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**FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES
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**FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND
POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES**

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Ph.D. (Translation Studies)

GRADE / DEGREE

School of Translation and Interpretation

FACULTÉ, ÉCOLE, DÉPARTEMENT / FACULTY, SCHOOL, DEPARTMENT

The Role of Translation in the Westernization of Russia in the Eighteenth Century

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THE ROLE OF TRANSLATION IN THE WESTERNIZATION
OF RUSSIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

PH.D. THESIS

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School of Translation and Interpretation
University of Ottawa
2009
Ottawa, Canada



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395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
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Bibliothèque et
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Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-59495-7
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-59495-7

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research would not have been possible without the inspiration and help of certain people and organizations. First of all, I would like to thank Professors Annie Brisset (University of Ottawa) and Michael Heim (UCLA). I am indebted to Professor Brisset for the very idea of studying eighteenth-century Russian translation from the point of view of its social functions and especially for the fruitful idea of applying Niklas Luhmann's social systems theory to it. Her unfailing encouragement kept me motivated to dig ever more deeply into studied phenomena; her expert feedback all along the way was a sure guarantee that I would not go astray. Professor Heim's expertise in Russian literature and translation history provided me with valuable guidelines in establishing the corpus for analysis. His comments and suggestions helped me strike a better balance between Russian studies and translation theory.

I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to professors of the School of Translation and Interpretation at the University of Ottawa, especially Professors Luise von Flotow, Clara Foz and Salah Basalamah, for their advice and support at various stages of the project.

I am grateful to my colleagues of the Department of Russian and Slavic Studies at the University of McGill, Montréal, for their comments on parts of my research. My thanks go to Professors Laura Beraha and Paul Austin. I thank Professor Irina Krasnova for her help and support. I have also benefited from the excellent Russian collection of McGill's McLennan Library and I would like to thank Tatiana Bedjanian who is responsible for the Russian section.

I am sincerely thankful to my colleagues and friends Professors James St. André, Benoit Léger, Sherry Simon, and Natalia Teplova for lending an ear or a hand when needed.

The research would not have been feasible without funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Friends and colleagues were kind enough to listen to my ceaseless ranting about Luhmann, applied half-jokingly, half-seriously to anything and everything. This proved a valuable experience for me in making his theory part of me and they aided me enormously in this process with their questions, ideas, or sometimes by simply lending me their ears. Especially, I would like to thank Federico Bianco-Pastorino, Kathryn Radford and Philippe Beaudoin for their assistance and support.

ABSTRACT

In the eighteenth century, Russia passed through a period of sweeping social reforms. Russia was modernized, and modernization was viewed as westernization. Russia had to accomplish the modernization as quickly as possible and catch up with the rest of Europe, a formidable task requiring transfers of Western European knowledge and values on a massive scale. Translation became the sole means of carrying out these transfers in the least time-consuming fashion.

My research focuses on the social role of translation. I applied Niklas Luhmann's social systems theory as well as some concepts from works by Pierre Bourdieu and Lev Gumilev. Luhmann's theory provided a stimulating theoretical basis for analyzing major translation flows, the place of translation in the overall social system of the Russian Empire as well as the contribution translation made to the process of Russia's unfolding westernization. Bourdieu's concepts helped consider the role of agency in the translation 'field' and explain the distribution of symbolic capital in society that led to foregrounding translation as a major means of westernization. Gumilev's ideas about ethnogenetic evolution made it clear that the eighteenth century was the acmetic stage of the evolving superethnos and that is why became such a pivotal period in Russian history.

Translation was regarded as a boundary phenomenon of the system (in this case, the Russian Empire). Serving as the system's boundary, translation opened the system to influences from the environment. In eighteenth-century Russia, intrasystemically, translation became a crucial means of introducing new ideas, helping to change the official discourse by introducing a *heterodoxa* (an alternative social discourse). Translation came to the fore of the social stage and became a principal means of re-negotiating the systemic communication. Intersystemically, translation also was instrumental for the system's projecting information about itself into the environment. Finally, translation played a crucial global-systemic role. Europe integrated into a global functional super-system (Luhmann) where law, economy, science, and art formed international functional subsystems, no longer divided by national frontiers. Translation was a *sine qua non* enabling Russia to become part of this global system.

RÉSUMÉ

LE ROLE DE LA TRADUCTION DANS L'OCCIDENTALISATION DE LA RUSSIE AU XVIII^e SIECLE

La Russie du XVIII^e siècle est balayée par un grand vent de réformes sociales. La Russie de cette époque tente de se moderniser, voire de s'occidentaliser. Elle veut accomplir cette modernisation le plus rapidement possible pour combler le retard qu'elle perçoit par rapport au reste de l'Europe. C'est un vaste chantier avec à sa base un transfert massif des valeurs et des savoirs occidentaux. Considérant la vitesse à laquelle la Russie tient à effectuer ce transfert, la traduction apparaît comme un outil indispensable, voire le seul envisageable.

Cette étude vise à montrer le rôle social de la traduction dans la Russie de cette époque en appliquant la théorie des systèmes sociaux de Niklas Luhmann ainsi que certains concepts issus des travaux de Pierre Bourdieu et de Lev Gumilev. La théorie de Luhmann permet de cerner la traduction comme phénomène social de grande ampleur, plus précisément de situer sa place dans la structure sociale de l'empire russe à cette époque. La sociologie des communications de Luhmann permet en outre de « mesurer » le rôle qu'a eu la traduction dans le processus d'occidentalisation de la Russie. Par ailleurs, les concepts développés par Bourdieu ont aidé à situer les divers agents et le rôle qu'ils ont exercé dans le « champ » de la traduction, en expliquant aussi le processus de diffusion du capital symbolique dans la société à l'étude. Enfin, les travaux de Gumilev sur l'évolution ethnogénétique ont permis d'expliquer pourquoi le XVIII^e siècle fut à ce point une période-charnière dans l'histoire de la Russie. Il s'agit, pour reprendre les termes de Gumilev, de l'acmé de son ethnogenèse.

La traduction peut être considérée comme la frontière du « système », en l'occurrence l'empire russe. Elle permet au système de s'ouvrir aux influences du milieu environnant. Plus précisément, si l'on considère la structure interne de ce système, la traduction devient le principal moyen d'introduire de nouvelles idées. Celles-ci contribuent pour leur part à modifier le discours officiel. Il en découle une nouvelle hétérodoxie, une alternative à ce discours social officiel. Dans ce contexte, la traduction

se transforme en vecteur de changements sociaux. Elle devient, de ce fait, l'unique moyen de remettre en question le système communicatif. De plus, selon Luhmann, il faut considérer l'interaction des éléments constitutifs du système. De ce point de vue, la traduction devient un puissant outil pour mieux connaître le système ainsi que son environnement.

Enfin, la traduction joue à cette époque un rôle prépondérant dans l'évolution du « système global ». Grâce à elle, l'Europe fait désormais partie d'un système social global (Luhmann) dans lequel le droit, l'économie, la science et les arts forment des sous-systèmes à caractère international, qui ne sont plus séparés par des frontières nationales. La traduction apparaît donc comme la condition sine qua non ayant permis à la Russie du XVIII^e siècle d'accéder au « système » dans sa globalité.

A Note on Transliteration

The Cyrillic alphabet transliteration rules in my text follow the Library of US Congress system and are presented in the following table:

Аа	Aa	as in	Александр Aleksandr
Бб	Bb	as in	Борис Boris
Вв	Vv	as in	Владимир Vladimir
Гг	Gg	as in	Григорий Grigorii
Дд	Dd	as in	Дмитрий Dmitrii
Ее	Ee	as in	Евгений Evgenii
Ёё	Ee	as in	Ерёмино Eremino
Жж	Zh zh	as in	Женя Zhenia
Зз	Zz	as in	Зинаида Zinaida
Ии	Ii	as in	Иннокентий Innokentii
Йй	Ii	as in	Алексей Aleksei
Кк	Kk	as in	Киев Kiev (but <i>Cyrillic alphabet</i> for <i>кириллица</i>)
Лл	Ll	as in	Ленинград Leningrad
Мм	Mm	as in	Михаил Mikhail
Нн	Nn	as in	Николай Nikolai
Оо	Oo	as in	Омск Omsk
Пп	Pp	as in	Пруды Prudy
Рр	Rr	as in	Рязань Riazan'
Сс	Ss	as in	Сасово Sasovo
Тт	Tt	as in	Тмутаракань Tmutarakan'
Уу	Uu	as in	Углич Uglich
Фф	Ff	as in	Феофан Feofan
Хх	Kh kh	as in	Харьков Khar'kov
Цц	Ts ts	as in	Цна Tsna
Чч	Ch ch	as in	Чернигов Chernigov
Шш	Sh sh	as in	Шушенское Shushenkoe

Щш	Shch shch	as in	Щедрин Shchedrin
Ъъ	”	as in	объявление ob”iavlenie
Ыы	Yu	as in	Лыткарино Lytkarino
Ьь	’	as in	Гоголь Gogol’
Ээ	Ee	as in	Эмск Emsk
Юю	Iu iu	as in	Юрьев Iur’ev
Яя	Ia ia	as in	Ярославль Iaroslavl’

However, in the case of publications that followed other Cyrillic alphabet transcription systems, I kept the transcription as they were published in the Bibliography and references but re-transcribed them in my own text. For example, I will have *Chizhevskii* for Чижевский in my text, but I will keep the original transcriptions *Tschizewskij* and *Čiževskij* in the bibliography and textual references. I also left unchanged the traditional spelling of the names of the famous historical figures: Peter (not Piotr), Catherine (not Ekaterina).

INTRODUCTION

In my monograph *A Theory of Translation* published in Moscow in 2004, I included a chapter presenting a brief history of translation in Russia. Since Russia's translation history was not the main focus of my book, I resorted to a compilation of several basic TS (Translation Studies) sources dealing with different periods of translation history in Russia. For the purposes of that work, I was content with a survey, but intended at some point in the future to look more closely into the history of translation in Russia. In this research, I have undertaken such a project.

However, I have discovered that the vision of the history of Russian translation prevalent today is rather superficial. It abounds with commonplaces, if not myths, having little to do with the reality of translation practices in Russia's history.

One of the reasons for this is that most TS scholars in Russia are specialists in Romance-Germanic linguistics and do not seem to have studied in any depth the theory and practice of translation in Old Russia (tenth—seventeenth centuries) or during the Enlightenment (eighteenth century). Neither do they draw on extensive research by specialists in adjacent disciplines such as the history of Russian language and literature, or the history of social and political processes in Russia. As a result, stereotypes are copied from one publication into another, even making their way into encyclopaedias (Chesterman 1997). Thus, in the entry “Russian tradition” in Baker 1998, Vilen Komissarov repeats the same set stereotypes about word-for-word translational techniques characteristic of translation practiced in the Kievan Rus' (p. 541). He seems to be unaware of discoveries made by specialists in Old Slavic language and literature.

Among the most remarkable is an article by André Vaillant published in 1948. It is a reconstruction of what is believed to be a part of Cyrill's (Constantine the Philosopher's) exposition of the translation techniques he used while translating the Gospels into Old Slavonic (Vaillant 1948). Based on this and other similar treatises on translation, Svetla Mathauserova speaks about the first Slavic translators' surprising freedom and independence from religious dogmas in their translational practice and theoretical views (Mathauserova 1976: 33). In her examination of literature on Old Slavic and Old Russian understandings of translation, she singles out as many as five theoretical and practical approaches (ibid.: 29-55).¹

While discussing sources for the history of translation theory, Lieven D'hulst wrote that the TS historian should glean information from a variety of sources, going beyond the immediate circle of those belonging to the domain of translation studies proper (D'hulst 1995: 18). That is even more important for the history of translation practices.

One can single out two kinds of sources: primary and secondary. The primary sources are actual translations whether in manuscript or published form. The analysis of the primary sources should rely on the research done by historians and specialists in the respective languages, palaeography, textual criticism as well as social and cultural history (Likhachev 1962; Mathauserova 1976: 27). The second type of sources is information about the historical period(s) in question. All sorts of international dealings are carried out with the help of translation and translators. Translational activities (whether carried out by professionals or not) must be there whenever there is a contact between two nations.

¹ See a more detailed discussion in Tyulenev 2006.

Social history and language history can provide the translation historian with valuable information. Based on this sort of data, the latter can reconstruct a broader picture of how translations of the past worked and what translation policies were used. In translation history research, the cooperation of specialists of different scholarly disciplines is thus necessary and even inevitable (Rubel and Rosman 2003).

This study is an attempt to understand better the social function of translation in eighteenth-century Russia. It is pursued within a wider context of studies conducted by specialists in the history of the Russian language, literature, social history and semiotics of Russian culture as well as historiography, sociology and other relevant scholarly disciplines.

Historiography

Here a historiographic digression is called for. While embarking on historical research, one has to address two fundamental issues: 1) How to do history (Ankersmit: 2001); and 2) Why do it (Koselleck 2004; Van Hoof 1991: 7; Pym 1998). To clarify our stance concerning these problems, it is only natural to turn to social historians who have exhaustively studied questions of methodology of historical research and its purpose (Delisle 1998: 25, 33 sq.).

Turning to Clio

In modern social historiography, starting from the late 1960s to early 1970s, there has been a paradigmatic change. The so-called ‘linguistic turn’ was most clearly formulated in works by Edward Carr (1967) and Hayden White (1973).² It questioned a fundamental point in historical research—the relationship between a historical account and a historical fact. The latter was understood to be virtually unattainable. Facts of history existed but do not exist any longer. What we have is a record about them or an artefact (a material object) left from them. Both the record and the artefact represent only a part of the historical event. They never show us the event in its totality: the representations are always refracted through the mind of somebody (a chronicler, a craftsman, a painter, etc.).

Based on the nature of representation, it has been shown that there is a difference between history as events taking place in the course of time and history as an account of

² Edward Carr traces this paradigmatic change back to the end of the nineteenth century when German philosophers (notably, Wilhelm Dilthey) challenged the primacy and autonomy of historical facts. Later, the idea was taken up by Benedetto Croce in the beginning of the twentieth century, who declared that all history is “contemporary history,” “meaning that history consists essentially in seeing the past from the perspective of the present and in light of its problems, and that the main work of the historian is not to record, but to evaluate; for, if he does not evaluate, how can he know what is worth recording?” (Carr 1967: 22). Later, Robin George Collingwood postulated the non-existence of “pure” history. History for him was inevitably the historian’s making. Incidentally, these ideas of modern historiographic theory question Anthony Pym’s neat division of TS historiography into archaeology, criticism and explanation. Indeed, a historian’s evaluation is omnipresent in any historiographic project. Although Pym states the interdependence of the parts of translation history, he writes that “no one is obliged to engage in all of them in an equal way or at the same time” (Pym 1998: 7-8; Pym 1992). He suggests teamwork because “[i]t is impossible to insist that everyone should have read everything, and mostly unprofitable to ask exacting archaeologists to defend a philosophical position in the history of ideas” (1998.: 8). However, according to historiographic theory, archaeology is inevitably practiced based on a philosophical position because it deals with certain criteria for selecting one type of data and dismissing another. These criteria are an evaluation of whether one is able to “defend” (whatever it implies) his/her epistemological stance or not.

past events: in Reinhardt Koselleck's terms *Historie* (events of the past) and *Geschichte* (a narrative) (2004: 9).

The latter was realized to be little more than a narrative akin to a literary one:

[N]arrative is not merely a neutral discursive form that may or may not be used to represent real events in their aspect as developmental processes but rather entails ontological and epistemic choices with distinct ideological and even specifically political implications. [...] Recent theories of discourse dissolve the distinction between realistic and fictional discourses based on the presumption of an ontological difference between their respective referents, real and imaginary, in favour of stressing their common aspect as semiological apparatuses that produce meanings by the systematic substitution of signifieds (conceptual contents) for the extra-discursive entities that serve as their referents. (White 1987: ix-x.)

Thus, the famous dictum of Leopold von Ranke about history writing—*wie es eigentlich gewesen* (as it essentially was)—started to ring hollow, if not naïve. The most basic questions about the nature of historiography were reformulated:

1. Can empiricism legitimately constitute history as a separate epistemology?
2. What is the character of historical evidence and what function does it perform?
3. What is the role of the historian, his / her use of social theory, and the construction of explanatory frameworks in historical understanding?
4. How significant to historical explanation is its narrative form? (Munslow 2006: 4).

The goal of history writing and the criteria for its assessment have also changed radically:

[I]n agreement with the implications of the linguistic turn, historical language is granted a certain autonomy with regard to the past itself. Historical narrative is not a passive linguistic mirror of past reality. But recognizing this autonomy of the historian's language emphatically does not imply that no criteria can be given

for the plausibility of historical representations. [...] These latter requirements can be summarized in the claim that the best historical representation is the most original one, the least conventional one, *the one that is least likely to be true—and that yet cannot be refuted on the basis of existing historical evidence*. Intellectual courage is the condition of all success in historical writing—as it is in the sciences (Ankersmit 2001: 21-22).

The historian seeks to find a coherence in observable past events. This coherence is achieved by metaphor such as that of a culture being ‘reborn’ in Renaissance. However, metaphor brings only one, at best several aspects of past reality to the fore. For instance, the metaphor of the Renaissance (rebirth) of culture shows the indebtedness of fifteenth-century Italian culture to Antiquity while disregarding the continuity between it and the Middle Ages. However, this lacking metaphor will stimulate historians to study this continuity between the Middle Ages and a later period in European history. This will develop yet another metaphor for understanding this particular aspect of the past, which, in turn, is said to be the very mechanism of historical debate enriching our understanding of the past.

Or to use a metaphor (for understanding historical metaphor): the initially smooth surface of our understanding of the past will, in the course of the evolution of historical debate, be littered by myriad little bumps all having some metaphorical proposal for how to see (part of) the past in its center. Some of the bumps will be higher and larger than others—these have proven to be relatively successful in the history of historical writing. The more successful ones will not only be higher than others, but also tend to produce new bumps on themselves—as a volcano may sometimes sprout many smaller volcanoes on its lower slopes. But the most successful ones will be those that are surrounded by a whole host of smaller and lower bumps in a relative isolation from other such systems of bumps. Here we may think of a Ranke, Hegel, or Marx, or a Namier, Braudel, Foucault, or

Pocock. Hence of those historians who have given us historical subdisciplines.
(Ankersmit 2001: 24.)

History of Translation: Why and How?

Going back to the two fundamental questions of history writing (why? and how?) and applying them to the writing of translation history, it is necessary to say the following. Translation history is studied not only for altruistic reasons (to help other scholarly disciplines, etc.); not (only) to perform a role of psychoanalyst who, by discovering the past, helps disoriented and maltreated “social groups of intermediaries” (“translators, negotiators, traders or whatever”) to rediscover and affirm “their intercultural specificity” (Pym 1998: 15-17, ix). It is doubtful that “the central question of translation history” is to establish causation between different translational activities and whatever other factors they may have been related to (143).

To answer the fundamental question: “Why write translation history?”, one has to turn to social historiography. Koselleck (2004: 26-42) analyzed the development of historiography from its early days to our time. Initially, it was considered as *magistra vitae*, “a depository of title deeds, on which the rights of governments and nations depend” (Macaulay as quoted in Koselleck 2004: 285). However, it was later freed from this responsibility. Moralization of history in applying its ‘lessons’ to posterior events of a similar and yet different nature was renounced. (See also the discussion in Gumbrecht 1997.)

History writing is not so much a politico-didactic undertaking as it becomes a reflexive science. As Friedrich Carl von Savigny put it, history is “no longer merely a

collection of examples but rather the sole path to the true knowledge of our own condition” (as quoted in Koselleck 2004: 41). In other words, history supplies us with information about the past. Since collection of this information was prompted by certain present needs (Croce’s “contemporary history”), the ultimate goal of history research is to add the past to the present and make it “work directly on the future” (Koselleck 2004: 41; Toury 1995: 15-17). The future is supposed to produce a fuller understanding (“the true knowledge”) of the studied aspect of the present and the past.

In translation studies, we do not need to liberate ourselves from the moralization of history because, simply enough, we do not yet have a history. Even those glimpses of the history of translation that we have managed to collect are definitely not taken by us from the perspective of a *magistra* of our translators’ *vitae*. That is to say we hardly learn from translators of the past. Rather, the general mood until recently was to reproach them condescendingly for being either too verbum- or too sensum-oriented whereas we, moderns, presumably know better. We know how to negotiate our way between these Scylla and Charybdis.

We wanted not lessons from history. On the contrary, our problem is that we tried to teach history a lesson of how to translate, prescribing our standards to translators of the past. Only now have we come to the realization that our standards of translation are not to be applied to them. Rather, we should study their ways and with their help understand something more about this phenomenon—translation—in all its different manifestations.

In that sense, we are moving in the opposite direction of social history. However, it is wise for us to learn ‘their’ lessons, too. An important one is that we should not try to

impose any principles of translation and not study any act of translation from our, contemporary, point of view. That is, we should not fall into the same trap of creating a *magistra vitae* from any end of history: attempting to teach the past or letting the past teach us. In this I would again disagree with Anthony Pym when he writes, whether knowingly or not, echoing Croce, that the reasons for writing the history of translation “exist in the present,” that “[w]e do translation history [in order to] express, address and try to solve problems affecting our own situation.” Certainly, “[t]his does not mean we blatantly project ourselves onto the past. On the contrary, the past is an object that must be made to respond to our questions, indicating categories and potential solutions that we had not previously thought of” (Pym 1998: x). I have already cited Koselleck’s summary of historiographic positions of the past and present and the renunciation of the *historia magistra vitae* stance. Now I quote Fredric Jameson who approaches the same question but from a different perspective:

[T]he more we seek to persuade ourselves of the fidelity of our own projects and values with respect to the past, the more obsessively do we find ourselves exploring the latter and its projects and values, which slowly begin to form into a kind of totality and to dissociate themselves from our own present as the living moment in the continuum. [...] At that point, then, simple chronology becomes periodization, and the past comes before us as a complete historical world to which we can take any number of existential attitudes. This is no doubt the moment most often called historicism [...] (Jameson 2002: 24).

Jameson proceeds with a quotation from Friedrich Schelling who defines this stage in historiographic quest as the separation point between the past and “a powerful present, a present achieved by the disjunction [of our past] from ourselves” (ibid.). That is to say, our study of the past does not contribute much to our present day problems

precisely because it is past. Problems and solutions of the past were good for the past and not necessarily will be good for the present. The deeper we penetrate the essence of the studied past, the more we realize its being *sui generis*. Therefore, the past is best for informing us about classes of phenomena and not for providing copies of present events.

Actually, even informing us about classes of phenomena is not that simple. We know it very well from recent heated disputes on how translation should be defined. It is characteristic that, thanks to the historiographic perspective, we have come to notice an entire spectrum of possibilities from ‘zero’ (a pseudo-translation) to ‘infinity’ including all sorts of texts based on other texts where it is difficult to draw a line between a more or less ‘close’ following of the source and its ‘free’ processing. The very notion of verbal translation seems to be too great a limitation, if not a distortion of the studied phenomenon (Even-Zohar 1990: 73-78). However, I will discuss that later. Another lesson is that we should try to analyze as many phenomena as possible that are called or can be considered translation and thereby come to a better understanding of the act or process.

Therefore, as Henri Van Hoof said (1991: 7), to write translation history is to try to answer such questions, among others, like “Why do people translate?,” “Have they translated in the same fashion all the way in the course of history?” Moreover, he also wrote that writing translation history is tantamount to writing a history of the world and its civilizations from the point of view of translation. In other words, while studying translation history, we try to answer questions that would elucidate the nature of translation in its social implications.

As to “how?,” again we can learn a lesson from social historiography in its latest developments. We are looking for such a historical presentation of the period in question that would be innovative and irrefutable on the basis of known historical evidence.

Luhmann’s Social Systems Theory and Translation

A Social Activity

Translation studies (TS) is a relatively young scholarly discipline but it has evolved a great deal over the past half-century of its existence as a full-fledged branch of knowledge (Holmes 2000). It started almost exclusively as a section within applied linguistics and literary criticism. However, soon it became obvious that translational activity and products as well as their analysis involved much more than linguistics or literature. Now it is so well known that translation / interpreting implies a multi-faceted activity and, hence, the scholarly discipline studying it—TS—is also, by definition, multi-disciplinary that it sounds almost like a truism.

On the one hand, TS finds itself at the crossroads of linguistics, literary criticism, more generally—textual criticism, or rather critical discourse analysis. The notion of text inherited from structuralism has been replaced by the notion of discourse in order to reflect the social and historical parameters of ‘meaning production and reception’. The notion of text considered here stems from the perspective of semiotics (notably, Rastier 1989). This reflects the nature of the semiosis, sign-producing, and the material it deals with—human language. Translation is fundamentally a linguistic activity in the sense that language, or rather—its units, are the very material it operates with. Yet, the notion

‘text’ may also be understood in a broader semiotic sense. Text may be viewed as any product of human semiosis. Hence, the notion ‘translation’ is also broadened to embrace the rendition of any semiotic text.

At the same time, translational activities and results thereof cannot be divorced from their social-cultural context and their agents—translators / interpreters, those whom they translate / interpret and for whom they translate / interpret. (Here and further on, I will use the terms translation and translate to mean both translation and interpretation, unless specified otherwise.) Moreover, these agents are, needless to say, human beings and have to be studied as human beings carrying out this particular type of activity. There are two aspects to this activity: individual and social. In machine translation, clearly, computers, a combination of software and hardware, are involved. However, the translation software is modelled after patterns of human speech production and linguistic rules / principles. Thus, we are brought back to human beings.

The individual aspect of translational activities may embrace studies of all the three parties engaged in translation / interpreting: (1) the translated individual (sometimes it can be a group of individuals or an organizational entity, Buzelin 2005)—(2) the translating individual—(3) the individual for whom Individual (2) translates Individual (1). Obviously, there are ‘individual’, i.e., manifested in particular individual, psycholinguistic or cultural. factors that influence the course of the translation both in its sending, transforming, and receiving stages.³ Presently, TS in conjunction with psychology, psycholinguistics, cultural studies, and linguistics, among others, is still

³ I draw on the presentation of translation as the tripartite structure of translational activities: SENDING—TRANSFORMATION—RECEIVING.

concentrated on studying the Individual (2).⁴ This is especially obvious in studying interpreting. Here the focus of attention so far is predominantly the so-called “black box” of the brain processes of the interpreter resulting in his / her transformation of the source text (ST) into the target text (TT).

The other aspect of studies involved in translation is social. Obviously, all the parties involved represent social formations. These formations are bundles of specific social and cultural characteristics or properties and their interactions may be considered similar to chemical reactions. Some of these interactions, or ‘reactions’, are intense. Others are lacking or even inert. Moreover, this holds true not only geographically (i.e., in relation to any two or more interacting nations / cultures / social groups), but also chronologically—not only synchronically, but diachronically as well.⁵ In other words, there may be no interest on the part of Culture A in Culture B at a given point of time, i.e., in a period of their respective histories, but there may be a very well-pronounced interest manifested by Culture A in Culture B earlier or later.

Furthermore, each particular translation act can be considered within a larger social context. This makes individuals (1), (2) and (3) representatives of their respective social and cultural groups because they act within constraints of their respective social environments and thereby may be viewed as ‘bearers’ of those circles’ social values. This brings us to a higher plane—a supra-individual plane, the sociological plane. A study of a cluster of individual translation acts allows us to draw conclusions about

⁴ However, there are exceptions. Functionalist models in TS take into account the social nature of translation. The cultural turn is interested in the historical and sociological context of translation, which causes transformations of target groups, cultures, etc. It should also be noted that recently TS has been developing away from the ‘individual’ aspect—Snell-Hornby 2006.

⁵ When I refer to interacting parties in the context of translational activities as social groups, I do not mean any social group in the across-the-board sociological sense of the word. In the present study, I mean those social groups that speak using different linguistic codes (be they languages, dialects, sociolects, idiolects, etc.) necessitating a go-between—a translator/interpreter.

translational activities of a certain period in a certain society (country, nation, etc.) (Toury 1995; Brisset 1996).⁶

As is well known, Itamar Even-Zohar, following the Russian formalists, introduced a new paradigm into TS—the so-called polysystem theory (Even-Zohar 1979). According to this concept, translations function as a system in the target language among other (literary) systems. Even-Zohar adopts Tynianov's hierarchical structure of literary systems. Some systems within a literary polysystem take more centrally placed positions, whereas others are ousted to the periphery.

Another important point about Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, an 'avatar' of the Russian formalist school of thought, is that he, also like Tynianov, makes an attempt to put translation into a broader social context. Thus, for example, Even-Zohar lists three types of historical situations in which particular social conditions require translation to come to the fore and play one of the principal parts in the overall literary polysystem. This happens, according to Even-Zohar, when (1) a literature is *in statu nascendi* without a fully-formed literary tradition and with a lot of free genre 'slots' which are to be filled up and which cannot be developed within the literary polysystem, in which case translations of works of these lacking genres emerge; (2) when a literature is 'peripheral' among other national literatures or 'weak' or a combination of the two and again uses translation to make up for what it lacks; lastly, (3), when a national literature is experiencing a crisis or finds itself in a 'turning point' in its history.

⁶ Obviously, while doing this, the scholar(s) must adhere to certain statistical criteria to ensure the objectivity of the studies. So far, this methodological aspect of the studies has not received all the attention it deserves. The sociocritical studies and their assessment are carried out at the discretion of each particular scholar and according to the principle 'the more texts are studied, the better'. I may indulge myself in a remark of a more general nature. Multidisciplinarity as an intrinsic characteristic of TS requires a higher level of professionalism in the involved areas on the part of TS scholars.

However, in their studies of systems, mostly translation systems within various national literary “environments”, the polysystem theory lacks the level of precision in system descriptions which has been recently reached by sociologists, especially Luhmann. As such, the polysystem theory is just a first step in the “socialization” of translation.

Social Systems Theory

Let us turn to the general systems theory as applied by Luhmann to social systems. System is defined as a formation having an inner structure surrounded by an environment. The system cannot exist without the environment. The difference between the system and the environment constitutes the very basis for the system’s self-reference. Boundaries separating a system are means of its maintenance.

In Luhmann’s social systems theory, there is a clear line of separation between psychic systems found in concrete individual human beings composing the society and the social system that results from this composition (Luhmann 2000: 5 sq.; 1995: 262 sq.). The main difference is that the latter does not have consciousness, however paradoxical it may seem. The traditional metonymic confusion is the product of imposing the element’s properties on the entire system. Society is interpreted by Luhmann as a communication system rather than a conscious system or a collection (adding-up) of the individuals who constitute it.⁷ At that,

⁷ This may, however, be considered as an over-objectifying society. This is exactly one of the points Bourdieu did not agree with in classical social sciences, especially in its Marxist-Frankfurt-School version where people are presented almost as automata without reason (Webb, Schirato, Danaher 2002: 32-33). There should certainly be a more balanced consideration of the interaction between society and individuals

communication can no longer be understood as a “transmission” of information from an (operatively closed) living being or conscious system to any other such system. Communication is an independent type of formation in the medium of meaning [*Sinn*], an emergent reality that presupposes living beings capable of consciousness but is irreducible to any one of these beings, not even to all of them taken together (Luhmann 2000: 9).

Moreover, society as a system is a self-referential, i.e., ever self-observing and thereby self-reproducing, closure. It is operationally closed from everything else, forming its environment. Hence, “society is the autopoietic social system par excellence” (Luhmann 1995: 408). Importantly, “society carries on communication [... It] constitutes the elemental units (communications) out of which it is composed, and whatever is constituted in this way is society, is an aspect of the constitutive process itself” (ibid.: 408-409). Luhmann describes this mechanism of autopoiesis in communication systems, “that is to say, social systems” (Luhmann 2000: 9), as follows:

Communication recursively recalls and anticipates further communications, and solely within the network of self-created communications can it produce communications as the operative elements of its own system. In so doing, communication generates a distinct autopoietic system in the strict (not just “metaphorical”) sense of the term. [...] Communication is a self-determining process and, in this sense, an autopoietic system. Whatever is established as communication is established by communication. Factually, this takes place within the frame of the distinction between self-reference and hetero-reference, temporally by means of recursively recalling and anticipating further communications, and socially by exposing communicated meaning to acceptance or rejection (Luhmann 2000: 9, 11).

composing it. In this respect Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts *habitus* and *agents* seem more helpful. However, from a macro-level perspective Luhmann’s point also has definite value.

This internal determination of a social system is sufficient and does not need any external determination via perception or any other conscious action.

Thus, according to Luhmann, society as a system goes beyond the individuals who constitute it. Society should thus be distinguished from a conscious system. Rather, it is a system whose self-reference is based on communication (implying conscious participants, however), which makes society a communication system. The autopoiesis, self-reproduction, of the social system takes place thanks to self- and, what is especially important for the present study, hetero-reference. The references have two aspects. The first one is diachronic and the second is synchronic. Translation definitely is a key factor of hetero-reference. Some of the diachronic self- / hetero-references occur in the case of translating national literature of earlier periods. For English-speaking nations it is translating *Beowulf* or Shakespeare. For East-Slavic nations, Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, it is translating the so-called *Primary Chronicle* among many other things. Without translation the *Chronicle* is no more than a hetero-reference (a different language, a different culture, a different ethnos—Gumilev 1992: 251 sq.); however, translation ensures the autopoietic, self-referential continuum of a given society through centuries and millennia by turning these hetero-references into self-references, by turning the alter into the ego.

The synchronic aspect applies to the sum-total of self- and hetero-referential events executed by a system in order to ensure its autopoiesis in relation to its present-day environment. Once again, translation is one of the means for the system to grope for its boundaries and probe into its own and foreign, constitutive or rejected communication events.

As compared to consciousness and systems characterized by it, “communication executes an extremely slow, time-consuming sequence of sign transformations” (Luhmann 2000: 9). This explains why all its processes are, so to speak, spread over considerable chunks of time, translation included. One particular translation act is insufficient for establishing communication patterns actualized by the system in its autopoietic effort—hence, the need for statistic corpus data.

The following is an attempt to apply some of the central concepts of Luhmann’s theory to translation studies. To start with, translation may be regarded as:

α) a system in itself; i.e., a certain type of activity or result of this activity that may be distinguished from other types of activities or their results based on a certain difference schema;⁸

β) a subsystem within a larger system; i.e., a type of activity or result of this activity comparable with other types of activities or their results but not fully coinciding with them; yet the difference between activities or results from this point of view does not eclipse the similarity; in Luhmann’s terms, there is basic meaningful communication between units of the system or subsystems they form (clusters *sui generis* which are distinguishable from other units or subsystems and yet have major constitutional generative properties);

γ) lastly, translation may be considered as a boundary phenomenon; i.e., it can be studied in the context of a relationship between system and environment.

⁸ Difference plays a key role in Luhmann’s social systems theory. Based on self-reference, the system constantly differentiates itself from the environment, thereby reproducing itself. Reproduction is self-reference which is constant self-differentiation from the surrounding environment based on difference schemata. This self-differentiation of the system constitutes its own identity, unity and its self-reproduction; and this process confers unity to the environment (Luhmann 1995: 18).

The (α) perspective is a traditional approach when translations are divorced from their literary and social milieu and considered in almost total isolation;⁹ whereas the (β) one was adopted by The Russian formalists (to the extent to which they touched upon translation), by Even-Zohar, Toury and other representatives of the so-called Tel-Aviv—Leuven School. The (γ) approach is more characteristic of the sociocritical trend in TS.

Luhmann's concept of system is applicable to the role allocated to the target text, or more often than not to a collection of target texts, regardless of the criteria by which a particular collection is selected. Thus, Lambert 1975 may serve as an example of a research combining a historical period and a geographical region; Van Gorp 1985 is a study of a genre development over a historical period in a given geographical region. Translations as target texts, therefore, constitute a system characterized by a target language and function within a target culture. Thus, epistemologically, we see a contradiction. Translations as texts (target texts) may well form a system based on a certain difference schema (for example, translation is whatever is called or viewed as translation in the society under consideration). However, this system definitely cannot be adequately studied outside of its two types of environments; for example, for literary translations—both the literary and the social environment. Moreover, as one looks at the relationship of the translation as a fundamentally linguistic activity (a process of speech / utterance / text production) and any other literary activity or, to be more precise, type of verbal art (writing in particular), one cannot but observe the intrinsic affinity of the two—of translation and verbal art. The differences may be considered secondary to the

⁹ An 'atomistic' approach to studying translation can be still found today when a certain translation of a literary work of art is viewed as a separate phenomenon, i.e., out of its historical and social context, as a *Ding an sich*, so to speak, as if its translator worked outside of conventions, norms, etc. somewhere in a sort of asocial limbo.

fundamental nature of the two types of activities. Thus, it is only logical, both from the epistemological and ontological points of view, to interrelate the two. They may be said to form a system and a subsystem respectively (literary system and literary translation subsystem). The larger sphere of systemically described semiosis includes linguistic or non-linguistic activities, i.e., activities responsible for interchange between human beings but which are not necessarily verbum-centered (music, paintings, etc.). The linguistic / non-linguistic systems are necessarily composed of subsystems with several difference schemata, among them there are criteria of uni- or multilingualism and textual functionality. Hence, we distinguish between translations and non-translations on the one hand, and literary or non-literary (or pragmatic) texts on the other. The terms—non-literary and pragmatic—are lacking in that they do not unequivocally, i.e., in a strict terminological sense, nominate the described phenomena. But for want of better words, we use these terms here. The two difference schemata, linguistic and functional, are fundamental for the (β) approach to the study of translation.

