Vienna after the end of World War II.

Key words: literary translators, exile, Jewish difference, multilingualism.

Streszczenie

Tożsamość zawodowa wielokulturowych i wielojęzycznych osób na emigracji

Niniejszy artykuł śledzi ścieżki zawodowe oraz drogi emigracyjne wielojęzycznych i wielokulturowych tłumaczy, którzy przed emigracją pracowali w swoim zawodzie, a po osiedleniu się w Stanach Zjednoczonych, Wielkiej Brytanii, Francji, na Węgrzech lub w Palestynie kontynuowali lub zmienili swoją profesję. W artykule do badań nad uchodźstwem przyjęto perspektywę przekładoznawczą, a jego jakościowe ujęcie pozwala na głębsze

¹ In this work, I don't define people as Jewish or not, but I refer to people as Jewish if they defined themselves as Jews, e.g. in the correspondence or left their items at Jewish archives of their exile place; and if they indirectly were defined as such, e.g., were forced to flee in 1938. In this I support the idea of Lisa Silverman about the Jewishness being a social construct. Therefore, I use her concept of Jewish difference referred to the interwar Vienna (Silverman 2012).

zrozumienie doświadczeń migracyjnych wielojęzycznych tłumaczy. Przeanalizowano okoliczności życia przed i po wygnaniu (głównie) żydowskich tłumaczy literackich, którzy przed emigracją pracowali w tej samej oficynie wydawniczej, Paul Zsolnay Verlag, i zostali zmuszeni do ucieczki z przedwojennego Wiednia. W niniejszym studium przypadku porównano sytuację tych osób przed wygnaniem, ujawniając zarówno różnice, jak i podobieństwa w ich doświadczeniach emigracyjnych oraz podkreślając punkty styczne ich losów. Dodatkowo pokazano, w jaki sposób znajomość języków oraz posiadanie sieci kontaktów, które tłumacze nawiązali przed emigracją, ułatwiły im proces migracji i integracji w nowych miejscach zamieszkania. Przeanalizowano również powody ich wyjazdu z Wiednia, które nie zawsze były bezpośrednio związane z antysemityzmem. Na zakończenie zbadano, czy którykolwiek z tych wielojęzycznych uchodźców powrócił do Wiednia po zakończeniu II wojny światowej.

Słowa kluczowe: tłumacze literatury, wygnanie, żydowskość, wielojęzyczność.

1. Introduction

Translators live and work with two or more languages, located professionally at the intersection of two or more cultures². On a daily basis, they engage with the representatives of the source language and culture while simultaneously interacting also with the language and cultural context of a target audience or the target public. This makes this professional group more exposed to any type of migration and better equipped for smoother adaptation to the challenges caused by migration or exile. Translators can better prepare for migration and integrate more easily into the new culture. Under this lens, I analyse the circumstances before and after the exile for literary translators, who, before the exile, worked at the same publishing company and were forced to flee from interwar Vienna. My hypothesis is that translators, as multilingual and multicultural individuals, have their exile journeys easier than other groups of forced migrants. This case study compares agents in a similar situation before exile and reveals differences and similarities in their ways of exile, tracing the role of networks and language knowledge in their professional ways. The study aims to reveal challenges and advantages for the multilingual and multicultural agents (who worked as translators) prior to, in and after exile. All in all, I investigate the translator's professional identity, networks and multilingualism as a background for successful exile and integration.

This article is one of the outcomes of my completed PhD project, where I investigated the Paul Zsolnay³ publishing company and its translation policies, with particular consideration of

² Some translator study researchers call this space intercultural (e.g. Pym 1998), some – transcultural (e.g. Schippel 2014, 2020; Richter 2020).

³ The publishing company was established in Vienna in 1924 by Paul Zsolnay and since then has become one of Austria's most renowned publishers, specialising in fiction literature (See more in Hall 1994; Haiden 2023a and b).

the agency of the translators who worked for this publishing house during the interwar period. I demonstrated how translators' networks changed publisher's translation policies, influenced source language choices and brought new authors to the company. In the course of this research, I have also partially gathered information about the translators' life circumstances, personal interests, and networks. Moreover, I have proven that the networks established during the collaboration with the publishing company changed the translators' destinies (Haiden 2023b). The data collected goes beyond the time framework investigated in my PhD, which is limited to 1924-1938 (Haiden 2023a). The extensive, exile-related material put together during the research is analysed in this article, which reconstructs exile preparation, proper exile and post-war lives of exiled translators with a focus on their professional identity and networks in more detail.

2. State of the art

According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, exile means "the state of being sent to live in another country that is not your own, especially for political reasons or as a punishment" (1995: 531), while a migrant is "a person who moves from one place to another, especially to find work" (1995: 970). Exile can be seen as a special case of migration. Therefore, I do sometimes unite the notions of exile and migration because both are connected with the physical movement across linguistic and cultural borders, which is essential for translation studies research. However, to my mind, the difference between the two is crucial: an exile is a forced migration, while a migrant makes the decision about the movement across borders freely, i.e. migration is associated with professional or personal connections and positive perspectives, while exile means precarity, loss and pressure. In this article, I address mostly cases of forced migration (exile) based on the idea of Jewish difference, but exile for other reasons and professional migration are also discussed here.

Exile research is a well-established field in the German-speaking area – volumes and articles are being published (see below), new projects are conducted and, most importantly, there are entire institutions that study exile (e.g. Wiesenthal Institute in Vienna). Nevertheless, some exile research topics have been less investigated. Publishing studies scholar Ernst Fischer (2011: 5) in his book about emigration from national-socialist Germany and Austria points out that wherever emigration and the National-socialist Germany are mentioned together, there are always experiences of famous authors, artists, musicians, scientists being investigated. However, many other professions have been overlooked – lawyers, doctors, politicians, businessmen, and artisans. In this context, he does not mention translators or interpreters, but they definitely belong to this group. In the introduction to the volume *Translation und Exil (1933–1945) I. Namen und Orte. Recherchen zur Geschichte des Übersetzens*" (Tashinskiy, Boguna Rozmyslowicz 2023: 8), the editors stress that the translators are paradigmatic exile figures. They embody basic experiences of exile insofar as this is associated with coping with

linguistic and cultural foreignness as well as a permanent “being in-between”, which makes the question of belonging virulent. Therefore, conducting interdisciplinary studies on translators as a professional group at the intersection of migration and translation studies is essential. Over the past decade, the gap in research on translators and exile has been gradually narrowing due to numerous studies in translation history and translation sociology. Translation scholars focus on translators’ role in war conflicts or their agency in international relations (Kujamäki 2016; Footitt 2022; Kölbl 2019; Wolf, Orlova, Kölbl 2020) and on the connection of migration and translation (Polezzi 2012, Bachmann-Medick 2018); translation historians reconstruct translators’ biographies⁴ in exile and investigate the role of translations and translators in different historical periods (Wolf 2012) as well as in the dissemination of knowledge and literature (Schippel 2019, Schögler 2022). The recent joint international project *Exil:trans*⁵, and the newly starting in 2025 *PostExil:trans*⁶ conducted by the Universities of Vienna, Mainz, and Lausanne, and the German *TransExil*⁷ provide exile studies with extensive results and demonstrate the relevance of investigating translators in exile situations. One of the results of the Exile:Trans project was an edited volume *Netzwerke des Exils*, with the article “Paul Zsolnay – eine netzwerkbildende Plattform” (Haiden 2023b), analysing the authors’ networks that influenced the exile ways of the translators. Another project from the University of Vienna, “Übersetzerinnen im Exil”, traces the biographical data of the Viennese translators in exile (Schippel, Kremmel, Richter 2020).

3. Theoretical framework

The field theory of Pierre Bourdieu (1986) has proven over time to be a reliable sociological framework for analysing agency in translation studies (e.g., Wolf 2006; Wolf, Fukari 2007). In this article, I often refer to the notion of capital and its different forms. I analyse translators’ professional and personal networks (connections) as a part of their social capital. I work with two forms of cultural capital – institutionalised capital (e.g., school or university certificates) and incorporated capital (language and cultural knowledge). In this article, I do not trace translators’ objectified cultural capital. Finally, I problematise translators’ symbolic (reputation and status) and economic (the amount of money they possess or receive for their job) capital to show how the forms of capital are being exchanged in the situations of exile.

⁴ E.g. Datenbank zu Leben und Arbeit verfolgter Übersetzer und Übersetzerinnen: <https://gams.uni-graz.at/exil>; Germersheimer Übersetzerlexikon: <https://uelex.de/>; Vertalerslexicon voor het Nederlandstalig gebied: <https://www.vertalerslexicon.nl/>.

⁵ Exil:trans official page and the research results: <https://exiltrans.univie.ac.at/>

⁶ Grant confirmation to the joint project PostExil:trans: <https://data.snf.ch/grants/grant/221910>

⁷ Grant confirmation to the project TransExil: <https://www.slm.uni-hamburg.de/germanistik/ueber-das-institut/aktuelles/2025/2025-01-06-mexiko-bischoff.html>

The concept of *Jewish difference* suggested by the *Jewish studies* scholar Lisa Silverman is a treasure for any scholar working on the interwar period in Central Europe. In her book *Becoming Austrians* (2012), she defines in a very clear way the notion that was not clear and defined when it was introduced and applied. She explains that the attribution of Jewishness was random and manipulative in pre-war Austria, both before and after its Anschluss to Germany in 1938. She states that “codings of Jewishness were abstract, detachable, applicable to a range of individuals, and not necessarily contingent upon the degree to which they, or others, considered themselves as Jews, if at all”. She adds “Social re-enactments during the Austrian interwar period, beginning with anti-Semitic meetings, statements, and acts, followed by accusations that Jews are running society, and then finally reinforcing the boundaries of the community by denigrating or killing the Jew – or, in absence of a Jew, someone who came close enough” (2012: 65). She suggests the idea of Jewish difference as the invisible red line between those defined as Jews by themselves or others. Therefore, in this article, I am not defining someone as a Jew, but I do call them “defined as a Jew by national-socialists” or “attributed by the idea of Jewish difference”, showing my awareness of the problematic nature of this binary opposition.

4. Methods

This article is situated at the intersection of translation history and sociology, publishing studies, Jewish studies and exile research. Therefore, methods and theories from different areas are applied to this case study – a triangulation of methods shows multiple perspectives of the phenomenon of translators’ exile.

Histoire croisée method (Werner, Zimmermann 2006, 2020) which is aimed to combine various *perspectives, e.g., from different disciplines*, will be widely used in this work; using sources from translation history to study networks and exile; or comparing different exile places for the translators and regarding job change of translators as a professional group. Furthermore, I investigate the perspectives of several actors and their networks in the same situation or follow how the agents, who were in similar situations, developed their careers in exile.

Biographie croisée (see Kaindl 2017, Chesterman 2009, based on Grossmann 2014) was suggested to *translation studies* to trace the intercrossings of biographies of the translators and their colleagues (e.g., authors, publishers or other translators). This means following the development of the networks of the protagonists of translation. The method could be seen as an adaptation of the *histoire croisée* to the needs of translation studies. In this article, I investigate the intercrossings of the professional and, sometimes, personal paths of the translators with the publisher (a starting point for the investigation), with authors whose books they translated and with their colleagues-translators.

Meso historical approach focuses on the networks and agency of an individual in a group/organization in contrast to microhistory which generalizes a personal story and writes histories of marginalized individuals (Ginzburg 1993). Being placed in the middle, the meso-historical approach is often overlooked within the dichotomy of microhistory vs macrohistory. Nevertheless, several scholars suggest working with a meso level, stating that it might bring interesting results and a new perspective to studying agency. Pym (1998) calls it an incremental level, Taschinskiy (2019) refers to it as a biographical method, and Rundle (2018) and Prunč (1997) point to the necessity of investigating the level of an agent's networks and their interaction with other agents within a limited space. Daniel Little (2000) defines it as a meso-level and applies it. In Haiden (2023a), the meso-historical approach is being elaborated into a multi-level approach (combining micro-, meso-, and macro-levels) and used to describe the translation culture of a publishing company. In this article, I investigate the career development of the translators within their professional network established at one of their working places – the publishing company the Paul Zsolnay Verlag.

5. Material

Situated within the field of translation history, this research aligns with numerous studies on exile, particularly those examining individuals identified as Jews in interwar Europe: there are case studies dedicated to single refugees, those investigating a country as an exile place for Jews (Adunka 2002), language acquisition of refugees, gender or age groups as refugees (female refugees or children as refugees)⁸. These studies are mainly supported by archival data collections or interviews with testimonies of the events. This work also applies materials from archival collections, providing analyses of exile for a specific professional group and of the role of the networks in exile situations.

The interdisciplinary nature of this case study is also evident in the materials it examines. – I do use the material that is classically considered book-historical (e.g. archive of a publishing company) or belonging to literary studies (e.g. author's correspondence) applying it to translation history and research on translator's exile. A considerable amount of material is from exile collections worldwide⁹ connected to the interwar period, WWII, and post-war period.

⁸ E.g. exile series of Peter Lang Verlag <https://www.peterlang.com/series/exil>

⁹ Hohenems Genealogie Jüdische Familiengeschichte in Vorarlberg und Tirol www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I12517 (Last access: 18.03.2023). Open Jerusalem Archive – Siegfried Schmitz folder <https://www.archives.gov.il/en/product-page/649278> (Last access: 18.03.2023); Yale University Library Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library – Stefan Zweig correspondence <https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/pdfgen/exportPDF.php?bibid=16490946&solrid=4528274> (Last access: 18.03.2023). Injoest, Lebenserinnerungen, Amann Paul (Institut für Jüdische Geschichte Österreichs - Injoest), *A biography of Mr. Paul Amann, his wife Dora and his children Peter, Henry, and Eva*

These include translators' documents (education certificates, passport and visa copies, baptism certificates, employment contracts, etc.), memoirs and autobiographies, correspondence with prominent agents of the epoch (e.g., Thomas Mann), personal pictures and postcards, collection of works (translation manuscripts or articles written by translators). The starting point for the research is the publisher's archive in Vienna¹⁰, which consists mostly of business correspondence, but it gives precious hints about a person's professional and personal networks and places where more information about these people can be found (author's archives, personal collections, school or church registers, exile or Jewish archives).