In the (β) approach, the environment embraces source texts characterized by their respective source languages and source cultures; target texts with their respective target language and culture are to be understood as the system. This distribution of ‘roles’ in the application of the social systems theory to phenomena studied in TS is suggested by one of the postulates of DTS (descriptive translation studies) according to which target texts are considered within the target culture because they are ontologically oriented towards and used by target cultures. Hence, they are part and parcel of the autopoiesis of the (target) system under consideration and not of the environment. Source texts belong to the environment of a system that chooses to translate them. System (1) identifies

another system—system (2) among other systems in its environment—in a “confusedly complex structure of reciprocal system [(1)] / environment relations” (Luhmann 1995: 18), otherwise unified by the observed system (1) itself through its autopoietic, self-referential difference schemata but still “requiring a specifically selective observation” (ibid.). System (2), identified in this selective observation, must contain a phenomenon that may be lacking or otherwise stimulating a certain interest on the part of system (1). If this identified phenomenon is verbally expressed (in the form of a text, whether oral or written, which latter option is obviously absolutely predominant in the course of the history of virtually all relatively recently developed civilizations), system (1) may want to borrow the found phenomenon and try to integrate it for further reproduction (autopoiesis) and improved (at least from one of internal points of view) existence.¹⁰ The selection and borrowing of lacking phenomena from the environment is based on meaningful communication. Meaningful communication presupposes the realized or realizable conformity on the part of system (1)’s units with the newly-introduced units of system (2)’s, the environment for system (1). In short, the (β) approach inevitably leads us to embracing a larger social context and thereby eventually emerges in the process of unfolding the polysystem theory as the (γ) approach.

The system is a complex entity. Its differentiation from the environment operates also inside the system.

[T]he meaning of differentiation can be viewed as a unity, as a *unitas multiplex*. In a certain way, difference holds what is differentiated together; it is different and not indifferent. To the extent that differentiation is unified in a single

¹⁰ The only case of an ‘improvement’ from the external point of view is when a system from the environment of system (1) tries to impose something on the latter. However, “no system can completely determine the system/environment relations of another system [let alone its internal autopoiesis and essence], save by destroying them” (Luhmann 1995: 18; Gumilev 1992: 20-21, 251; Gumilev 1993).

principle (for example, as a hierarchy), one can determine the unity of the system from the way in which its differentiation is constituted. Differentiation provides the system with systematicity; besides its mere identity (difference from something else), it also acquires a second version of unity (difference from itself). It can attain its identity as the primacy of a specific form of differentiation [...]. (Luhmann 1995: 18.)

A system may be a simple series; an order of rank; centre—periphery; evolutionary achievements. Schemata of differentiation of social systems may be considered within the analyzed TS paradigms. For example, Even-Zohar studied mostly the ‘centre—periphery’ type of what he called ‘polysystems’ (in their synchronic aspect) which were national literatures with various kinds of genres. Not infrequently translations of one classical author may be formed into a diachronic subsystem which is either a simple series of translations, or an order of ranks (according to this or that criterion), or—most often a-historically—as evolutionary achievements in drawing ‘closer’ to the original (this is how for example Johanne Wolfgang Goethe viewed translation as a stage-by-stage reaching out to a balanced representation of the original in the target culture by means of a target language—Goethe 1992). This view is held today by Antoine Berman (1995) and Henri Meschonnic (1999): translation evolves from a ‘faulty’ translation-introduction to a full-blown translation-text.

As to the inner structure of the system, Luhmann distinguishes, as mentioned above, units and relations. Units are the smallest, further indivisible (without inflicting a change in the type of their interrelations and their relations with other systems of higher or lower elemental orders) elements of the system. Luhmann compares them with beams and logs in a building. Relations within a system can be said to underlie the formation of subsystems, which are compared to rooms in a building. Units of the system as applied to

TS are translations as well as other phenomena of social discourse, e.g., ideologemes (“the smallest intelligible unit of the essentially antagonistic collective discourses of social classes”—Jameson 1981: 76). Translations are communication events. Subsystems are relations between these units and hence they are various translation groupings (e.g., by genres) depending on differentiation criteria (difference schemata from the viewpoint of their autopoiesis). In the (γ) approach, translations may be grouped with other social phenomena, e.g., with ideologemes. On the other hand, the entire system may be viewed as an “internal environment” for its own subsystems. This would correspond to Tynianov’s or Even-Zohar’s literary polysystems.

Here again I would like to stress that methodologically and terminologically, thus, ultimately—epistemologically, the term *polysystem* seems to be inadequate since it blurs the relationship of the system of artistic verbal semiosis with non-artistic verbal semiosis and—on a still larger scale—with other types of semiosis and their respective social environment. Why should we privilege the literary subsystem by calling it a polysystem? It is definitely only a part of a larger structure—the social system, which is a more legitimate polysystem par excellence. Although Even-Zohar mentioned a general theory of transfers, the latter was not fully developed to take into account the social-systemic conditioning of translation (1990: 73-77). Moreover, it is in this very connection of translated verbal utterances / texts within a larger social context (or environment), that translation appears as a locus of the difference schemata which are latently omnipresent in a given society / system and become patent in boundary events.

Mutatis mutandis, norms of social discourse manifest themselves and therefore can be observed in a systemic shift of works in translation as compared with their

originals and the norms of translation governing the transfer of foreign texts coincide with institutional norms configuring the target literary system and assuring importation of these particular texts and not some others. In Brisset 1996, a typical (γ) study according to our classification, social systems with their norms and, finally, with their discourse, are shown to be indissolubly connected with translation and ever determining translation (as well as other socially relevant semiotic activities) ensuring communication within society and making society a communication system, or, as Luhmann would say, ensuring society's self-observation and self-referentiality, understood as its self-reproduction.

Hence, there is an important methodological consequence. Elements / units can be counted, relations between them may be expressed numerically / mathematically / statistically. However, this reduces the description of the system under observation to only its quantitative aspect. "The elements acquire quality only insofar as they are viewed relationally, and thus refer to one another" (Luhmann 1995: 21). In order to describe the relations in their qualitative aspect, one has to describe the elements of a system relationally, i.e., taking into account their mutual inter-reference. Special attention must be paid to the selectivity of such a description. It is impossible to cover all relations between the elements of a system. There remains the unavoidable necessity to do it selectively which raises the problem of selection criteria, representation of chosen objects of description, etc. Obviously, to solve this problem of criteria in order to come as closely as possible to a methodologically well-grounded description of the studied system, one has to keep intact the scale of the interdependence of the system and its

subsystems—both society and translation as part of social phenomena characteristic of this society.

Here, one comes to a major methodological focus of this (γ) type of research. The research is to be carried out within the epistemological shift from quantification towards qualification of systems' description, i.e., towards “considering that and how systems qualify as elements the elements that compose them” (ibid.).

The following comment about the complexity, reductionism and selection as to the system theory is called for. The complexity of systems entails reductionism both ontologically and methodologically (while describing / studying them). As Luhmann states:

One must distinguish the incomprehensible complexity in a system (or its environment) that would result if one connected everything with everything else, from determinately structured complexity, which can only be selected contingently. And one must distinguish environmental complexity (in both forms) from system complexity (again in both forms); the system complexity is always lesser and must compensate by exploiting its contingency, that is, by its pattern of selections. In both cases, the *difference* between two complexities is the real principle compelling (and therefore giving form to) selection; [...] both cases are the reduction of complexity, namely, the *reduction of one complexity* by another (ibid.: 27).

Again, this is true both from the viewpoint of the ontology of the system / environment relationship and from the viewpoint of the description of this relationship. Lack of reductionism generates indeterminate complexity. Indeterminate complexity is “a measure for indeterminacy or lack of information. Viewed in this way, it is the information that the system lacks fully to grasp and to describe its environment (environmental complexity) or itself (system complexity)” (ibid.: 27-28). In other words,

to describe a system, which is important for such an ambitious project as describing the role of translation in a certain period of a nation's history, one has to select the observed data thus reducing the incomprehensible complexity (IC) of reality to determinately structured complexity (DSC) by means of a contingent reductionism (CR) based on relevant selection criteria: $f^{CR} IC = DSC$.

Thus, a system such as the translation functional system is a reduction of all social communication events according to the selection criterion which is whatever definition of translation is taken as the basis for drawing the boundary of the translation system. For example, if we define translation as a broadly conceived semiotic text resulting from mediation between two cultures, one of which is the source culture and the other is the target culture, our DSC will encompass only products of semiotic mediation between the source and target cultures. We can further narrow this DSC boundary by limiting our CR to verbal mediation between two cultures or, rather, two languages. Such narrowed system will treat the initial DSC (mediated semiotic texts) as IC and will be a further contingent reduction of the initial IC. In other words, a DSC, a system, of an IC may become itself an IC for another DSC. For example:

$$f^{CR2} IC_2 [f^{CR1}(IC_1) = DSC_1] = DSC_2,$$

where IC_1 is all social communication events; IC_2 is semiotically mediated communication events; CR_1 stands for semiotic mediation; DSC_1 is the functional system of broadly conceived semiotic translation; CR_2 stands for the verbal mediation criterion; DSC_2 is a resulting narrow system of verbal translation events. If DSC_2 is a description of DSC_1 , then we deal with what Luhmann, following Heinz von Foerster, calls "second order cybernetics" which is an observation of an observation. All translation theory, or

science for that matter, is second order cybernetics. Therefore, any TS theory is inevitably a limited construct contingent on the definition of translation. In the (α) paradigm, translation is viewed as a unique type of activity (usually verbal mediation). Sometimes, a particular translation of a text is studied as a unique text (not necessarily stating the fact that such is the approach). In the (β) approach, translation is defined as a special case of literary activity and, hence, translation is shown as part of a larger system ('polysystem'). In the (γ) paradigm, the scope of description / observation of the translation functional subsystem's self-observation is the largest: translation is understood as a semiotic phenomenon encompassing both linguistic / literary and other social mediated communication events. Such is the paradigm that will be adopted in the present study.

To define an element, one must take into account the 'relational' aspect and the 'concept of element' which is definable only against the backdrop of complex facts of the system's environment: "[A]n element [is] what functions for a system as a unity that cannot be further dissolved (even if, viewed microscopically, it is a highly complex compound)" (ibid.: 22). The element of the translation subsystem is translational communication taking the form of a text (in the broad semiotic sense) or an activity producing such a text. These communication events are oriented towards another text (whether real or imagined); and they enter the relationship of 'original—translation' with this source text. (This relationship begs further precision but it is of minor relevance for this study and would only entangle us in a maze of irrelevant disputes and discussions.) This type of communication events is viewed in contrast to other forms of verbal activities or—on a larger scale—in contrast to other forms of semiosis and mediation.

For the sociocritical (γ) approach in TS, there is also another element—ideologeme (Brisset 1996). In this sense, translations are studied in their tight nexus with the ideologemes determining their ontology. As translation is thereby put into a sociological context,

we take the unity of an action to be not a psychological, but a sociological fact; it does not emerge through the decomposition of consciousness into the smallest unities that cannot be dissolved further, but rather through the social process of attribution. (Luhmann 1995: 23.)

Consequently, all psychological, linguistic, and literary aspects of analyzed translations are considered not as psychological, linguistic, and literary factors per se, but rather as sociologically, or sociocritically, interpreted due to their social attribution and relevance.

Based on the relationship of these two types of elements, there emerges “the centrally important systems-theoretical concept of *conditioning*” (ibid.). The relations between elements are regulated and “this regulation employs the basic form of conditioning. That is to say, a determinate relation among elements is realized only under the condition that something else is or is not the case” (ibid.).

Conditioning may involve “catalytic agents” or be reciprocal (one takes place only when the other also does). Successful conditionings, i.e., the ones “achieved by the emergence of what they enable, work as *constraints*. Even if they are introduced contingently, one cannot reject them without destroying what they make possible” (ibid.).

In certain socio-historical situations, translation may enter reciprocal conditioning with social processes, being not only determined by them but determining them as well. Sometimes translation may even be a constraint. Here we come to another major thrust

of the social-systemic type of research. To find out the role of translation in a given period of time and in a given region is to define the type of conditioning translation participates or participated in—whether it was a catalytic agent, entered a reciprocal type of conditioning with social processes, or whether it reached a higher plane when it served as a constraint, became a *sine qua non* condition of unfolding social processes.

Translation is part of system boundaries. This aspect of translation is most clearly formulated in TS within the (γ) paradigm. Translation is understood here as a fundamentally social activity fully dependent on the place and time of its realization. Hence, one of the basic questions in TS about conditions determining translation techniques, tactics and strategies may be formulated as follows: What are the conditions of translational activities in this particular society? (Brisset 1996.) Moreover, translation is shown exactly as a system's boundary phenomenon, although it is not stated in such terms. Prompted by the society, translation transforms the selected texts and thereby a foreign text is “naturalized” by translation (ibid.; Inghilleri 2005: 125, 143).

To develop and summarize this view of translation, one can say that translation either (1) rejects something that is found unacceptable for the receiving system; or (2) adds what is lacking in the original and what is considered necessary for this type of translated text by the receiving system; or (3) changes / corrects / rectifies the original by replacing unacceptable elements of the original. The difference between (1), (2) on the one hand and (3) on the other is that in the cases of (1) and (2) a unit of one of the interacting systems corresponds to zero, whereas in the option (3) there is no zero but two juxtaposed elements, one of which (not a lack thereof) is replaced by another

because the replacing element better corresponds to the communication of the target system than the replaced.

These functions of translation are realized in compliance with communication elements existing in the receiving society (or one of its subsystems). The elements are linguistic, aesthetic, social, cultural, and ideological. Moreover, there are specific requirements for all sorts of translated texts.

All these points correspond to Luhmann's boundary description. Systems have boundaries which have double functions: they separate the system and at the same time they connect it with its environment. "Using boundaries, systems can open and close at the same time, separating internal interdependencies from system / environment interdependencies and relating both to each other" (Luhmann 1995: 29). Obviously, translation belongs to the boundary of the system because it realizes the functions of opening / closing. Making the received texts from the environment available for the system is the function of opening the system; filtrating and transforming the texts is the function of closing the system.

The exposure of boundaries to the system's environment leads to a sort of logical conundrum: "one cannot decide whether the boundary belongs to the system or to the environment" (ibid.). This holds true when one considers the history of viewing translation in TS. Translation was mostly compared to the original and not viewed as a means to the system's ends. However, the change in the status of translation in the paradigms (β) and (γ) when translation is considered as a phenomenon belonging to the target culture is fully supported by the general systems theory:

If one includes the problem of the difference in degree of complexity as an aid to interpretation, then one can relate boundaries to the function of stabilizing this

difference in degree, for which only the system, not the environment, can develop strategies. [...] Next to systems' constituting their own elements, boundary determination is the most important requirement of system differentiation. (Luhmann 1995: 29-30.)

The fact that only the system can develop differentiating strategies for its boundaries corresponds to viewing translation in DTS as a predominantly target-culture oriented phenomenon determined by the target-society's social elements, norms, requirements, etc.

There are different levels of boundaries' functioning:

System boundaries always separate out an environment, but the requirements for this vary if the system must distinguish other systems (and their environments) within its own environment and adjust its boundaries to this distinction. In the simplest case, the system treats its environment as another system. Thus national boundaries are frequently conceived as boundaries with another nation. But this becomes increasingly illusory when relations with an economic, political, scientific, or educational "abroad" no longer correspond to these same national boundaries. Under such circumstances, the boundary definition moves inside; this is confirmed in self-referentially closed systems, which determine their boundaries by their mode of operation and mediate all contact with the environment through other levels of reality (ibid.: 30-31).

No doubt, translation as a boundary phenomenon is a means of such a fine differentiation and thereby self-referentiality of social systems.

How does translation do that? One answer would be through double-transformation of what is translated. First, translation requires a 'decoding', or reading of the original to be translated done according to the modes of operation in the target-culture, or the system, for which it constitutes a non-physical but much more sophisticated boundary from the environment. Then, translation reencodes the translated

text, and again, this is done according to the system's set of relevant modes of operation (Brisset 1996). This procedure constitutes an elaborate mechanism of opening and closing the system through a "double-membrane" of ideologically determined decoding-reencoding plus a whole multitude of filters.

The above description reveals the working value of Luhmann's general system theory for TS in general and in my research of the role of translation within the process of westernization of Russia in the eighteenth century. I would like to outline some of the most salient positive effects Luhmann's theory may have.

(1) It helps to make more precise some of the notions of the polysystem and the sociocritical approaches within TS. Thus, for instance, Luhmann clarifies some of the not quite well-grounded concepts of the polysystem theory, notably, the very concept of system within it. As well, Luhmann's theory shows that the term *polysystem* is rather superfluous and definitely distorts the hierarchy of relations between translation, other verbal activity systems and society.

(2) Luhmann's theory provides a sound theoretical basis for some of the key concepts of the mentioned TS paradigms. For example, the predominant orientation of translation towards the target culture within DTS.

(3) The systems theory helps to see translation in the proper social context and helps to identify translation's role and place within the larger social frame. Translation may be considered as a subsystem within the social system and, simultaneously, a boundary phenomenon actively participating in the social system's self-referentiality.

(4) As a boundary phenomenon, translation may be shown as an extremely important social activity ranked together with the systems' constituting their own

elements. System differentiation and, consequently, autopoiesis is impossible without translation as a boundary phenomenon, although historically translation's role does vary from time to time, from period to period, from nation to nation.

(5) The application of Luhmann's system theory allows for the formulation of some of the main tasks in this research project:

- The research is done within this epistemological shift from a quantification towards a qualification of systems' description (however without disregarding the former altogether).
- All psychological, linguistic, literary aspects of analyzed translations are interpreted due to their social attribution and relevance.
- To find out the role of translation in Russia during the eighteenth century in the process of westernization is to define the type of conditioning translation participated in: whether translation was in a reciprocal or complementary type of conditioning to the social process of westernization and / or whether it reached a higher plane when it served as a constraint.

To summarize, my research is based on the theory of communication systems by Niklas Luhmann. Luhmann's social systems theory allows one to see translation's social function(s) on a scale large enough not to be distracted by the psychological factors of translation or the specificity of translated texts of different genres. Naturally Luhmann's theory is far from the only possible approach. Nonetheless, it provides a useful lens for studying the social aspects of translational activities. Accordingly, I draw on other theories and ideas (social historiography, Pierre Bourdieu, Lev Gumilev, to name a few). However, Luhmann's approach certainly informs the major part of my research.

Indeed, Luhmann proved useful for explaining certain social and translational phenomena of eighteenth-century Russia. His theory also helped to clarify some points of polysystem theory within Translation Studies. However, I will apply Luhmann's theory differently from what is suggested by Theo Hermans in his *Translation in Systems* (1999: 134 sq.). He considered translation as a system, whereas I will follow polysystem theorists in viewing translation as a subsystem within a larger structure. In their case, it was a national literature (hence, the term "literary polysystem"—Even-Zohar 1979: 291; Even-Zohar 2000: 193). I will place translation within an even larger (poly)system—the entire society or nation. (Without going into details here, by the controversial term 'nation' I mean a state- or country-like social structure organized politically, economically and culturally.) Translation will be analyzed as a boundary phenomenon within society as a system.

It should be emphasized that my research is neither an illustration nor a systematic or synoptic presentation of Luhmann's theory, but rather a critical application of his theory to a case study. Although, the concept of translation is not considered at any length by Luhmann, I do consider translation as a key concept in my analysis of specific social processes (interaction of a system with its environment).

It would be useful to comment on one common misunderstanding concerning Luhmann's theory. He has been criticized for de-humanization of science, losing sight of people while considering society and communication. This is not so. A few words must be said about this important issue, otherwise the methodology of my application of Luhmann's theory may appear contradictory when I discuss the contribution of specific people to Russia's development as a social system.

Luhmann himself addressed this issue more than once. An entire chapter in his magnum opus *Social Systems* (1995: Chapter 6) is devoted to the problem of the interpenetration of systems. Luhmann views human beings as part of the environment of society which, however, does not mean to say that “the human being is estimated as less important than traditionally” (Luhmann 1995: 212). The relationship between societies and human beings is that of interpenetration when “interpenetrating systems converge in individual elements—that is, they use the same ones—but they give each of them a different selectivity and connectivity, different pasts and futures” (ibid.: 215, emphasized in the original). Thus, people are not forgotten and referring to their experiences is not a methodological violation. Rather, the systemic approach to studying society shows society from the point of view of communication, making structural coupling of people as environment for society and vice versa a *conditio sine qua non* for both.¹¹ It is a matter of changing the angle when considering concrete individuals’ social experiences.

Another issue that must be touched upon in this theoretical introduction is multilingual communities. Luhmann’s theory may be understood as a theory of state-nations. However, it is applicable to any type of social formations. The term ‘system’ is inclusive enough to embrace any social group, which claims to be or may be described as a distinct social body. That is why Luhmann picks his words with care and interprets systems’ boundaries not only as physical, political-geographical frontiers. The boundary between systems may move (and often does) “inside” the system / environment interaction and is determined by the mode of operation of the system. In such cases the system mediates “all contact with the environment through other levels of reality” (Luhmann 1995: 31). Other levels of reality include carriers of the system’s

¹¹ For a fuller discussion see Luhmann 2002, 155-156; Luhmann 1995, 210 sq.; Moeller 2006.

communication and mode of operation. This is where one can apply personal experiences like those described by Reine Meylaerts (2006). I too will supply my own examples. No doubt, these are more complex cases than intersystemic interactions on the level of nations-states. And yet they are theorizable, provided the balance between psychology and sociology from the methodological point of view is carefully observed.

My research is not an account of historical events of eighteenth-century Russia. Rather, my approach is an analysis of facts related to translational activities in their social context and from the point of view of their social functions. To see this context and these functions, which give us a general understanding of translation's role as if from a bird's eye view, I would apply Luhmann's social systems theory along with certain concepts of other sociologists, historians, philosophers, linguists, literary critics, semioticians and translation theorists.

My task is comparable to that of hermeneutic research in historical domains as defined by Alessandro Baricco: it is to construct meaningful 'constellations' which can be apprehended as ideas (1999: 41). Ultimately, it may be seen as an illusion (not only hermeneutic, as Baricco claims, but also historiographic in general—see Carr 1967; White 1973)—that a finite number of facts produced by history generates an indefinite number of combinations each one of which can be apprehended as an idea (Baricco 1999: 42). Or, it can be viewed as another possible look at the same historical period, and every other fact-substantiated look increases our knowledge of that historical period (Ankersmit 2001). My point of view is that of translation's social role in the westernization of Russia during the eighteenth century.

Chapter 1 serves as an overview of westernization based on the monument the Bronze Horseman (the statue of Peter the Great), interpreted as an ideological map (Geertz). It shows main agents, time spans, directions and sources of westernization. It also shows translation as a mechanism of westernization.

Chapter 2 discusses the concept of modernization as applied to eighteenth-century Russia. Since such a modernization was understood as emulating Western European models, translation was viewed as the principal way of transfer of Western European knowledge.

Chapters 3 through 6 are devoted to the intrasystemic effects of translation. Translation contributed to creating a new social discourse with a new language and also broadened the repertory of the system's experiences and participated in re-negotiating the boundary of its communication. This resulted in a major metamorphosis of the system. Indeed, one of the salient features of that metamorphosis was the increase of translation's presence in the structure of the system.

Chapter 7 demonstrates the role of translation in the intersystemic interaction. Translation helped the system overcome its isolation and develop new mechanisms of influencing its environment. Chapter 8 further shows that overcoming isolation led to the system's integration into a newly formed global system with respective functional subsystems.

Overall, I single out three axes of social-systemic function of translation: intra-, intersystemic and global-systemic.

CHAPTER 1. THE BRONZE HORSEMAN: A SYMBOLIC MAP

1.1. A Milestone of Historical Time

In 1782, a little over half a century after the death of Peter the Great (1725), the famous equestrian monument representing him as an impassive rider on a bucking horse was erected in Saint-Petersburg (sculptors Etienne Falconet and Marie-Anne Collot). The monument was dubbed “The Bronze Horseman.” The Latin inscription ran as follows: “Petro Primo Catharina Secunda” (To Peter the First from Catherine the Second).



In the eighteenth century, Russia passed through a period of sweeping social reforms, initiated by Peter the Great and continued more or less steadily throughout the century by other enthroned major personae, especially his daughter Elizabeth (on the throne from 1741 to 1762) and Catherine II (the Great) (1762-1796). The latter erected the said equestrian monument of Peter the Great, thereby arching the century of reforms and making it a continuum.

Arguably, the Bronze Horseman was not only a monument to Peter as a tsar and even Emperor (still less to him as a person) but also a symbol. In fact, it has been one ever since (Schenker 2003; Filippov 1973). In his poem “Petersburg (A Fragment),” 1818, a well-known Russian poet, Prince Peter Viazemskii, called it an “eloquent bronze.”

As a symbol the horse statue became part of an important discourse; it became a marker of what Reinhart Koselleck termed “historical time.”¹² Catherine marked an epoch, a stretch of time from Point A to Point B, or rather, from ‘one’ to ‘two’, that is from Peter the FIRST to herself, Catherine the SECOND. It was a tribute paid “from one Enlightenment monarch to another” (Kahn 1998: 110). This was a period from the monarch starting one of Herderian “many times” (the westernization of Russia) to the monarch who saw her role in concluding this “time.”

This triumphant Peter will later be depicted in Pushkin’s *Poltava*, a long poem about the failed Ukrainian hetman Mazepa’s conspiracy aimed at making the Ukraine independent. Peter was shown there as a successful student who had learned so many lessons (and at that juncture, above all, a military one) from his Swedish “teachers” who, again symbolically, stood for all of Western Europe. However, already then, Pushkin vaguely felt a discord in the overall jubilant harmony. For example, Maria, one of the main characters of *Poltava*, Mazepa’s lover, saw her life trampled under the juggernaut

¹² “Historical time [...] is bound up with social and political actions, with concretely acting and suffering human beings and their institutions and organizations. All these actions have definite, internalized forms of conduct, each with a peculiar temporal rhythm.” Historical time is different from an exact general chronology “reducing the countless calendars and forms of temporal measurement used throughout history to a common temporal scale calculated on the basis of the physical-astronomical time of our planetary system.” Although “[i]f one studies historical times it is certainly impossible to avoid using temporal measures and unities drawn from a nature conceived in terms of mathematical and physical principles [...]” Koselleck also quoted Johann Gottfried Herder who wrote that “every mutable thing has within itself the measure of its time [... And t]here are therefore (to be precise and audacious) at any one time in the Universe infinitely many times” (Koselleck 2004: 1-2). The notion of historical time is closely related to historiographic attempts to consider historical epochs, events, figures, etc. from the point of view of their contemporaries (e.g., Burke 1992: 1-2, 179; also Jameson 2002: 24). On the one hand, it helps to overcome anachronistic modernization of historical phenomena (Gurevich 1989: 84-85); on the other hand, it allows us to closely consider them in whatever surviving authenticity is available to us through extant historical artifacts and representations and compare them with similar phenomena of the present or other epochs, with events happening in other places and experienced by other historical agents. This contributes to a better understanding of classes of phenomena (e.g., revolutions, social movements, etc.). Thereby we come to better comprehend such fundamental properties characteristic of individual human beings as well as of their social activities as semiosis of reality (Uspenskii 1994a: 9-11). Thus, studying translation in all its manifestations as practiced in different historical epochs and in different nations brings us closer to grasping the essence of translation as a particular type of activity.

of Peter's state policy's striding march. In this sense, she became a direct precursor of characters of another long poem by Pushkin, *The Bronze Horseman*—Evgenii and Parasha (and with them all other nameless victims of the 1824 flood as well as other floods in Saint-Petersburg and, on a larger scale, of the entire construction of the city). The main theme of the poem is Peter's brutal state policy metaphorically represented through the flood and the bronze horseman's relentlessly chasing Evgenii through the streets of Saint-Petersburg where the abated flood left corpses of its victims. Thanks to this poem the phrase "the bronze horseman" became current as the second title of Falconet and Collot's statue of Peter.

In its turn, Pushkin's *Bronze Horseman* composed in 1833 marked off yet another stretch of historical time. Another major milestone was set up. His poem which may be considered as another interpretation of Petrine reforms was crystallized in its opposition to the official state ideology underpinning the symbolism of the monument. According to this oppositional popular interpretation, what was only an apprehension turned into the grim reality: Peter's reforms reverberated most tragically in Evgenii's and his fiancée's lives. Roughly another half a century after Catherine's monument, its harmonious jubilancy was replaced by a heartrending cacophony of enraged waves of the Neva, howling gusts of torrential wind, and chasing hooves of the blood-thirsty horseman's stud (so different from the glorious "stud of Poltava," an image from the above-cited Viazemskii's poetic eulogy of Petersburg). Peter and his reforms would echo more than once in ideological, political, social, and cultural clashes throughout the nineteenth and even twentieth centuries. Actually, Pushkin expressed a balanced view of Peter's reforms. On the one hand, he admitted obvious advantages of the state policy of

westernization, but he could not overlook the tragedies caused by Peter's harshness in forcefully leading Russia into Europe.

Peter's reforms were clearly aimed at modernizing Russia. Fredric Jameson defined modernity as a trope. While describing it in terms of its effects, he singled out its libidinal charge, i.e., "a unique kind of intellectual excitement," "related to emotions like joy or eager anticipation." This excitement comes from "a promise within a present of time and a way of possessing the future more immediately within that present itself." This, in turn, brings us to "something of a Utopian figure, insofar as it includes and envelops a dimension of future temporality." It is, however, "an ideological distortion of the Utopian perspective" being "a spurious promise intended in the long run to displace and replace the Utopian one" (Jameson 2002: 34-35).

In the case of Peter's reforms, the displacement and replacement of ideological Utopian futuristic promises and expectations did not fully come true. This becomes obvious especially in Catherine's reign. Among other things, this failure and coming short of high expectations caused mutual disappointment on the part of Diderot after his visit to Catherine's court in Petersburg (1773-1774) and on the part of Catherine herself. Indeed, she wrote: "You philosophers are lucky men. You write on paper, and paper is patient. Unfortunate Empress that I am, I write on the susceptible skins of living beings." That is exactly when at least part of the Utopian futuristic promise of modernity was left unfulfilled, or not displaced and replaced by the reality, in Jameson's terms.

This particular stage of westernization, or modernization, of Russia is reflected in Pushkin's *Bronze Horseman*. It is an acid test of Peter's allegedly glorious attempt, so

aptly expressed by sculptors in stone for generations to come, by these generations from the vantage of the future.

These two periods—from the end of Peter’s reign (1725) to Catherine’s reign (1762-1796, especially the year of erecting the Bronze Horseman—1782) and roughly from the end of her rule (1796) to Pushkin’s poem *The Bronze Horseman* (1833) – may be said to be implied in the statue as a symbol. The symbol thus forms a discourse of its own. In the first of these two periods, it definitely gained a strong ideological significance. In the second, this significance is juxtaposed with the reality. Both can be interpreted as ideological maps (Geertz 1973: 218). In the first case, it is the state ideology; in the second, it is a popular ideology, a systematic body of concepts generated by wider circles of the society (Trubetskoi 1995: 133-134).

1.2. Two Ideologies

In the history of Russia in general and in Russian art in particular, there are two Bronze Horsemen—Catherine’s (or Falconet and Collot’s) and Pushkin’s. Certainly, there are other references to the monument of Peter, but Pushkin’s *Bronze Horseman* eclipses them all.

Falconet and Collot’s Bronze Horseman is a very important monument of Russian history. The Bronze Horseman is an authentic marker of historical time. In its metaphoric significance, the monument is an ideological artefact, and ideology is

intrinsically metaphorical and serves as a symbolic map in the culture (Geertz 1973: 218; Zorin 2001: 20).¹³

What does this monument-map tell us? We can see here a sort of symbolic concentric circles, ‘ripples’, going from the monument of the Bronze Horseman through the city of Saint-Petersburg, and, finally, all of Russia and Western Europe. The city of Saint-Petersburg has its *genius loci* (a divinity of the place), or in the free translation into Russian by expert and Petersburg enthusiast Nikolai Antsiferov—its soul (1978: 20 sq.), or “the pathos of space,” as Waclaw Lednicki wrote echoing Antsiferov (1955: 43). What is the *genius loci* of the new capital of Russia, a city built by Peter to be the capital?

Initially, the city centre was focused on the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul. However, mostly during Catherine’s reign, the centre was expanded and redesigned, moving the church off to the periphery. Falconet and Collot’s newly erected monument assumed the central role in the new city plan “symbolically affirming the Petrine legacy and Catherine’s commitment to it” (Kahn 1998: 94).

The statue of Peter constitutes the central point on our symbolic ideological map as its essence represented by its *genius loci*, the most sacred of its *lares* and *penates*. Peter sent the first ‘ripple’, as it were, a circle of the city built by him. In Russian history, this city became the very incarnation of Peter’s innovations, the *ad hoc* capital of the reformed state; it was an avatar of Peter himself, if you like, and his continuation. Pushkin called it “Peter’s creation.” Starting with the panegyric literature of the Petrine, Elizabethan and Catherinian courts, the city was glorified both literally as the city of

¹³ Cf. also: “Imperial ideologies are both fascinating in themselves and vital to an empire’s survival. The rise and fall of empires has much to do with the history of ideas: it is very far from being the mere story of power defined in crudely material terms” (Lieven 2001: xiii-xiv).

Peter and as the metaphor and centre of the great Emperor's reforms (Lurie 2002: 6). The name of the city may be interpreted as a deliberate pun. Saint Peter's city was also Peter the Great's city who was a demiurge of the new Russia: infrequently, in Russian, the city's name is shortened from "Saint-Petersburg" to simply "Petersburg" (Peter's city).

"[T]he city rose out of swamps, bogs, and mists and immediately appeared in a magnificent, finished, classical form." Victor Hugo said that the old Paris ran like a mob runs—in disorder and disharmony. Saint-Petersburg, on the contrary, is well arranged; it is "a majestic procession of buildings" in its "architectonic march" like a huge caravan. "Its streets and avenues, like radial lines, reach out from squares and lose themselves in the distance"—of Russia in the east and of Europe in the west (Lednicki 1955: 43).

This brings us to the next concentric circle—the rest of Russia with its ancient capital, Moscow. Peter undertook a daring enterprise of cutting off all the past and starting something totally new from a *tabula rasa* (Lurie 2002: 6; Filippov 1973: 11-12; Trubetskoi 1995). Saint-Petersburg was built, to a large extent, in opposition to Moscow and all of Russia, for that matter. It became the tsar's residence in 1712; the capital in 1713; the Senate was moved there in 1714. As Pushkin put it in his *Bronze Horseman*:

To that young capital is drooping
The crest of Moscow on the ground,
A dowager in purple, stooping
Before an empress newly crowned.

(Lednicki 1955: 47, translated by Oliver Elton)¹⁴

Saint-Petersburg is located on the western frontier of Russia, closer to Europe than to many Russian cities. In this way an emphasis is laid on appropriating European

¹⁴ In the original Russian: И перед младшею столицей // Померкла старая Москва, // Как перед новою царицей // Порфиноносная вдова.

traditions rather than continuing Russia's own. The new capital was at the westernmost margin of the vast empire and yet it was the very centre of the empire because all the political will was concentrated here. It was the centre *de jure* (hence it was given the status of capital) and *de facto* (all the reformation of old Russia was initiated from here).