The selection process for my dissertation was constrained to the period 1924-1938 and included all the translators who translated more than four books for the Zsolnay publishing company in this period (there were 16 translators). I maintain this selection in this article, but introduce one more criterion – people who had to leave Vienna for different reasons in the interwar period. In this way, we receive the list of the twelve translators who worked for the Zsolnay publisher, translated more than four books for the company between 1924 and 1938 and had to leave Vienna in the interwar period:

Name	Years of life	Exile (country and year)
Amann Paul	1884 – 1954/8	USA (1938)
Gaspar Andreas	1897-1955	Hungary (1938)
Gaspar Kaethe	1905(?) -1944	Hungary (1938)
Lehner Fritz	1893 – 1961	USA (1938)
Polzer Annie	1908-2000	USA (1938)
Polzer Viktor	1892-1965/6	USA (1938)
Redtenbacher Erna	1888-1940	France (1938)
Schalit Leon	1884-1950	UK (1938)
Schmidtz Siegfried	1886 -1941	Palestine (1938)
Schön von Marianne	1889-????	Switzerland (1937?)
Umanskij Dmitrij	1901-1977	USSR (1926-1928)
Zuckerandl Berta	1864-1945	France (1938)

Table 1. Translators, years of life, place and year of exile (based on Haiden 2023a)

Maria Amann (Engl.); Jewish archive in New York – Victor Polzer Collection – Identifier: AR 3683 / MF 477 Dates: 1899-1966; Centre for Jewish History https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/5/archival_objects/800539 (Last access: 20.03.2023).

¹⁰ PZVA – Paul Zsolnay Verlag archive at the Austrian National Library.

5.1 Exile places

First of all, let me enumerate the translators' exile places. It is important to note that all translators considered in this article managed to flee and save their lives from the persecution of the National-socialists. They all immigrated to the countries where their first or second foreign languages were spoken (Haiden, 2023a).

5.1.1 *The United Kingdom*

The UK was a particularly challenging destination for refugees because of the special conditions they had to fulfil (Schippel 2022). Therefore, only people with high social and economic capital could afford this. The translator and friend of John Galsworthy, Leon Schalit, and his family fled to London with the assistance of John Galsworthy's widow Ada Galsworthy (Hall 1994).

5.1.2 *France*

Translators who chose France as their exile destination had to change their plan in 1941 when the country was occupied by German troops. So, Bertha Zuckerandl (translator from French) went to France and afterwards to Algeria, where her son lived¹¹. Another translator from French, Erna Redtenbacher (Venot 2020) took a train to Paris immediately after the Austrian Anschluss to Germany. Afterwards, when the German troops entered France in 1941, she committed suicide, fearing she might be deported to a concentration camp (Venot 2019). Speaking about the interwar period, we don't always deal with exile based on the construct of Jewish difference. Erna Redtenbacher was baptized as Catholic at St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna, but fled from the Germans fearing the persecution of sexual minorities – she was bisexual, and she didn't hide this fact (Venot 2019).

Paul Amman, a translator from English and French, left Vienna for France in 1939, but his staying in this country became problematic after a German occupation of France. Amman had to be immediately evacuated to the USA from France in 1941, which he successfully managed due to his networks with Viktor Polzer and Hermann Broch from the pre-war period¹². The fuller description of the situation is presented below as a part of his biography from the Injoest (Institute for Jewish History in Austria).

¹¹ Literaturhaus, Vienna <http://www.literaturhaus.at/index.php?id=4054&L=0> (Last access: 18.03.2023);

¹² Jewish archive in New York – Victor Polzer Collection – Identifier: AR 3683 / MF 477 Dates: 1899-1966.

After Hitler's coming Paul Amann decided to go to France and against odds owing to the help of his French friends he succeeded in doing so in February 6/7 1939.

Until the outbreak of the war he lived in Paris with his family doing some research work. After the start of the war he was evacuated with his family to La Baule (near St. Nazaire). For two months he had to stay in a French concentration camp (Les Sables d'Orlonne). About this time he started his endeavor to come to the U.S. The main reason was that police regulations in France made it impossible to get a real work and to make a good living. We didn't foresee then France's downfall. When this occurred we moved from La Baule to unoccupied France settling for a year in Montpellier (Hérault) from July 1940-August 1941. From there we tried hard to get an American visa and some good friends we had in America succeeded in this respect in March 1941.

Figure 1. Paul Amann's biography, Injoest

At one of his first interviews with the U.S. Consul in Marseille the latter agreed that P. Amann really needed a danger (visitor's) visa since he was not only Jewish, but particularly hated by the Nazi regime as author of a destroyed book, as a friend and translator of Romain Rolland (who since is said to have died in a Concentration-Camp) and being decorated by the French Government. On the other hand the Consul declared to be willing to grant to Paul Amann and his family a regular immigrant's visa should they be willing to wait until July 1, 1941. This Paul Amann felt would be too risky and therefore he preferred the visitor's visa which immediately was issued. The passage money was raised partly by his American friends and his wife's relatives in San Francisco, partly by the American Friends Service Committee. By the Marseille branch of the latter Mr. and Mrs. Paul Amann in September were put in charge of a 56 children's transport from France to the U.S. They left Marseille on September 3, 1941 and arrived in New York harbour on September 24, 1941.

Figure 2. Paul Amann's biography, Injoest

5.1.3 Palestine

Many of European (self-) defined managed to flee travelling first to Switzerland, and then, through Italy, to Palestine. This was the path taken by Siegfried Schmitz (translator of Shalom Asch) and his wife Melitta Eisner¹³, who thanks to his Zionist activism and networks fled to Palestine in 1938. They both applied for citizenship in January 1941.

¹³ Open Jerusalem Archive – Siegfried Schmitz folder <https://www.archives.gov.il/en/product-page/649278> (Last access: 18.03.2023).

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GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE
DEPARTMENT OF MIGRATION

APPLICATION FOR PALESTINIAN CITIZENSHIP

Name of applicant SCHMITZ Siegfried
(Name of applicant to be copied from passport; surname first)

Name of applicant's wife Melitta
(if married) maiden name EISNER

DEPARTMENT OF MIGRATION
RECEIVED ON 15 JAN. 1941
FR
P

Figure 3. Siegfried Schmitz' application for Palestinian citizenship, 1941, OJA (Open Jerusalem Archive)

5.1.4 Hungary

Hungarian Andreas Gaspar fled to Vienna in the late 1910s for political reasons. In Austria, he met his future wife Käthe. The couple, both of whom were translators, maintained close ties with the Hungarian cultural and literary circles. Therefore, in the interwar period, they mediated between the two cultures by translating Hungarian authors into German and vice versa and by establishing networks between the agents from both cultures (Haiden 2023a). Starting from 1938 their home addresses changed often¹⁴ and they were more often in Hungary. Both being defined as Jews, they were not safe remaining in Austria. Therefore, the couple fled to Budapest (second exile for Andreas Gaspar).