However, this forms only half of our third circle, because its full compass included both Russia and the rest of Europe, placing Saint-Petersburg at the connection point of the two. Saint-Petersburg is the 'marginal centre' or the 'displaced' centre of Russia, forced out of her natural joint, as it were, but it was also on the easternmost margin of Europe. Russia was always considered not quite Europe, geographically straddling Europe and Asia. The new capital of Russia was still part of Russia and, therefore, was not quite in Europe. This explains all the scepticism and surprise pervading numerous memoirs of Europeans traveling to Saint-Petersburg in the eighteenth century. Yet, over time, Saint-Petersburg gained all the respect it deserved and was dubbed Northern Venice and Palmira. Mikhail Lomonosov and Gavriil Derzhavin compared Saint-Petersburg with Rome. It should be noted that Saint-Petersburg was called the "Northern Rome" by these poets for a different reason than Moscow was called the "Third Rome." Moscow was the third seat of Christian Orthodoxy after Rome and Constantinople. Saint-Petersburg was Rome-like because it was not Russian, but western. One may say that both capitals were given the same epithet for antithetical reasons; i.e., because they were diametrically different, because of their intrinsic opposition, not likeness. Saint-Petersburg was meant to be European, the easternmost European city reaching out to Muscovy. Western Europe and Russia met in Saint-Petersburg. The city was "the window through which Russia looks on Europe," to

employ Francesco Algarotti's famous metaphor; whereas for Europe this city was its envoy to Russia.

If the task of a historian is to find yet another metaphor for a certain period (Ankersmit 2001: 21-22), then Falconet and Collot's monument metaphorizes the reformers of eighteenth-century Russia and their reforms growing to the size of a city which, in its turn, metaphorizes the entire country and nation as a reformed world (echoing the Roman dictum *urbis et orbis*); the monument readily provides us with an authentic metaphor, coming to us directly from the period in question.

As we have just seen, the official interpretation of Peter's reforms was positive and charged with a most palpable libidinal excitement about the Utopian future which could later be replaced by the real western modernity. This newly introduced narrative of 'modernity' had all the typical characteristics: first, a promise of future in the present with the concomitant excitement and enthusiasm; second, the trope of 'for the first time' "which reorganizes our perceptions around the premise of a new kind of time line"; and last, an overall rewriting, or "a powerful displacement of previous narrative paradigms" (Jameson 2002: 34-36).¹⁵

¹⁵ Jameson refers to historiographic narratives concerned with 'modernity'. However, I think his study is well applicable to authentic ideological narratives focusing on 'modernity' as was the case in eighteenth-century Russia. Peter and Catherine the Great had enough self-reflection to be comparable with 'modernist' philosophers of the Cartesian type, described by Jameson as follows: "For the philosophers Descartes' thoroughgoing break with the past constitutes not only the inauguration of modernity but already a self-conscious or reflexive theory of it; while the cogito itself then stages reflexivity as one of modernity's central figures" (Jameson 2002: 31). Certainly, it would be too much to endow Peter and Catherine with such a truly philosophical depth of analysis of their reforms and yet a certain if not reflexivity, at least understanding and deliberate shaping of their policies cannot be denied. Even the monument in question shows Catherine's view of Peter as well as herself in the context of Russian history. If this is true, it is possible to add to the second 'law' of modernity formulated by Jameson that besides the fact that "modernity is not a concept, philosophical or otherwise, but a narrative category," this narrative category can be present not only in a historiographic narrative but also in an authentic historical ideological discourse. In other words, it can be not only in the discourse about a historical representation, but also in this historical representation itself, especially so in the post-Cartesian epoch. Modernity should not necessarily be used as a term (ibid.: 34-36).

But Pushkin's *Bronze Horseman* brings us back to the grim reality behind the Utopian promises. Their fulfillment seems to be questionable as to completeness or cost.¹⁶ Indeed, the popular interpretation of Peter's state policy informing Pushkin's poem is not so unanimously positive. Although some thought that Russia could profit considerably by following the Western civilization, the negative streak appears quite strong and influential in Russian post-Petrine history.

The official ideology considered westernization an accomplished fact. The opposite camp did not agree because for them, westernization was not finished. This leads us to another point of disagreement—westernization was understood as a process damaging and even uprooting the very 'spirit' of Russia and with it the entire Slavic civilization (Trubetskoi 1995: 134). From this point of view, westernization was an on-going struggle of West and East in Russia. Some viewed Russia as part of the East (Asia), although later as a compromise, the nation was considered as a particular kind of ethnicity with certain elements of both types of civilizations—Asian and European. This makes it a Eurasian ethnicity.

Beginnings of this unending controversy can be traced at least to pre-Petrine Latinists and Grecophiles. In the nineteenth century, two other parties within the same basic conflict were known as Slavophiles and Westernizers.

Those arguing that the westernization of Russia has not yet finished, can easily muster impregnable evidence. The Marxist-based socialist revolution of 1917; perestroika as an opening (or, rather, reopening) of Russia towards the Western capitalist world with the demolition of the very real Berlin Wall and the metaphorical, though not

¹⁶ While meaning the same controversy but using another, the above quoted Algarotti's metaphor, Gumilev writes: "[T]he window into Europe had two sides" (Gumilev 1992: 249).

less real, Iron Curtain; Putin's Russia forcing its way into the G-7, the EU, the WTO—all these political events of the twentieth and early twenty-first century show that Russia is still trying to 'westernize' itself. Moreover, lapses of the present-day Russian foreign policy into 'making friends' with India and China (similar to those in the Soviet times – cf. Iosif Brodskii's essay "A Voyage to Istanbul" in Brodsky 1995) in their conspicuous anti-West demarche proves that the shifts and struggles take place along the same old 'Western Europe—Asia' axis.¹⁷

To summarize, in the eighteenth century, westernization was also seen by the official court as something facilitating the whole nation's moving forward, thus catching up with the most advanced world powers. However, as is clear from the foregoing, not all agreed with that. During the period of reforms as well as after there was a constant demonstration—overt or covert—of the opposite opinion. Westernization was considered detrimental to the nation for it damaged the culture, split it up into opposing groups, both political and social factions. Moreover, Nikita Trubetskoi diagnoses two gaps that Peter's reforms created in Russian society: 1) between the pre-Petrine and post-Petrine Russias; 2) between higher social classes and lower ones (1995: 134). Although Pushkin gives a more balanced view of Peter's reforms in his poem *The Bronze Horseman* taking note of both positive and negative points, he seems to dwell on the latter and at least recognize the high price paid for the westernization.

¹⁷ Note that for many like Putin the West now includes the USA, Canada, and other not necessarily Western European, but rather capitalist countries.

1.3. A Metaphor of Translation

In the vast literature purporting to exhaust this metaphor in a proliferating explosion of ‘bumps’ or ‘interpretations’ (Ankersmit 2001: 24), ‘stencilling’ eighteenth-century Russian reality with all possible patterns, I think another one is missing. Eighteenth-century Russia can be inscribed into a metaphor of translation: Falconet and Collot’s monument is a translation in a Russian city of translated Europeanism, the city being a translating capital of a translating nation. By the same token, one may say that the Russian nation became not only an agent, but also a site of the translation process. This heralded a time when Russia’s image changed on the international political stage.

Less metaphorically, translation played an important role in the westernization of Russia. Translation was one of the principal means of transferring Western European technical know-how, practical and theoretical expertise as well as their philosophical and axiomatic underpinnings. To a large extent, the transfer of all new knowledge took place through the translation of Western European publications.

One of Peter’s first major initiatives was to establish a printing press in Amsterdam. This was the second Russian press. However as the first one was in Moscow and fully under control of the Russian Orthodox Church, Peter opened a new one far away from the influence of the counter-reformation forces. The main function of the newly set up press was to publish secular literature, mostly translations, sometimes in parallel editions with original texts. In his charter granted to the first supervisor of the press, a Dutchman, Jan Thessing (or Tessing), Peter commissioned paintings and drawings, books on various subjects like mathematics and architecture in Russian, Latin,

and Dutch, excepting “church books [...] which are published in our capital city of Moscow” (Pekarskii 1972 vol. 1: 11).

The central figure of the Amsterdam press was a translator, Ivan Kopiewski or Kopievitz, who later took over the right to publish books in Russian from Thessing. Kopiewski was probably a Pole—*polonus in praesentiarum habitans Amstelodami*, “a Pole living presently in Amsterdam,” as he was nominated in the certificate allowing him to publish books in Holland.

Peter used quite a number of non-Russians in carrying out his reforms. In his immediate circle, there were three categories of people: Russians (even of a low social status like Aleksandr Menshikov, allegedly a former street vendor of *pirozhki*, meat patties), representatives of other Slavic nations (like Feofan Prokopovich, a Ukrainian), or foreigners (like Franz Lefort, a Swiss). The main criterion for Peter’s choices was the capacity and willingness of the person to cooperate with him in his reforms. Since his efforts were directed towards the westernization of Russia, it was obvious that Peter’s associates such as Prokopovich with his excellent Western European education, Kopiewski, raised if not in Poland then definitely somewhere on the western border of the then Russian Empire, which was an intermediary between Western Europe and Russia long before Peter, and Lefort (a ‘native’ westerner) greatly contributed to the unfolding process.

Their contribution was not always and not necessarily on the level of verbal translation. Quite often it was the introduction of new, ‘Western,’ concepts. For example, Franz Lefort is believed to have been among the first foreigners whom the young Russian tsar Peter met in the *Nemetskaia Sloboda*, the Foreign District, in Moscow. Here

his first impressions of the Western civilization were formed (Bobylev 1990: 16-18). Later, in his voyages to Western Europe, Peter demonstrated a great thirst for knowledge both in visiting museums, scientific organizations, and in contacting distinguished foreigners (Luppov 1973: 43 sq.).

Almost every agency of Peter's state administration had translators and interpreters. According to Kirilov 1977, among twenty-four state departments in Saint-Petersburg only eight did not have translators / interpreters (pp. 36-39). Before Peter, translation and interpretation were the prerogative of one department in the state administration, the *Posol'skii Prikaz*, an equivalent of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, with ever-increasing foreign contacts, it became impossible to meet the needs of all state departments with the staff of the *Posol'skii Prikaz*.

Peter valued translation highly as the principal vehicle for carrying out his reforms. He involved in this translational activity not only translators by trade, but also his aides, state officials and diplomats of the highest rank (Iakov Brius, Andrei Vinius, Petr Shafirov, et al.). Sometimes, Peter revised translations himself.

Paradoxically, there has been no attempt to describe fully the role of translation in the reformation of Russia in the eighteenth century. In this chapter, I will use the symbolic map *Bronze Horseman—Saint-Petersburg—Russia+Europe* in order to structure my interpretation of the role of translation in the westernization of Russia in the eighteenth century and to outline its major thoroughfares.

1.4. Acmetic Change of Illusio

To describe the role of translation in Russia at this time, I prefer an ethnogenetic point of view (Gumilev 1992: 251 sq.; 1993). Russia can be considered as an ethnos or rather a superethnos comprising several peoples—Slavs, Tatars, Lithuanians, Finno-Ugrians. Like any such conglomeration forming one ethnic group it has a life-span, which, according to Gumilev, is approximately 1500 years. This period can be divided into stages from an ethnogenetic explosion through an incubation phase reaching an acme. The acme is followed by a sudden fall of ethnic energy and a slow death of the superethnos and its disintegration.

The initial explosion becomes possible due to so-called ‘passionaries’ (*passionarii*). These are people who are able to fulfil great feats aimed at building a superethnos. Their (great) efforts may lead to forming a superethnos.

Gumilev argues that the Kievan Rus’ and the Rus’ of Muscovy are different super-ethnic formations. The first existed from circa the ninth century till the inclusion of Novgorod into Muscovy in the fifteenth century. The second starts from the thirteenth century and lasts until the present day. I will concentrate on the second ethnos. Its acme was reached in the period from about 1500 to 1800. This was the time when an immense territory from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean was united into one state under the authority of Moscow / Saint-Petersburg. Peter, clearly one of the passionaries of the superethnos in the making, helped determine the rules of the ‘game’ of the new ethnic conglomeration.

The other theoretical concept that informs my interpretation of what was happening in eighteenth-century Russia is that of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. I will start exactly with the term ‘game’ as used by Bourdieu, or *illusio* (from the Latin word *ludos*) in his terminology.

Illusio is a set of ‘rules’ in a large ‘social game.’ People act as agents in this game. *Illusio* embraces not only agents’ unawareness of their being in a game but also their culturally and socially determined dispositions. The ‘social space’ can be divided into fields, or sites of social practices. A field is composed of hierarchically organized institutions, rituals and conventions which, in turn, produce or authorize discourses and activities (Bourdieu 1990B: 87-8; Webb, Schirato, Danaher 2002: x-xi). A field has capital, i.e., a set of values associated with social practices, tastes, inclinations, and attributes. Some of them are valued higher than others depending on the ‘rules’ governing the ‘game’ in this particular field. Certain powerful social figures or groups determine rules of the game in this or that field which are comprised of a *doxa* (a set of core values and discourses viewed as true and unquestionable) and other principles underlying the *habitus* of agents, i.e., their dispositions, attitudes and ways of engaging in social practices.

At the time of Peter, what we observe in Russia is a cardinal change of game rules. The central *doxas* change, which leads to a change in people’s (agents’) *habitus*. New fields appear while old ones undergo a radical change. The changes go so far as to question even the national *hexis*, or the look, the body, the dress associated with cultural fields. For instance, Peter forced noblemen to shave off their traditional long beards and wear foreign clothes.

This was really a period of forming a new ethnos. Fundamental changes were inevitable in this transitional period from the older Kievan ethnos, however, closely associated and even overlapping for some two centuries with the emerging new one.

It is important to note that translation was one of the major means of introducing new game rules, a new *illusio*. This was only natural because the new *illusio* of westernization was formed on the basis of transferred Western European models. Obviously, this made the transfer / translation inevitable.

1.5. Symbolic Representations of Translation

Let us go back to translation as we see it through the metaphor of the Bronze Horseman. I will approach the analysis of translation by answering the set of questions well established in Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS): Who translates / is translated? When? From where? What is translated? Why? That is to say, I will 1) discuss agents of the translational process; 2) place them on the time line of the ethnogenetic dynamic; 3) consider kinds of translations (transfers) we find, noting their source languages and cultures; and 4) try to answer why these particular phenomena were transferred through translation at a given time.

1.5.1. Agents of the Translation Field

Translation may be considered as a field where agents exercised their volition in changing the rules for other social fields. This field, in full accordance with Bourdieu,

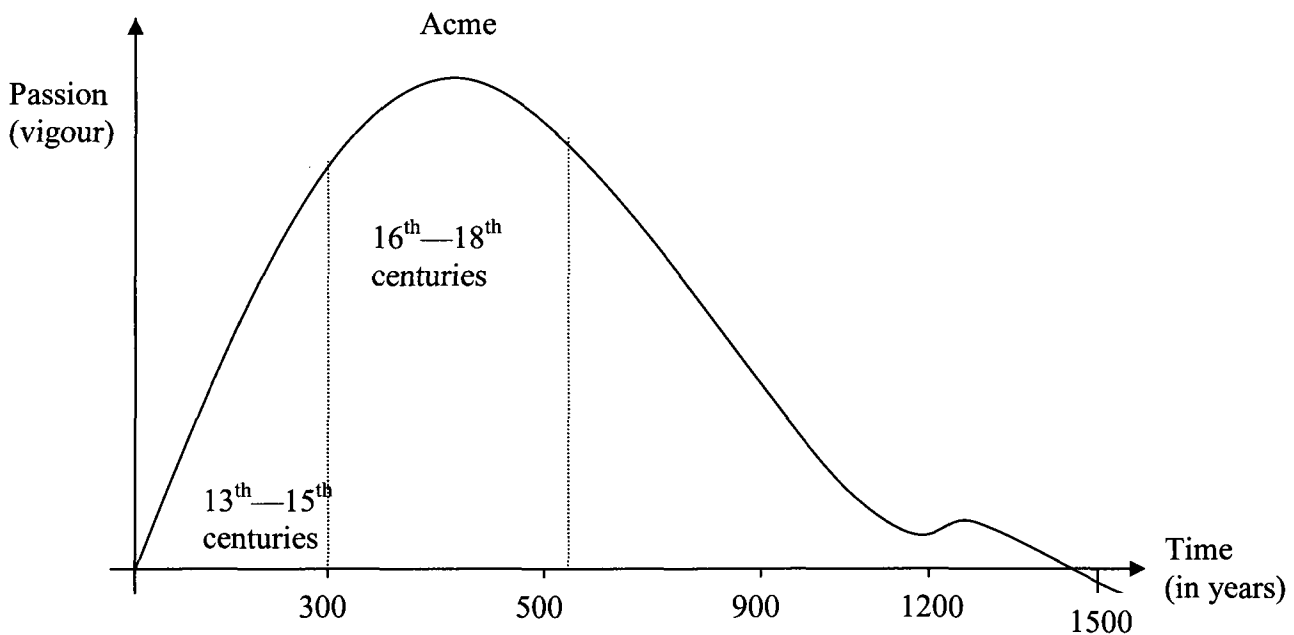
remained under the influence of the meta-field of power: the metaphor-monument shows us the principal ‘authors’-agents of translation: Peter and Catherine.

Peter started (or at least immensely intensified) the westernization of Russia. He commenced an unheard-of, full-scale transfer of Western European technical know-how, general knowledge and culture into Russia. It was a transfer of verbal and cultural texts, and Peter served as an ‘editor’ of both. He participated in editing verbal translations of Western European publications (Soloviev 1984: 101-102; Gouzevitch 2006). He also ‘edited’ other areas of transfer in that he personally defined the domains that were to be appropriated by Russia. Even his notorious cutting of beards and forcing Russians to wear foreign clothes was part and parcel of his participation in the transfer, as mentioned, actually changing the bodily *hexis* of Russian people to make them look more European.

Peter universalized (Bourdieu’s term) the translation of European values. That is to say, he considered translation a *modus operandi* applicable across all other social fields. In his view, everybody had to drop their ancient habits and learn from the West. Why? First of all, as an agent of the social space who was endowed with exceptional authority in the meta-field of political power, he could impose translation in the broad sense upon all other agents of the society and all other fields. Moreover, through and thanks to the field of translation and to his own *habitus* as a translating agent, he introduced a *heterodoxa* (a set of cultural Western European-oriented values) and by forcing and universalizing it he changed forms of cultural capital. Since Peter was the most persistent agent of the process, both in the field of translation and in the meta-field of power, he became a paragon of translation, a symbol of translation, which made him the ‘happy’ owner of the new capital sought within the context of the new *illusio*. This

consolidated his position of power greatly with the entire social space. One may see here the political function of translation: its being both the goal and the means of westernization.

Secondly, during his time, Russia was keenly aware of its backward economy. Gaining the necessary skills meant being better off. Most naturally, being better off was preferable to being worse off—the logic of all modernization processes (Levy 1972: 9). However, the next point in this logic is crucial: what price people are prepared to pay to become better off materially. Peter was ready to pay much, which is perfectly explainable by his high passionary vigour. This stage of Russian ethnogenetic history is clearly seen in the following graph based on Gumilev's theory applied to Russia:



Peter, as one of the creators of the new superethnos (Hughes 1984; Kluchevskii 1960: 254-262), had the passion and vigour with which he was ready to sacrifice much and lead thousands if not millions to sacrifice as much as their lives in order to shape the new nation (Gumilev 1992: 19-20, 242 sq.; Gumilev 1993: 258 sq.). For example, with

an unblinking eye, he sent thousands and thousands to meet their death in swamps while building Saint-Petersburg.

As for Catherine, the case is even clearer in terms of translation agency. She herself was a transfer: a German becoming a Russian. However, she was not ‘Russified’ as much as she ‘westernized’ Russians, well in keeping with the general ethnogenetic vector. Like Peter, she used all her imperial power to this end. She also dabbled in verbal translation (Pypina 1998; Mikhailova 1990). She felt she continued what Peter had started. It is in this sense that the inscription (“To Peter the First from Catherine the Second”) on Peter’s monument should primarily be interpreted.

One can say that the boundary of Russia as a system passed through Catherine’s personality. And she was not an exception. At the very end of the seventeenth century, a revolutionizing radiation of hundreds of Russian people, especially the younger generation, by Western values took place. Peter the Great himself was among the first to cross the Rubicon when he embarked on an unprecedented mission. In 1697-1698, he sent a group of more than a hundred people and joined them incognito to learn Western European shipbuilding techniques first-hand. This mission, known as the Great Embassy (*Velikoe posol'stvo*), was the beginning of a long-standing tradition. A great number of future Russian statesmen passed through the Western European ‘school’. Naturally, they appropriated a great many new concepts and ideas, and later they applied them (or at least tried to) in Russia. Sometimes this application was in behavioural patterns; sometimes it was a palpable verbal transfer manifested in their writing and speech. The

former can be exemplified by such figures of Russian history as Andrei Khrushchev; the latter by Antiokh Kantemir.

Andrei Khrushchev was one of the young men sent by Peter to Europe to study navigation. He went to Amsterdam in 1712 and returned to Russia in 1720. He happened to be in Amsterdam when it was one of the most liberal European centers where, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV (1685), many French Protestants fled and settled. As a young man, Andrei Khrushchev got access to books in French that were published in Amsterdam and could not have been published in France. A large part of these publications dealt with such burning issues as concepts of nation-state and government, natural law and natural rights. During that period the majority of books for his personal library were purchased.

It is only natural that “Khrushchev came back to Russia with most radical ideas” (Poresch 1978: 264). In Russia, he began serving as a statesman. Very soon, however, in the 1730s, he joined a political group, one of whose chief ambitions was to struggle against despotism for political liberties. In 1740, the group was severely punished for its political views and activities by the government and Khrushchev was beheaded.

Although Antiokh Kantemir did not end as tragically, his European experience left an equally indelible imprint on his life and works nonetheless (Pokrovskii 1910). Kantemir received a brilliant education from first-rank European scientists, members of the recently established Russian Academy of Sciences. For example, Daniel Bernoulli, a famous mathematician, was among his teachers. Later, Kantemir acted as the Russian diplomat in Paris and London. He corresponded with Voltaire and knew Montesquieu personally (Barenbaum 1978: 91).

Kantemir was a member of Feofan Prokopovich's pro-Petrine and pro-reform group. In fact, Prokopovich encouraged Kantemir to write his famous satires. In them, Kantemir fought a veritable battle against all counter-reform forces of Russian society. A close textual examination of the satires shows that he largely borrowed his argumentation and artistic devices (locutions, stylistic means of expression, images) from European satirists and poets of the highest calibre, both classical and contemporary—Juvenal, Ovid, Horace, Nicolas Boileau, among others. Yet, he did not translate their texts in full. Rather, different parts of his satires are more or less close imitations of their poetic works. Some of these imitations can be traced back to the originals verbally and unequivocally; some of Kantemir's passages allow more than one attribution. Western European poetic sources passed through a sort of melting pot in his head, and became his frame of reference and an arsenal of weapons for his militant Muse in the war she waged (Pokrovskii 1910: 73-91; 99-118). To give a similar example, another famous eighteenth-century Russian poet, Mikhail Kheraskov, apparently borrowed plots of his fables from the French writer Charles-Étienne Pesselier (Koplan 1940).

Khrushchev, Kantemir and Kheraskov stand out as examples of a particular transfer. They themselves served as a locus of the transfer of new political and cultural values from Western Europe to Russia. Or they may be said to have been the site of system's boundary, as were Peter and Catherine, Kopiewski, Lefort, Prokopovich and many others of their contemporaries.

1.5.2. Time Span of Westernization

The monument-metaphor shows the time span of translation understood in a broader than just verbal sense, i.e., from Peter's reign to Catherine's. This is the period of breaking ground in terms of the massive westernization of Russia, waking the nation from its centuries-long slumber. This is the idea underpinning the metaphor of the monument with its heavy pedestal that may be interpreted as what Peter came to overcome and that he tramples with his bucking horse. Catherine's celebrating this effort with the monument makes her part of the feat.

1.5.3. Directions and Sources

The monument shows also directions of translation: from Moscow (east) to Saint-Petersburg (west), away from Byzantine Orthodoxy to Western Europe; from Orthodox political and cultural models to Roman, Latin ones. In this sense, Russia obviously opens itself to Catholic and Protestant values and social models. Moreover, Europe was no longer looked at as a lump of indistinguishable apostates of the true faith (*pravoslavie* = *orthodoxy*) as it had been regarded for centuries and centuries before.

The metaphor-map (the monument widening itself to the city of Saint-Petersburg) shows us Holland with which Peter was fascinated and in whose language he named the city after its foundation—Sankt Pieterburg.

Peter sent Russians abroad to study horticulture, among other things. His gardens emulated horticultural models of European Enlightenment. For example, his Summer

Garden in Saint-Petersburg provided a sort of 'school' where his Russian guests learned the basics of European values (Likhachev 1982: 155). This idea of turning the garden into a site of learning was borrowed by him from Versailles. In the labyrinths of Versailles, were La Fontaine's fable characters as the subject of fantastic animal fountains by Le Nôtre. They served as a guide through a maze and, metaphorically, through life (O'Bell 1998: 86-87). Peter also put sculptures of fable characters in his garden, except they were from Aesop's fables. This Ancient Greek classic collection was one of the first books translated by Kopiewski in Amsterdam (Pekarskii 1972 vol. 1: 524).¹⁸ Peter himself knew these fables very well and liked to cite them on occasion (Pekarskii 1972 vol. 2: 22-23). He considered them a valuable teaching material for the westernization of Russian mores (Likhachev 1998: 156). In general, Peter leaned towards Dutch horticulture with its love of flower gardens. His favourite gardener was a Dutchman, Jan Rosen. On the contrary, he did not like the French type of gardens and turned down several garden projects from his only French architect, Jean Baptiste Leblon.

From the Dutch we move to the Germans. With them, Russia gradually started becoming a country of sciences. Where do we see Germany in our metaphor-map? The second name of the city "Sankt-Peterburg" was a German variant replacing the previous Dutch. The German influence may be considered among the most powerful and profound in Russian culture of this period. I will limit myself here to only one example chosen

¹⁸ Here we observe an interesting way of translations reaching their target audience and, consequently, a mode of interaction between verbal and non-verbal translations. Peter came to know Aesop's fables as a verbal text. However, for some of his guests, Aesop's characters were sculptural groups. Inspired by this 'sculptured' text, they may have come finally to the respective texts of Aesop's fables.

precisely because of its depth and profundity for the system in Russia's ethnogenetic making.

In the 1730s, in Russian versification, a change from a syllabic to a syllabo-tonic versification took place. The syllabic versification was imported to Muscovy from Poland through Ukraine and Byelorussia and was a temporary phenomenon in Russian literature (Brown 1980a: 109 sq.; Brown 1980b: 58 sq.). Syllabic poetry is based on syllable-counting and terminal rhyme. The Russian word accent was disregarded. Naturally, however, Russian poetry, like the majority of European poetic systems, was tonic (word accent based). Eventually, syllabo-tonic versification became a happy compromise of the two systems: a certain number of poetic feet with a stable quantity of syllables had a word accent pattern.

The change from syllabic poetry to syllabo-tonic was a far-reaching change.¹⁹ Trediakovskii became one of the first to introduce a new system of versification, followed by Lomonosov and Sumarokov. Among other influences, these prominent Russian poets and scholars took German patterns of versification (Brown 1980b: 60-61).

Trediakovskii worked at the Academy of Sciences in Saint-Peterburg where many of the members were German scientists and scholars. Trediakovskii translated the poetry of German academics (mostly panegyric odes composed in honour of the then Empress Anna and her courtiers). Translations were often published face to face with German originals, a practice which led to comparing not only originals and translations but the two poetic systems. German poetry became a benchmark for poetic taste. This

¹⁹ See more about this and other aspects of Trediakovskii's, Sumarokov's and Lomonosov's contribution to Russian versification and literature in general in Berman 1971; Brown 1980b; Gukovskii 1938; Karp 1998; Kutina 1964, 1966; Likhachev, Makogonenko 1980; Lieven 2006: 77 sq.; Lotman 1994 and 2002; Pekarskii 1976; Petrov, Tsart 1977; Scherr 1986; Scherr, Worth 1989; Silbajoris 1968; Tiulichev 1988; Uspenskii 1994a, b; Zhivov 1996; Zorin 2001; Zubov 1956; etc.

triggered the Russian reform in versification modeled on the German one (Klein 1995: 17, 19, 21).²⁰

Probably one of the best illustrations of radicalism of the reform is two variants of the same poem by Trediakovkii. In 1734, he composed a panegyric poem commemorating an important victory of Russia over France in the so-called war of Polish Succession. The poem was pompously entitled “Oda torzhestvennaia o sdache goroda Gdanska, sochinennaia v viashchuiu slavu imeni vsepresvetleishii, derzhavneishii, velikiia gosudaryni Anny Ioannovny, imperatritsy i samoderzhitsy vserossiiskii, chrez Vasil’ia Trediakovskogo, Sanktpeterburgskii Akademii nauk sekretaria” (Triumphal Ode on the Capture of the City of Gdansk, composed to the Great Glory of the Name of the Most Illustrious, Imperial Great Sovereign Anna Ivanovna, Empress and Autocrat of All Russia, by Vasilii Trediakovskii, Secretary of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg). The composition is syllabic, i.e., the lines rhymed *abacdeed* contain nine syllables with no regard for the word accent. In the 1752 collection of Trediakovskii’s works, the same poem was published in a syllabo-tonic version. Among other changes, the nine-syllable lines were shortened to the lines with either eight (feminine) or seven (masculine) syllables measured by feet (trochaic tetrameter).²¹ In 1734 Trediakovskii wrote his treatise *Novyi i kratkii sposob k slozheniiu*

²⁰ It is also believed that two Germans, Pastor Glueck and Meister Pauss, and a Swede, Johan Gabriel Sparvenfeldt, contributed to this ‘revolution’. Both of them lived and taught in Russia. Apparently, they were the first to try to change Russian versification when they confronted its syllabic system (Brown 1980b: 60; Klein 1995: 16-17).

²¹ Below, the two versions of the poem under discussion are juxtaposed in the original Russian and in the English translations borrowed from Brown 1980b: 56-57:

rossiiskikh stikhov s opredeleniiami do sego nadlezhashchikh (New and Short Method of Composing Russian Verse) in which he repudiated the syllabic principle of versification. However, he can be credited only with the beginning of the reform.

The next step was made by Mikhail Lomonosov. While a student in Germany, Lomonosov studied theoretical works on versification by Johann Christoph Gottsched, one of the ‘fathers’ of the German versification revolution in the seventeenth century together with Martin Opitz. However, Gottsched’s influence on young Lomonosov cannot be limited to versification. His works introduced Lomonosov, a representative of the emerging Russian literature, to the European aesthetic polemics of the time (Serman 1966: 146 sq.). In this broader understanding, Lomonosov’s stylistic developments, inspired by Gottsched, may be considered as an example of conceptual transfers. In 1737-1738, Lomonosov experimented with various principles of Greco-Roman classical and especially German poetic prosodies. First he tried his hand out several translations and later moved on to writing his own poems in quantitative, not syllabic, verse. In 1739, he published his masterpiece, “Oda blazhennyia pamiati gosudaryne imperatritse Anne

Кое трезвое мне пианство
Слово дает к славной причине?
Чистое Парнаса убранство,
Музы! не вас ли вижу ныне?
И звон ваших струн сладкогласных,
И силу ликов слышу красных;
Все чинит во мне речь избранну.
Народы! радостно внимлите;
Бурливые ветры! молчите:
Храбру прославлять хошу Анну.

(What sober intoxication gives me words for the glorious occasion? Chaste ornament of Parnassus, O Muses! Is it not you whom I behold? And the sound of your sweet-voiced strings, and the power of beautiful choirs that I hear? Everything creates in me elegant speech. O peoples! Harken with gladness! Tempestuous winds, be silent! I desire to glorify the valiant Anna!)

Кое странное пианство
К пению мой глас бодрит!
Вы парнасское убранство,
Музы! ум не вас ли зрит?
Струны ваши сладкогласны.
Меру, лики слышу красны;
Пламень в мыслях восстает.
О! народы, все внимлите;
Бурны ветры! не шумите:
Анну стих мой воспоет.

(What strange intoxication // Emboldens my voice to song! You, the dornment of Parnassus, // O Muses—is it you my mind beholds? // Your sweet-voiced strings, // Measures, lovely choirs I hear; // A flame arises in my thoughts. // Oh, peoples, all harken; // Tempestuous winds, do not clamor; // My verse will celebrate Anna.)

Ioannovne na pobedu nad turkami i tatarami i na vziatie Khotina 1739 goda” (Ode in Blessed Memory of Empress Anna Ioannovna on the Victory over Turks and Tatars and on the Capture of Khotin, 1739). The “Ode” was syllabo-tonic and thus celebrated not only the final victory over Turks and Tatars but also over syllabic versification. Afterwards, Lomonosov spelled out his aesthetic principles in his *Pravila rossiiskogo stikhotvorstva* (Rules of Russian Versification).²²

Thus, Trediakovskii, Lomonosov (and later Aleksandr Sumarokov) transferred not only verbally organized constructs, texts in the linguistic sense of the word, but a whole system of versification. We find examples of transferring other structural components in eighteenth-century Russian versification. For example, Lomonosov borrowed a model of the odic stanza from Fenelon which he used in his original odes (Taranovskii 1966).

Certainly, one cannot fail to see France in the monument of the Bronze Horseman. Indeed, the creators are the French Etienne Falconet and his co-worker Marie-Anne Collot. Falconet was a friend of Diderot, himself a friend and correspondent of Catherine. This brings us into the broad theme of Catherine the Great and the French

²² The story of ode as one of the most important poetic genres of the eighteenth century in Russia requires mention. The genre was formally introduced into Russian literature by Trediakovskii’s “Triumphal Ode on the Capture of Gdansk...” Lomonosov’s “Ode... on the Capture of Khotin” made the ode a classical genre in eighteenth-century Russian literature. However, the genre had long been known in Russia under other names such as “Greetings,” “Congratulations” and similar panegyric verses composed by Simeon Polotskii, Sil’vestr Medvedev, Karion Istomin, Feofan Prokopovich, among others. Trediakovskii’s “Triumphal Ode” was the first to be named an ode because it was modelled on Boileau’s “Ode sur la prise de Namur” (1694). Boileau had popularized the genre of the ode introduced into Western Europe by Malherbe. Originally, the genre is traced to Pindar and Horace. Thus, Trediakovskii’s legitimized the route of transfers from Greco-Roman antiquity through European literatures (mostly, German and French in the eighteenth century) to Russia. Many trod the same route after him. Another famous example is translations of La Fontaine’s fables by Russian fabulists (notably, Krylov, Dmitriev). La Fontaine adopted them from Aesop passed on from generation to generation in prose and verse versions by Babrius, Phaedrus and Plaundes Maximus.

(and wider—Western European) Enlightenment. Let us consider as an example one of the most well-known political texts by Catherine—her *Nakaz komissii o sostavlenii proekta novogo ulozheniia* (Instructions to the Legislative Commission) (1767).

Catherine II (the Great) was considered a follower of the most prominent Enlightenment figures like Diderot, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and others. Catherine, together with such European enlightened despots as Frederick II the Great of Prussia, Gustavus III of Sweden, Joseph II of Austria, Charles III of Spain, Leopold, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany shared the ideas of these and other French humanists (Cowie 1989: 38). She corresponded with Diderot and Voltaire who considered Russia with Catherine on the throne as a most promising field for putting their ideas into practice. Consequently, Catherine tried her best to play the role of a ‘diligent’ disciple—which was not always easy (Vodarskii 1996). Catherine’s legal reforms reflect this side of her enlightened aspirations.

As to the source of her *Instructions*, it is almost a direct compilation of extracts from works of her ‘enlightened’ teachers. Catherine transferred their ideas, sometimes literally on the textual level, sometimes in a more disguised way. She did not hide the fact of borrowing from them. In a letter to d’Alembert, she wrote that she ‘robbed’ Montesquieu without naming him. Indeed, out of 526 articles of the *Instructions*, 245 can be traced to Montesquieu’s *L’Esprit des lois* (The Spirit of Laws). She also used some entries from the French Encyclopaedia (Pavlenko 1999: 114-115).²³

²³ The influence, however, was not exhausted by that of French philosophers. 106 articles apparently came from the book *Dei Delitti e Delle Pene* (On Crimes and Punishments) by Cesare Beccaria-Bonesana, an Italian, a major author in criminology of the eighteenth century. Besides, Catherine made use of works by Germans like Johann Jakob Friedrich Bielfeld and Johann Heinrich Gottlob Justi.