¹⁴ PZA folders 286/05 2.1 286/B919 Mario Verdager 1934-1954, 286/05 2.1 286/B450 Fr. Jo Jacobsen Apr – July 1937, 286/05 2.1 286/B624 Josef Nyiro 1936-1941.

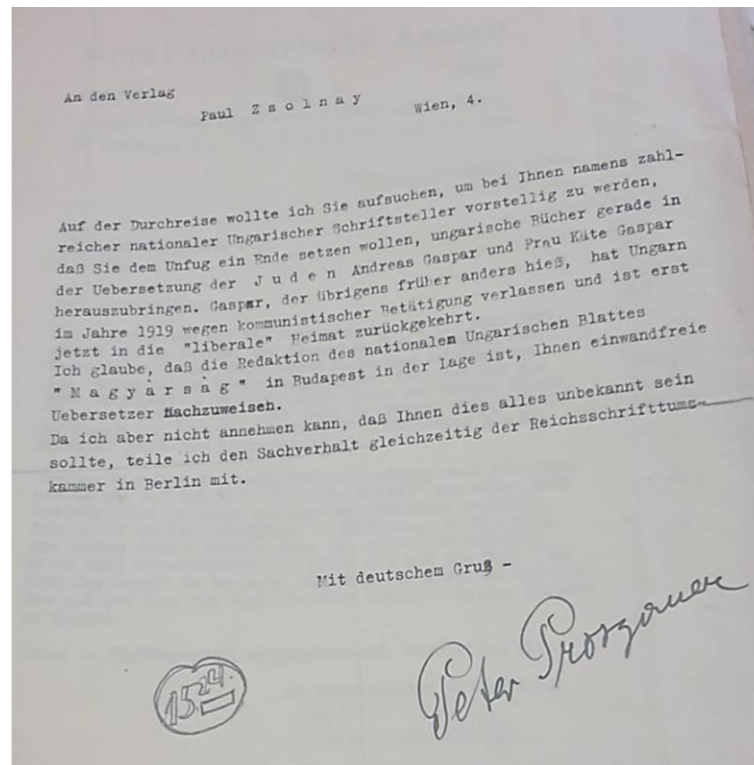


Figure 4. Letter to Paul Zsolnay, stating that the Gaspars are considered Jews and advising against further collaboration with them. PZVA (Paul Zsolnay Verlagsarchiv)

In 1943 the couple was deported to a labour camp. Shortly afterward they attempted to take their own lives. Andreas was saved, while Käthe was not (Haiden 2023a). Andreas Gaspar continued his literary and journalistic career in Hungary, including translating activity. He won numerous prestigious prizes in Budapest¹⁵.

5.1.5 The USA

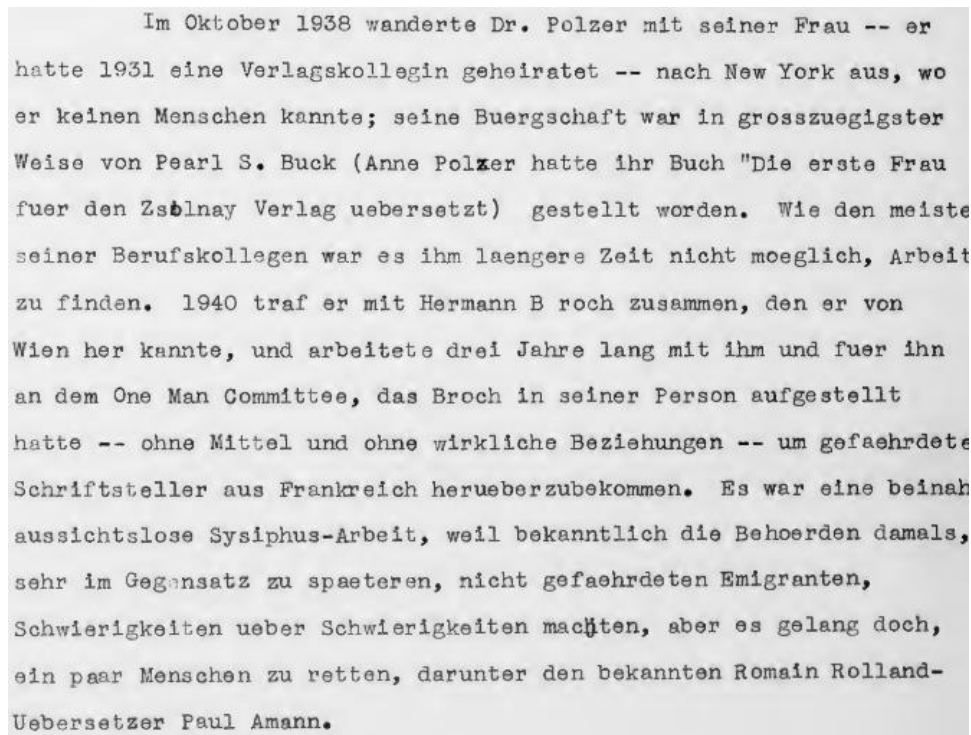
Four translators emigrated to the USA: a family couple Annie and Viktor Polzer (translators from English), Paul Amman, and Fritz Lehner¹⁶ (translators from English and French). From the archival documents left by Viktor Polzer¹⁷, we can follow that his (and his wife's) exile was well prepared and organized – they applied for visas, gathered all the important documents, and left the country. Their networks helped them receive the necessary invitations to get to the

¹⁵ Based on the sources in Hungarian (Nyari 2019).

¹⁶ Verfolgung und Auswanderung deutschsprachiger Sprachforscher 1933 – 1945 <https://zflprojekte.de/sprachforscher-im-exil/index.php/catalog/1/305-lehner-fritz-frederick-friedrich-j> (Last access: 20.03.2023).

¹⁷ Jewish archive in New York – Victor Polzer Collection – Identifier: AR 3683 / MF 477 Dates: 1899-1966.

USA (see Figure 5 for more details on the role of the networks in organizing exile). In October 1938 they were in New York.



Im Oktober 1938 wanderte Dr. Polzer mit seiner Frau -- er hatte 1931 eine Verlagskollegin geheiratet -- nach New York aus, wo er keinen Menschen kannte; seine Buergerschaft war in grosszuegigster Weise von Pearl S. Buck (Anne Polzer hatte ihr Buch "Die erste Frau fuer den Zsolnay Verlag uebersetzt) gestellt worden. Wie den meisten seiner Berufskollegen war es ihm laengere Zeit nicht moeglich, Arbeit zu finden. 1940 traf er mit Hermann Broch zusammen, den er von Wien her kannte, und arbeitete drei Jahre lang mit ihm und fuer ihn an dem One Man Committee, das Broch in seiner Person aufgestellt hatte -- ohne Mittel und ohne wirkliche Beziehungen -- um gefaehrdete Schriftsteller aus Frankreich herueberzubekommen. Es war eine beinahe aussichtslose Sisyphus-Arbeit, weil bekanntlich die Behoerden damals, sehr im Gegensatz zu spaeteren, nicht gefaehrdeten Emigranten, Schwierigkeiten ueber Schwierigkeiten machten, aber es gelang doch, ein paar Menschen zu retten, darunter den bekannten Romain Rolland-Uebersetzer Paul Amann.