The monument that Catherine had erected is an organic part of the architecture of the city. Naturally, architectural ensembles lead us to another source of translation-transfer—Italy. Italian architects were known in Russia before Peter. However, in the pre-Petrine era, when invited, they were supposed to build according to Russian aesthetic norms and principles. In the eighteenth century, however, they represented modern European architecture. For example, when in the mid-fifteenth century walls of the Moscow Kremlin were to be replaced by the present brick ones as well as towers, Italian architects were invited. The first to come was Rodolfo Fioravanti. Initially, though, he was sent to the city of Vladimir to learn the requirements of Russian traditional architecture. In 1505, Alevisio Novo designed the Church of St Michael the Archangel in the city of Pskov. Although the building had many Renaissance features of ornament, it was basically Russian in its plan (Brown, Fennell, Kaser, Willetts 1982: 155).

The picture is totally different in the eighteenth century. Saint-Petersburg, founded in 1703, was planned as a European city. Hence, among the most pronounced influences was that of Italian architecture represented by Domenico Tressini and Count Bartolomeo Francesco Rastrelli. Later, when Catherine II introduced neo-classicist tastes in architecture, it was Antonio Rinaldi, Giacomo Quarenghi, and Carlo Rossi who contributed greatly to the grandeur of Saint-Petersburg and its vicinity (ibid.: 156-157).²⁴

It should also be mentioned that Italian music and painting were very influential and played an important part in the nineteenth-century blossoming of Russian music and painting. However, the foundation was already laid in the eighteenth century with such musicians as Dmitrii Bortnianskii (the best student of the Italian composer Baldassarre

²⁴ Italian architects were not the only foreign builders of the new capital of Russia. Among the various nationalities were French (Thomas de Thomon; Jean-Baptiste Vallin de la Mothe), Germans (Yury Velten; Leo von Klenze), and a Scottish architect, Charles Cameron.

Galuppi), Ivan Khandoshkin, Maksim Berezovskii, and Artemii Vedel', plus such painters as Vladimir Borovikovskii, Dmitrii Levitskii and Fedor Rokotov, sculptor Fedor Shubin, architects Savva Chevakinsky and Ivan Starov, among others. All of them either had Italian training or were influenced by mostly Italian artists and musicians.

Another example of Italian influence is furnished by Feofan Prokopovich, one of the major ideologists of Peter's reforms. He was invited to Moscow from Kiev, Ukraine, by Peter, who appreciated his talents and openness to new ideas. Prokopovich had a very good European education. He studied in Rome. To do that, he renounced Orthodoxy and adopted Catholicism. Note, this was not an uncommon practice at the time. Later, he reversed his religious allegiances; however, his Orthodoxy was always suspect and caused him a lot of troubles especially after Peter's death which meant the end of a most powerful protection. Only his high status and international renown (especially among Protestants in Germany) saved him from exile or any other persecution (Nichik 1977: 15, 170-171; Kochetkova 1974: 51). His personal library was believed to have had more volumes than the Imperial Library or the library of the Troitskii Monastery, one of the major seats of Russian Orthodoxy. According to one of his opponents, a Dominican monk named Bernard Ribera, his book collection was remarkably rich for Russia, which was so poor in books. Among other titles in his library, there were treatises by Bacon, Descartes, and Galileo.

Little wonder that with such an exposure to Western European ideas, Prokopovich was profoundly immersed in them. His works give quite a few examples of conceptual borrowings from philosophical works by European thinkers, notably Leibniz. His *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* draw heavily on the teachings of Aristotle as well as Cicero and

his Renaissance and post-Renaissance Western European followers (Nichik 1977: 27, 64; Kibal'nik 1983: 196-198).

In his critique of the Polish school of eloquence, Prokopovich followed the models of the so-called *barocco moderato*, which he had adopted while studying in Rome. Barocco moderato objected to the excessive stylistic embellishments of its rival, another Italian rhetoric school, *barocco esagerato*. Prokopovich applied criticisms developed by barocco moderato to one of the representatives of the Polish variant of barocco esagerato—Tomasz Młodzianowski. He reproached him for lack of content and verbosity. He ridiculed his arbitrary and ill-based allusions. For example, Młodzianowski explained that fish did not die in the Flood, according to the Biblical record, because they lived in the sea ('mare') which had the name of the Virgin as its root ('Maria'). Prokopovich wondered what was surprising in the fact that fish survived in the water and dismissed such wit which he qualified as being more stupid than the stupidity of fish. He also disapproved of Młodzianowski's lack of balance between clarity and embellishments, brevity and variety, straightforward statements and twisted circumlocutions (Kibal'nik 1983: 199-201).

We find yet another example of transfers from Italy in Lomonosov's experiments with mosaics. After Lomonosov had been greatly impressed by Italian mosaics, he decided to create his own mosaic pictures. However, he tried to use artificial opaque glass instead of natural minerals. He worked on this project for almost three years in a specially constructed chemical laboratory. Lomonosov conducted more than 3000 experiments before he learned how to prepare glass of any shade. Then, he developed the technique of assembling mosaic pictures. Not surprisingly, the first work, dedicated to

the Empress Elizabeth on September 4, 1752, was after an Italian artist painting—Solimena's *Virgin*. In 1755, Lomonosov presented his famous mosaic portrait of Peter I to the Senate. In 1757, the Academy of Arts examined Lomonosov's mosaics and found them "solid and equal in perfection to the very best mosaic work in Italy" (Menshutkin 1952: 100). Apparently, Italians themselves agreed with this judgment and in May 1764, Lomonosov was made an honorary member of the Academy of Science of Bologna for his merit in the art of mosaics (ibid.: 104-105).

Italian original mosaic compositions were an initial impulse for Lomonosov's own pioneering in the manufacturing of artificial mosaic glass and the industrialization of mosaics production. However, from his own first mosaic portrait to the final examination of his works by the Senate, Lomonosov's mosaics were viewed as reproductions of Italian pieces. The latter and the former thereby enter the relationship of the primary work (original) and the secondary work (reproduction=translation). This explains why Lomonosov's mosaics were compared with Italian mosaics. Hence, Lomonosov's being selected as a member of the Academy of Science in Bologna for his mosaics was especially meaningful. This may be compared to a translation approved by the author of the original.

Yet another country, England, left its imprint on Russia's westernization. Although the 'golden age' of anglomania came later, in the twentieth century, Peter chose England as one of the destinations during his first visit to Europe at the end of the seventeenth century. There, he and his companions primarily studied shipbuilding techniques (Gribbin 2002: 199). He is said to have proclaimed that he would rather be an English admiral than a Russian Tsar. He also said that the Russian navy owed all it was

to the happy accident which occurred when, still a youth, he discovered a derelict English sailboat. It belonged to another Romanov, Nikita, who, being interested in all things western, ordered this boat from England in the 1640s. Peter found the boat in a warehouse. Two Dutchmen, Franz Timmerman and Carsten Brandt, repaired it and helped Peter learn to sail it. Thus, out of the union of two traditions of navigation—Dutch and English, as Peter said, the Russian navy grew. Although Peter's declarations were rather blarney, apparently he felt warmly enough about England to carry on this way.

Russian fleet docks emulated English models. In fact, the influence is commemorated in naming one of the embankments on the Neva 'The English Embankment'. Art galleries came to Saint-Petersburg presumably also from England. Catherine's passion for landscape gardening, apparently, originated from English horticulture (Lieven 2006: 81).

Peter liked the British and especially the Scots. In fact, he owed a lot to Scotland for his army and his navy—to the Gordons, the Ogilvies, the Carmichaels. Among other things, inculcation with foreign ideas came through another channel related to Scotland. Peter's mother, Nataliia Naryshkina, was her son's ward together with a Scots wife, a Mary Hamilton. Most probably, Mary, who never lost touch with her own home country, somehow infected the future mother of the Russian Tsar and Emperor with her nostalgia.

The young Peter thus acquired, first, a passion for playthings from 'abroad', and, later, many of the ideas which he was to impose upon a bewildered but by no means wholly reluctant Russia. One such idea was the emancipation of women from their almost purdah-like seclusion (Crankshaw 1944: 77).

1.6. Westernization as Translation-Transfer: A Systemic Approach

The social component being an integral part of translation practice, there must be a connection between the immediate concerns and needs of a given society and its translation activities. Although one must be careful when ascribing a direct relationship between periods of intensification of social processes and translation, it seems likely that whenever we observe animation in the field of translation it may well imply a higher degree of social momentum. This correlation also holds true if we understand translation in a broader semiotic sense.

In his article “Problems and Challenges of Translation in an Age of New Media and Competing Models,” José Lambert advocated a broader understanding of the term ‘translation’ which should include not only autonomous texts, but also text fragments (2006: 131-145). Otherwise, “we implicitly ignore an enormous quantity of texts that are not called translations but that in fact play a key role in our contemporary societies” (p. 142). He suggests considering verbal translation as only one type of communication which requires a wider understanding of the terms ‘text’, ‘equivalence’, ‘language’ (pp. 142-144).

In this, we can see a return to Roman Jakobson’s third type of translation—‘intersemiotic’ translation—as well as ideas of the Tartu school, notably, Iurii Lotman’s idea of texts in communicational frames. This also brings TS closely to Transfer Studies (Even-Zohar 1990: 73 sq.). Susanne Goepferich defines TS “as the field of research whose object is any mediated transformation of offers of information performed to fulfil

specific functions and meet the needs of specific audiences” (Goepferich 2004: 34). However, it is not clear in this article where TS stops and Transfer Studies starts and whether by pleading for a widening of scope of TS the author does not plead actually for making two disciplines one. Transfer Studies, as she explains, concentrates on “non-literary texts” (p. 34). At the same time, the objective of Transfer Studies “is to investigate the principles, methods and strategies of making knowledge accessible in a selective and sustained way in the wake of a flood of information and knowledge explosion” (Gerd Antos as quoted in Goepferich 2004: 28). Does it mean that knowledge is offered only in the form of non-literary texts? Another aspect that does not seem to be quite clear about the article is if in essence it is a prescriptive approach to translation / transfer. If so, then Goepferich reduces the chief point of the plea to making TS less prescriptive. The prescriptiveness is overcome in DTS, but, in the author’s opinion, DTS is concerned with literary texts which detracts from its potential applicability. Jakobson, Lambert and Lieven D’hulst (2008) are clearer and go further. However, what is important in connection with Goepferich’s article is the clear tendency to go beyond concepts of equivalence and include into the analysis a wider range of means of knowledge exchange.

The applicability of Lambert’s suggestions can be broadened. Indeed, if we limit translation to its verbal aspects, we ignore an enormous quantity of texts not only in “our modern societies,” as he states, but in societies of other historical periods, notably in eighteenth-century Russia. Lambert advocates a semiotically all-embracing definition of translation where “explaining transfer phenomena between non-verbal signs [together with verbal ones] appears simply a question of generality” (Lambert 2006: 143).

However, the question is bound to arise: how to “conceptualize translation despite its heteronomy?” (Hermans 1999: 137). As one of the possible solutions to this problem, Theo Hermans suggests applying Niklas Luhmann’s system theory (Luhmann 1995, 2000). Hermans does consider translation as a system (Hermans 1999: 144 sq.). However, to understand not only the intrinsic characteristics of translation as a system but to conceptualize it despite its heteronomy, one should look at it from the right distance, so to speak, that would provide the sought level of ‘generality’. If translation is a socially determined phenomenon, it should be considered within a larger social context. In this sense, translation may be viewed as a ‘subsystem’ of a large scale social system—society.

The analysis of its “guiding difference” (*Leitdifferenz*) from other subsystems (science, law, politics) shows that its primary function is to produce “representations of anterior discourses across semiotic boundaries [...] At the same time, however, translation does not operate in and for itself, but caters for other interests, other [sub]systems—hence its heteronomy” (Hermans 1999: 142-143). Thus, to account for translation as a heteronomous and yet autonomous phenomenon, one has to put it in a larger context—the entire social system.

Translation as a subsystem has its function in the social system. A crucial concept that I am going to borrow from Luhmann is ‘boundary phenomenon’. Hermans’ mentioning that translation goes “across semiotic boundaries” does not seem specific enough because his emphasis in the application of Luhmann’s system theory lies on translation as a system. However cursory, such an interpretation of translation still proves to be enlightening, because in defining the *Leitdifferenz* of translation as a

[sub]system, Hermans *volens-nolens* has to broaden the scope of his consideration. The object of his speculation changes from translation as a system to translation among other systems. He gives examples of interlingual translations and touches on translation's catering for other systems. Because of the changing scopes of observation, some of his terminology becomes rather fuzzy. For example, do 'semiotic boundaries' imply only boundaries of other [sub]systems with their own "texts and other semiotic constructs" or do they comprise also linguistic and national boundaries? (Hermans 1999: 143.)

In his application of Luhmann's social systems theory to translation, Hermans does not seem to take fully into account that translation is fundamentally a social phenomenon, despite paying a passing nod to this notion here and there. I argue that it is more productive to consider translation as a subsystem whose primary function and *Leitdifferenz* are better seen within the entire social system. Translation is a subsystem within this system. Translation's principal responsibility is to separate the system from its environment and at the same time connect it with its environment (Luhmann 1995: 29). It opens the system when it makes texts (in the broad semiotic sense of the word), received from the environment, available for the system. And yet, when translation filters and transforms the texts (e.g., by choosing not to render their certain parts, changing some of their genre characteristics), it closes the system.

Whatever is appropriated by the system from its environment is bound to cross the system's 'border'. In eighteenth-century Russia, as I have shown above, we find a wide range of 'goods' and 'persons' crossing this border. The importation of Western knowledge was made possible through this or that type of translation, whether verbal or non-verbal. In fact, the difference between these two types of translation is sometimes

hard to pin down. This is the case with para-verbal translations, i.e., transfers which are close to verbal translations, for instance, “translations” of font graphics, orthography rules, or versification systems.

In modern society, there are different levels of boundaries functioning: national boundaries and boundaries between functional systems (Luhmann 1995: 30-31). This brings us to the question as to where the borderline between the then Russia as a social system and its environment is to be drawn.

(1) The analysis shows that beside the national frontier the following other boundaries should be considered. Sending young people abroad to study was widely practiced in eighteenth-century Russia. These people learned new ideas and thereby became the locus where the system contacted its environment. On the other hand, Russia used foreigners’ expertise in various fields. They brought their European values into Russia. This is how they can also become part of the system’s boundary because these foreign experts were the locus where the system met with the environment. In these cases we do not always deal with translation of verbal texts. Rather, both Russian young people sent abroad and foreign specialists coming to Russia are an example of transferring ideas and translating terms in ‘the minds’ of learners.

(2) Another boundary locus was publications. To give but one example, in the period from 1722 to 1742, the Library of the nascent Academy of Sciences in Saint-Petersburg received almost one and a half thousand French books only (Tiulichev 1988). Not all of them were translated. However, their influence on the “minds” of their readers cannot be underestimated: they gave a powerful boost to the unfolding reforms. Again, these publications appropriated by the system became part of its boundary.

Importantly, in the cases (1) and (2), to a great extent, one may speak of a covert translation process. Yet new ideas, concepts and vocabulary were imported, and even deeper language phenomena like abstract word-formation patterns, and complex syntactic structures for scientific or literary discourse were activated, as we will see later.

(3) The overt translation process, translating publications and interpreting (while communicating with foreign experts), was also enormously energized as compared with the several preceding centuries of Russian history.

Thus, translation as a subsystem plays the role of boundary phenomenon of the social system. Translation is responsible for the passage of 'texts' (in the broad semiotic sense) or their elements from the 'outside' (the environment) into the system. If we fail to take the social function of translation into full consideration or limit its application only to verbal transfers and / or to complete verbal transfers ('full texts'), we run the risk of distorting the analyzed phenomena or losing the proper scope and scale of observation. On the contrary, if we look at translation exercising its social function of a boundary phenomenon, we will be able to understand better not only inner workings of translation as a subsystem but also its social involvements and interdependencies.

CHAPTER 2. MODERNIZATION AS WESTERNIZATION

2.1. The Russian Empire as a Communication System

In the present study, the Russian Empire of the eighteenth century will be considered as a communication system.²⁵ As a system, Russia was characterized by a definite type of communication that made it stand apart from other distinctly shaped communication systems which formed other states, countries and nations of Eurasia of the eighteenth century. These other countries, states and nations are viewed as the environment of the Russian Empire.

Russia as a unity with a certain type of communication was an entity separated from its environment not only by geographic frontiers but also by a definite borderline that isolated its communication from any other communication. By communication, we mean all economic, social and cultural phenomena and behavioural patterns in their exchanges (hence, communication) that distinguished Russia from any other politically independent power.

At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that Russia, like many other political powers of the time, included a number of nations and ethnic groups. However, such groups were incorporated into the Russian Empire, shared the same communication and belonged to the same communication system.

Indeed, when we speak of 'Russia' or anything 'Russian,' do we mean the Russian nation *per se*? Do we include Ukrainians and Byelorussians, thus equating the

²⁵ The term 'empire' is what this particular political entity called itself and therefore is preferred here to other appellations, for example, 'country', 'nation', 'state'. If, however, applied to the Russian Empire, these terms should be interpreted as interchangeable with the term 'empire'. See Lieven 2001.

term ‘Russian’ with the term ‘Slavic’?²⁶ In the present study, the term ‘Russian’ means ‘related to the Russian Empire’ as it existed in the eighteenth century.²⁷ The separations between Russia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia were not as clearly demarcated as they are now because, to a great extent, these cultures were closely related, if not merged. A Byelorussian, like Simeon Polotskii, may thus be considered “Russian” in the period and nation under study. Indeed, Polotskii played an important role in Russian westernization as one of the so-called Latinists engaged in heated discussions with the Grecophiles, another major group of scholars in Russia at the time. The influence of such Ukrainians as Grigorii Skovoroda, Peter Mohila, and especially Feofan Prokopovich upon the development of the Russian Enlightenment cannot be overestimated. Mohila’s works circulated in Russia quite widely. They are present in some of the important catalogues and in several reprints (Bobrova 1978; Pozdeeva, Kashkarova, Lerenman 1980). Prokopovich was considered one of the main ideologists of Peter’s reforms. In Luhmannian terms, Polotskii, Skovoroda, Mohila, and Prokopovich contributed to the communication of the then Russian Empire and therefore may be called ‘Russians’ in a sense broader than simply ethnic (Durnovo 1969: 8).

Other non-Slavic nations that were historically brought into close contact with Russia also exercised a considerable influence upon the latter’s cultural developments through their representatives—one example is Antiokh Kantemir, a Moldavian²⁸. This is

²⁶ During the Soviet period, ‘Russian’ often meant ‘Soviet’ in the West.

²⁷ See: Aleksandrov 2003; Borščak 1948; Kuskov 1994: 142-143; Boulanin 1995; Gumilev 1995.

²⁸ To be more precise, Kantemir was not even a pure Moldavian. Apparently, his grandfather was of Tatar origin. The name ‘Kantemir’ comes from the word-combination *Kan Timur*, which means ‘a relative of Timur’. Kantemir’s grandfather served in Poland for some time, then he settled down in Moldavia. His grandmother was a close relative of the Moldavian ruling nobility. Antiokh Kantemir’s father, an exceptionally educated man for his time, elected to be a member of the Berlin Academia of Sciences, married a Greek woman, a descendant of Byzantine emperors. Greek was the spoken language in the family. When Antiokh was a child, among his teachers were two Greek monks and a Russian, a student of

explained, on the one hand, by the fact that the state frontiers were much more easily penetrable, and, on the other hand, by the fact that the frontiers were constantly changing as a result of wars and political processes. Certain modern independent nations like Ukraine, Byelorussia, or Moldova were parts of the Russian Empire at one time or another, either partially or entirely in contrast to their present-day, clearly demarcated territories. Consequently, cultural figures did not consider themselves as belonging to any one individual nation but would likely go to Moscow or Saint Petersburg to gain desired fame and recognition. This state of affairs was typical before the eighteenth century and continued well into the nineteenth century. Such major Ukrainian-born writers as Ivan Kotliarevskii, Nikolai Gogol' and Taras Shevchenko wrote both in Russian and Ukrainian. For example, Gogol' wrote all his major chef-d'oeuvres in Russian, and is considered primarily as a classic Russian author. Shevchenko wrote his major literary works in Ukrainian and they are considered primarily as Ukrainian classics. Shevchenko is considered a Ukrainian author despite the fact that his diary was written in Russian (Shevchenko 1927). In Kotliarevskii's plays, some characters speak Ukrainian and some Russian.

An even more interesting case is that of agents of the Russian pre-Enlightenment and Enlightenment of a distinctly foreign origin, such as Maksim Grek, a Greek who lived in Russia during the reign of Ivan IV the Terrible (1533-1584) and became, among other things, the leader of a translation 'school' (Mathauserova 1976; Boulanin 1995). His translations into Russian were published as separate volumes during his lifetime (see

the Moscow Academy—Ivan Il'inskii (Pokrovskii 1910: 1-10). Actually, we can go all the way to Ethiopia tracing national or ethnic backgrounds of some prominent figures of the Russian Empire. Indeed, Aleksandr Pushkin had an Ethiopian among his forefathers. It was an Ethiopian taken for service by Peter (Perkarskii 1972, v. 1: 163).

Grek's *Apophthegmata* as mentioned in Bobrova 1978; Pozdeeva, Kashkarova, Lerenman 1980).

In fact, certain institutions based geographically entirely outside Russia contributed immensely to the westernization of Russia. Such was the Kievo-Pecherskaia Lavra in Kiev. The number of its scholars' and scribes' manuscripts that ended up in Russia and are now kept in the library of the University of Moscow is astounding (Pozdeeva, Kashkarova, Lerenman 1980). Some Russian institutions were actually formed with the help of non-Russians. The teaching staff of the newly established Russian Academy of Sciences was predominantly of Western European origin (Kolchinksii 2000). Some social milieus, although not formal institutions, were also quite influential—e.g., the famous Nemetskaia Sloboda, the Foreign District, in Moscow. As mentioned, Peter the Great frequented it and his first impressions of Western civilization came from here (Bobylev 1990: 16-18).

Hence, the term 'Russia' will apply to the Russian Empire of the period under consideration, and the term 'Russian' to those cultural and political phenomena that surfaced in the territory of Russia or that can be traced to the Russian Empire, regardless of the origin of their agents.

2.2. An Early Latecomer

In this political unity, Russia, which we will consider as a communication system, an active process started roughly at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The nature of the process is comparable to that termed as modernization by some scholars.

I am aware that the term ‘modernization’ and its cognates ‘modern’, ‘modernity’ are very controversial and interpreted differently. One of Fredric Jameson’s maxims of modernity in his seminal essay “A Singular Modernity” reads as follows: “Modernity is not a concept [...] but a narrative category” (2002: 40). However, provided there is a “narrative elucidation” of the term ‘modernity’ and its cognates, this saves a lot of efforts: one does not have to repeat the same definitions which are included into the term, and this “puts us on a more productive track” (ibid.: 33). In the present study, I will rely on a list of the most salient modernization phenomena as singled out in Marion J. Levy, Jr. (1972), and in the part where modernization is linked to the Enlightenment, I will draw on David Punter (2007). It seems more logical to start with the historical, or genealogical, aspect of modernization. Modernization, when considered over the last three-hundred years, is often linked to the Enlightenment. Punter lists four areas where the Enlightenment influenced a transfer from one stage of history to another, from the past to modernity:

1. The great *Encyclopaedia* (1751-72) constitutes an attempt at creating a general taxonomy of world phenomena and, especially, of human activities. It is not simply a catalogue, but rather a map which allows us to deal effectively with what is already known and also provides paths for new knowledge to be obtained.
2. The Enlightenment sets itself in opposition to religion and the principle of mystery it ultimately represents. Allegedly, religion possesses the key to the mystery of the Universe. This mystery or secret belongs to the selected ones. The Enlightenment dispels the mystery, if partially, but, more importantly, it proclaims intellectual activities a major key to unravelling mysteries of the world. Moreover, it makes this key

universally accessible: anyone can engage in collecting knowledge and sharing it with others.

3. The indispensable basis for this is reason. Reason is declared capable of understanding and explaining everything hitherto deemed unfathomable. Reason, at some further point, becomes a principal yardstick for gauging political affairs. Eventually, it shatters the divine right of rulers to reign as well as the divinely imposed duty of the rest to obey them. This thinking led to the social revolutions and uprisings for which the French Revolution set an example. Its reverberations are clearly perceived in the Marxist theory of social struggle and in the Bolshevik practice of overthrowing the same royal dynasty whose representatives brought the Enlightenment to Russia.

4. Finally, the Enlightenment was fundamentally part and parcel of the general scientific and technological advance. This advance was interpreted as a progress and came to be looked upon as a good thing, a model to emulate.

The last point brings us to understanding why European “enlightened” nations became a natural choice for emulation. The scientific and technological advance is the least abstract of what was viewed as the positive points of the Enlightenment. An extremely rapid scientific and technological development of European ‘firstcomers’ (Levy) into modernization, based on ideas of the broadly conceived enlightenment, enabled them to literally rule the world. In this sense the European Enlightenment of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries stands on the shoulders of the Renaissance with its fundamental rationalization of knowledge and acquiring knowledge as opposed to the comprehension of the Universe almost exclusively from the point of view of religious

fideism. If any other nation wanted to compete with them, it had no other way than to do the same. Among 'late-comers', Russia rapidly followed suit.

However the process with late-comers was the opposite to that of firstcomers. Late-comers saw the first results of the enlightenment and worked their way from outward imitation (fuelled by their desire to be as well-off as their enlightened neighbours or teachers) to major changes in their entire philosophy, social and cultural way of life (Levy 1972: 9). They moved from *modus operandi* to *modus vivendi*, so to speak. That is exactly what we see in the case of Russia.

The measure of modernization is defined by Levy as "the ratio of inanimate to animate sources of power. The higher that ratio, the higher is the degree of modernization" (1972: 3). One can interpret Levy's definition of modernization in a wider sense by equating the term of 'inanimate' to technology. At that, the term 'technology' should by no means be reduced to all sorts of machines, devices, whether mechanical or electronic. Technology may be conceived in a broader sense as functional simplification, and therefore—"a form of the reduction of complexity" (Luhmann 1998: 6). Levy's classification of nations in terms of their entering the process of modernization is dependent on that ratio.

Let us observe 'firstcomers' and 'latecomers'. The former term applies to "people who [...] developed the patterns that we refer to as modernized ones when those patterns did not previously exist in the world" (ibid.: 4). Among them we find England, France, and the United States (ibid.: 6).

The late-comers include "those who, whether by force of others or volition of their own or some combination of the two, took over or tried to take over some of these

patterns from a developed model” (ibid.: 4). In this category, Levy further distinguishes between early and ‘other’ latecomers. This differentiation is based on the chronology of coming into contact with ‘firstcomers’ and their respective types of modernization patterns (ibid.: 6).

Levy includes Russia in the category of ‘early latecomers’ with the following reason: “I would include the Soviet Union in this category since I am not persuaded that the history of modernization there begins in 1917” (ibid.: 6). He terms Russia “the Soviet Union,” yet he doubts that its modernization started in 1917. If we agree that modernization is indeed closely linked with the Enlightenment, then Dmitrii Chizhevskii’s tracing the beginning of the spread of the Enlightenment in Russia to the time of Peter the Great would mean for us not only the beginning of the Enlightenment but also of the entire process of modernization in Russia (Tschizewskij 1978: 168). Therefore I fully agree with Levy’s doubting Russia’s entering modernization in 1917 and we would put it as far back as the eighteenth century. Here, we would further adjust Levy, who believed in 1972 that modernization had been no older than 150 years. However, he wrote about a ‘full-figured’, ‘adult’ modernization (p. 4). According to the scholar, ‘early latecomers’ are found among European nations who were in a close contact with each other during their development and therefore ‘firstcomers’ influenced ‘early latecomers’ sooner than ‘other latecomers’ “who came increasingly into contact with those patterns [of modernization] only after they were highly developed” (Levy 1972: 6).

In Luhmannian terms, in the eighteenth century, Russia as a communication system opened itself to a great change in the way its communication was carried out. It

was an important step in the history of Russia as a system because Russia had reached its acme as a superethnos and Russia as we know it today started (Kluchevskii 1960). After Peter the Great, Russia was never as it had been before. This helps us to locate the eighteenth-century modernization of Russia on the time-line of the country's history and ethnogenetic dynamic.

2.3. Westernization

At this point, Russia also re-oriented itself as a system within its immediate environment.

As Dmitrii Chizhevskii writes,

[t]he most important problem which faced Russian thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the relationship of Russia to the West. Russia lies between East and West. To be sure, since the earth is round, every country lies between East and West and has relations with its eastern and western neighbours, but very special cultures lie to the east and west of Russia: the Occident and the Orient, the European West and the Asiatic East. (1978: 135)

In order to understand the way Russia as a communication system behaved in the eighteenth century, it is not enough to see when and why Russia opened for modernization. It is equally important to understand that modernization meant 'westernization'. That is to say that the system selected a certain segment of its environment to open. Thereby it chose to modify its communication in a certain way that was not an Oriental way, but a Western way.

In a sense, the previous opening of a related superethnos—the Kievan Rus'—in the tenth century, when it adopted Christianity from Byzantium, was also towards the

West, but to a different part of the West. For clarity's sake, I will still use the term 'westernization', and not too general 'Europeanization', in this analysis.

There remain, however, several comments to be made. First, in the literature on the period in question, it is disputed whether Peter the Great's reformatory reign was a revolution or an evolution (Cracraft 1991). This question concerns his role in the initiation of the reforms. It should be noted, however, that he did not start them, nor did he end them. Furthermore, he was not alone in carrying them out (Pavlenko 1991; Kamenskii 1999; Anan'ich 1996; Vodarskii 1996a; Pavlenko, Drozdova, Kolkina 2001). Indeed, the westernization of Russia had been an economic and political necessity realized well before Peter's accession to the throne (Čiževskij 1971: 320). Clearly, Russia was not and, obviously, could not be, in complete isolation from other countries, especially those of Western Europe. Contact was constant throughout Russia's history, from the time when Eastern Slavic tribes began forming the so-called Kievan Rus' circa the ninth century until much later – in Muscovy (Sobolevskii 1903). For example, during Ivan the Terrible's reign and immediately following his death (a century before Peter's reign) foreign mercenaries and craftsmen were frequently invited to Russia (Margeret 1983). One such 'westerner' was the abovementioned Maksim Grek who later became one of the leading figures of Russian pre-Petrine culture. In their correspondence, Ivan the Terrible and the state official Andrei Kurbskii—who defected, to use the modern political term, and fled to Poland—discussed the possibility of Russian monarchs learning from the West (Rykov 1982). The closer we move towards the eighteenth century, the more numerous the evidence of westernization becomes (Kluchevsky 1960: 254 sq.; Hughes 1984). Finally, Peter's father, tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich (of the newly

established the Romanov dynasty succeeding the Rurikoviches), often invited and received European experts in order to boost existing Russian economic enterprises or initiate new ones (Andreev 2003). Thus, Peter was continuing these initiatives rather than starting them from scratch. In this sense, his was an evolutionary reformation of Russia. On the other hand, he, no doubt, greatly accelerated and energized the process that had been initiated before him. In this sense, one is justified in referring to his reforms as a revolution of a sort, a rupture, rather than part of a continuum (Kamenskii 1999, Vodarskii 1996a).

To say that Peter the Great initiated the westernization of Russia would be misleading; conversely, one cannot possibly play down his role in the process, because he was unique among Russian tsars in that he encouraged not only the reformation of Russia but went so far as to plunge himself into the firsthand experience of Western cultures.

Yet his rule, by and large, represents only one aspect of the westernization of Russia—that of economic development. Although he did touch upon cultural innovations, these were of a rather superficial (if not sometimes farcical) nature; for instance, his imposing of Western European dress and pastimes (the so-called *assembled*—social gatherings). The literary scene during Peter's reign is referred to as a 'vacuum' by specialists in Russian literary history (Nikolaev 1996). One may say that his westernization of Russia was mostly on the level of *modus operandi* rather than *modus vivendi*.

There was, however, another wave of cultural westernization during Catherine the Great's reign (the end of the eighteenth century), which was related to the arts and

humanities (Pavlenko 1999). While Peter was mostly interested in economic innovations, Catherine, who was herself a writer, if amateur, and corresponded with Grimm, Voltaire and Diderot, may be described as a major cultural reformer of Russia (Fajnštejn, Göpfert 1996; Karp 1998). However, her role in this capacity should not be overestimated. We would contradict historical fact if we said that nobody before her contributed to the arts-related westernization of Russia, or that hers was an exclusively cultural (arts-related) westernization and Peter's was exclusively economic (Anisimov 1999; Vodarskii 1996b). Overall, it seems only logical to concentrate mainly (but not exclusively) on Peter the Great's and Catherine the Great's contributions to the westernization of Russia for they were undisputedly the major figures responsible for these reforms. Thus,

[i]n the process of westernization Peter [followed by Catherine] began by borrowing techniques from the more advanced European countries but ended up with acquiring also a whole new crop of culture values. The importation of watches, wigs and cannons was soon followed by the German ballet, French poetry, and Italian paintings (Slonim 1958: 14-15).

2.4. Why Western Europe?

We still have to explain in a more detailed way why Russia as a communication system chose Western Europe as a model to emulate. Here we go back to Marion Levy's concept of 'firstcomers' and 'latecomers', or in the case of Russia—'early latecomers' of modernization understood in political and economic terms. Before any latecomer's desire to follow firstcomers can be fully and unequivocally understood, the following important generalizations about material factors should be noted (Levy 1972: 9):

1. All peoples are aware of the material factors of their existence;

2. All peoples distinguish between being better off or worse off;
3. All peoples prefer being better off to being worse off;
4. Peoples, however, vary in what price they are ready to pay to be better off.

Since virtually any nation prefers to be better off, modernization can be considered as “a universal social solvent” (Levy) in the sense that whenever a ‘more modernized’ nation comes in contact with a ‘less modernized’ one, the latter inevitably wants to become like the former. This is what happened to Russia in the eighteenth century, when Russia as a system chose to succumb to this “universal solvent” of modernization. Since ‘firstcomers’, a group of European countries, started modernization, naturally Russia chose them as a model. Put roughly, Russia chose the West as a desired model of economic and social organization and thereby it chose to be westernized. (Note that when I write that Russia “chose,” I personify it and make it appear as a unanimous unity. However, a communication system, according to Luhmann, is not a conscious system or a collection of individuals. Accordingly, personification is no more than a metaphor to help understand the studied phenomenon at the highest level of abstraction.)

2.5. Translation Is the Way

As participants in the process of modernization, firstcomers and latecomers are in different positions. There are advantages and disadvantages on both sides. Firstcomers make their modernized way slowly through many mistakes, with little idea of where they are heading. Latecomers have a major advantage: they do not have to re-invent the

wheel. They can simply borrow what is already there, what firstcomers have already discovered and created.

The possible advantages in the sheer availability of know-how—the examples, the experience, the range of possibilities—are all spread before the latecomer [... W]ith the passage of time the facility and generalization of communication, both oral and visual, have increased exponentially, and have thus further escalated this type of “advantage” (Levy 1972: 12-13).²⁹

How can latecomers appropriate whatever know-how is available with firstcomers? The simplest way is to borrow it as did Peter and Catherine. Westernization was a type of modernization as well as a method of modernization—Russia was made ‘western’ through borrowing the ‘western’.³⁰

Let us consider a testimony by one of Peter’s contemporaries, Vasilii Tatishchev, a historian and geographer. He wrote that Russia knew about how many riches came to England, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, and France from their colonies overseas. Peter’s government considered possibilities of trade with Oriental countries and perhaps even expansion of the empire further east. However, both expeditions targeting the East and those investigating Russia itself needed detailed geographic descriptions and maps of those lands. One of the most important ways to meet this need was to translate books of

²⁹ There are disadvantages, too, for latecomers but they do not concern us here. See Levy 1972: 13 sq.

³⁰ No doubt, there can be other scenarios of modernization. Moreover, it is not that firstcomers always moved in some sort of parallel way and then, at some further point in time, were joined by latecomers. They borrowed from each other thereby keeping abreast of each other’s modernization: at times, passing the others, at times, being passed by the others, teaching the others and learning from the others at the same time. Thus for example, in the seventeenth century, English mercantilists envied Holland’s naval might and profits Holland had from trade and encouraged the Englishmen to learn from the Dutch. Holland, in turn, drew on economic achievements of Spain and Italy. France emulated some of both Holland’s and England’s accomplishments (Letiche 1964: 284). Whatever the overall dynamic of the process, clearly, this is what Luhmann described as a formation of one new system, the system of the modern world. Basically, all the modernized nations started participating in the same communication. They may be said to form one communication system with several subsystems: economic, social, legal, even cultural, etc., except, probably, the political one (Luhmann 1998). But in the eighteenth century, this world communication system was only at its initial stage.

outstanding foreign geographers—notably, Bernhard Varenius and Johann Huebner. Their works were supposed to “set an example” for Russian geographers to follow (Kirilov 1977: 17). When, however, Huebner’s book was translated, Peter found the chapter on Russia “totally misleading” and commissioned Count Brius to write a new one. In another case, Peter ordered a translator to follow the original exactly. In his letter to Aleksandr Golovkin, the translator of the German book *Military Architecture* by Sturm, he asked him to see that tables and drawings be made exactly like in the original. (Pis’ma 1950 vol. 9, #1: 11; vol. 8, #1: 375; vol. 8, #2: 1057).

As pointed out earlier, Peter hired foreigners to work in Russia. For example, he instructed Kurakin, his representative in England, how to conduct the negotiations about hiring an expert of the “machine in which they go under water” (Efimov 1995: 78; also pp. 58-59, 79). In France, an expert was sought to work at glass mills in Narva (ibid.: 103, 79). In another letter, he charged the abovementioned Kurakin to help Blumenfeld to recruit academics for the future Russian Academy of Sciences and Fine Arts (ibid.: 104). In some letters, he gave various instructions as to Russians studying in Western Europe, e.g., about sending home students of various fine arts in England because of political tensions; about Russians serving in the Spanish fleet (ibid.: 86).

Peter used every possible means of transferring all things Western into Russia. In 1715, he allowed marriages between Russians and subjects of other nations “for mitigating old traditions” (ibid.: 76). Even beech trees were imported to Saint-Petersburg from Germany (ibid.: 79—81).

All these instances show that Russia followed the example of Western European countries, which had benefited from their colonies overseas, and that it tried to expand its

influence eastwards like them. Or in another case, every possible means was used to transfer knowledge, culture and objects of cultural setting to 'westernize' Russia as much as possible, extensive westernization being mistaken for intensive westernization. Russia translated foreign publications dealing with areas of knowledge which it lacked "to set an example" for itself. It borrowed what was available from firstcomers and learned from them by transferring their knowledge.

At the same time, the process of translation was far from indiscriminate. As soon as deficiencies were found in how and what had been shown in translated publications, they were immediately corrected.

Translation-transfer was thus a major mechanism for bringing a latecomer to the level reached by firstcomers. Translation exercised its function of opening the communication system to a new influence. At the same time, it also readily exercised its filtering / closing function. It protected the communication of the target system from any undesirable intrusion. Whatever, the system did not consider profitable, was censored in translation.

The abovementioned examples show that transfer played a crucial role in bringing latecomers up to the level of firstcomers. Translation in the narrow, verbal, sense of the term or in a wider sense, described above as tantamount to borrowing, is the key in the process of modernization. However, the key role may still vary considerably in scope. In Luhmannian terms, what type of conditioning did translation exercise? Was it a catalytic agent? Or was it a constraint, a *sine qua non* of Russia's westernization? A deeper analysis is needed on translation and its influence on intrasystemic communication.

CHAPTER 3. INSIDE THE SYSTEM

3.1. Aspects of Modernization

Some aspects of modernization, whether in Russia or elsewhere, are totally unrelated to transfers (Levy 1972; Tschiewskij 1978: Part II). For example, the initial events in the economy, politics, social life, etc. experienced by firstcomers that came to be looked upon as modernization (whether termed that or not) were developments stemming from their previous stages.

Other aspects of modernization are caused by previous developments that can be indirectly related to transfers. Latecomers may need to realize that certain changes had to be introduced in order to bring the country up to the level of their 'modernized' neighbours and that this led to transfers of know-how, shifts in behavioural patterns and conventions, ideological and general cultural and philosophical *doxas*. These transfers resulted from various interactions of the system with its environment. It is these transfers and the role of translation in them that I will now focus on.

3.2. A New Discourse

I have already given examples of various transfers leading to Russia's westernization. They are importation of new ideas, concepts, skills, translation of books, interpreting for foreign specialists. Such transfers significantly influenced the new social discourse which did an about-face. The symbolic significance of the Bronze Horseman is

that Peter is shown turned away from Russia to the West. In short, what had been considered with the utmost negative connotation became a model.

One of the most prominent features of the newly established discourse was learning. Not many of introduced concepts became as crucial as this one. Learning had been possible in pre-Petrine Russia only from Greek Orthodoxy but even that had its limit. To give just one example, Russian Orthodoxy gradually developed a view of itself as the Third Rome; i.e., it held itself as the heiress of the true (orthodox) Christian doctrine, “the very Church and the very state in which heaven on earth had already become a reality” (Tschizewskij 1978: 124). Naturally, the ‘pupil’ turned into the ‘teacher’ and learning became impossible. That explains why when the Patriarch Nikon initiated a campaign of checking and re-translating sacred books, the Church split up into Nikon’s followers and the so-called Old Believers. Importantly, it is translation as a means of learning and rectifying what might have gone wrong was rejected by Old Believers. This caused “not only an ecclesiastical but also a cultural schism” (Čiževskij 1971: 321).

Although the other part of the society followed Church reforms, learning on a large, state scale must be traced to Peter’s own formative years in Moscow Foreign District. Peter kept learning later, too, when, for example, he went to Europe. There, he always showed a strong desire to see as much as possible, for example, to visit museums and companies. His explicit references to the importance of learning in general, learning from the West, learning for him personally, and learning for everybody are well-known. Even almost a century after his death, he was shown as a pupil drinking to the health of his teachers in Pushkin’s poem *Poltava* in the episode of the celebration of Peter’s

victory over Charles XII and his army. His most prominent ideologists, like Feofan Prokopovich, also never tired of stressing the importance of learning. Prokopovich wrote that there was nothing shameful in learning what was better in other countries as long as it served to the best of Russia. Catherine the Great also was proud to be considered one of Diderot's and Voltaire's pupils.

In his *Public Lectures about Peter the Great*, delivered in 1872, a prominent Russian historian Sergei Soloviev said that Petrine Russia's goal was to enter the European political theatre which was unthinkable without arts and knowledge. In his *Manifesto* (1702) about recruiting foreign experts, Peter announced: "We had to introduce certain necessary changes for the good of our nation in the manner of our ruling, so that our subjects could have access to learning what until now they had not known and thereby be more skilful in trading affairs." This led to the four measures of spreading knowledge in the empire put into practice by both Peter and his successors to the throne, hence the westernization / modernization / enlightenment of Russia (Soloviev 1984: 100 sq.):

- 1) He established schools, among the first being the mathematical and navigational ones in Moscow with three Englishmen as the first professors. In pre-Petrine Russia, there were only church elementary education and professional training. Higher degrees of education were accessible either by sending students abroad or inviting professors. It was done on a limited scale: students were sent only to Greece; professors were invited from Germany and Italy. In the case of Italy, there was basically a mechanical copying of educational patterns from the Jesuits. This may be found in Kiev in the time of Peter Mohila. Yet, already by the end of the seventeenth century, new

patterns started to appear, which were based on general humanities—*Humanitaet*. Peter tried to broaden education and make it less Greek-Orthodox-oriented. Rather, he developed the line of professional training with more general subjects in the program and that of *Humanitaet*, especially while planning the Academy of Sciences. He also increased enormously the numbers of Russians sent to study abroad (Vladimirskii-Budanov 1874). Later Catherine the Great also paid much attention to the development of the educational system in Russia (Pavlenko 1999; Pekarskii 1972; Pekarskii 1976).

2) Books, textbooks and manuals were translated. Peter actively participated in the process. He was an editor and commissioner of translations; Catherine herself even translated. In between the two rules, translation never stopped being considered as one of the most important activities. Figures of the highest calibre, such writers and scholars as Vasilii Trediakovskii, Antiokh Kantemir, Mikhail Lomonosov, Aleksandr Sumarokov, were themselves translators (Berman 1971; Kutina 1966; Pokrovskii 1910; Silbajoris 1968). Lomonosov also took an active part in book-printing, thereby encompassing all stages of book production from translating or writing them to publication in his career (Menshutkin 1947; Petrov, Tsart 1977; Tiulichev 1988).

3) In 1703, Peter also founded a newspaper *Vedomosti* whose full title runs as follows: “*News about Military and Other Affairs, Worthy of Knowing and Remembering, Which Happened Both in the Muscovy State and in Other Neighbouring Countries.*” This was another means of educating the Russian people and integrating them into the circle of European countries. Over time, all sorts of newspapers and magazines appeared in Russia. Catherine also established a satiric journal *Vsiakaia vsiachina* (“All Sorts and Sundries”). In the period from 1769 to 1770, seventy issues

were published. She also tried the occupation of journalist on its pages when she participated in the polemics with a famous Russian satirist Nikolai Novikov about the nature of satire. Catherine's model for *Vsiakaia vsiachina* presumably was Richard Steele's and Joseph Addison's *Spectator*. Like Peter, she wanted to introduce the most recent developments of Western Europe's literary scene into Russian cultural life (Berkov 1952: 225-229).

4) As the fourth way of enlightening his subjects, Peter promoted theatre. His father, tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, was among the first Russian lovers of theatre. His son Peter, however, turned theatre from an entertainment for the tsar and his immediate circle into a popular and educational pastime. The repertoire included historical dramas, Molière's plays and original plays for an occasion, e.g., about victories of the Russian army. Theatre only gained in popularity over time (Gukovskii 1939: 25-33). Catherine the Great left us several plays. In her plays, she was not so much interested in aesthetics as she used theatre to reach out to her subjects and promote her social, political and cultural reforms. Her plays were yet another means for her didactic mission. This explains why they were close in tone and message to her journalistic style. Note that she started writing plays in 1772 after finishing her journalistic 'career'. Many of her works were adaptations of Western plays. She also penned libretti for several comic operas.

Thus, clearly that education and learning were predominant concerns in Peter's and his successors' endeavours.

Comparing biological species and societies, Juergen Habermas points out that learning is crucial for both, except in different ways:

If the survival ability of organisms is a test case for the learning process of the species, then the corresponding test cases for societies lie in the dimension of the

production and utilization of technically and practically useful knowledge (1979: 173).

Moreover, in contrast with species at infrahuman stages of development, humans' "learning processes are from the outset linguistically organized, so that the objectivity of the individual's experience is structurally entwined with the intersubjectivity of understanding among individuals" (ibid.).³¹ If so, then it becomes perfectly understandable why translation was taken so seriously in eighteenth-century Russia and ranked together with other crucial state issues and policies. On the one hand, it helped change social discourse by introducing the concept of learning underlying it; on the other hand, it helped Russian society understand and be understood by the circle of nations it was trying to join.

Herein lies an example of how translation contributed to intrasystemic communication. Essentially, translation took part in establishing the dominant discourse thereby it helped to overcome that seclusion the Russian society had experienced for centuries. Indeed, translation gave the system a 'new language' (discourse) and this language was the new modernist language of Western Europe. I purposefully use the term 'language' in its literal and metaphorical senses. In one sense, translation changed the Russian language on all levels from graphics to syntax and stylistics (see more below). Yet, translation also changed the way people had thought and so it included them into the Western European ideology of modernity. Translation gave people the 'language' of modernity.

³¹ The contradiction of this statement by Habermas with Luhmann's excluding human beings from his social systems theory is only an illusion. Luhmann deals with communication not in a dehumanized way, not "as a denial of human experience, but as an attempt to sort out and do justice to the extreme multiplicity, or, to put it more dramatically, the existential division of such experiences" (Moeller 2006: ix). The linguistic aspect, or experience, is part of a more general communicational experience of human beings. Habermas' statement about learning and Luhmann's social communication theory do not conflict when they consider language as a converging point of communication and humans.

3.3. A New Language

Intrasystemic linguistic changes cut across all levels of the Russian language of that time. The following examples come from the domain of linguistic intrasystemic changes which, however, does not mean to say that the linguistic sphere was the only one where translation contributed to modifications of intrasystemic communication. (Some of the extralinguistic examples were given in Chapter 1.)

The former Old Slavonic graphic system was renounced and a new ‘civil’ alphabet introduced under the influence of translations done by Kopiewski in Tessing’s printing shop in Amsterdam:

the fonts used by Tessing to print non-church books for the Russian market reflect in varying degrees the Roman and italic styles characteristic of contemporary European typography—a feature of the Tessing books, both contemporary and subsequent events in Russia would show, that was not missed by the tsar and his entourage. (Cracraft 2004: 265.)

It seems that not only simplicity and clarity of the new font but also its resemblance to existing European ones was one of the factors which attracted the tsar’s attention (Pekarskii 1972 vol. 2: 644; Luppov 1973: 60).

In other words, the ‘Latin-like’ Cyrillic font introduced in translations and through translations was noted and accepted by the system. It is this ‘Latin-like’ Cyrillic font became the standard Cyrillic font.

The system’s preferences become even clearer if one considers the reason used for choosing between different transcriptions—Greek or Latin; i.e., which of the two spellings was preferred in the age of Russia’s westernization. One of the first Russian grammars of the eighteenth century by an eminent scholar and professor of the

University of Moscow Anton Barsov, written in 1783-1788, furnishes a most compelling illustration. In the section on spelling foreign names borrowed by the Russian language, Barsov wrote:

It should be noted that in church books, various foreign names were mostly taken from Greek, whereas in civil books—from Latin [NB: social differentiation of books—T.S.]. Since now Latin, as well as other modern European languages, is studied more than Greek, and *since now we are seeking more to communicate with European languages*, that is why it seems more appropriate to be in accord with them in this, too, viz. the spelling of these names should emulate Latin. All the more so, that all the necessary Greek names are also found in Latin [...]" (Uspenskii 1981: 523, emphasis is mine—T.S.).

Feofan Prokopovich earlier wrote that Old Slavonic together with Greek words and grammatical constructions had to be avoided. His argument against Greek was that it was a non-Slavic language and therefore copying Greek constructions was very often contrary to the nature of the grammar of Slavic languages (Kutina 1988: 44).

Finally, Mikhail Lomonosov said metaphorically that “under Peter the Great not only boyars and their wives, but also letters threw off their wide fur-coats and put on summer dresses” (as quoted in Glukhov 1979: 206). It is characteristic that the change of the graphical system is associated by Lomonosov with Peter’s social reforms.

Abstract word formation patterns in scientific language were caused by translating scientific literature:

[In the eighteenth century, n]ew derivatives, especially in written speech, were prompted by the widely spread translational activities. While translating foreign texts, translators coined new words in order to render concepts and notions unknown by the Russian reader. [...] Activation of word-formation was

conditioned by the development of the [Russian] language in the eighteenth century when it had numerous contacts with many other languages and absorbed a great deal of borrowings (Birzhakova, Voinova, Kutina 1972: 4).

Among such neologisms, there was an entire class of adjectives. A considerable number of adjectives with suffixes *-ichesk-*, *-al'n-*, *-arn-*, *-ozn-* and others still widely used in the Russian language today were formed in the eighteenth century in translations. For example, the first of them, the suffix *-ichesk-* goes back to the Greek *-ικος-* and the French *-ique-*. (Z. Petrova's article in Sorokin 1977: 143-156.)

Not surprisingly, the lexical domain was one of the most sensitive to innovations. Indeed, translations flooded the Russian language of the time with new terms. Some of them were borrowings (transliterations) from foreign languages; others were calques; still others, translations proper. Let me supply a few examples from an extensive literature about this.

New words came from European languages both classical, mostly Latin, and vernacular. Naturally, they all came through translations. Borrowings are usually categorized by lexicographers according to thematic domains.

For example, the majority of publications in physics of the eighteenth century in Russia were translations (Kutina 1966). The initial stage of coining physical terminology can be directly related to translation. Mostly, terms were borrowed from Latin and, less frequently, from ancient Greek. Works written in these languages were translated first. The most numerous scientific publications translated from vernaculars were of German origin. Not surprisingly, the second most frequent translated publications from a European vernacular language originated in French. France and Germany were the most

influential parts of Western Europe for Russia, especially in science. Early translations were made in the 'lofty' archaic style. They were done often by professors and students of the Slavic-Greek-Roman Academy. Later, the style changed to accommodate everyday Russian. Translation policies resulted from the coordination of translators and editors. Translations were rarely a fruit of the translator's independent labour. Therefore, they were "a state business" (ibid.: 15).

In the technical and applied sciences, technological areas and in the arts, the European vernacular languages also played an important part. Again, borrowings are distributed according to professional domains. In architecture, music and fine arts, Italian terminology dominated; in mining and other technical fields, German; in shipbuilding, Dutch and English. French was prevalent in poetry, literature.

Sometimes, it is even possible to single out the most influential figures who introduced terminology into some of the domains. For example, Trediakovskii was the most prolific in coining new Russian terminology for versification theory from French (Pekarskii 1976 vol. 2: 49); Lomonosov borrowed mostly scientific terms from Latin and German (Huettl-Worth 1956: 25).

Syntax, together with such language domains as phonetics or the core vocabulary (e.g., pronouns), generally remains the least susceptible to foreign influences. Any impingements are usually of limited scope, yet one may find them even here.

Russian syntax followed church and bookish traditions of highly rhetorical prose based on Latin, German and Polish models (Akimova 1988: 48). Already starting with the sixteenth century, Russian word-order, for example, was exposed to Latin and Polish

examples through translation. This led to limiting its considerable natural freedom. Later, the influence of Latin was reinforced by translations from German. This manifested itself in the habit of placing the verb last in the sentence. Although this practice has not survived and is not found in modern standard Russian, it was common in, for example, Lomonosov's writings and in Peter the Great's letters. Renouncement of this artificial rigidity became possible thanks to the influence of French syntax growing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Matthews 1960: 242-243, 280; Smith 2006).

Indirect speech is also believed to have been introduced into Russian through exposure to Latin and German (Matthews 1960: 242). Latin influenced the syntactic style of some writers. An example is Feofan Prokopovich. Being a Latinist, he enlarged usage of the construction Accusative Case of nouns with Infinitives. In bookish Russian, the Accusative Case had been used only with the verb *to be*. Prokopovich increased the repertory of verbs used in this construction (Kutina 1988: 39). However, from the fact that the number of this and other infinitive-based constructions in Prokopovich's texts declined in his Petersburg period as compared to his Kievan one and eventually stopped being used at all, it seems to be likely that the Latin influence in this case was due to his pre-Petrine education.

The ever-growing necessity to express complex scientific ideas led to developing various new forms of syntactic linkage. For example, comparative modal conjunctions of the type *as it were*, *as if* appeared in eighteenth century documents where a hypothetical comparison was to be expressed. Although these conjunctions were coined with Russian lexical means, the need for them was created by new ways of thinking (Stetsenko 1972: 293-294).

Stylistic stratification of eighteenth-century Russian developed mostly due to influences of translated technical, scientific and scholarly publications. In the second half of the century, translations were two thirds of all publications. Belles-lettres, including numerous translations, constitutes hardly more 20% to 25% of the total volume of publications put out during the entire century (Sorokin 1966: 11-13).

At this time, new stylistic norms and models in the making were found mostly in business, political, polemical works, didactic poetry and in a multitude of translations. In the body of translations, as we have seen in the section about lexical influences of translation above, one can observe evolutions of styles, notably of scientific prose: in the beginning of the century, 'stilted' translations followed the bookish style of Old Slavonic; the mid-century was marked by a simplification of style in translation; later, a new Old Slavonic wave made itself felt.

It may also be argued that the non-literary translations by some of the most prominent literary figures of the time like Kantemir were more representative in terms of the possibilities and stylistic diversities of the Russian language than their literary works. Nikolai Karamzin, whose linguistic policy laid the foundation for further reforms found in Pushkin's works, started experimenting with style in his early translations (ibid.: 12-16).

As a general tendency, the eighteenth century was the time when modern literary Russian was formed. It was based on the segregation of Church Slavonic and chancellery Russian. The issue was an intermediate style, the source of literary Russian as it is spoken today. The development of this new Russian steering clear of the Scylla and

Charybdis of Church Slavonic and official formalism was helped by translation. For example, Vasilii Trediakovskii combined the Church Slavonic element with a 'modernism' derived from his translating contemporary French authors such as Paul Tallemant and theorist-grammarians such as Claude Vaugelas (Matthews 1960: 278-279).

Nikolai Karamzin's role in the development of literary Russian is also worth mentioning. He became one of the pioneers of the Russian *dolce stil nuovo*. His influence on the Russian language, coming from his western training, made itself felt especially through the borrowing of French vocabulary and syntactic structures. In the conflict between the old and the new styles, represented by Admiral Shishkov, a sworn enemy of foreign borrowings, and Karamzin respectively, the latter won. And although some of Shishkov's ideas found a belated echo in the writings of Pushkin and his circle, the 'new style' had established itself in all the literary genres by the early nineteenth century. Karamzin created examples of it in both verse and prose. Without his contribution "the harmonious synthesis of alien west European and native Slavonic elements in a flexible 'intermediate' style would hardly have been possible" (ibid.: 280-281).

3.4. Inner Systemic Mechanisms

Let us now consider the systemic inner workings of the processes described above as 'modernization'-'westernization' and the intrasystemic role of translation in them.

Unfortunately, translation is considerably underrated by scholars within the humanities. Even if translation is taken into account, it does not receive all the attention it deserves. One rare example which takes into account translation is Habermas 1988: 143 sq. I will briefly discuss Habermas' conception of translation with regard to the present discussion.

Indeed within TS, there are theories of what may be termed as pantranslation (Jakobson 2000; Steiner 1975). According to this approach, any verbal—or, on a wider scope, semiotic—interaction has to deal with interpretation and therefore is bound to employ translation. If we consider language contact, inevitably we must deal with intralingual or interlingual translation, to use Roman Jakobson's terminology. If we step outside language as an interactive medium, we face a case of intersemiotic translation.³² If we step still further, into the domain of communication, we again have to deal with interpretive mechanisms akin to translation (Luhmann 2002: 155 sq.). One may thus conclude that communication is translative by nature.

3.5. 'Who' and 'What' of Translation

Our discussion is leading us to pose a fundamental question: Who or what is the social-systemic translating agent?

Usually translation is considered as either a process or result, but in both cases it is related to the person(s) translating. In fact, some TS specialists wage a veritable battle urging other scholars to reconsider the history of translation as that of translators (Pym 1992; Pym 1998; Delisle and Woodsworth 1995). Without denying the obvious

³² Intersemiotic translation may be between language and another sign system.

importance of this enterprise, I would like to point out that translation may be understood as a social function (Hermans 2007a; 2007b).

When constructing his social systems theory, Luhmann is careful to draw a clear distinction between members of society and society itself as a communication system:

The differentiation of the disciplines of psychology and sociology, with which we are all familiar, and more than one hundred years of disciplinarily separated research have led to a knowledge of psychological and social systems that can no longer be integrated. [...] In spite of this, there are still concepts and even theories that are unaware of this state of affairs or that even systematically obscure it. In sociology, the concepts of action and communication are part of this residue. They are normative when used with reference to a subject. That is, they presuppose an author, designated as individual or subject, to whom action or communication can be attributed. But the concepts of subject or individual function therein only as empty formulas for a state of affairs that is in itself highly complex, one that falls under the domain for which psychology is responsible and does not further interest sociologists. [...] If one calls this conceptual disposition into question, as I want to do, one usually hears the following: In the end, it is always people, individuals, subjects who act or communicate. I would like to assert in the face of this that only communication can communicate and that what we understand as “action” can be generated only in such a network of communication. (Luhmann 2002: 155-156)

I allowed myself this long quotation only because what is diagnosed here as a problem between psychology and sociology may well be applied to translation studies. *Mutatis mutandis* one may speak about psychological TS and sociological TS. The former concerns itself with translators; the latter, with translation as part of social communication. Mixing up the two causes methodological problems. For example, Anthony Pym’s *Method in Translation History* appears to be an exposition of methods of writing translation history when he explains how to use various statistical graphs and

data bases. In other parts, when he insists on the importance of seeing the translator as an individual in translation history, his book turns into a “Method in Translators’ History.” On the one hand, Pym asserts that “translation history should explain why translations were produced in a particular social time and space” (Pym 1998: ix). On the other hand, he says that one of the goals of translation history writing is to “solve, address and try to solve problems affecting our own situation,” meaning by “our own” what concerns social groups of intermediaries [“translators, negotiators, traders or whatever”] “in affirming their intercultural specificity” (ibid.: x; 17). Obviously, the scholar mixes up two different things. He seems to forget that translation history (or studying translation as a social phenomenon) has one goal: to explain translation’s social functions. Helping translators and the rest of social intermediaries with their present-day problems by turning to what their colleagues of the past did in comparable situations has a different—therapeutic—goal. Both goals are perfectly worthy of attention, yet should be kept apart—methodologically or otherwise. From this point of view, Jean Delisle’s and Judith Woodsworth’s *Translators through History* is much clearer about its stance.

To summarize, the translating agent may be considered as an individual, but then, s/he will be considered on the psychological level. However, if translation is considered as a social-systemic phenomenon, the translating agent becomes a function within the communicational context.

3.6. Double Contingency and Meaning

Translation as a means of interaction is present in any act of communication. Here we come to a key concept in Luhmann's Social Systems Theory—that of Double Contingency (DC).

Social relations are based on an interaction of at least two parties. Each one cannot know what the other party is up to. So the interaction, or communication, between the two parties is aimed at uncovering intentions. A move of one party (ego) is fully blind and in that sense contingent on ego's selection among all available options of conducting an interaction. The other party's (alter's) reaction will also be contingent on ego's selection and will come from a complementary selection available for alter. Following Talcott Parsons, Luhmann terms this 'double contingency'. The ensuing interaction is aimed at narrowing down the initial range of possibilities and clarifying the opaqueness of the other party: ego becomes clearer about alter and alter about ego. The outcome may be that of consent or dissent, but in both cases it will be a clarification.

Meaning is understood by Luhmann as a phenomenological category, i.e., not as an antonym of meaninglessness, but as a surplus of references to options of experience and action of the system (1995: 60). Experience and action are understood in the system's relation to itself and other systems. Experience (on the part of the system) is the other systems' initiative in meaning selection which is imposed on the system. Action is the system's own initiative in meaning selection (ibid.: 84). Meaning is a horizon, a range of references to three categories of phenomena: the real, or the present actuality of experience / action; the possible (i.e., potentially real); and the impossible, unreal. All these categories may be a mistaken distribution and result from mistaken suppositions on

the part of the system under consideration. By ‘mistaken’, we mean its contradiction to other possible readings and interpretations of a given situation by other parties that may be involved. However, that is not important, because what matters is the system’s own attribution of these tags to phenomena available for its consideration.

Whatever the system does is basically tagging the phenomena it comes across while dealing with its own inner communication and resulting reproduction (autopoiesis), and while dealing with its environment or individual systems in it.³³ The tagging is necessary for constructing the system’s behaviour and deciding what is beneficial or harmful for its reproduction and survival. The behaviour is constituted of actualizations of available references in three dimensions: the fact dimension, the temporal dimension and the social dimension.

The fact dimension “divides the reference structure of what is meant into ‘this’ and ‘something else’” (ibid.: 76). The temporal dimension refers to separation of all available variables along the scale of “before and after,” or the past and the future (ibid.: 78). The third, social, dimension is of primary importance for us here, because it describes the ego / alter dealings. This is the sphere of the social par excellence. The system is set in motion by situations whose succession and interdependence can be described most conclusively in terms of the DC theorem (ibid.: 112-113).

The DC situation can be considered on two levels: on what Luhmann terms short-circuiting system when two psychic systems interact; and on the social level proper, i.e.,

³³ The separation of all dealings of the system into inner and outer should be understood as a theoretical abstraction. In reality, system can function only within an environment; and environment as a category makes sense only provided there is a system to which this “beyond” or “outside” is the environment. (See more in Luhmann 1995: 136 and 176 sq., Chapter 5 “System and Environment”; also in Luhmann 1998: 13.)

on a larger scale of social interaction where there are more than two psychic systems or where a system interacts with other systems.

For the purpose of my research, I will distinguish between “A+B” interaction and “C+D” interaction. The level of A+B will be understood as short-circuited inter-psychic interaction. From the temporal point of view, this interaction may be described as “an accelerator of system construction” (ibid.: 131): $A+B \rightarrow C$, where C is a resulting system. This system becomes more and more preoccupied with itself as a set of facts and expectations determining A’s and B’s scopes of behavioural patterns in relation to each other (within System C). This de-tautologises self-reference of the initial double contingent indeterminacy of the A+B level and brings it to another level. This resulting level of interaction between A and B has an ever-growing determined / determinable part but also it incorporates another part which can be described as “being otherwise also possible.” At this level, ego finds in alter an alter ego (ibid.: 132, 125). At this stage, “a structured version” of DC appears. The first, a short-circuited (A+B) version of DC, reported only indeterminacy. The next version (C) brings in conditionings, expectations, limiting alternatives, that is premises of a system proper. Then the system develops a “sensitivity” to certain items which differentiate it from its environment. The environment provides a further range of possibilities from whose horizon, in a meaning-constituting / processing effort, the system picks up what is relevant for its autopoiesis. I will call this a stage of C+D, an autopoietic system, unstable by definition, where C is a de-tautologization of the ‘A+B’-relationship and D is incoming information and energy from the environment (ibid.: 118). Obviously, the result of C+D is an E, which, in turn, will get a new portion of information from the environment because any change in the

environment widens the system's meaning horizon. Further, D+E leads to an F, and so on. Even if a certain item is considered by the system as irrelevant and put in the category 'unreal', 'impossible', it is still included into the horizon. Some of these impossibilities may be actualized one day when the system's inner communication changes.

3.7. System and Translation

Important for my research and yet missing from Luhmann's presentation of the system's ontogenesis, existence and development (evolution / revolution) is translation as a special and unavoidable agent. Translation's speciality lies exactly in its unavoidability. Here, I would again refer to 'pantranslation' theories in TS and semiotics. Obviously, any social system ('C+D', etc.) or its precursor ('A+B') cannot be conceived without interacting ego and alter. Any interacting ego and alter communicate; i.e., act based on their double-contingent or double-contingent plus socially determined inferences of actions. These inferences are ego's interpretations of alter's verbal or extra-verbal actions and vice versa. It is these interpretations that make any interaction possible, whether leading to consent or dissent (*ibid.*: 126).

The translating agent is the very 'membrane' that both separates ego from alter and joins them to form a communicative unity with the potential of growing into a system. The translating agent is ever-present both within and without the social system, i.e., in the latter's inward dealings and its outward dealings. In the linguistic domain, the former corresponds to what Jakobson termed intralingual translation; the latter, to the

dealings of a system with its environment, or what Jakobson referred to as interlingual translation, or translation proper. In the case of transferring one semiotic communication into another semiotic medium, we deal with intersemiotic translation within or without a social system (Jakobson 2000: 114).

Thus, it is perfectly legitimate to say that translation (interpretation) is an ever-present element of the system or any meaning-related communication (e.g., of the 'A+B', interpsychic, type).³⁴ As to its place in the system, translation is always a borderline phenomenon because it is the very 'membrane' that separates / unites two communicating elements (of one system) / systems.

3.8. Translation in Intersystemic Communication

Since the present study is devoted to interlinguistic and intercultural communication, I will exclude Jakobsonian intralinguistic and intersemiotic translation from my consideration, but I will add intercultural translation, following José Lambert and complementing Jakobson's obviously wanting classification of types of translation. Both interlinguistic and intercultural translations will be covered by the umbrella-term 'translation', unless specified.

As to the role of translation and its application to eighteenth-century Russia, I also exclude the impact of translation on the genesis of the social system in question. Rather, I will concentrate on the eighteenth century. In other words, one may study

³⁴ Historically, one can distinguish two stages within TS. The first one deals almost exclusively with communicative systems on the A+B level. When one analyses a given translation of a given original without taking into account what systemic interaction serves as a backdrop of this translating process and/or its result, one does not go beyond an interpretation on psychic-systemic level. It is only with the cultural turn and the descriptive/functionalist approach, that TS moved on to the social-systemic level.

translation's role in the evolution of Russia as a social system. Translation's role may be considered diachronically. I will concentrate only on the synchronic aspect of its role in the system—on the role it played in the eighteenth century.

If we agree with Lev Gumilev and view Russia of that time as a system in its final stage of ethnogenetic formation, we should also agree about the question of its cultural, political and economic orientation. Russia chooses to be what can be defined as a follower of the Western social and economic model. It thereby becomes an early late-comer of the western type of modernization. The only way to carry out this program and reach the set goal is to learn from the West.

Speaking in Luhmannian terms, to be able to select this particular option, Russia had to most radically change its meaning actualizations. To understand the scope of changes and various social classes' reactions, one has to keep in mind that, as regards Western ways of life, the 'radicalism' of changes was from 'impossible' not to 'possible' but directly to 'real'. The stage 'possible' was virtually skipped in Russian history. Certain western items such as theatre were indeed adopted or, rather, wondered at, as if from aside, cautiously, at the court of Peter's father Aleksei Mikhailovich. But these were no more than a trickle when compared to the flood of all things western at the court of Aleksei Mikhailovich's son—Peter. The flood did not abate or, one may even say, has not abated as of today. Over the centuries, westernization has been constituting Russia's intersystemic communication.

CHAPTER 4. CREATION OF MEANING

4.1. Experience and Action

I have already said that the effect translation had on the system was twofold in eighteenth-century Russia. Translation influenced communication patterns within the system (the intrasystemic aspect) and helped project the system into the environment and systems within it (the intersystemic aspect).

This separation of translation's influences reflects external and internal attribution of the system's functions manifesting themselves as its operations. Some influences have an external cause; some an internal one. In accordance with the direction of attribution, one can distinguish between experiences and actions (Luhmann 1995: 84). If the environment prompts the meaning selection, it is the system's experience. If the system itself selects a meaning option, that is a case of action. This holds true even if action is impossible without reference to the system's environment.

Experience guarantees the self-reference of meaning even if the system chooses to 'hide' itself from changes occurring in its environment. In other words, the horizon of references is always available and secured by the environment.³⁵ Action as an attribution is the system's choice. The system chooses which of the available references are to be

³⁵ When distinguishing between experience and action, it is important to see the difference between reproduction of meaning and reproduction of systems. The system cannot prevent new options from appearing on the meaning horizon. They are provided by the environment. This is experience on the part of the system. In this case, the attribution of new options is also experience: the system must categorize new options as 'acceptable' or 'unacceptable' as soon as the environment produces them and they come to the system's attention. Thus, "attribution as experience [...] helps to reproduce meaning," whereas "attribution as action [...] serves to reproduce the social system [...]" One can even say that experience actualizes the self-reference of meaning, that action actualizes the self-reference of social systems" (Luhmann 1995: 84).

actualized (or ‘promoted’ from ‘untrue / impossible’ selection options to ‘possible’ ones) and which are to be virtualized.

I would like to apply these categories of experience and action to translation in the following sense. Russia as a system could not hide from its environment forever. It tried to do so on the ground of jealously guarding the Orthodox beliefs, but military fiascos of the seventeenth century showed most vividly that something had to be done, that Russia lagged so much behind the most developed nations of Western Europe and some powers in the Near East (notably Turkey) that its very integrity and survival were in danger.

This is the situation of the system’s experience. The environment imposes certain choices on the system to which the latter must respond. The system may try and ignore these changes in the environment’s behaviour, but cannot do so for long and must choose from available options. This is the moment when experience turns into action.

Let us consider what role translation played in this process.

4.2. A Meaning-Creating Factor

First of all, translation is present at the very moment of creating meaning as a horizon of options for the system to assess and select.

How the system deals with its environment boils down to a reduction of the latter’s complexity. “[M]eaning is a general form of self-referential adaptation to complexity [...]” (Luhmann 1995: 71). Complexity is defined as “a lack of information that prevents a system from observing itself or its environment” (ibid.: xvii). To cope

with the situation, the system is forced to reduce the complexity of its environment (and its own complexity for that matter) by selectivity:

External influences appear to self-referential systems only as determination for self-determination and thus as information, which changes the internal context of self-determination without eliminating the structural principle that the system must come to terms on its own with everything that ensues from the self-determination. [...] Information reduces complexity insofar as it announces a selection and thereby excludes possibilities. (ibid.: 68)

Let us note that to get information from / about the environment, a system has to come in contact with its environment. First it casts a glance at its surrounding, or, rather, it should always keep an eye on the environment, for no system can afford to be autistic for any considerable stretch of time. The system assigns the function of watching its environment to specific subsystems within itself. The responsibility of these subsystems is to keep the system informed about changes of any relevance in the environment.