Figure 5. Viktor Polzer's biography (in German), JANY

5.1.6 Switzerland

The neutral Switzerland was not only an exile station for the Jewish people, but also for businesses. Indeed, Paul Zsolnay reportedly established a parallel company that would publish what was not allowed in Austria anymore (Hall 1994). Furthermore, Switzerland became an in-between stop for many who travelled to the USA, France or Palestine¹⁸. Marianne von Schön¹⁹, the translator from the English language, assumedly fled to Switzerland. This can be traced through the translated books published by a Swiss publisher after the war (Haiden 2023a). Establishing more details of her biography is quite challenging because her translations were published under pseudonyms (Haiden 2023a).

¹⁸ <https://gams.uni-graz.at/archive/objects/context:exil/methods/sdef:Context/get?mode=db> (Last access: 20.03.2024):

¹⁹ Biography of Sabiada: <http://biografia.sabiada.at/schoen-von-kreuzenau-marianne/> (Last access: 20.03.2023).

5.1.7 The USSR

In the mid-1920s, the German-Russian bilingual and translator of Russian literature, Dmitrij Umanskij decided to move to Moscow after completing his studies at the University of Vienna and working as a translator for several years²⁰. He continued his career in Moscow²¹. Although the National Socialists could have classified him as a Jew due to his family background, his relocation is considered migration rather than exile.

5.2 Exile ways

As a next step, I will provide further details on the exile experiences of some translators, as the journey to their final destination was not linear for everyone. Based on patterns of exile, we observe a tendency to flee to a single place and remain there, as seen in the case of Leon Schalit who moved directly from Vienna to London and remained there (Haiden 2023a). The same happened to the family couple Annie and Viktor Polzer, who left Vienna in September 1938 for New York, where they stayed for the rest of their lives (JANY). Käthe Gaspar fled from Vienna to Budapest, where she had a broad professional network (Haiden 2023a). This linear pattern of exile happened to people who had reliable and broad networks in their exile destinations.

The other group of translators used to switch places of living already before the exile. They migrated from their birthplace to Vienna for work as Siegfried Schmitz did. He moved to Vienna from Czechoslovakia and then went back home (OJA). He was travelling between the Check Bohemia and Austria until the Anschluss, when he first moved to Switzerland and from there, through Italy, he went to Palestine (Haiden 2023a). Moreover, from his travel document, we see that he shortly travelled to Switzerland, together with his wife in August 1939. The same applies to Dmitrij Umanskij who was born in Mykolayiv, Russian Empire. When he was a child, his family moved to Vienna for four years, before returning to Moscow, where his father was offered a job. In 1918, after completing his schooling in Moscow, Umanskij returned to Vienna together with his mother and brother, where he graduated from the University of Vienna (HGJF). Finally, in 1927 Umanskij returned to the Soviet Union (Haiden 2023a based on HGJF). According to Haiden (2023a), a Hungarian Andreas Gaspar moved from Budapest first to Bratislava, then to Vienna because of the white terror in 1918 (first exile). After the Austrian Anschluss to Germany in 1938, it was less dangerous for him to stay in Hungary than in Austria (second exile). We can observe that these individuals were used to moving across borders and maintained reliable networks in both their countries of origin and exile.

²⁰ Folder „Leonid Leonow“, PZA.

²¹ Hohenems Genealogie Jüdische Familiengeschichte in Vorarlberg und Tirol www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I12517 (Last access: 18.03.2023).

The third group consists of translators who relocated multiple times, changing their country of exile. This was the case with the translators who chose France (see above) – Bertha Zuckerkandl (Vienna – Paris – Algeria – Switzerland – Paris) and Paul Amann (Vienna–Paris – Montpellier – New York – Connecticut). Some translators moved within the same country to its different part. For example, Erna Redtenbacher first moved to Paris and then to French Morbihan (Venot 2019). Fritz Lehner combined both: He first travelled to the UK, and then moved from Massachusetts to Virginia in the American exile (Haiden 2023a). This shows that it was not easy to settle in the first city or country of exile.

Some translators had exile journeys that are difficult to follow, often due to name changes or the use of pseudonyms, e.g., Marianne von Schön Vienna – Switzerland (?). I still don't have enough data to confirm her Swiss exile (Haiden 2023a).

It is crucial to notice that exile happened and ultimately saved the lives of all of the agents under investigation, because of the networks they had established through their work as translators at the Zsolnay Verlag (see more in Haiden 2023b). Viktor Polzer, who emigrated to the USA in 1938, helped Paul Amman flee France in 1941. The exile of Leon Schalit was possible because of his long friendship with the Galsworthys. Annie and Viktor Polzer received help in applying for American citizenship from the author whose works Annie Polzer had translated in Vienna – Pearl S. Buck, which shows that the networks built through translational activity helped in exile (Haiden 2023a and 2023b). Finally, and most importantly, none of the translators who went to exile, ever returned to live in Vienna permanently, except as tourists or visitors. This might also be connected to the possibility of a smoother cultural and social integration facilitated by their foreign language skills and professional background – let us examine this further below.

5.3 Exile and professional ways of multilingual agents

Before tracing translators' professional ways before exile and in exile countries, let me provide an overview of translators' jobs and working languages. The table is a combination of data presented in Haiden (2023a 147-151)

Name	Job/s before exile	Job/s in exile	Working languages
Dr. Amann Paul	Translator, journalist, writer	Translator, language teacher, college professor	German, English
Dr. Gaspar Andreas	Translator, editor, journalist, writer	Labour camp; Writer, translator, editor, journalist	German, Hungarian, English, French, Spanish, Danish, Russian, etc. (14 in total!)
Dr. Lehner Fritz	Translator, radio moderator, scientist	Translator, college professor	German, English, French
Dr. Polzer Viktor	Translator, editor	Editor	German, English
Dr. Schmitz Siegfried	Translator, interpreter, journalist	Editor, writer, translator Suicide in 1941	German, Yiddish, Hebrew, English, Russian, Italian
Schalit Leon	Translator, writer	Journalist	German, English
Umanskij Dmitrij	Translator	Radio moderator	German, Russian
Dr. (?) Gaspar Käthe	Translator	Translator, suicide in 1944	German, Hungarian
Dr. (?) Zuckerandl Berta	Translator, writer, journalist, cultural activist	Translator, writer Died in 1945	German, French, English
Polzer Annie	Translator	Secretary, writer, language teacher, translator	German, English
Redtenbacher Erna	Translator	Unemployed (by choice) Suicide in 1940	German, French, English
Schön von Marianne	Translator	Translator of children's literature	German, English

Table 2. Translators' careers before and after exile, and working languages
(Material combined based on the data from Haiden, 2023a)

5.3.1 Languages and education

Multilinguals who chose to work as translators possessed high cultural capital, both embodied and institutionalised. Possessing foreign language knowledge helped people from the mid-20th century establish contacts at home or abroad and emigrate or seek refuge. Considering translators' working languages is essential for analysing their capital accumulation which is highly relevant in exile situations. There are almost no means to measure the exact level of knowledge of a foreign language by a person living in the past. One of these markers could be them working as translators from certain languages or writing in another (not their native)

language. Based on these markers and the information provided by Haiden (2023a), we observe that of the twelve translators considered in this work, at least two were polyglots (A. Gaspar, Schmitz). Other translators worked with two or three languages (Haiden 2023a).

Formal university education can be considered an objective indicator of education, as can any information about home education in the archives (primarily for women). According to Haiden (2023a), translators possessed extremely high incorporated capital – university degrees in different disciplines, including PhDs. Among the twelve translators under investigation, at least six obtained the equivalent of what is now recognized as a doctoral degree, most of them received a Dr. Phil. title, while one person had a PhD degree in law. Three people graduated from university (a five-year course, an equivalent of a Diplomstudium in the German-speaking area). Women from wealthy families, such as Bertha Zuckerkandl or Annie Polzer (probably also Erna Redtenbacher and Marianne von Schön), had home education, which was enough to work as a translator (Haiden 2023a). They initially used their families' networks to find jobs as translators. Another category includes women, often addressed as *Frau Doktor* in the correspondence (Käthe Gaspar and Bertha Zuckerkandl), but there is no evidence of their academic degrees. This might be connected to the academic titles of their husbands and the Austrian tradition of transferring to women not only the husband's last name but also his academic title (Haiden 2023a).

5.3.2 Profession

Through their language knowledge and work as translators, multilingual individuals had the privilege and sufficient capital to express their identity through their professional activity before going into exile: the communist supporter Umanskij translated authors from the newly established Soviet Union, the Zionist activist Schmitz – the Yiddish-writing author Schalom Asch, the Francophile Zuckerkandl – theatre plays from French, the bisexual Redtenbacher – bi-or homosexual French writers (Haiden 2023a). In exile, this situation changed – people came to a new country with significantly less capital than they possessed in their home countries. Furthermore, many of them were not prepared for exile. Even though some translators were, they still had an extremely challenging time re-starting their careers.

In this article, I take as a starting point the role of a literary translator as an occupation before exile, whether as a temporary solution or a primary profession. The challenge of tracing the change of profession for multilinguals who worked as translators is that they often combined different jobs both before and after the exile, so it is difficult to say what their main job was.

According to Haiden (2023a), only a few individuals worked as full-time translators, while the majority engaged in translation as a part-time occupation, either combining it with other professional activities or working as freelancers. For most multilinguals defined as Jewish, there was a change of profession in the pre-*Anschluss* years (starting from mid-1930s) and exile

(Haiden 2023a). Larger studies (e.g., Tashinskiy, Boguna, Rozmyslowicz 2022) confirm that many translators changed their jobs in situations connected to exile or migration. In fact, people who had never translated before started translating in the pre-exile years, or those who translated before the exile, never translated again in the exile country. Only a few continued working as translators in exile. Still, many worked in other related fields (teaching, journalism, research, publishing), having to translate as a part-time job option. Interestingly, only a few have chosen or were forced to stop working with languages after 1938 for some time (see Table 2).

The professional self-identification of multilinguals might be an important aspect to examine. Siegfried Schmitz was a translator into German of the popular Yiddish-American author Schalom Asch, which means he was very active as a translator before the exile (Haiden 2023a). He also worked as an interpreter at the Zionist congresses in 1935 and 1937 in Switzerland (OJA, PZVA). This means that his professional activity before exile was strongly connected to transcultural mediation. Nevertheless, arriving in the Palestinian exile, he mentioned editing as his main profession in 1938, while in 1941 in the naturalisation application form, he defined himself as the author (see pictures below). The translator committed suicide shortly after, therefore it is impossible to follow the further dynamics.

Nationality	German citizen	המדינה
Profession	Editor	המקצוע
Place of birth	Neutitschein	מקום יליד
Date of birth	27.12.1886	תאריך הולדה
Domicile	Jerusalem	מקום מגוריו
Height	165 cms.	גובה
Colour of eyes	Grey	צבע עיניו
Colour of hair	Grey	צבע שערותיו
Special peculiarities	None	הערות מיוחדות
Photographs		תמונה
Bearer		שם החוקר




Figure 6. Schmitz's identification document after arrival to Palestine, OJA

PARTICULARS RELATING TO APPLICANT.
اوصاف الطالب أو الطالبة
פרטים בנוגע למבקשת

Place and date of birth: Heutitschein Moravia, Czecho-Slovakia, 27th December, 1886 مكان وتاريخ الولادة: هوتيتشئين مورافيا, تشيكوسلوفاكيا, 27 ديسمبر 1886

Nationality: German الجنسية: ألمانية

Trade or occupation: Author المهنة أو الصنعة: مؤلف

Unmarried, married, widowed or divorced: Married غير متزوج أو غير متزوجة. متزوج أو متزوجة. أرمل أو أرملة. مطلق أو مطلقاً: متزوج

Name of wife: Hedwig, maiden name: Lützel اسم الزوجة: هيدويغ لوتزل

Figure 7. Schmitz' application for the naturalisation, OJA

The rare case of maintaining a lifelong career as a translator while still combining it with other professions applies to only one translator in this case study – Andreas Gaspar. Even though he worked for many different companies, in some periods of his life worked exclusively as a translator (Haiden 2023a). He also pursued careers as a journalist and writer. His exile in 1938 led him back to his home country, therefore, he had the privilege of being able to translate into his native language and in this way continuing his career in translating (Haiden 2023a). Dmitrij Umanskij, who also migrated to his home country continued working with translations into Russian in the USSR. However, his main job was as a radio moderator (Haiden 2023a).

Many other multilinguals, who worked as translators before the exile, were not able to translate into their second or third language in the country of exile, therefore they had to switch to other fields. Some of those who worked as translators in interwar Vienna started teaching in exile. For example, Fritz Lehner, a linguist²², used to lecture in Vienna before the exile, combining it with his hours on the radio. With the growth of anti-Semitic ideas in the mid-1930s, these jobs were de facto forbidden for him as someone defined as a Jew. For this reason, he started translating in the mid-1930s (this activity was still possible to do in pre-Anschluss Austria for those defined as Jews). In exile, Lehner changed back to teaching and became a college professor (Haiden 2023a). Paul Amman, a journalist, writer and translator from Vienna was in a similar situation. In the mid-1930s he focused on translations, while in the American exile he worked as a college professor in German and French (Injoest). Leon Schalit, John Galsworthy's translator into German, also couldn't continue working as a translator during his exile in London. Instead, he turned to writing and journalism and collaborated with the Association of Jewish Refugees in London.