Probably, the most obvious example of these subsystems is the diplomatic and intelligence corps. They form, no doubt, part of the boundary of the system, its 'membrane'. Yet, this observation is only the 'atomic' level of the phenomenon. There is a 'sub-atomic' level. This level becomes especially apparent if we consider the interlinguistic exchange in which the system is forced to engage whenever it comes to intersystemic (international) affairs of any sort. Indeed, the diplomat cannot accomplish much without interlinguistic involvements. That is the very front of the international dealings of the system with its environment. As we saw in the first chapter, the boundary between the system and its environment cannot be understood simplistically as geographical frontiers and, let us add, as a language borderline. The boundary goes deeper into the very minds of carriers of the social system's communication. They offer

the information obtained about / from the environment to the system's censorship. The latter should not be understood only as another subsystem within the system political structure. A well-known fact of self-censorship leaves no doubt that system's communication rules are well instilled within its socialized members (cf. Bourdieu's *habitus*).

Constant contacts of the system with its environment play the surveillance role; i.e., the looks that the system casts around itself. What the system sees around itself is the complexity of its environment. This complexity is referenced in the form of hierarchized meaning (horizon of the real / possible / unreal) and thereby reduced. The system, then, processes the meaning.

Thus, we see two stages of handling meaning by the system. The first one is the initial reception of information mediated by interlinguistic / intercultural / intersystemic mechanisms. The second stage is that of further intrasystemic processing of the meaning. The second stage is necessary for the system to create a reduced variant of the external complexity. This provides a way to adapt to the environment. The system cannot afford to be either autistic or overwhelmed and must strike a fine balance between its inner communication and its outer interaction with the environment. For every phenomenon outside, there should exist a corresponding (although in a simplified version) inner systemic structure whose responsibility is to deal with the outer phenomenon.³⁶

Translation is indispensable at both the initial and later stages. Translation serves as the very 'epidermis' of system, not just its 'membrane'. Translation here means any

³⁶ Cf.: "[C]ulture and non-culture appear as spheres which are mutually conditioned and which need each other. The mechanism of culture is a system which transforms the outer sphere into the inner one: disorganization into organization, ignoramuses into initiates, sinners into holy men, entropy into information" (Lotman et al. 1975: 4). This is a description of system—environment relationship on a somewhat narrower, cultural-semiotic, scale as compared to system-theoretical generalizations.

receiving / interpreting-transcoding mechanism. Any contact between psychic systems or social systems, in other words, between any interacting systems, cannot avoid this crucial mechanism: “One can suppose that every social relation, at least rudimentarily, provokes attempts to understand” (Luhmann 1995: 88). Understanding through interpreting the alter is characteristically social:

The mechanism that differentiates the social dimension from the fact and temporal dimensions and formulates a semantics specifically tailored to this is to be found in the provocation to understanding, in the performative superiority of understanding, in understanding itself (ibid.: 88-89).

Luhmann ties the crucial concept of ‘understanding’ a specific form of meaning processing to social reflexivity, i.e., to experiencing experiences and actions of other systems, which, in turn, is possible only at the meeting point of the system with its environment:

[U]nderstanding happens only if one projects the experience of meaning or of meaningful action onto other systems with a system / environment difference of their own. Only with the help of the system / environment difference can one transform experience into understanding, and only if one also takes into consideration that the other systems and their environments themselves make meaningful distinctions. The same situation can be formulated using the concept of observation. Observation is any operation that makes a distinction; thus it is the basic operation of understanding. Understanding, however, occurs only when one uses a specific distinction—namely, that between system and environment (not merely form / background or text / context)—and projects a closed, self-referentially reproduced meaning within this distinction. Only the concept of meaning, the system / environment concept, and self-reference taken together clarify the scope of application for a special methodology for understanding. (ibid.: 73-74)

In other words, we see that understanding comes from observing other systems (casting one's look around, at one's environment) and therefore located in the boundary of system, the point where system contacts environment.

Let us note that understanding is preceded by observation. Luhmann breaks down this mechanism, occurring in the social dimension of meaning-creating / processing, in the following passage:

Understanding requires observation with the help of the system / environment difference; it requires that one interpret the system to be understood as a system that is meaningfully oriented to its own environment. (ibid.: 88.)

Both psychologically and socially, observation followed by interpretation followed by understanding followed by seeing itself as another system's environment cause a critical re-assessing of itself, or, if we project this onto the systemic level, system is prompted to consider oneself, its own communication self-critically. This is, incidentally, what causes better things, like modernization, to act as 'solvents': System A realizes that it lags behind System B and aspires to catch up with it. Understanding is socially contagious especially when the observer finds 'better things' (better than in his own system) 'out there'. We will see examples below.

Before we proceed to apply the above-said to eighteenth-century Russia, one comment remains to be made. Translation makes its way into Luhmann's theory only tangentially. His being a sociological theory, translation is not the focus of his attention. He comes so close to naming it as a vital part of any social interaction and yet every time it escapes him. He turns his eyes to other exciting social issues. It resembles the state of affairs with social historians that I described elsewhere: when telling about or analyzing international events, they rarely mention translation as a factor actively influencing the

course of these events (Tyulenev 2006). Translation is indeed like one's skin. Who would ever say: it is cold for my skin today? It is cold for me, is the most likely wording.

4.3. Broadening the Meaning Horizon

In the case under study, we clearly see the meaning-constituting function of translation. We can easily pin down the moment when Russia as a social system gradually became aware of its growing autism. This process took place in the pre-Petrine epoch through realizing the necessity to learn from the West. Later, it took the form of recruiting foreign experts (Andreev 2003). However, first of all, there were contacts between the foreign countries and individual harbingers of the West and critics of Russian life (in the seventeenth-early eighteenth century: Andrei Kurbskii (1528-1583), Prince Ivan Khvorostinin (d.s 1591), Grigorii Kotoshikhin (?1630-1667), Afanasii Ordin-Nashchokin (1605-1680), later Vasilii Golitsyn (1643-1714), even, to an extent, a Croatian Juraj Križanić (1618-1683), despite his Slavic-oriented convictions—Hughes 1984, Kluchevsky 1960, Tschizewskij 1978). Tsar Boris Godunov (1598-1605) sent twelve young Russians to Europe to study but none of them returned, which may be interpreted “as an acknowledgment of the superiority of Western culture” (Tschizewskij 1978: 127).

In his *Russian Intellectual History*, Dmitrii Chizhevskii describes the situation of Russian systemic autism and growing realization of its danger as follows. The crisis within the Russian Orthodox Church led to a schism in the second half of the seventeenth century and the removal from the social scene of the so-called Old Believers, staunch

supporters of the doctrine of Russia's pre-eminence in Orthodoxy. A utopia, created by the Old Believers as "the first Russian utopians" (Tschizewskij 1978: 125), which looked backward could not long prevail. The Old Believers removed themselves from society. This dealt a serious blow to the state:

from a sociological point of view, the Old Believers belonged to those segments of society from which public service and private contributions toward building up the nation could otherwise have been expected: wealthy townsmen and merchants, but also well-to-do peasants of the North, i.e., approximately the same classes which joined in the Reformation in the West. As a result of the schism, however, precisely these classes were forced to withdraw from Russian public life, and upon their withdrawal the influence of conservative forces on the development of Russia was substantially weakened. (ibid..)

Importantly, their views were the actual cause of Russian systemic 'autism': "From the very beginning, the Old Believer movement regarded as dangerous enemies not only members of the officially recognized Church but also proponents of Western culture" (ibid.).

On the other hand, Russia had recruited foreign experts from the fifteenth century on—doctors, pharmacists, architects, mercenary soldiers. One can clearly observe, first, the appearance of new options on the system's meaning horizon, later, still tagging these, or at least some of these options, as 'unreal' / irrelevant / impossible / unacceptable (succumbing to social mores similar to those observed with the above-described Old Believers). At the same time there were the first attempts to adapt some of them:

[...M]embers of the upper classes do mention occasionally Western cultural advances and thus were probably familiar with them. Fedor Karpov knew Latin poetry and the works of Aristotle, presumably in Latin translation, and he had also heard of astrology. Latin grammars were translated into Russian and served

as ill-suited models for descriptions of the Slavic language. Maksim Grek reported some aspects of the European renaissance, even though he rejected its “pagan” culture. Foreign architects built churches in Moscow, and Russian overseers assisted them and even took over some elements of their art. Most important of all, Russians learned from Europeans how to use firearms and even mined fortresses, as in Kazan in 1552, for example. The Time of Troubles brought Russia closer to Europe, albeit unwillingly [the stage of the system’s experience, in Luhmannian terms—S.T.]. The presence of Polish troops or Ukrainian Cossacks outside the city gates of Moscow and of their Swedish allies in the North did at least permit Russians to see the peculiarities of Western life with their own eyes. Several Muscovite emissaries spent a long time in Poland, first as ambassadors and then as prisoners. (ibid.: 126.)

The situation described in the quote above, I have compared to a look cast around by the system. Contacts by Russia with its environment through its system representatives introduced new options into its meaning horizon, which were referenced as worth considering or even adopting. These direct contacts of the system with its environment through interpretation of the latter’s phenomena (technical know-how, social values, etc.) by the former’s members, carriers of its communication / autopoietic interests created new references and ‘promoted’ some of the already existing references from the category of ‘unreal’ / non-relevant for the system to the category ‘possible’. These newly announced possibilities became eligible for future actualization.

Chizhevskii summarizes these initial contacts of Russia with Western Europe as follows:

No matter how little the Russians may have learned in the process or how little Polish or Swedish life may have appealed to them, these encounters assuredly contributed to the introduction into Moscow of new elements of Western culture after the Time of Troubles [1598-1613—S.T.] had passed, and some of these did

have an effect. The first result was perhaps the use of verse in Russian poetry. The earliest Russian verse was written immediately after the Time of Troubles. Then a series of translations, mostly from Latin and Polish, began to appear, for the most part at the order of the crown [...] (ibid.: 126)

When we consider Peter's early days, we can observe the same initial reconnaissance, a preliminary survey. When he frequented the Foreign District in Moscow and came in contact with foreigners, his personal meaning horizon was enlarged to include new options (Bobylev 1990: 16-17). The difference between the efforts of westernizers-individuals and those of Peter can be seen in Bourdieusian terms, as I described earlier. Peter in his capacity of tsar (later, emperor) could change the rules of the 'social game' directly and, moreover, extend (universalize) them to the entire space of social, political and cultural fields, thereby, by his royal will, imposing a new *illusio* "which creates the very value of the objectives of the game, as it does the value of the game itself" (Bourdieu 1990A: xii). In his time, the westernization of nearly all social spheres moved to the "actualized" position on Russia's meaning horizon. Earlier harbingers of the West could only suggest such changes. They did not have the power to impose them on the society.

Chizhevskii wrote that in the first stages of Russia's westernization, whatever was borrowed "amounted to no more than the adoption of the products of Western culture without any attempt to develop something new on the basis of those products" (Tschizewskij 1978: 126). And even such adoption sometimes met with hostility on the part of society. In the sixteenth century Ivan Fedorov established the first printing shop

in Moscow. However, he managed to put out only one book because his enterprise was destroyed by enraged Muscovites who claimed he was a ‘magician’.³⁷

However, in the arts, even in these early stages, we notice what can be qualified as actualization of new, Western European, references. Simeon Polotskii, a Byelorussian clergyman educated in Kiev, contributed greatly to the beginning of the Muscovite Baroque poetry. At the court of Peter’s father, Tsar Aleksei, a theatre was created. A German Pastor Gregory, the above-mentioned Polotskii and a Ukrainian, Chizhinskii, were among its founders. At the same time, painters and sculptors started to imitate Western models.

In Peter’s times, the scale of innovative adaptations grew exponentially. At his father’s court translations were distributed in two to four handwritten copies. One of Peter’s first royal initiatives was to set up a printing press and publish translations. In his times, the technical supremacy of the West was beyond any doubt (cf. Ivan Pososhkov whose “views are typical”—Tschizewskij 1978: 159-160; Kafengauz 1951).

To reiterate, in all the above-described situations, translation was a systemic meaning-constituting factor. In this function, it arguably played an important role for the entire system. It was the very mechanism of finding an equilibrium between the system and its environment—Russia and Western Europe. Thanks to its exposure to the West, the system radically re-negotiated its own inner communication and renounced its autism.

The meaning-constituting function of translation should be interpreted in the broadest communicative-theoretical sense of an interacting mechanism of the system with its environment. As such, translation is located at the outermost edge of the system,

³⁷ See also Okenfuss 1995 for more on the inertness of the Russian society as regards Latin humanism.

its primary function being to keep the system aware of changes in the environment. These changes are then introduced as existing ‘out there’ options which are included ‘in here’ by the system into its meaning horizon. These options are distributed between three categories of references: the real / actualized; the possible / eligible for actualization; the unreal / impossible / unacceptable / irrelevant for the system’s autopoiesis. In eighteenth-century Russia, westernization as a meaning option was no longer ‘unreal’ but was realized as the only acceptable possibility.

4.4. Social and Fact Dimensions

Luhmann distinguishes between three meaning dimensions: the fact dimension, the temporal dimension, and the social dimension (1995: 74-82 and *passim*). The social dimension, which “concerns what one at any time accepts as like oneself, as an “alter ego,” and articulates the relevance of this assumption for every experience of the world and fixing of meaning” (ibid.: 80), forms the very foundation of any social-systemic interaction. I will not discuss the social dimension separately precisely because of its ubiquity in the domain of the social. Indeed it is implied in any social (meaning-related) interaction whose indispensable part is, as we saw previously, translation. Therefore, whenever one speaks of translation from the viewpoint of social systems interaction, one is bound to deal with the social dimension of meaning.

In the fact dimension, system through translating “divides the reference structure of what is meant into ‘this’ and ‘something else’” (ibid.: 76). In this dimension, the system Russia distinguishes between what may be tagged as acceptable because it is

‘Russian’, ‘Orthodox’ or ‘its own’ or ‘comparable with its own’, on the one hand, and what is ‘foreign’, ‘western’, ‘Protestant’, or ‘Catholic’. This is the domain of samenesses / differences. No self-identification / self-reference is possible without this. Therefore, no system can reproduce itself as a particular type of communication different from all other types of communication without this type of basic reference. I would like to stress the importance of the translating agent, actively involved in this vital self-referential process.

Moreover, the system looks outside by contacting what is outside. By means of translating / interpreting what it sees, it establishes references to the ‘foreign’ / ‘different’ not as an indiscriminate bundle of options. Rather, as we see in the fact that even during its systemic ‘autism’, Russia already chose some foreign options. In that, Russia exercised its ability to differentiate between what was relevant / necessary / desirable for its autopoiesis and what did not belong to this category. This information led the system to further process the new meaning options (see more about this in the next section). Early westernizers’ exposure to Western values led them to criticize their own system and suggest new options for adaptation. Peter’s own reconnaissance of Western views brought in inner systemic shifts in the meaning horizon when items changed their referential categories most radically.

4.5. Temporal Dimension

The temporal dimension of meaning split Russian history into different temporalities, ‘now’ and ‘then’. One may also periodize Russian history as a whole, as Gumilev did. In this case, Peter’s reforms fall into the acme stage of Russian superethnic

evolution. One can come up with other, most likely less global, periodizations; however, the watershed in terms of the westernization of Russia clearly lies in the eighteenth century.

As we have seen, this is also relevant for the Russian history of translation. Before westernization, during what we dubbed the ‘autistic’ stage in its history, Russia’s use of translation had been minimal. There had been little need for a translating agency. As soon as meaning-constituting mechanisms were set in motion (through a growing number of contacts of the system with the environment), new options entered the system’s referential scope.

This was not possible without translation as the agent whose responsibility was to be the informant about the system’s environment. Hence, translation ‘trickles’ (a handful of handwritten translations) suddenly turned into a ‘mighty flow’ (printed translations with much larger numbers of copies and circulation; translations made by so many translators / interpreters of verbal texts in so many state institutions—Kirilov 1977).

We should not forget about non-verbal transfers. As was shown earlier, those transfers were of crucial importance for the system. Some of them were introduced by foreign residents in Russia (‘outsiders’ of the system inside the system) whose numbers increased enormously: by August 1698 (i.e., while on his first voyage to Europe), Peter recruited over 750 foreigners (Paxton 2001: 43, Pis’ma 1950). Some, like Khrushchev and Kantemir, among others, became ‘insiders’ of the system ‘outside’ the system and, thus, were the locus of transfers initiated by carriers of the system’s communication.

This reveals the elasticity of the borderline of the system and its environment. Importantly, in both cases the system translates newly encountered notions into their

systemic communicative terminology or, when there is lack thereof, it borrows (hence, numerous ‘calques’—both lexical (Huettl-Worth 1956), and, more generally, behavioural, conceptual, axiological) from ‘outsiders’. This is the mechanism of translational increase of the system’s meaning horizon.

This dynamic of meaning is another aspect we saw in the above examples. Indeed, meaning never remains static—it is ever-changing, actualizing and virtualizing available references. In eighteenth-century Russia, the most radical changes in reference distribution were introduced. Certain references, introduced through translation, had been tagged as belonging to the ‘unreal’ but now suddenly they were ‘promoted’ and given not only the status of ‘possible’ but were declared the ‘real’ and only possible options. Translation also was suddenly promoted from a social-systemic reconnaissance mechanism to the mechanism providing what is vitally important for the system’s communication, i.e., its very autopoiesis. Translations started to play the role of the discourse definer. Without translation, so many fields would have been inconceivable: no terminology, no concepts. Little wonder, the translated lexicography experienced a boom in the eighteenth century (Birzhakova 1998: 62). But translation influenced even deeper language structures. As I showed in the beginning of this chapter, when illustrating changes introduced into eighteenth-century Russian language on virtually all its levels, it was translation that produced these changes or spurred the process.

Before we move on to consider translation in this ‘higher’ function of meaning processing, I would like to return for a moment to modernization.

First of all, what Russia as a system experienced in the eighteenth century quite neatly falls under Levy’s definition of modernization. This type of modernization could

not have been carried out without translation. I have termed this role very crudely as a condition *sine qua non* of the process. I may add that its being *sine qua non* comes from its systemic functions. Translation offered information about the environment's social and economic efficiency; that led to further inquiries addressed by the system to its translating agency about the world 'out there'.

In the temporal aspect, translation contributed to the periodization of modernization, which always rejects the past in the name of the present-future in order to draw a line between the past and what follows (Jameson 2002: 24 sq.).³⁸ Jameson considered this tendency as particularly characteristic of modernity starting from the Enlightenment in European history and continuing well into our day. Talking about modernity in whatever discourse (and it is a matter of discourse as Jameson shows) and with whatever definition, one cannot help but periodize (ibid.: 29). This periodization is conducive to modernity's "libidinal charge," an eagerness for the promised future which is built today (ibid.: 34-35).

That is what we observe in the Petrine reformation of Russia. Peter and his ideologists constantly brought up the matter of becoming like Europe, learning from Europe. This presupposed some process whose result was placed in the eagerly awaited future. This messianic expectation was possible only through translation, because translation supplied the messiahs with the 'milk and honey' to be fed to the public. All information coming from the West—needless to say, made available and mediated by translation—was the only tool for jettisoning old mores and social subsystems and replacing them with new ones. Translation (in the broadest sense) was included into the

³⁸ Cf. Luhmann's second type of present—the present ever open to reversibility (1995: 78-79). See an application below.

very ideological-political mechanism set in motion by social power. Therefore it comes as no surprise that the potentates (Peter, Catherine) were personally involved in translational activities and commissioned their courtiers of highest ranks to translate. Translating was far from a casual, inferior, unimportant occupation and they combined translation with most pivotal state functions.

In this sense, the role of translation was both meaning-constituting and processing. It is important to elaborate on Jameson's insightful observation about the messianic function of the future of modernity:

This is, no doubt, a temporal structure, distantly related to emotions like joy or eager anticipation: it seems to concentrate a promise within a present of time and to offer a way of possessing the future more immediately within that present itself (2002: 34-35).

If, following Luhmann, we consider time as a dimension of meaning, differences between past, current and future events become blurred. Indeed, all of them become observable as a horizon of availabilities. The difference between the past / future and present will be relegated to the difference between 'before' and 'after', not to the axes 'presence / absence' or 'near / far'. Future and past cannot be experienced, but only be intended or thematized. The present is the time span experienced in two aspects (again, along the axis of 'before / after'): the 'punctual' present reporting irreversibility of change and the present that endures and symbolizes the reversibility realizable within the horizon of meaning. These two presents polarize themselves as events and permanence, change and duration, thereby making it possible "for a past still visible in an irreversible event and a future already visible in a lasting present to become present" (Luhmann 1995: 78-79). Hence,

[b]y being presented as time and in its vocabulary, incipient irreversibilities and a self-relatedness that keeps things from becoming irreversible are brought into the meaningfully self-referential organization of psychic and social systems (ibid.).

It seems obvious that this presentation of time as a meaning dimension makes time and its vocabulary a powerful ideological manipulative tool. In other words, one can present reversibilities as constancies and constancies as reversibilities. For example, two ethnoses (social systems), an extinct one and an existent one, may be manipulatively shown to share the same time meaning horizon and thus the existent one will claim its relatedness to the extinct one as its present continuation.

How can this be practically accomplished? An authority, or anybody using this technique, must produce some documents proving the relationship between one ethnos and the other as between the latter's past and the former's present. There are several thematic options for this in the fact dimension of meaning. One of the most compelling is the transfer of cultural heritage from the extinct to the existent. This is one of the reasons why in the eighteenth century in Russia, the so-called Old-Russian (indeed, why not Old-Ukrainian or Old-Byelorussian or simply Old-East-Slavonic?) chronicles, religious and other writings began to be published and translated. The superethnos in the making was constructing its history by lengthening it into the past and annexing the common East Slavic past as its own. Although this does not belong to the westernization of Russia, it makes clearer the nature of disputes between the three East Slavic nations as to exactly whose history it was: that of Russians, or Ukrainians, or Byelorussians? Incidentally, in the light of these discussions, such hybrid-terms as *Kievan Rus'* seem to be as

questionable and strange as the political-military dilemma of permanently having two fleets in the same port, as Russia and Ukraine (presently, at the port city of Sevastopol).

Now I would like to consider the category of the future. Translation played an important part in blurring the difference between what already was and what was not yet. A future as modernized Russia was not there yet when Peter and his ideologists declared it *in verbo*. At that, in their minds, the future was firmly associated with the Western lifestyle. It clearly became a model in the fact dimension of meaning (“the who / what / where / how of experience and action”—Luhmann 1995: 78). As we saw, translation played an important part in this. Also, translation helped to transfer the fact dimension into the temporal meaning dimension. Let us see how.

Translations / transfers, obviously, were carried out between different sign-systems (for example, from foreign languages, but also from foreign cultural conventions) into the Russian sign-system (Russian language or foreign cultural conventions were introduced into the Russian cultural system of values). By effacing the sign difference (language),³⁹ translation effaced time’s bond for the target consumer in the very fact dimension: “Time’s bond to what can immediately be experienced is thereby dissolved, and time gradually also sheds its relation to a difference between presence and absence” (ibid.) or to “the who / what / where / how of experience and action”: in this text-space (text in the broad semiotic sense), ego is identified with alter and vice versa. This further leads to future / present time metamorphosis. In translation, the future of modernized / westernized Russia which is Western European present becomes the Russians’ present. The enduring (unmodernized) present of Russia turns

³⁹ As any translation does—even that which is referred to as “foreignizing” translation, because even the most radical “foreignization” of a text in translation hardly ever goes as far as to keep intact the language of the original (see works by A. Berman, L. Venuti and others).

into its messianically prophesied future. This future is already visible in the lasting present and thereby becomes present. Translation participated in this metamorphosis: it supplied the heavenly manna, so to speak, in the form of translated / transferred materials which were filled with the promised honey and milk of the target consumers' future, somebody else's present and thereby the same target consumers' present. Translation acted as the very mechanism of splitting the present so that the future would become visible (and as we saw before, past also becomes visible thanks to translation, among other things). In such a twofold present, translation reconstituted the target audience, like manna had done with the chosen nation during their transit through the desert, nurturing it with the eagerly-awaited and already visible future (fed to the public in the form of somebody else's and their own present). On the other hand, the translation of old texts helped eighteenth-century Russian readership to still keep its systemic self-referential (autopoietic) communication intact.

When describing Wittgenstein's concept of rules governing linguistic communication, Juergen Habermas rightly noted that Wittgenstein failed to see that language rules exist in their relation to other sets of rules and life forms. One's own rules are contrasted with foreign ones. Any language is a horizon of options, including those that are not language: "[T]he language shows itself as something particular among particulars" (Habermas 1988: 147). This presupposes that the existing limits of the world described by language are never irrevocable, they are prone to revisions. According to Habermas, the locus of these revisions is translation.

Translation was shown in this chapter in its broadest systemic-theoretical sense, not only linguistic. Indeed, Habermas' observations on translation's role seem to encapsulate what was discussed in this chapter. In its intrasystemic function, translation, as we see it in eighteenth-century Russia, did provide a locus of systemic revisions. At that, we saw several functions of translation:

1) Translation played the role of the system's initial reconnaissance of its environment. This led to the system's reconsidering and further revising its inner communication by processing the information supplied from the system's environment. The function of translation was to supply the system with information about the environment. This information led to the system's self-critical assessment of its communication. The reaction to this self-critical assessment was the will of the system (Russia) to be westernized.

2) Translation, as the system's boundary phenomenon, actively participated in constituting and processing meaning. Translation brought new options into the existing range of possibilities of experience and action. This caused certain renegotiation of the system's actualizations in the meaning domain. This role of translation was broken down into three dimensions.

3) Translation in the fact dimension had to provide new options along the axis of 'ours' and 'theirs'. This caused most radical changes in the system's meaning handling: the previously rejected 'theirs' became 'ours', i.e., what was previously 'unreal' moved to 'real' skipping the stage of 'possible'.

4) Translation in the temporal dimension contributed greatly to the process of westernization. Firstly, it helped creating a new periodization: pre-Petrine vs. Petrine

Russia (Trubetskoi 1995: 134). Secondly, it participated in calling the modernity messianic future into existence by obliterating the space / time differences. To emphasize, these functions of translation were shown to be an indispensable part of Russia's modernization understood as westernization.

CHAPTER 5. CONSTITUTION OF THE BOUNDARY

We have examined the role of translation in intrasystemic changes caused by the westernization of Russia in the eighteenth century, so let us now consider translation from the point of view of its meaning-constituting / processing function. However, meaning options, if taken without their natural carrier—boundaries, will be too abstract, as Luhmann indicates below:

The particularity of social systems is that they orient themselves to complexity in the form of meaning. This means that the difference between system and environment is mediated exclusively by *meaning-constituted boundaries*. (1995: 194.)

We have seen that translation is a boundary phenomenon that is not only territorial. “Territorial boundaries are [only] a special case of meaning-constituted boundaries” (ibid.: 195). Boundaries let in certain elements from the environment, which change the ‘inside’ of the system. They change the meaning horizon of the system supplying it with new options for experiences and actions. This leads to changes in meaning-constituted boundaries. Luhmann refines his definition as follows:

[...] meaning-constituted boundaries [...] relate the elements of which a system is composed and which it reproduces to the system. Every element makes a relation and with it a boundary decision. Every communication in a social system, not just ones that cross the external boundaries, employs the system / environment difference and thereby contributes to determining or changing the system’s boundaries. Conversely, representations of boundaries serve to order the constitution of elements; they make it possible to assess which elements form in the system and which communications can be risked” (ibid.: 195).

In his analysis, Luhmann was concerned with any communication in a social system, whether crossing or not crossing external boundaries. In my research, I emphasize those crossing the boundaries of eighteenth-century Russia as a communication system. The Russian case shows how translation not only mediated meaning processing but even changed the system's communication boundaries.

Again, Luhmann distinguishes three dimensions in boundary constitution: the fact dimension, the time dimension and the social dimension. Let us consider them one by one.

5.1. Fact Dimension

A system draws its boundaries by constantly carrying out a process of negotiation occurring between its elements. This process can be guided by thematic expectations. This means that the system's boundaries are the themes that are acceptable in the system communication. This negotiation may be direct or indirect, covert or open.

The reciprocity between boundaries constituted by meaning and communication cannot be ignored, because every communication "stakes a claim." Anyone who suggests a new communication expands the thematic repertoire of the system with a new element and thereby is extending the system's boundaries (Luhmann 1995: 194-196).

Communication in eighteenth-century Russia was, as we have seen in the previous chapters, very active in re-negotiating its boundaries. The process passed the stages of meaning constituting and meaning processing. As a result, new options in the fact dimension were actualized. This brought them into the inner communication of the

system, which led to further developments “rich in consequences” (ibid.: 192). Let us consider one such example.

5.1.1 Sacralization of the State Power

In his cultural-semiotic and historical essay *Tsar and God*, Boris Uspenskii and Viktor Zhivov explain the process of bestowing attributes of divinity upon Russian tsars (1994a: 124 sq.). This process was initiated by Peter’s father, Aleksei Mikhailovich, who adopted this aspiration from the Byzantine emperors. Initially, Russia’s taking over the seat of “true” Christianity (Orthodoxy) proclaiming itself the Third Rome served as the context. Although society was far from unanimous about the sacralization practices of secular power, little by little they were accepted. Fedor Alekseevich, Aleksei Mikhailovich’s son, preceding Peter on the throne, continued them.

However, as Uspenskii and Zhivov say, new signs create new content. The latter loses its association with its context and performs a new generating function. The signs thereby persist independently from changing social conditions and political-ideological vectors. In the new context, these signs acquire new meanings. In Luhmannian terms, one can speak of introducing new elements which serve to re-negotiate systemic boundaries. The newly introduced elements become part of the system’s communication features.

Compared to Tsars Aleksei Mikhailovich and Fedor Alekseevich’s reigns, the eighteenth century marked a new epoch. Peter started full-scale westernization. This was a radical change in the system’s orientation towards its environment—from Byzantium

to Western Europe. Yet, instead of falling out of the monarch's grace together with Orthodoxy, the sacralization of secular power survived. This is all the more surprising given Peter's well-known negative attitude to Byzantium. Moreover, the sacralization of royal power grew stronger and even became a state cult (Uspenskii 1994a: 124-133). However, new elements, introduced into communication, coloured it differently and made it serve new goals. On the one hand, the sacralization became part of the state ideology where the secular power had pre-eminence over the ecclesiastical power and did not hesitate to demonstrate its superiority. On the other hand, the sacralization was related to the growing belief of Russian monarchs in their charisma. This charisma was shown by their assuming leadership of the state church (ibid.: 154).

Both the secularization of society and endowment of royal personae with charismatic qualities (even if they did not have any) were happening at the same time in Western Europe. The former was characteristic of the influence of the Enlightenment on society. The latter was part of a European political tendency when royal privileges were no longer bolstered by nations' beliefs in alleged divine ordination of their kings and queens. Rather, kings and queens tried their best to find new reasons for their right to the throne. One reason was the necessity for someone to head up the nation and that one should possess charisma, an inborn ability (Anderson 1991).

As we see, the new colouring of the recently established system's communication elements came from outside the system, or at least, was intensified by the system's environment. Both the establishment and re-colouring came from the environment, but from its different parts—from Byzantium and from Western Europe. They were also

attributed to different epochs in Russian history—the pre-Petrine and the Petrine. However, as we saw, it is actually hard to draw a clear line between the two.

In fact, secularization, divesting the Church of its power, within Russia was also in full sway (Lieven 2006: 284 sq.; Uspenskii 1994a: 126). This makes it even more important to understand why in a parallel movement, the sacralization of secular power was unfolding. Thus, we have two different vectors meeting at the time of Peter and right after him in the eighteenth century.

Apparently, clergymen were the first to apply divine names to Peter. Dimitrii Rostovskii (1651-1709) was the first to call him “Christ” in March 1701. Feofan Prokopovich used evangelical characters to describe the contemporary alignment of political forces. According to him, Peter was Christ, Mazepa was Judas, Peter’s fellow-fighters were apostles.⁴⁰ In his text “Thanksgiving Service” commemorating Peter’s victory over the Swedes in Poltava (1709), Feofilakt Lopatinskii (1680-1741) also called Peter “Christ.” Characteristically, Peter himself edited Lopatinskii’s text. Stefan Iavorskii (1658-1722) called Peter “the Saviour” (Uspenskii 1994a: 137-139).

Poets followed suit. However, if the clergy stuck to terms of Christianity, poets added a pagan element. Gavriil Derzhavin, Vasilii Petrov, Nikolai Karamzin called potentates “earthly gods.” Lomonosov wrote about Peter calling him “an earthly divinity” (ibid.: 145-146). This paganism, however, was not like the native Russian pre-Christian paganism. Rather, poets turned to Greco-Roman Antiquity, in full compliance with the post-Renaissance European secular tradition associated with liberal arts, not with religion.

⁴⁰ Allegory was a common device at the time. Prokopovich wrote a five-act *Tragicomedy of St. Vladimir* that was ostensibly about the first ruler of the Kievan Rus’ (Vladimir) to convert to Christianity but was in fact a tribute to Peter for “converting” to Western ways (Brown 1980a: 154, 156).

One more important historical perspective is to be kept in mind when one analyses this epoch. Originally, panegyrics and eulogies ranking the tsars and tsarinas with the Christian God or pagan gods were meant to be metaphors. However, some less educated people understood these comparisons literally and considered them sacrilegious. Coupled with the official sacralization of political secular power, certainly this understanding had its ground. Therefore, it became more and more difficult to separate the secular from the religious. Thus, panegyric texts, understood literally, contributed to the same process of the sacralization of political power (*ibid.*: 175).

Another reason for the confusion was a difference between the south-western (conventional) tradition and the Russian (unconventional) tradition of interpreting the sacred sign. The former was a rich, well-educated tradition coming to Russia from Latin-based Polish baroque culture through the Ukraine and Byelorussia. However, only a very limited number of educated Russians were ready to adopt this tradition on its own terms. The rest, followers of the native Russian tradition of interpreting the sign literally, were sometimes baffled by certain incoming tendencies. Comparing the tsar(ina) with a god(dess) was one of them. In this case, the unconventional interpretation of the sign imposed the religious cult on the civil domain and caused misunderstanding at the same time corroborating the sacralization of the state power (*ibid.*: 129, 176).

However, the tendency was gaining momentum. Lomonosov transferred biblical characters and episodes into Russian reality. In one of his poems, he compares Peter's birth to Christ's birth. Lomonosov himself assumed the role of Archangel Gabriel announcing the good news to the Blessed Virgin—Peter's mother, Tsarina Nataliia

Kirilovna. Aleksandr Sumarokov developed the theme and called Kolomenskoe, the village near Moscow where Peter was born, Bethlehem (Uspenskii 1994a: 176-180).

At the same time, the line between Christian and pagan images was blurred:

He was God, he was your God, Russia,
He took his flesh from you,
Coming to you from heavenly places.⁴¹

This is said by Mars to Minerva about Peter the Great in the poem “Oda na den’ tezoimenitstva Ego Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Gosudaria Velikogo Kniazia Petra Fedorovicha 1743 goda” (Ode on the Name’s Day of His Emperor’s Highness Tsar Grand Prince Peter Fedorovich, 1743) by Lomonosov. Nonetheless, this is an allusion to Christ’s incarnation (ibid.: 178).

Developing Uspenskii and Zhivov’s ideas, what happened can be described as follows. There was a sign A outside the system. It was adopted by the system and applied to its inner situation according to the system’s own needs. It became A₁ for some and $\bar{A}_1$ (A₁ crossed, negated, opposed to the original A) for the others. These correspond to two approaches to the sign—the conventional and unconventional. What we have so far may be expressed by a formula: $A \rightarrow A_1 / \bar{A}_1$.

However, this was not the end of the process. When A was introduced into the system’s communication and was interpreted both positively and negatively, a precedent was created. Let us not forget that this was a sacred sign initially. Later, its nature was changed when it was applied to what was human (albeit royal). This rendered the sign A profane and profanable and paved the way for a complete profanation.

⁴¹ In the original Russian: «Он бог, он бог твой был, Россия, // Он члены взял в тебе плотския, // Сошед к тебе от горьних мест [...]»

5.1.2. Semiotic History of One Sacrilege

Aleksandr Pushkin's poem *Gavriliada* (written in 1821) is usually analyzed as an example of Pushkin's burlesque works with its French models. I would like to consider this poem as a point of convergence of cultural-semiotic and significant intrasystemic transformations caused by re-negotiating systemic boundary in its fact dimension. In other words, I will consider the poem as a logical continuation of the transformations described above and condensed in the formula $A \rightarrow A_1 / \mathbb{A}_1$. I would like to show its connection with the preceding cultural-semiotic process in the intrasystemic communication caused by transfers that occurred during the sacralization of secular power. The poem is also interesting from the point of view of the system's reaction to it.

In the eighteenth century, as we have seen, the sacred was applied to secular power. The polarized reactions to this loosened of formerly unshakable Orthodox conventions and values. This opened the door for further developments. In the case of Pushkin's poem, it was already not only a 'misapplication' (A_1 as a distorted version of A) but a downright blasphemy in terms of the social mores. Hence, the poem caused Pushkin problems with Tsar Nicolas I and the Holy Synod.