²² Lehner is listed in the volume about Jewish linguists who fled from the persecution, which allows us to define him as a scientist: *Verfolgung und Auswanderung deutschsprachiger Sprachforscher 1933 – 1945* <https://zflprojekte.de/sprachforscher-im-exil/index.php/catalog/1/305-lehner-fritz-frederick-friedrich-j> (Last access: 20.03.2023).

Translators had to do jobs unrelated to their profession, especially at the beginning of exile. Annie Polzer, who as a young woman, started her translating career at Zsolnay in Vienna, worked in New York as a secretary (Haiden 2023a, Hall 1994). Later she occasionally translated for the German exile journal “Aufbau” and wrote a book on how to learn English²³. This leads me to conclude that she likely taught English to German refugees. After many years in exile and numerous rejections, her husband Viktor Polzer, who was an editor and translator in pre-war Vienna, managed to come back to the publishing industry (JANY). Polzer worked for Alliance Book Club Corporation in New York. The following letter clearly illustrates the challenges refugees faced in finding suitable employment in New York.

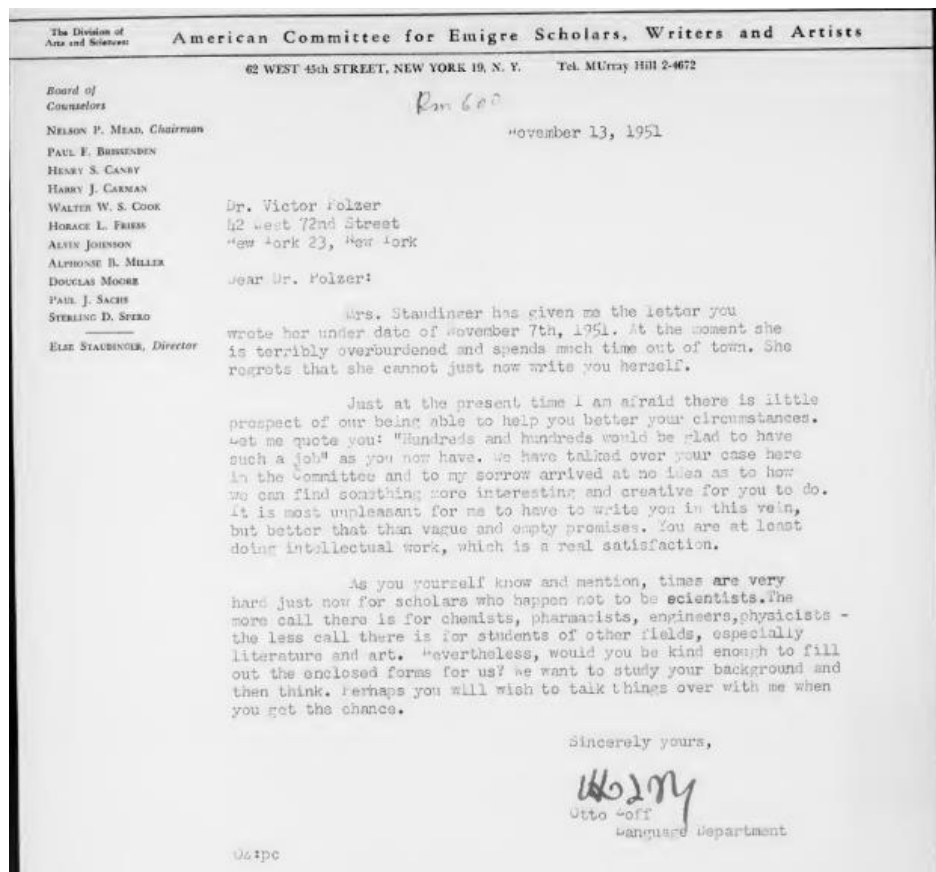


Figure 8. Response to Viktor Polzer regarding his request for assistance in finding employment related to his education, JANY

Translators were connected to prominent figures of their epochs, often to the world-famous authors. They used these networks during their exile. Below, we see Thomas Mann's

²³ <https://discover.hsp.org/Record/marc-27668/Details> (Last access: 08.01.2025).

willingness to write a letter of recommendation for Viktor Polzer at the very beginning of his exile in November 1938.

THOMAS MANN 65 STOCKTON STREET PRINCETON N. J.

e.XI.38.

Lieber Herr Doktor Polzer:

Willkommen denn also in Amerika und möge Ihnen das Leben hier gelingen !Das Elend ist schrecklich, und was auf einen täglich eindringt an Notschreien um so bedrückender, als die Möglichkeiten zu helfen so klaglich gering sind.

Ich lege Ihnen eine Empfehlung bei für den Columbia-Professor, den ich am besten kenne. Es ist Professor Heuser vom German Department. Ich hoffe herzlich, dass er Ihnen den Rat und die Hinweise erteilen kann, über die ich nicht verfüge. Sollten Sie eine Adresse in Erfahrung bringen, wo eine Empfehlung von mir nützen könnte, so steht Ihnen eine solche natürlich jederzeit zur Verfügung.

Mit aufrichtigen Wünschen

Ihr ergebener




Figure 9. Confirmation of Thomas Mann's willingness to write a letter of recommendation for Viktor Polzer, JANY

Despite the assumption about the importance of translators networks in the smoother integration in exile and an easier job search, archival records reveal numerous rejection letters received by the newly arrived refugees (see below), even those who had worked as translators before exile and were proficient in the language of their host country. This allows us to conclude that exile was an extreme challenge even for those who spoke that language, knew the culture and had networks.