The plot of the poem is based on the Annunciation episode of the Biblical story. A young Jewish girl, Maria, the wife of an old carpenter, Joseph, is chosen by God to give birth to His incarnated Son. The glad tidings are sent through Archangel Gabriel. Satan, who learnt about the intended incarnation, appears to Maria as a snake and seduces her. Then Gabriel arrives and also has intercourse with beautiful (and already deflowered) Maria. God as a dove turns out to be the third to have Maria. Although God thinks that He conceived the child, the reader, like Maria, is less naïve.

There were deeper semiotic influences on Pushkin writing his *Gavriliada*, than more obvious Western European models—Parny’s *La Guerre des Dieux* (The War of Gods) and Voltaire’s *La Pucelle d’Orléans* (The Maid of Orleans). Close links are traced to Parny’s long blasphemous poem about the struggle between pagan gods and angels trying to take over the heavens. First of all, one cannot fail to note a resemblance between the main motif of Parny’s poem and the general situation of eighteenth-century Russian ideologists and panegyrists who put together Christian and pagan gods in their poems.⁴² Although their relationships were interpreted differently, both groups—Olympic gods and the Holy Family with their retinue—were on a par with one another and made available for Pushkin’s creativity. Pushkin could treat the Christian God, the Holy Family and their spiritual servants in the same way as pagan gods. This had been done, as we have seen, by Lomonosov, Sumarokov and others. The Christian holy characters were used to describe Russian royalties and thereby made comfortably human. This made it conceivable to render the Christian holy characters both human-like and pagan-like.

Parny’s model, showing the Holy Family arriving in Heaven as a family of nouveaux-riches, obviously encouraged Pushkin in his iconoclastic daring feat: “Pushkin, in his *Gavriliada*, uses a rather similar technique of humanizing his subjects [...]” (Clayton 2000: 29). Pushkin depicted God as someone at the top rung of the social ladder; Gabriel was compared to a general’s adjutant; the devil was put at the social bottom (ibid.: 32, 33).

⁴² In similar terms, Prokopovich showed Vladimir’s baptism of the Kievan Rus’ in his *Tragicomedy of St. Vladimir*. Christianity was fighting pagan demons. Metaphorically, this was interpreted as the struggle between Peter’s reforms and the retrograde ‘Old Muscovite’ party (Brown 1980a: 150-156).

Apparently, Pushkin also borrowed the central idea of the seduction of Mary from Parny. At that, Pushkin improved Parny's seduction scene by replacing Apollo with Gabriel thereby making his satire even more poignant. At the end of the poem, Mary herself was compared to Helen, "the archetypical adulteress and image of sinful beauty" (ibid.: 37). Again, the Christian semi-goddess was put together with the pagan legendary figure:

It is important to note that Helen is seen to be "as charming as the tender Mary." The Mary of the *Gavriliada* is an adulteress, and thus combines the virtue of Mary as seen by Joseph and the Almighty, with the freedom and beauty of Helen (as she appears to Gabriel and the devil). She is thus an ambiguous figure—appearing as the archetypical Mary or the archetypical Helen, depending on the beholder. (ibid.: 37)

This ambiguity makes the poem's plot comparable to the interplay of $A_1 / \mathbb{A}_1$ in the situation $A \rightarrow A_1 / \mathbb{A}_1$.

As to the reception of the poem, the society was divided. Some read the poem, copied it and passed it on to others. Others were utterly enraged by it. Among the social reasons for the suppression of the poem, critics point to the religious obscurantism and reactionary mysticism in Aleksandr's court at the time when the poem was written. On a larger social-systemic level, the poem turned out to be too hasty and too extreme an application of the tendency to de-sacralize the sacred. As a result, the poem failed despite some amount of support. Pushkin's mock-epic seemed to take little heed of the following principle observed by Luhmann:

Anyone who initiates a communication or expands the thematic repertoire of a system with new elements would do well to keep in mind communication's

severe demands if he wants to make sure of the communication's chances: *he is extending the system's boundaries* (1995: 195).

For us the poem becomes interesting as a logical (and inevitable) finalization of what was happening in Russia in the eighteenth century and a finalization which was made through covert translation. Pushkin's poem is a continuation of the formula shown earlier and described by Uspenskii and Zhivov: $A \rightarrow A_1 / \cancel{A}_1 \rightarrow \cancel{A}$.

Indeed, translation and application of Biblical imagery and characters to royal personages brought in the possibility of attacks against the sacred itself despite the fact that it was judged sacrilegious by the same officialdom that had accepted an application of this sacred to themselves. Yet, a part of the society accepted the poem and copied it by hand, read and circulated it. Therefore, from the social-systemic viewpoint, the process can be said to be partly accepted as a new thematic boundary, although officially this re-negotiation was not approved of.

5.1.3. Translation as a Disguise

In the above-adduced example of his *Gavriliada*, Pushkin apparently overestimated the openness of the system. That is why a few years later, in 1828, when he was in danger of being judged and exiled for penning such a blasphemous and socially provocative work, he preferred to deny his authorship.

Some writers and Pushkin himself, when he became more mature, later in his life and career, showed more social wisdom in suggesting re-negotiating the thematic boundary of the system using overt translation (sometimes, imitation or even pseudo-translation). This allowed them to offer socially risky topics as simply a suggestion

coming from outside (as a foreign text), not from inside (from a Russian author). Pushkin might have done something like that, putting Voltaire and Parny to the front and using them as buffers. This is precisely what he did later at least in one of his poems “The Imitation of the Arabic” (1835). Again, let us put the work in its social-literary context and then analyse its social-systemic role.

As we have seen, in the eighteenth century, reforms embraced all spheres of the social life of Russia and involved all strata of the population. The scale was really stunning. No doubt this was the time of greatest ruptures in the social habits, customs, and ways of living. One such breakage was a radical change in the social sexual discourse. Traditionally, everyday sexual practices in Russia kept pagan traces well into the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries as is obvious from folklore (Toporkov 1995). The Russian Orthodox Church apparently was not too strict in its attitude to widespread alternative sexual practices. For instance, in pre-Petrine Russia, judging from some of the memoirs of foreign travellers to Russia, penalties for sodomy were much less strict there as compared to that same period in Western Europe.

However, one cannot fail to notice a certain contradiction between the actual sexual practices and a disapproving attitude to them which pervaded all official discourse. This was obviously a religious influence trickling down little by little from the highest layers of official religious ideology to people’s everyday consciousness. That was an end of the century-long battle between paganism and Christianity in matters of sex. The Church could not do anything radical, but it succeeded (as everywhere in the Western European world which was under its influence) in hammering into the heads of

people that sex was evil, a sin. This could not but produce ever growing qualms of conscience and rejection of sex (at least in intention).

This tendency within the Russian Orthodox Church was propped up by the growing influence of European culture and religion. Resolutely as in all other aspects of his reforms, Peter the Great brought the struggle into the legal sphere. Now sexual behaviour became less a moral issue, than a legal matter. In 1716, “as part of efforts to introduce new forms of social control,” Peter legalized the prohibition of sodomy among soldiers and sailors. Later, in 1835, Nicholas I extended this regulation to civilians seeking “to instil those religious sensibilities and civic virtues that Russian males apparently still lacked” (Healey 2001: 22). Of course, as usually happens, ousting sexual practices from the official discourse does not solve the ‘problem’ and they reappear in disguised forms. This is what happened in Russia in the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries. Homosexuality and bisexuality did not disappear; moreover, they still thrived even in the highest layers of the Russian establishment (Poznanskii 1993: 32 and *passim*).

The reformative initiatives in the westernized Russia were of a seemingly controversial nature. On the one hand, one of the issues of Peter’s and Catherine’s reforms was secularization of the Russian society. It is in this anti-clerical effort that Peter established a press in Amsterdam in 1699, because the one in Moscow was controlled by the Russian Orthodox Church. Later, Catherine appropriated some of the Russian Orthodox Church’s lands. On the other hand, however, this secularization in its anti-clericalism should not be understood in the modern sense. It was still within the moral principles of the Church. The Church was being subdued politically, but its moral doctrines still reigned supreme. Moreover, they were reinforced by yet another aspect of

this secularization—by the introduction of European moral standards and ethical norms into Russian society. One of the manifestations of this secularization was suppressing sexualities which were not endorsed by the Christian moral code.

As I have said above, the suppressed sexuality sought new ways of self-assertion and self-expression. One of these ways was literature and more precisely, translated literature. Translation / transfer (including paratranslations, for example imitations) serves as a pretext for expressing the translator's own true sexual identity.⁴³ From the social-systemic perspective, translation preserves an item of the fact dimension of the system's communication repertoire and 'hides' it among items transferred from the environment. The mechanism works as follows. The translator smuggles, as it were, his own ideas under the disguise of a translation of somebody else's text. This can be seen in some of Ivan Dmitriev's works.⁴⁴

Ivan Dmitriev (1760-1837) was one of the most significant Russian sentimentalist poets, together with the better known leader of this literary trend in Russia, Nikolai Karamzin. Dmitriev also served as the Minister of Justice in the administration of Tsar Aleksandr I. In his government career, he was quite nepotistic. He surrounded himself with handsome young assistants, some of whom owed their advancement to the fact that they were Dmitriev's lovers (Karlinsky 1997: 18).

⁴³ Paratranslation is an umbrella-term for other types of translation-like activities where the original is changed to a greater degree than in a translation and yet the relationship between the source and target texts still can be identified as that of an original and its representation (Tyulenev 2004). Examples are parody, imitation, etc.

⁴⁴ By way of a methodological digression, the following observation made by Denise Filios is applicable: "The marginality of professional performers [...] exacerbated partial treatment [of them by jurists and theologians], making the job of modern scholars who wish to examine their ephemeral performances particularly thorny" (2005: 9). Writers and translators raising socially disapproved issues had to hide and disguise at least some aspects of their true intentions. This requires an additional effort on the part of the modern scholar in order to discover the hidden. No wonder, more often than not, these studies do not produce final conclusions; rather, they pose questions (Woods 1998: 142-143; Green 1997).

In his poetry, however, Dmitriev seems to have worn a heterosexual mask. The objects of his attention were dubbed Chloe or Liza: e.g., “prelestna Khloia” (beautiful Chloe) in his popular poem-song “Stonet sizyi golubochek” (A Little Pigeon Cries), 1792; Liza in the poem “Videl slavnii ia dvorets” (I Saw a Beautiful Palace...), 1794.⁴⁵ That is not to say that he was hypocritical. These sorts of conclusions would be rather anachronistic because in that epoch this double-life was not rare. It is doubtful that we can operate with terms like *closeted* as applied to people with unconventional sexual lifestyles in this type of society. Homosexuality was frowned upon officially, but it was still practiced by those inclined to do so (Poznanskii 1993: 31 sq.).

That is why we come across seemingly paradoxical historical evidence in the Russian history of the period in question. Filipp Vigel’ (Wiegel), a homosexual himself, wrote about another homosexual Vladimir Bantysh-Kamenskii: “One cannot help blushing while talking about him; I will not utter another word about that: I do not want to befoul these pages with stories about his stupidity, his baseness and his vices” (cited in Poznanskii 1993: 29). Or another example, Aleksandr Pushkin derisively spoke about both Bantysh-Kamenskii’s and Vigel’s homosexuality in his epigrams and diaries and yet was known to be on friendly terms with the latter (ibid.).

In fact, at that time, homosexuality was lumped together with the manifestation of any sexuality which was viewed in opposition to religious piety where only procreative sex was acceptable. That is one of the reasons why Pushkin spared no pains to refute his authorship of the sacrilegious poem *Gavriliada*: it was too explicit and,

⁴⁵ All the translations into English are made by me and are attempts at rendering the quoted passages as literally as possible.

therefore, too bawdy a treatment of the biblical story of the Annunciation (Pushkin 1958: 635-636).

Going back to Dmitriev, one of few exceptions where he may be suspected of his true sexual preferences is his translation of La Fontaine's fable "Les deux Pigeons" (The Two Pigeons). To start with, In choosing this particular piece, Dmitriev displays something more than the usual interest of Russian translators of the time in French authors. La Fontaine (together with Parry and Voltaire) was far from the most innocuous among them with his unconventional reputation as a personality and as a man of letters, for example, with his *Contes et Nouvelles en vers* (Tales and Novels in Verse). Its boccaccian licentiousness is disguised but in a transparent and flippant manner.

Dmitriev definitely worked in the same way as seen in his translation of "Les deux Pigeons" (Two Pigeons). For instance, his writing style is suggestive and transparent in showing a male couple. Any careful reader will take the hint, yet he is safely covered. Yes, it is a translation and not his own writing. But why would he choose this particular fable and not some other? The argument becomes even more convincing if one takes into account that Dmitriev did not translate all La Fontaine's works. He chose to translate only some of them. Yes, we see a male couple, but they are only pigeons. They are not human males! In this sense, La Fontaine is, no doubt, a happy choice for somebody desiring to express his unconventionalism, in this case in sexual matters.

The first most obvious observation is that Dmitriev's translation borders on an imitation. It quite extensively elaborates on the plot of the original. One may notice in this yet another evidence of the translator's interest and personal involvement in the story. In the original, there are eighty-three lines; in the translation—106! A number of

details are added. Where, for example, in the original *Deux Pigeons s'aimaient d'amour tendre* (two Pigeons loved each other tenderly), the translation says that two pigeons were friends, they lived, and ate, and drank together for a long time.⁴⁶ In the original, one of the Pigeons only tells the other about his desire to go on a voyage, while the Russian translation comments that the news was like a sharp knife for the Pigeon that stayed behind. Moreover, in French, he merely speaks ("dit"), whereas in Russian, he "started", "cried" and "exclaimed his reproach to his friend."⁴⁷

Dmitriev also changes the tone of the narration. La Fontaine's original reads as follows:

L'autre lui dit : Qu'allez-vous faire ?

Voulez-vous quitter votre frère ?

L'absence est le plus grand des maux :

Non pas pour vous, cruel.

[The other says to him: What are you going to do? Are you going to leave your brother?

Parting is the worst of troubles, but not for you, cruel creature.]

In the Russian translation, the equivalent of the French "vous" is the Russian informal pronoun for the second person singular (*ty*), making the relationship much more intimate. This is emphasized by the change of the neutral "frère" of the original to the endearing "my dear brother": "Oh, my dear brother, you struck me with such news! Is it easy to be apart! It is for you, oh cruel! I know. But as for me... From this deep distress,

⁴⁶ In the original Russian: Два Голубя друзьями были, // Издавна вместе жили, // И кушали, и пили.

⁴⁷ ...[О]дин ... // Задумал погулять и другу в том открылся. // Тому весть эта острый нож; // Он вздрогнул, прослезился // И к другу возопил...

I will not be able to survive a day...”⁴⁸ Here again, we see a considerable elaboration of every phrase.

All the considered passages of the beginning of the Fable show how emotional the Russian translation is in comparison with its French original. A further comparison of the original with its translation reinforces this impression. As for instance, in the original, the reproach of the second Pigeon shakes the first Pigeon’s heart:

Ce discours ébranla le coeur
De notre imprudent voyageur ;
Mais le désir de voir et l’humeur inquiète
L’emportèrent enfin.

[This speech shook the heart of our foolish traveller, nevertheless his desire and unquiet spirit forced him to leave.]. In the translation “imprudent voyageur” is rendered by Russian equivalents for “fool” and “eccentric”: “A sound admonition for fools is like water in a brook: it babbles and flows by; the eccentric listens, sighs, and yet is determined to fly away.”⁴⁹

When the Pigeons part, in French they cry and say ‘goodbye’ to each other:

A ces mots en pleurant ils se dirent adieu.

Not so in the Russian translation. They do not say anything more (what a perfunctory formality to say ‘good-bye’ at such a moment in the lovers’ life!). Instead of all those *alas-and-alac*’s, the friends looked at each other, kissed, sighed and parted.⁵⁰ My translation of the Russian word *poklevalis*’ as “kissed” is not quite what Dmitriev’s text says. In fact, Dmitriev coins a neologism here following the model of the word

⁴⁸ Помилуй, братец, чем меня ты поразил? // Легко ль в разлуке быть?.. Тебе легко, жестокой! // Я знаю; ах! а мне... я, с горести глубокой, // И дня не проживу...

⁴⁹ Безумцам умна речь — как в ручейке вода: // Журчит и мимо протекает, // Затеи́ник слушает, вздыхает, // А всё-таки лететь желает.

⁵⁰ Наместо всех *увы!* и *ах!* // Друзья взглянулись, поклевались, // Вздохнули и расстались.

potselovalis ' (kissed) but on the basis of the word *klevat* ' (peck). These are pigeons after all. What a touching, tender and emotional detail is supplied by the Russian translator for this scene of the lovers' parting as compared to the source text.

There are two 'female' characters in the Fable. Interestingly, one of them is not a female in the original; it is another male pigeon that the Pigeon-traveller sees in a field, in front of strewn wheat ("Dans un champ à l'écart voit du blé répandu, // Voit un pigeon auprès..."). In Dmitriev's translation, this strange pigeon is a female pigeon (*Golubka*). In the original, the Traveller got into a trap here and the pigeon turned out to be a lure. In the Russian translation, the lure is represented by a female. One cannot help wondering why the translator changed the gender of this character from the original. Was it because he wanted to make the situation more conventional or because somehow he was attempting to 'smuggle' his own apprehension toward women?

The other female character is mentioned as the narrator's own beloved. But she is characteristically nameless and rather of the conventional type, like Chloe, Liza, Venus or Fortune from Dmitriev's poetry describing idyllic, if insipid male-female love.

This is not the only translation where one can find Dmitriev's intrusions into the original, which allow us to interpret them as smuggling in his own personality and sexual preferences. Such were his other translations, for example, "Dva druga" (Two Friends), 1795, and "Iskateli Fortuny" (Fortune Seekers), 1794—both of them also translations of La Fontaine's fables, or his earlier translation of a fragment from Macpherson's *The Poems of Ossian—Love and Friendship*, 1788.⁵¹ In the latter, he showed friendship

⁵¹ I discuss Dmitriev's translations of La Fontaine's fables "Les deux amis" and "L'Homme qui court après la Fortune et l'Homme qui l'attend dans son lit" (The Man Who Ran After Fortune, and the Man Who Waited for Her in His Bed) as well as Dmitriev's poem "Golubok (Podrazhanie Anakreonu)" (The Little

between two males who fell in love with one and the same girl. One of the friends asked the other to kill him for it was impossible to live on like that. Eventually, they died together killing each other, thereby making, in a sense, their friendship more important than their love for a woman. This, naturally, blurs the difference between love and friendship which is how Dmitriev, (readily) following Macpherson, chose to show us the two. This essence of the two types of relationship is questioned in the translation and this questioning is brought to our attention as the central topic of the poem titled *Love and Friendship*.

To reiterate, translation appears to be a powerful means of influencing communication in the system. Dmitriev was no exception in this endeavour.

Besides having the reputation of being the greatest Russian poet, Aleksandr Pushkin was also rumoured to have been one of the most successful womanizers of his time. Some researchers go as far as to ascribe this early manifested and powerful sexuality to his African genes (Arinshtein 1999: 13). Most probably, however, African genes had as much to do with Pushkin's sexuality than his Russian ones, but the fact remains that the general heterosexuality of his works has hardly ever been questioned. And yet there exists at least one poem written by him in the genre of imitation of foreign literary works thus written by him not so much as a poet but as a translator. A somewhat puzzling poem (Green 1997), let us look at it closely.

Pigeon (An Imitation of Anacreontis)), 1792, in an article to be published in J. St. André (ed.), *Thinking through Translation with Metaphors*, Manchester: St Jerome.

In 1835, four years after his marriage (1831), the womanizer Pushkin wrote “Podrazhanie arabskomu” (Imitation of the Arabic), a short poem where the narrator addresses his young friend:

Sweet lad, tender lad,
Have no shame, you’re mine for good.
We share a sole insurgent fire,
We live in boundless brotherhood.
I do not fear the gibes of men;
One being split in two we dwell,
The kernel of a double nut
Embedded in a single shell.

Translated by M. Green⁵²

An entire army of Pushkinists, experts in Pushkin’s works, both in Russia and in the West, have virtually ignored the poem. Probably exactly for the reason it interests us here. Although we will likely never know for sure why and how this poem was composed, what seems to be certain is its homosexual sentiment. It is also clear that the poem has nothing to do with the mocking attitude to homosexuality which the poet expressed in some of his original epigrams. One of them, about Prince Aleksandr Golitsyn, written in 1820, fifteen years before “Imitation of the Arabic”, runs as follows: “Here he is, Khvostova’s patron. Here he is, a slavish soul, a destroyer of all education, Bantyshev’s patron, too. Press on him from all sides! Shall we try from behind? That’s where he’s weakest.”⁵³

⁵² In the original Russian: Отрок милый, отрок нежный, // Не стыдись, навек ты мой; // Тот же в нас огонь мятежный, // Жизнью мы живем одной. // Не боюсь я насмешек: // Мы сдвоились меж собой, // Мы точь в точь двойной орешек // Под единой скорлупой.

⁵³ In the original Russian: Вот Хвостовой покровитель, // Вот холопская душа, // Просвещения губитель, // Покровитель Бантыша! // Напирайте, бога ради, // На него со всех сторон! // Не попробовать ли сзади? // Там всего слабее он.

In “Imitation of the Arabic,” the sentiment is so tender and so sincere. The poem has nothing to do with epigrams of the sort quoted above. Taking into account that a fifteen year time span separates the two, one may wonder what made Pushkin reconsider his attitude to the male-male love relationship. It is also quite plausible that the earlier epigram was directed against the concrete person and not so much against homosexuality. In this case, *mutatis mutandis* it may be compared to the above-quoted, rather hypocritical, reference by Filipp Vigel to Vladimir Bantysh-Kamenskii (Poznanskii 1993: 29). As such, it was more in keeping with the conventions of the time, a sort of lip-service, and explained by interpersonal relationships, rather than meting out a judgment against homosexuality.

In one of the drafts of “Imitation of the Arabic,” Pushkin had a conventional heterosexual variant: “Sweet lad, tender lad, I am your [girl] and you are forever mine. I am ready to follow you into a desert or into snowy steppes.”⁵⁴ The narrator here is a female. Of course, we should not confuse the narrator and the author of a lyrical piece. The history of literature knows cases of male authors’ writing first-person works where the narrator is a woman and vice versa. But here, one still cannot help wondering if we witness a moment of hesitation: Pushkin started with a female-male relationship and then switched to a male-male one.

In the history of translation in Russia, there are several translations where translators rendered the famous second Ode by Sappho keeping intact her lesbian passion, but, again, this is very different from what we observe in this case of Pushkin. There they followed their original. In his draft variant of “Imitation,” Pushkin chose to

⁵⁴ In the original Russian: Отрок милый, отрок нежный, // Я твоя, навек ты мой; // В край безлюдный, в степи снежны // Я готова за тобой.

let the narrator speak like / as a woman. Why? Is it because at that point he felt more like a woman / women? Did he identify with sentiments a woman might have in a similar situation (at least according to how he understood them)? (Dorais 1999.)

Whatever the answer or answers to those questions may be, in the final version of the poem, the poet changed the gender of the narrator to the masculine. It is remarkable because there is a change from that of a more conventionally plausible to a socially risky one—a male-male type of relationship. It is especially obvious if we take into consideration the motif of shame—mockery: “[...] do not be ashamed, you are forever mine [...] I am not afraid of mockery [...].” It is believed that one of the possible sources of Pushkin’s inspiration for his “Imitation” was a fragment from Musharif al-Din Saadi’s *Gullistan*: “I remember that we used to live with a friend of mine like two almond kernels in one shell.” But in his poem, Pushkin develops Saadi’s motif by adding the “shame—mockery” aspect. Why? Nobody would ever think of mocking two male friends. This leads us to doubt an unequivocal ‘friendship’-like interpretation of the poem. This doubt is corroborated by the second line of the poem saying that both protagonists share *tot zhe... ogon’ miatezhnyi* (the same rebellious fire). One cannot help wondering: against what is the rebellion? From the context, it is clear that the audacity to have an intimate relationship may be the rebellion.

Another source of this poem may be Plato’s “Symposium” (Woods 1998: 142-143). This is hinted at by an invocation of Aristophanes’ speech in Plato’s “Symposium” with a deliberate reference to homosexuality. Another translation by Pushkin, this time of Catullus’ “Minister vetuli puer Falerni” (Servant boy of the old Falernian wine), 1832, may serve as a prelude to the Greek overtones in “Imitation”: “Hey boy, fill my cup with

the drunken bitterness of Falernum! This is Postumia's, governess of orgies, order. And you, waters, flow away and with streams hostile to wine fill strict abstainers: we prefer pure Bacchus." Pushkin shows a feast, *symposium*, with its pure epicurianism and pleasure-seeking. Ancient artistic evidence strongly suggests that symposia (drinking parties) were, among other things, "a locus of homosexual admiration, courtship, and even sexual acts" (Hubbard 2003: 4). Participants at these feasts ogled serving boys who tended to their duties naked. One can thus argue that in his "Imitation of the Arabic," Pushkin depicted two males as a loving couple in a form of imitation. In a sense, he did what Dmitriev did in his translations of La Fontaine's fables—smuggling in his own personality or, to be more precise, an aspect of his own sexual identity.

I have presented two cases of translation in Russia from the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century: those of Ivan Dmitriev and Aleksandr Pushkin. In an atmosphere of official repudiation of homosexuality, both seem to have channelled their true sexual identity or their sincere considerations of alternative sexuality through translations-transfers (translations proper or other types of translation-like texts, for example, imitations). A close comparison of both authors' translations and their originals (when possible) shows that they deliberately opted for the genre of translation-transfer, not willing to express their sentiments directly and yet quite freely dealing with their originals. Virtually, they created their own texts using foreign texts as pretexts. Their works clearly colour or intensify the homosexual nature of their originals. They preferred to use the genre of translation-transfer and their originals as a sort of disguises for themselves. It is in this sense that in both cases one is justified to speak of the translators' smuggling their own issues into their translations-imitations.

One may wonder how typical or frequent this sort of smuggling can turn out to be in cultures where there are official ideological pressures at work. Clearly, sexual ideological pressure is only one manifestation of these ideological pressures. But regardless of what pressures are at work, they are mechanisms of the system's guarding its communication boundaries.

I have analyzed two opposite cases of introducing new themes into the system's official discourse (acceptable / accepted communication). Both were based on translation but in different ways—Pushkin's *Gavriliada* was close to a transfer of ideas and literary devices that we observed in panegyric literature of eighteenth-century Russia. Pushkin's poem may be seen as a logical finalization of the latter current in Russian literature. However, Pushkin's radicalization in bringing a "foreign" theme into the system's communication horizon was assessed as an 'unreal / unacceptable' option. He passed his poem off as a "Russian" poem by having not indicated its sources. This cost him an interrogation by the Tsar himself where he denied his authorship. Such was the system's reaction to his audacity.

The second case of Dmitriev's translations from La Fontaine and Macpherson as well as Pushkin's paratranslation (imitation / pseudo-translation) show us the opposite tendency. New themes are introduced into the system's communication with the goal of changing its contours not from outside but from inside. Yet, these attempts are disguised as translations, as something coming from the environment.

In Luhmannian terms, the first case may be interpreted as an example of an experience (an attempted change in communication boundary coming from the environment) presented to the system as its own action (a change initiated from within

the system). The second case is opposite: an action generated from within the system was passed off as an experience.

The second example also shows the power of translation in Russia at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Homosexuality was tolerated under the disguise of the environment's discourse and with such a status, the trick achieved its goal—the thematic communication boundary was adjusted. The translations got their imprimatur and wide circulation among the targeted readership. With Pushkin's *Gavriliada*, the process was much less smooth.

5.2. Temporal Dimension

The temporal dimension shows us when a certain part of the system's boundary was opened. This dimension can be illustrated by changes in the book culture of eighteenth-century Russia. To get a better understanding of what major shifts occurred in book culture as a result of Peter's and his followers' reforms, it is necessary to take a look at the situation before Peter's intervention.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ It is hardly worth mentioning that all statistical characteristics both of pre-Petrine and Petrine and post-Petrine Russia are approximations because we have only a limited corpus of catalogues of what had been in organizational and personal libraries. And yet, thanks to these facts, however fragmentary, we are able to get a glimpse into book culture of the time. Naturally, for the purpose of my research, I will present only facts that are relevant for the study of transfer and therefore the accent will be laid on foreign publications and their translations into Russian.

5.2.1. Book Culture before Peter

An idea of the book collections of the pre-Petrine time can be deduced from the Patriarch's Library. His book collection was one of the richest in Russia and therefore most representative for our purposes. Works had been gathered for centuries. By the seventeenth century (in Patriarch Nikon's times, according to the catalogue of 1658), there were more than 3,000 volumes.⁵⁶ Among them, there were 562 foreign units: 467 Greek manuscripts, ninety-one printed Greek books and four German printed grammar books.

In 1675, according to the new Patriarch Ioakim's catalogue of "Greek, Greco-Latin, Polish and Slavonic printed and hand-written books" brought to the Patriarch's library from Voskresenskii Monastery, there were 501 volumes. In 1677, there were 551, because some of them were returned by individual borrowers. In the catalogue of 1718, there were 422 printed books and 577 manuscripts. 13% of them were secular works; 73,3 % were foreign books, predominantly Greek. The collection in its 1718 version consisted mostly of various genres of religious and church-liturgy compilations and guides. The small secular part was comprised of books in astronomy, geography, history, languages, philosophy, medicine, belles-lettres. Historical publications were the most numerous. Some of them were in Greek, some in Russian. There were Russian translations of Joseph Flavius' *History of the Judaic Wars*, of one of Aristotle's works, and of works by Homer, Pythagoras, Plato, Aesop, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes.

⁵⁶ The library was divided into three parts: a common collection for the use by patriarchs and other highest church functionaries (notably, metropolitans); a collection for the patriarch's 'home' use. The third part was the patriarch's personal collection. I will concentrate on the first part of the library as it was the public part and, therefore, it is the most relevant for this section of my study. The information is drawn from Glukhov 1979: 170 sq.

In the linguistic subsection, there were Greco-Latin and Latin-Greek lexicons. Among the medical works by Hippocrates and Galen there were also catalogues of herbs. These texts were both printed and manuscript in either Greek or Latin. There were books with descriptions of various states and lands, seven books of atlases in Latin, a *Stroitel'naia i rudoznatnaia kniga* (Book on Construction and Ores), and an arithmetic manual. In general, the collection of scientific publications gives the impression of being quite haphazard.

The Patriarch's library was an official collection representing the interests of the then ruling class—clerics of the Russian Orthodox Church. Consequently, the library is clearly lacking as far as publications reflecting opposing social tendencies are concerned: it did not contain works by authors representing views of the Old Believers or—which is interesting for us—by harbingers of the West.

In short, the Patriarch's library provides a fine example of the pre-Petrine mainstream of social mores and interests as well as the role assigned to foreign books, whether translated or not. This is corroborated by what we know about the personal libraries of the most educated Russians of the pre-Petrine Russia.

In Ivan the Terrible's time, Ivan Viskovatyi (d. 1570) was the head of the Posol'skii Prikaz (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). He played an important part in the foreign policy of Muscovy, and participated in almost all negotiations. His personal library included works by the Church fathers. Apparently, his library also included non-religious books (Glukhov 1979: 180-181). His is an example of a semi-secular library, a transitional case between the Patriarch's collection and the personal libraries of seventeenth-century 'westernizers'.

One can judge about early westernizers' interests based on the example of one of the most educated Russian 'diplomats' of the time—Fedor Karpov (d. before 1545). He studied the Holy Scriptures and astrology; he was well-versed in Ancient literature and philosophy; he liked works by Ovid and, moreover, read them in the original (Glukhov 1979: 181; Tschizewskij 1978: 126).

The westernizing tendency in terms of the system gained more prominence when Andrei Shchelkanov (d. 1598), the head of the Posol'skii Prikaz after Viskovatyi under Ivan the Terrible and later under Boris Godunov, founded the reference library for employees of the Prikaz. Dealing with representatives of various nations and cultures, the employees had to be able to look up information about those nations and their traditions in dictionaries, encyclopaedias, maps and atlases. Although the library did not survive, we have its catalogue as of the end of the sixteenth century. A large part of this collection included books in foreign languages—Lithuanian, Latin, Polish, Tatar. The library thrived when the Prikaz was under Afanasii Ordin-Nashchokin, Artamon Matveev (1625-1682), and Vasilii Golitsyn and consisted of about four hundred foreign books (Glukhov 1979: 185-195, 202). Books were ordered from abroad. This library provides us an example of a mostly secular library.

There were libraries in other ministries, because at that time, Russia started collecting foreign books about medicine, fortifications, construction, land-surveying, astronomy, arithmetic. This was on the eve of Petrine reforms and, as Russian historian Sergei Solov'ev put it: "The people were ready to move on."⁵⁷

⁵⁷ See a brief survey of translations of scientific literature in Russia from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries in the paper by S. Demidov in Burke and Hsia 2007: 212-217.

5.2.2. Libraries in Petrine and Post-Petrine Russia

When Peter's reforms were set in motion, political figures and scholars alike started to build libraries. Peter himself had a very large library. Some of these collections were quite large. Thematically there were secular books about architecture, technology, natural sciences, and belles-lettres of which the majority were translations.

In the Introduction to his bibliography of the literature translated in Muscovy Russia in the fourteenth-seventeenth centuries, Aleksei Sobolevskii wrote that Peter the Great carried out a reform in some spheres of life in Russia, but in the field of literature everything remained as it had been before him (1903: 50-51). Sobolevskii describes what exactly was inherited by Peter's Russia as regards translation activities. There still was the dominance of the governmental translators who received orders of what books were to be translated from the government; there was a rather eclectic collection of translated books and the quality of translations greatly differed from book to book. The only dissimilarity between the pre-Petrine and Petrine epochs in translation, according to Sobolevskii, was that in the former, translations from Polish (mainly as an intermediary language) reigned supreme, whereas in the latter, translations were made from Latin or Western European originals directly.

Let us see to what extent we may rely upon this statement by Sobolevskii. For testing his conclusion, I used the catalogue of Peter the Great's personal library published by the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the former Soviet Union (Bobrova 1978). In Bobrova 1978, there are 1,663 of them listed. The rest is probably lost. It may be that the total number was up to 2,000 volumes.

Out of the books identified as belonging to Peter or used by Peter and borrowed by him from others, there are 293 manuscripts in Russian and 490 titles of books published in Russian, a considerable number of which are translations. There are also sixty-eight manuscripts in foreign languages and 812 published books in foreign languages. In the present paper, it is the Russian part of the library and especially translations into Russian that interest us. The Russian component will show not just what interested Peter as a reader but what was translated from foreign languages into Russian under his guidance. This, in turn, will help us to see the repertoire of translated literature in relation to his large-scale reformation of Russia.

As is well known, Peter valued translation activities highly. They were seen by him as a means to introduce important foreign writings necessary for carrying out his reforms in Russia. He involved in this activity not only translators by trade (for example, those serving in the Posol'skii Prikaz) but also his aides, state officials and diplomats of the highest rank (notably Vinius, Shafirov, the brothers Zotov). Iakov Brius, one of the best educated and most enlightened figures of Peter's closest circle, was commissioned with editing translations. Copies of all published translations (probably, together with the rest of the publications put out in Russia) would become part of the tsar's library. This makes it a representative collection of books circulated in Russia at the time. It is symptomatic that translated literature constituted the bulk of all books found in Peter's library. Thus, his library will allow us to look at the translation activities of his time, revisit Sobolevskii's conclusions, and finally form a better idea of yet another facet of Peter's reformation efforts.

At this point we can see at least one difference between the pre-Petrine and Petrine organization of translation activities. If in the former, translators were mostly translators by trade or hired by the Posol'skii Prikaz; in the time of Peter's reign, his most immediate circle of aides and statesmen was actively involved. Sobolevskii disregards this fact, however I think it is very important because it shows the degree of the tsar's personal involvement and commitment. This is a proof that for him, translation was a key part of his reforms as persons who were engaged in some other important state activities were nonetheless commissioned with translating and editing translations. We do not know of this kind of involvement in translation activities with any of the previous Russian tsars.

However, in order to have a better understanding of translation activities, it is helpful to compare the thematic repertoire of translated works in Peter's library with that of the preceding period in the Russian history—from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Here, I draw on Sobolevskii's cited catalogue of translated literature of the Muscovy Russia.