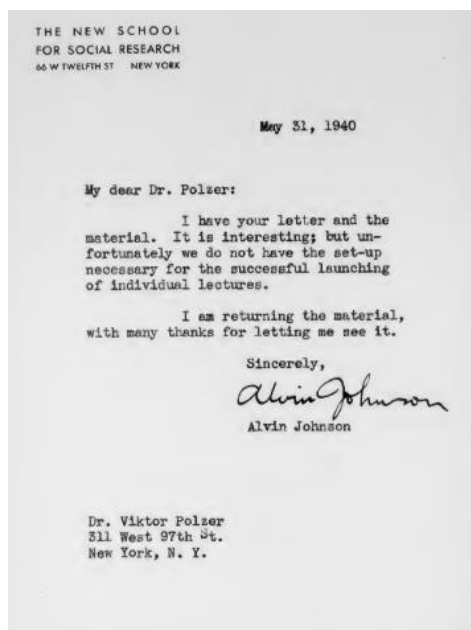


Figure 10. Rejection letter received by Viktor Polzer, JANY

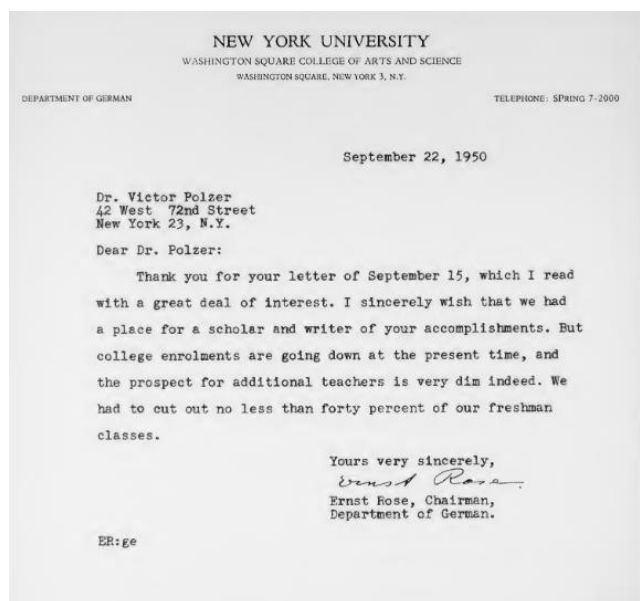


Figure 11. Rejection letter received by Viktor Polzer, JANY

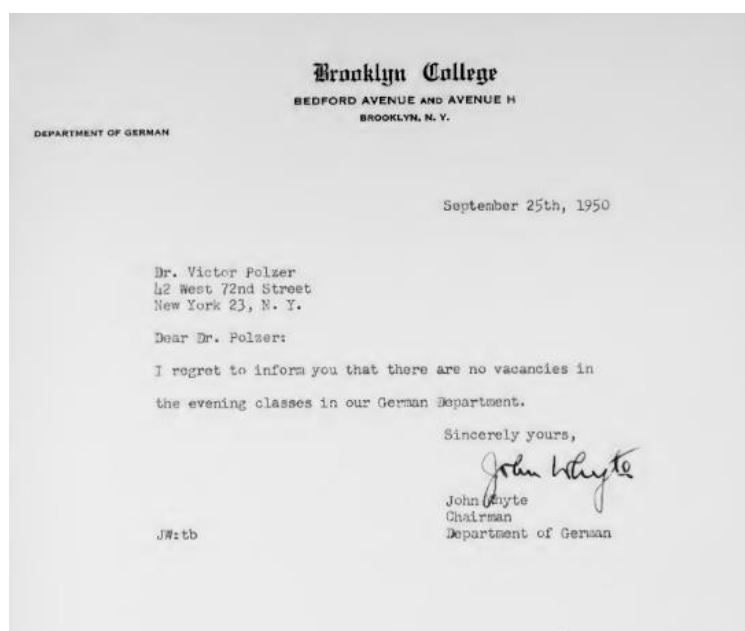


Figure 12. Rejection letter received by Viktor Polzer, JANY

Some individuals decided to remain unemployed in exile. For example, Erna Redtenbacher, as noted by A. Venot, the researcher of her biography, used to translate until 1931 in Vienna. Afterwards, she ceased working entirely and instead spent her time travelling in France. Redtenbacher was not Jewish, and her wealthy Austrian family hadn't lost money when the national socialists came to power, so she probably had enough financial resources to afford not working.

Exile situations are extremely challenging, drastic and hard periods in life, and not everyone is able to endure or survive them. Therefore, the number of suicides is notably high, including in this case study. Three of the twelve translators who had to flee committed suicide in exile during the first years: Erna Redtenbacher in 1940, Siegfried Schmitz in 1941, and Käthe Gaspar in 1944. Andreas Gaspar attempted suicide but was saved. Moreover, one of the translators, Zuckerkandl, passed away in exile. Therefore, this study does not fully trace professional change in exile for five out of twelve translators.

6. Conclusions

This article investigates the challenges and advantages encountered by a professional group of translators in exile situations and adopts an interdisciplinary approach. Indeed, interdisciplinarity is an enormous benefit – one can triangulate methods from several disciplines and generate more reliable and innovative results. The integration of translation history, sociology, exile research, and Jewish studies perspectives in this study provides insight into the transformation and significance of professional networks for multilingual individuals

during the pre- and post-exile periods, with a particular focus on the experiences of exile among multicultural agents.

I investigate the translator's professional identity and multilingualism as a background for successful exile and integration. All of the translators considered in this study managed to flee from Vienna in 1938. Although almost no one worked as a full-time translator and instead engaged in parallel activities such as journalism, writing, teaching, editing, and administrative jobs, most of the translators under investigation successfully integrated into a new society in exile. I connect this to their cultural capital but also to the strength of their professional networks. Translators can better prepare for migration and integrate easier into a new culture because of their social capital (professional networks), incorporated capital (language and cultural knowledge), and institutionalised capital (formal professional training). Translators had a high level of cultural capital, both incorporated (foreign language knowledge) and institutionalised (Ph.D. degrees, university qualifications). These types of capital, along with the translators' high social capital, could be exchanged for higher economic capital or other benefits in preparing for exile (receiving invitations for visas from abroad and preparing for emigration or exile) and organizing lives in exile. Because all translators emigrated to the countries where their first or second foreign language was spoken, it is clear that the translators' professional networks, cultural capital and previous work experience helped prepare for exile, saved people's lives on the way to the final destination, and helped them find a job or receive citizenship in a new place. After seven years of exile, the translators felt integrated and decided to remain in their newly adopted homeland. Finally, despite the challenges of their job searches, the translators successfully secured employment in their countries of exile and never returned to Vienna. It is still essential to avoid idealising the subject of the study and admit the extreme amount of tasks people had to solve in exile. Not all managed the psychological pressure and three of twelve translators committed suicide in exile.

This study provides valuable insights into exile research from the point of view of translation studies. Nevertheless, this case study has a qualitative nature, therefore cannot be generalized to larger datasets. It represents a specific and limited number of agents under investigation. Moreover, it focuses on the wealthy and well-educated Viennese intelligentsia with extensive professional and personal networks. The situation for multilinguals without university education or a broad network, both in Vienna and abroad, may have been significantly different. Nevertheless, this study demonstrates how different data sources can be used to trace the lives and networks of translators who experienced exile or forced migration and can be used as a reference for investigation of other groups of migrants or refugees.

Abbreviations for the archives

- CJH – Centre for Jewish History
https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/5/archival_objects/800539 (Last access: 20.03.2023);
- HGJF – Hohenems Genealogie Jüdische Familiengeschichte in Vorarlberg und Tirol
www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I12517 (Last access: 18.03.2023).
- Injoest – Injoest, (Institut für Jüdische Geschichte Österreichs), Lebenserinnerungen, Amann Paul *A biography of Mr. Paul Amann, his wife Dora and his children Peter, Henry, and Eva Maria Amann* (Engl.);
- JANY – Jewish archive in New York – Victor Polzer Collection – Identifier: AR 3683 / MF 477 Dates: 1899-1966;
- OJA – Open Jerusalem Archive – Siegfried Schmitz folder
<https://www.archives.gov.il/en/product-page/649278> (Last access: 18.03.2023);
- PZVA – Austrian National Library, Literature Archive, Paul Zsolnay Partial Archive;
- YUL – Yale University Library Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library - Stefan Zweig correspondence
<https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/pdfgen/exportPDF.php?bibid=16490946&solrid=4528274> (Last access: 18.03.2023).

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