Petrine (the end of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries)	Pre-Petrine (the fourteenth-seventeenth centuries)
religion	Religion
geography	geography
calendars / almanacs	calendars / almanacs
history	history
politics	politics
state organization	-
grammar / rhetoric	grammar / rhetoric
fiction	fiction
philosophy	philosophy

agriculture(+ horticulture)	agriculture
medicine	medicine
military affairs	military affairs
astronomy	astronomy
mathematics (+ physics)	mathematics
shipbuilding	-
sea / river navigation	-
ethics	-
engineering (+ fortification)	-
architecture	-
banking / commerce	-
fire fighting	-
pyrotechnics	-
turnery	-

The table above shows that almost half of Peter's fields of interest were absent from pre-Petrine Russian translation repertoire. Moreover, Peter's interests were oriented towards practical matters like banking, firefighting, etc. Let us not forget that the list of his library we rely on is not complete, therefore one can be justified in thinking that there were other specific fields which were represented in Peter's library. Nonetheless even this thematic list shows that the translation repertoire was enlarged in Peter's time to include the most practical topics necessary for re-organizing the state, economic and industrial infrastructures.

The difference between the two sets of translated writings will be even more obvious when we look at some of the seemingly similar types of publications. Let us consider, for example, religious translations. Translations of religious literature before Peter were mostly from Orthodox or ancient Christian authors (notably, from the Church

Fathers). Peter also seems to have had an interest in religious writings, but his interest is not so much in teachings concerning practicing religion but rather in works which would enlarge his horizons, enable him to better understand the Church as an organization and thereby control it in a more efficient way. This was all the more important for him since he had to deal with the schism within the Russian Orthodox Church following Patriarch Nikon's reforms (1653-1666) and the ensuing spread of the Old Believers movement. Hence, in his library, we come across works by Martin Luther or the Armenian-Gregorian Liturgy. We also find a Russian translation of the Koran made from French and published in Saint-Petersburg in 1716.

Some of the religious books were published in somewhat unexpected bilingual versions. For example, the Acts of Apostles and their Epistles were put out in 1719 in Saint-Petersburg in Dutch and Russian. It is not quite clear why this sort of edition would be made. One may think that they were supposed to help the Dutch and the Russians understand each other. Books like this one would have the similar function as the book *General'nye signaly, nadziraemye na flote* (Important signals used in fleets) also in Dutch and Russian published in 1714. Or, like the protocols for commercial ships published in bilingual editions Russian-English (1721), Russian-Italian (1721) and again Dutch-Russian (the third edition, 1724). Another variation on the same bilingual 'theme' was an edition of Erasmus' *Colloquia* in Russian and Dutch which was meant as a practical manual for youth willing to learn Dutch (1716).

As opposed to pre-Petrine Russia, during Peter's reign there was practically no fiction translated. In Peter's library we find Aesop's fables, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as very few exceptions. We know that Aesop was translated by Kopievskii and that Peter

liked Aesop's fables which he considered good moral lessons for the Russian public. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* existed both in manuscript form (translated from Polish) and in book form (published in 1722). However, it is not clear from the catalogue whether it is the same or different translation. Moreover, it may be the same translation from Polish made in Krakow in 1638 and mentioned by Sobolevskii (1903: 183). However, according to Sobolevskii, there existed at least two Russian translations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, so a comparative analysis would be required. On the contrary, before Peter, literary works were translated "in a considerable number" (Sobolevskii 1903: 48).

Within this category—translated literary works—we can readily observe a sort of crescendo-diminuendo tendency: in pre-Petrine Russia there were more of them; in Petrine Russia, significantly less. This brings us to yet another aspect of our quantitative analysis: in some categories the movement was from zero to a certain number of works translated. This shows that a new field of activity was introduced or further developed with the help of translation, for example, as shown in the table above, shipbuilding and sea / river navigation. In some categories (literature), the number of translations diminished. The available catalogues indicate that Peter's reformation did not exclude any of the previous fields of interest but enriched the existed repertoire. Hence, Sobolevskii's conclusion about the *status quo* in translation activities under Peter the Great and before him is not substantiated by the historical evidence.

To summarize, one can safely say that Peter the Great was also a reformer in translation activities. He viewed translation as one of the most powerful means for introducing his economic and cultural reforms. Hence, he involved his most immediate

circle of state officials in this activity and himself participated in the editing. He also considerably broadened the thematic scope of translations.⁵⁸

The library of the Russian Academy of Sciences serves as a good example of post-Petrine libraries. It was established in 1714, ten years earlier than the Academy. Interestingly, even the idea of establishing a library for the members of the Academy was taken from the oldest European universities—notably, Cambridge and Oxford (Luppov 1973: 320). The way the publications were arranged and classified was also borrowed from foreign libraries (*ibid.*: 348).

The library was later enriched by other collections. For example, after his death, Peter's library became part of the Academy's collection. Many publications were ordered for the library directly from abroad. Apparently, the collection counted more than 15,500 volumes. While only 13% of them were theological publications, 32% of the books were scientific publications and 55% were related to the arts and the humanities. The library also had foreign libraries catalogues.

The library of the Academy was the first Russian book collection of a European type. Its establishment and management were in keeping with Peter's westernization of Russia and secularization of the social discourse (Luppov 1973: 319 sq.; Luppov 1976: 326 sq.).

Finally, one may say that Catherine the Great's purchasing the personal libraries of Diderot and Voltaire became the epitome of the westernization of Russia in book culture. She bought Diderot's library in 1765 when the philosopher was still alive and had financial difficulties. Catherine let him use his library and appointed him the

⁵⁸ A more detailed analysis of Peter's library can be found in Luppov 1973: 166-177. Luppov analyzes other personal book collections as well as libraries of various organizations of the time (*ibid.*: 184 sq.).

librarian with a salary. In 1779, after Voltaire's death, she bought his library outright. Eventually, both were brought to Russia and added to the Hermitage collection. Later they became part of the Russian National Library in Saint-Petersburg.

Russia, thus, experienced a round-about turn from very few translations, Greek or Latin religious publications, in the Patriarch's library of the seventeenth century to book collections of the most prominent figures of the European Enlightenment.

The evolution of book collections in Russia clearly points to the growth of translation activities and the role of translation as a medium of choice for the westernization of Russia. The chronology of this evolution helps us appreciate the radical changes in the temporal dimension of the system's communication. This brief overview of eighteenth-century Russia's book culture in contrast with the earlier period (the seventeenth century) illustrates major shifts in the temporal dimension of the re-negotiating communication boundaries. The most salient features of this process were the secularization and westernization of both organizational and personal book collections. There lies a world of difference between the Patriarchal and Peter's or the Academy of Sciences' collections, let alone the Hermitage collections enriched by Diderot's and Voltaire's personal libraries.

The change in book collections, which became more and more numerous in the Petrine and post-Petrine Russia, was mostly due to the importation of foreign publications and / or their translations into Russian. Chronologically, the process reached its apex with the Petrine and post-Petrine reforms.

The temporal dimension of boundary constitution takes into account the time span and periodization of communication. This is important because, as we have seen, in

the eighteenth-century, Russia was entering the process of modernization already unfolding in Europe. Being an early-latecomer, the country did not have much time for its modernization / westernization. Military fiascos in the seventeenth century made westernization a matter of survival for the system. Translation was a key factor that allowed bridging the gap between the well-advanced countries of Western Europe and backward Russia. Translation was not simply a catalyst but a *sine qua non* for the system's overcoming its dangerous backwardness.

Peter ranked translation as highly as the most-pressing state issues because those could not have been solved without large-scale transfers from the West. At the beginning, Peter did not consider it worthwhile trying to get full control over the existing printing shop in Moscow, which was under the sway of the Orthodox Church, one of the major counter-reform forces within the country. Later, however, the majority of translations were published within Russia as Peter was quite successful in subjecting the most powerful opposition to his political course. No doubt that in general the fastest pace gained by Peter's reforms made his military and economic successes possible. In social-systemic terms, the effectiveness of adjusting the previously existing communication within the system was due to translations and knowledge transfers.

5.3. Social Dimension

The social dimension can be seen in the parties involved in communication with the system under investigation. The case at hand clearly shows how the temporal and social dimensions of boundary constitution were closely intertwined. One can see

different periods in the history of eighteenth-century Russia when the country shifted its communication from one part of Western Europe to another.

Using the metaphor of the Bronze Horseman, I already showed some of the countries of Western Europe from which Russia borrowed and what it borrowed. Here, I would like to place those influences along the time-line of these borrowings.

During his Great Embassy and right after, Peter brought in a great deal of technical know-how from the Netherlands. Dutch shipbuilding was one of the most advanced in Europe. Together with the Netherlands, other parts of Russia's environment were important for its modernization in terms of shipbuilding and navigational skills. They were England, Denmark, France, Italy, and Spain. For example, in 1697, groups of young men were sent to study navigation: twenty-two to England and Holland; twenty-eight to Italy. In 1709, twenty-eight more were sent to England and Holland. In 1717, in Amsterdam, there were sixty-nine Russian students. Some of them learned in actual service on ships. In 1711, it was not simple for the Russian representative L'vov to arrange such practical service for more than fifty Russians (Luppov 1973: 8-9).

Peter was fascinated with all things Dutch embracing even the art of horticulture. This may be interpreted as follows. Peter's priority was learning Dutch shipbuilding. That raised the value of other areas of the Dutch system for Russia, even quite unrelated to Peter's chief priorities.

Commenting on the relationship of Church Slavonic and the Russian conversational language in pre-Petrine Russia, Boris Uspenskii wrote that the languages were understood as belonging to two different co-existing levels. During Peter's time,

the two-level linguistic structure was kept but the place of the Church Slavonic was taken by European vernaculars. The first of them was Dutch later to be replaced by German and French.

To give just one example, in 1694, Peter erected a wooden cross, made by his own hands, in order to commemorate his salvation in a sea voyage. He erected the cross in Petrominsk Monastery on the White Sea coast. Characteristically, the inscription on the cross, reading that it was made by one Captain Peter, was in Dutch (*"Dat Krieys maken kaptein Piter van a Cht, 1694"*). Conventionally, the inscription on the Orthodox cross should have been in Church Slavonic. Using a 'heretical' language had been unthinkable in the pre-Petrine era. However, Peter himself wrote in Dutch on the cross showing that the new language functionally replaced Church Slavonic (Uspenskii 1994a: 241).

The Netherlands were also the source of other arts and skills such as carpentry, architecture, building, and horticulture. Apparently, it was in the Netherlands, one of the leading countries of the time as far as printing was concerned, that Peter learned about tremendous effect that printed books had on society (Rozov 1971: 87). There, as we know, he established a printing shop headed by a Dutchman, Jan Thessing. There he hired Dutch etchers who later followed him to Russia (Luppov 1973: 9-10, 57-62). Thanks to his connections with Dutch publishers he purchased books for his personal library and later these contacts were used for enriching the Academy of Sciences' library (Zaitseva 1991: 107 sq.; 122 sq.).

The art of building military fortifications came to Russia mostly from Germany. Hence, numerous technical terms were borrowed from German. Later, when Peter

planned to establish the Russian Academy of Sciences, again Germany came to the fore. German scientists were Peter's first choice. He discussed the plan of establishing the Academy of Sciences with Leibniz. German scientific publications were often translated. We have seen, for example, that a German geographic book was translated to be a model for Russian geographers. Translations of German poetry triggered the reform of the Russian poetic system.

In the 1730s, the golden age of French influence set in. French books flooded Russia (Luppov 1986). The transferred fields were literature, aesthetics, and ethics. This does not mean that French literature was the only one to be translated or otherwise appropriated at the period but the French aesthetic definitely dominated the literary scene. Later, during Catherine's reign, French philosophy, especially that of the Enlightenment, came to shape Russian minds.

English journalism changed the face of Russian newspapers and magazines in the second half of the eighteenth century (as we will see later). Fine arts (painting), music and architecture were moulded mostly in Italian ways. This influence can be felt most palpably in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Italian 'look' of Saint-Petersburg is probably one of the best illustrations of the system's opening itself for that specific part of its environment at that specific time in its history. The boundaries of communication were defined under the Italian influence with such a powerful impetus that, for example, less than half a century later, Russian music became one of the major European musical schools. Italian musical terminology is the core of musical terminological stock in Russian even today.

To conclude, if we present influences on the system from the environment chronologically, they can be presented as follows. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Dutch exercised the predominant influence, mainly due to the Netherlands' pre-eminence in the shipbuilding industry at a time when Russia badly needed its own fleet. Later, in the second quarter of the century, Germany and France became chief sources of scientific and cultural influence. On a somewhat limited scale, England played a part as a source of the navigational know-how at the same time as Holland. Italy became more prominent in architecture, painting, sculpture and music in the second half of the eighteenth century. This allows dividing all influences into primary and secondary. Germany and France belonged to the former, since their imprint on eighteenth-century Russia was longer and deeper than that of Holland, England and Italy.

CHAPTER 6. METAMORPHOSIS OF THE SYSTEM

6.1. The Eyes of the System

Given that the role of translation in the autopoiesis of a system involves taking into account its qualitative aspect and its place in the structural makeup of the system, it is helpful to keep in mind Jakobson's triad: (1) intralingual; (2) interlingual; (3) intersemiotic translation (Jakobson 2000: 114). If we add the intercultural aspect, on the intersystemic level, we take into consideration only interlingual and intersemiotic translations because these two deal mostly with social intersystemic interactions. By 'intersystemic', I mean interactions between the social system and its environment (other social systems in the environment) as opposed to interactions between subsystems within the social system itself. Intercultural (intersystemic) transfers going beyond verbal texts are thus added.

Translation is one of the system's mechanisms with functions of constituting meaning and communication-boundary. As such, translation's responsibility is to "increase the system's environmental sensitivity while releasing other mechanisms for internal functions" (Luhmann 1995: 197). The system applies to itself the system / environment difference in its structural differentiation. One can think of eyes as spatial analogous mechanisms.⁵⁹ Such subsystems, like translation,

are connected to the system's self-referential net of contacts and can fulfill their boundary function [...]. They perform interpretations of their own, which are subsequently interpreted away within the system [...]. (ibid.: 197)

⁵⁹ Luhmann adds membranes, skin, movable limbs, and ears.

6.2. Collective Action

Luhmann defines the problem of specifying environmental contacts as central for all complex systems and ascribes it to the system's capacity for collective action and arrangements ensuring such capacity. Traditionally, constructing mechanisms for collective action were understood as prerequisites for intersystemic coordination. But Luhmann insists that this is done for "achieving position in relation to the environment" (Luhmann 1995: 198). Collective action, one of many events within the system, has the status to represent the system in its entirety. Collective action actually improves the system's external relationship by internal restrictions. Collective action has to be designated by special symbols making clear that this action is binding for the entire system. This is made possible by the *ad hoc* consensus of the system's members or by a ritualizing action, for example, by calling on religious powers. A further stage in systemic development is attained when the symbols making collective action are relegated relatively free of context with a *carte blanche* for a decision to a member of the system or a structure within it. This imposes greater internal restrictions in the form of social hierarchy. The apex of such a hierarchy symbolizes the official potential for collective action available all the time (ibid.: 199-200).

This corresponds to Bourdieu's highly positioned agents in a social field. They have the official potential for collective action. Peter and Catherine were such members of eighteenth-century Russia's system for they could change the rules of the social game

and introduce heterodoxies with their respective field capital. In other words, they were commissioned by society to carry out collective action.

One of their initiatives, granted the status of a collective action, was the westernization of society, notably westernization through translation / transfer. Among other things, this meant that Russia raised the status of an important social-systemic possibility—“separating disposition over system / environment relations from the general reproduction of the system and concentrating it in a functionally specific mechanism” (ibid.: 200). Luhmann adds that “[s]ystems to which this possibility is available can control and, if necessary, vary their influence on their environments” (ibid.: 200-201). Translation had a structurally more important place in the system than in earlier Russian history.

To continue Luhmann’s biological parallels of social systems with biological systems, the organs necessary for the species’ survival grow in their prominence. This increase in importance may be gauged by the organ’s structural changes and sometimes can be expressed even quantitatively. This is comparable to a picture of a human brain together with a diagram showing the proportions given over to various parts of the body, published by the Canadian neurologist Wilder Penfield. He correlated parts of the brain controlling different muscles of the body. The resulting map showed the huge prominence given in the human brain to the hand and to the face, especially to the parts responsible for jaw movements, in chewing and speaking (Dawkins 2004: 243). This leads us to conclude that our brain considers information coming from our hands and our mouth as the most important for the organism and thereby allots quantitatively more space within its structure to these organs. This analogy applies *mutatis mutandis* to

translation in eighteenth-century Russia where translating became one of the principal means of carrying out collective action.

6.3. Uniocular System

In pre-Petrine Russia, translation was the responsibility of only one department within the state administration—the Posol'skii Prikaz.⁶⁰ The functions of the Prikaz were comparable to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and included dealings with foreign nations, receiving foreign delegations, sending Russian delegations abroad, interactions with foreign traders, compiling various official documents, etc. (Glukhov 1979: 180-210).

A well-educated clerk-functionary was usually appointed to the head of such an important organization. His subordinates, assistant and clerks, copyists, translators and interpreters, took a solemn oath to translate state affairs truthfully, and have no secret dealings with the tsar's enemies, have no personal correspondence with them or collaborate with anybody in delivering correspondence, and to not discuss any state affairs given to one to translate with foreigners in the Muscovy.

By the mid-seventeenth century, there were more than forty state departments (ministries). All of them were originally located in the Kremlin. Then a new two-storey building was constructed. The state administration moved there, including the Posol'skii Prikaz. This was the first structural-spatial separation of the diplomatic-translation corps in the inner structure of the Muscovy. According to Luhmann, we may interpret this

⁶⁰ Literally—Ambassadors' Order, originally Posol'skaia Izba (Ambassadors' House).

inner complication of the system as a stage when the system entered into a more complex relationship with its environment.

The Prikaz was first established in 1549, during Ivan the Terrible's epoch, and the head of the Prikaz was Ivan Viskovatyi. When Viskovatyi was beheaded allegedly for high treason, Andrei Shchelkanov became his successor. Shchelkanov founded the library of the Prikaz, which became a further manifestation of the system's growing interest in the West, among other parts of its environment, and a source of the future westernization. Characteristically, the greatest contributions into this library were made when the Prikaz was headed by early Westernizers—Afanasii Ordin-Nashchokin and Vasilii Golitsyn. There were translators from Latin, Swedish, German, Polish, Greek, Tatar, and other languages. Grigorii Kotoshikhin (1630-1667), one of the employees of the Prikaz, wrote that translators worked day and night: no fewer than ten of them were always present in the Prikaz.

The Posol'skii Prikaz also became an initiator of the first Russian newspaper telling Russians about life in countries abroad. Obviously, this became a powerful source of meaning / boundary-widening process within the system. Not surprisingly, translation became of paramount importance.

To see this, let us consider the process of creating this newspaper, entitled *Kuranty* (Currents). The title came through one of the Western European vernaculars, borrowed from the Latin *currens* (current, running). The Posol'skii Prikaz received no fewer than twenty newspapers in German, Polish, Dutch, Italian. All of them were translated into Russian. The most important pieces of news or general information were selected and copied on glued sheets of paper in columns. Sometimes these columns were

several meters long and looked like papyrus scrolls. Letters from Russian travelers were another source of information for *Kuranty*.

Here we observe two important aspects of the systemic function of translation. Firstly, translation offers a first glance at the ‘abroad’ of the system. Apparently, further selection of material was based on available translations. Secondly, translation as a boundary phenomenon was executed not only in translating these verbal texts, but also through ‘renderings’, or we may say covert translations, made in the heads of representatives of Russia as a system and introduced into its inner communication.

The earliest known issue of *Kuranty* is of 1621. The newspaper was produced for eighty years, every issue only in one copy. The target readership consisted of the tsar, the heads of various state departments and their employees. The style of the newspapers was quite laconic. It presented news succinctly, indicating from what language the translation had been made and telling the gist of the story. The information circulated very fast. In the long run, it became a precursor of Peter’s *Vedomosti* (News).

The Prikaz library was viewed as the repository of all foreign books purchased by the state. A large part of new books was translated from foreign languages. Among other things, these were the books used for teaching younger generations of the Romanov dynasty, for example—Peter.

To summarize, translation in seventeenth-century Russia did not come up to the level of being a *sine qua non* of the system’s development. Rather, it slowly started becoming a means of the system’s ‘looking around’ and its initial exploring what was ‘out there’. However, since there was no question of any major changes in the system’s communication, it did not even rise to the status of catalytic agent (because there was no

process where it could have been catalytically involved). Neither did it express or carry out the system's collective action. Against such a background, it is easier to appreciate the radical change in the eighteenth century.

6.4. Multocular System

To demonstrate what place translation had in the overall structure of Russia's state organization under Peter the Great, I will draw on Ivan Kirilov's *Tsvetushchee sostoianie Vserossiiskogo gosudarstva* (Flourishing of the All-Russian State). This is a unique publication written in 1727 (that is only two years after Peter's death). Ivan Kirilov (1695-1737) was a prominent scientist and statesman. He was of the generation which was born in the midst of Peter's reforms. He belonged to the pro-Petrine part of the Russian society. As publishers of his opus wrote, his aspiration was to immortalize the results of Peter the Great's government and social reforms (1977: 32). His book is an important and authentic testimony of Peter's reforms as they were seen by his younger contemporaries and a comprehensive statistical description of Russia in the first quarter of a century of reforms.

I will concentrate on those parts of the book where we can see, first, the structural role of translation in the state hierarchy and, second, where we can observe other interactions of the system with its environment—Russia with foreigners.

In order to appreciate the increase of translation's role within the state structures, one must keep in mind that before Peter translation was concentrated in one state

department—the Posol'skii Prikaz. In Kirilov's time, that is by the end of Peter's reign, the picture had changed radically.

In the High Senate, there was already a translator among staff clerks. Further, in the Senate's departments, there were on the average one or two translators, probably depending on the need of this or that particular governmental structure. For example, the Departments of Justice, Commerce, Medicine and other specialized departments had one translator each. The Admiralty had two translators. The Department of Foreign Affairs had thirty-eight employees out of which twenty were translators, six interpreters and a teacher of Oriental languages. Several of the state departments had foreign copyists.

Translators thus pervaded the state hierarchy. The system had become more complex which, according to Luhmann, clearly testifies to the growing complexity of its dealings with the environment. The system 'noticed' a greater complexity in its environment than it had been capable of noticing before. It reacted to this complexity by introducing more complexity in its own, inner, structure. In general, out of the twenty-four units of the Senate, fourteen had translators as part of their staff.

Translators were part of governmental structures outside the capital. For example, in the city of Revel, among other state officials, a translator and a Russian copyist are mentioned. In Riga, the regional state representative office had a translator and a copyist. In the economic department there, we find two more translators. The court of justice in Riga also had a translator (Kirilov 1977: 72, 78). There was an interpreter in the city of Pskov (*ibid.*: 95).

We find translators in other state organizations. For example, the Academy of Sciences had a translator "for translating academic books." Customs offices had

translators or interpreters (for example, in the city of Kronstadt—ibid.: 55). Translators and interpreters are listed in state organizations responsible for various economic fields. The Department of construction and architecture had translators of French, German, and Dutch. Apparently, some of them combined responsibilities of craftsmen and translators / interpreters. A French translator, for example, was also an etcher (ibid.: 61).

Translators were also found in the military structures, for example, in the regiment of Narva, there was a translator. In the subsection on the Lutheran Church, an interpreter is mentioned (ibid.: 65).

Although their number was significantly smaller, translators were also in the eastern part of the Russian Empire (ibid.: 279-282, 364). This is a state-structural confirmation of the system's orientation towards the west, not the east.

The system's growing complexity testifies to the fact that it observed complexity in its environment. This is reflected by the presence of foreigners in state services and their involvement in state affairs.

At the time, a clear distinction was made between foreigners and 'Russians', that is citizens of the Russian Empire. In a number of lists of highly skilled workers, Kirilov carefully distinguished between Russians and foreigners (for example, ibid.: 44, 52-53, 61). Sometimes, he supplied tables like the following one:

	Foreigners	Russians
(a list of professions)		

The distribution follows the same criteria: how many foreigners, how many Russians, and the total number of workers / employees (ibid.: 61). Probably, this is a reflection of Peter's policy of recruiting foreigners only for a period of time with the responsibility to

teach Russians their skills. Kirilov neglects to mention that members of the Academy of Sciences were almost all foreigners (ibid.: 50-51). Obviously, the status of academics was different—they were welcome to stay in Russia and were not considered to have been recruited for a limited time.⁶¹

Sometimes, Kirilov mentions the nationality of foreigners. While foreign copyists of the Senate are simply ‘foreign’, a female gunpowder expert is said to be Dutch (ibid.: 36, 53). The same is true about experts in other fields: they were either German, or Dutch, or French (ibid.: 61). The difference might be explained by the fact that all them were skilled workers, whereas copyists were considered employees of a lower status.

Kirilov’s book shows the state of the system in its relation to its environment, how the system ‘obtained’ many eyes, as it were, noticing the complexity of its environment, its differentiation. The system no longer saw its environment as a conglomerate of undistinguishable features. Now, Russia observed different systems within its environment: there were Dutch, French, and German workers. The system clearly formulated its priorities as to which part of the environment was of primary importance. The system also differentiated between specialists of higher or lower qualifications.

At the same time, the system’s vision of the environment was still somewhat blurred. Along with “Dutch, French, German” specialists, there were just “foreign” copyists or just “foreigners” in this or that trade (ibid.: 61). This reminds us of the evolution of the Russian word *nemets*, a noun derived from the adjective *nemoi*, whose primary meaning is ‘dumb, incapable of speech.’ The word *nemets* therefore originally

⁶¹ Yet the mathematician Euler was notably praised by Pekarskii for leaving seven talented students after his death (1976: lviii).

included anyone incapable of Russian speech. Hence, the term ‘Nemetskaia Sloboda’ meant ‘Foreign District’ (in Moscow). Later, with the German part of the Romanov dynasty ascending to the throne and surrounding themselves with statesmen of German origin, the term came to be specifically applied to Germans. This narrowing down of the meaning shows the system’s realization that the environment consisted of systems and was not a uniform ‘lump’ of otherness: ego came to see alter as alter ego. In Kirilov’s time, however, the system sometimes still failed to draw a clear line between foreigners with specific nationalities.

Yet, Kirilov’s book provides a testimony of the great leap of the system from autism to being able to see its environment as more or less differentiated systems. The growing number of subsystems and state structures which incorporated translation shows the increasing complexity of the system reflecting the realization of its environment’s complexity. The system realized that it needed translation for dealing with the environment in a finer way, hence, the growing role of translation in the system’s interaction with its environment. Translation gained its greatest importance in carrying out the collective action. More than just a catalytic agent, translation became a *sine qua non* of the unfolding process of Russia’s modernization / westernization.

6.5. Translation: System or Subsystem

I would like to stress that translation served as a means of carrying out the system’s collective action; however, it never assumed the status of deciding what the collective action should be. Translation came to play its crucial role for the system not

due to its own initiative. Translation was summoned by those endowed with the right to define and control the collective action—the system’s plenipotentiaries. This may seem too obvious and trivial to discuss. Yet, we may lose the correct scale of the relationship between the system and its subsystems. In my opinion, this blurred perception occurs in the presentation of translation as a system by Theo Hermans (1999; 2007a; 2007b).

Before discussing the influence of the environment on the system, and conversely, translation as a boundary phenomenon, I want to add a few words about the status of translation as a subsystem (or a system) within the social system. If translation is considered as a system, other social subsystems form the environment of translation as a system. This is the scale of observation of translation suggested by Hermans in his *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and System-Oriented Approaches Explained* (1999: 141 sq.) as well as in his recent publications (2007a and 2007b).

Any system, according to Luhmann’s social systems theory, can be characterized in terms of its function, efficacy, code, program and medium (Moeller 2006: 25-29). For example, the function of law as a social system is to eliminate the contingency of norm expectations. Its efficacy (its purpose, ultimate goal) is the regulation of conflicts. The code that lays the basis for legal communication is legal / illegal. Its program developed on the basis of this code is expressed by laws, constitutions, norms, etc. Codes are closed ‘contrast sets’ whereas programs supply the system with conditions for the suitable selection of operations. Programs enable ‘concretizing’ / ‘operationalization’ for the system’s carrying out its function. On the other hand, programs provide the system’s flexibility enabling it to change its structures without losing its code-determined identity. “On this level, therefore, learning capacity can be organized to a certain extent, so

through the *differentiation of coding and programming* a system acquires the possibility of *operating as closed and open simultaneously*” (Luhmann 1989: 45). What is considered legal or illegal changes over time and space through different programming of the system of law, and yet its binary code (legal / illegal) keeps law as a (sub)system intact.

Law’s medium of communication is jurisdiction. “Plain” language loses its role as a medium in modern function systems (law, economy, science), for example, to communicate a legal punishment, you have to use specifically legal communication media—legal concepts and terms of meting out justice.

If we apply the same criteria to translation, we must agree with Hermans that translation has its own autopoietic communication differentiation. Translation’s function or, to use Luhmann’s term *Leitdifferenz*, is its specific representational role. Its binary code, as Hermans suggests, is valid / invalid as applied to translation as representation. Programs of translation as a system are composed of “different sets of concrete laws, for example, poetics of translation” (1999: 143).

However, when we come to the medium of translation, Hermans says that, for example, churches interpret the world from a religious point of view. This corresponds to ‘faith’ in Moeller’s terminology based on Luhmann’s concepts (Moeller 2006: 29). In the case of translation, according to Hermans, “texts and other semiotic constructs are processed with an eye to their ‘translational’ aspects” (1999: 143). At this very point, however, problems appear.

What are exactly these ‘translational’ aspects? If they are related to translation’s “representational role,” consisting in “producing representations of anterior discourses

across semiotic boundaries” (Hermans 1999: 142), then at least two questions are bound to arise. Firstly, what are these anterior discourses? Where do they come from? Secondly, should not we define the medium of translation, in Luhmannian sense, as representation?

The answer to the first question seems to be, according to Hermans, that the anterior discourses that translation re-enacts in its representations come from beyond some ‘semiotic boundaries’. The term ‘semiotic’ may imply both intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic translation depending on our definition of sign.⁶² Whatever our definition of sign may be, boundaries through which translation brings its representations of anterior discourses are not only semiotic, but also social-systemic. This is true especially in the case of intersystemic translations, that is transfers of discourses across social-systemic boundaries. According to Jakobson’s classification, such are interlingual and intersemiotic translations together, we should add, with intercultural (intersystemic) transfers.

This brings us to the second question we raised based on Hermans’ translation-systemic considerations. Immediately after defining translation’s point of view (or medium) as processing texts and other semiotic constructs with an eye to their ‘translational’ aspects, Hermans provides a caveat:

⁶² In his recent publications, notably 2007a and 2007b, Hermans more often includes intersemiotic translation into his consideration, and yet he definitely favours interlingual translation over other types of translation: “The function of the translation system, I would suggest, is to extend society’s communicative range, *typically across natural languages*” (2007b: 66, emphasis added—S.T.). Cf.: “They [translations] typically appear in the shape of interlingual re-enactments. Because translations re-enact other texts, they are *metarepresentations*, that is, representations of representations. And because the medium involved is not necessarily lingual but could in principle be any semiotic medium, it might be prudent to speak of the code of translation as being *intersemiotic metarepresentation*.[...] They [translations] are metacommunications, as a rule of the interlingual sort” (2007a: 116, 119).

At the same time, however, translation does not operate in and for itself, but caters for other interests, other systems—hence its heteronomy. Translations enter, and interact with, existing discursive forms and practices. On the whole, we expect translations to defer to the client system’s prevailing discourse, although, depending on circumstances, more complex forms of interaction, pliancy and recalcitrance can and will occur (1999: 143).

The problem of the protean nature of translation as a system is somehow puzzling. My version of explaining the nature of the puzzle is that translation’s social specific function is neglected. Although Hermans does acknowledge that in the majority of cases translation defers, even yields to the client system’s prevailing discourse, he seems to play down the real prominence of this important fact.

Although he is very careful to include in his definitions large-scaled semiotic aspects of translation, what he actually means is translation in its second Jakobsonian meaning—interlingual translation, translation proper or, one could say, inter-social-systemic translation. This is clear from the fact that deferring to the client system’s prevailing discourse is an issue not for intralingual or intersemiotic translations. In the first case—in the case of intralingual translation—both the sender and the receiver share the same linguistic medium and the necessity of “rewording” or “an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language” would hardly cause recalcitrance (Jakobson 2000: 114). In the case of intersemiotic translation, “transmutation,” “an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems”⁶³ has little to do with deferring to the client system’s prevailing discourse (ibid.: 114). In the case of Charles Ives’ transforming the interrogatory intonation of

⁶³ One may detach oneself from verbal sign systems as opposed to the other sign systems. This type of translation may take place and be studied between one (or several) non-verbal sign system(s) and (an)other non-verbal sign system(s).

human speech into a musical medium in his orchestral piece *The Unanswered Question* (1908), an example of intersemiotic translation, Ives did not need to defer to the client system's prevailing discourse (Tyulenev 2003). Neither was there such a problem with, for example, Chaikovskii's transferring Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* into the music medium and making it an opera. There was only a question of adaptation to the target medium.

Hermans obviously had something inter-social-systemically determined in mind. Therefore he talks about "complex forms of interaction," "pliancy" and "recalcitrance." These, especially the two latter translators' behavioral patterns, imply something different as compared to the music medium into which Ives or Chaikovskii 'translated' their 'language-based originals'.

If Hermans is actually writing about interlingual translation with its social and psychological implications like pliancy or recalcitrance demonstrated by translators / interpreters, then we are dealing with not so much semiotic in a large sense, as with interlinguistic / intercultural / inter-social-systemic transfers. These are transfers across social systemic boundaries. This explains the protean nature of translation, its dependence on the client system's discourse.

If this is correct, then the medium of translation as a system becomes clearer. It is mediation. Translation mediates between other systems or their elements. This corresponds to translation's function in reaching understanding between ego and alter. As such, translation is omnipresent in any situation of meaning-based interaction / communication.

I would also like to problematize Hermans' definition of the translation system's code. Translation's code is never the binary opposition 'valid / invalid'. Translation is protean as a system. Indeed, this is its specific feature or property. Translation always adapts the medium of some other system. Even if a translation is recalcitrant towards the client's prevailing discourse, it is pliant towards some other discourse. Membranes, skin, movable limbs or eyes cannot have any 'discourse' of their own (Luhmann 1995: 197). They must belong to some organism / system. True perhaps, however, we may regard them as systems in their own right but their protean nature does not fail to remind us that their being considered as systems is only a zooming-in effect. As soon as we come to formulating their function, efficacy, code, program, medium, we find out that at a certain point we have to zoom out and draw them to the scale of the overall social system in order not to distort the studied phenomenon. When we say that the translation-systemic code is valid / invalid, we endow translation with the power it has never had and will never have. Translation never defines or controls the collective action. It mediates, always a means to an end, subjected to some other subsystem within a social system. Translation is never a master on the top of the social-systemic hierarchy; therefore, it is not up to translation to decide what is valid and what is not.

What happens with translation viewed as a system is that we may 'forget' to zoom out and we ascribe more social power to translation than it really has. Translation remains fundamentally a social subsystem with a particular place and function within the social system. If we take this into account and zoom out before losing the proper perspective, we will see that the decision of whether something, introduced into the system through translation, is valid or invalid does not depend on translation. If we think

that it is up to translation, we become too idealistic and badly need to recalibrate our vision. Translation, like membranes, skin, movable limbs or eyes and ears, fulfills its boundary function “only on the basis of circularly closed internal [systemic] processes” (Luhmann 1995: 197). The procedure is well recognizable by any practicing translator / interpreter:

They [systemic mechanisms responsible for the system’s environmental references] perform interpretations of their own, which are subsequently interpreted away within the system—so that one normally does not observe what he can see only with his eyes. (ibid.: 197-198).

Earlier in this chapter, I exemplified this procedure with how *Kuranty*, the first Russian newspaper, was made. Translators translated what they were given. The system, represented by their superiors in the Posol’skii Prikaz, considered what was to be included into the newspaper for the system’s further consideration. Later, Peter’s editing function was of the same nature. Translators translated, and Peter decided what was to be published and in what translated version—in other words, what was valid or not. At this crucial juncture, the system did appreciate translation’s paramount importance for the system’s communication and evolution. However, the system never gave translation the right to go on and decide what renderings were to have imprimatur, circulation and thereby a far-reaching effect on the system’s communication.

Indeed, this became especially obvious with the invention of printing. For example, in Petrine Russia, the contents of manuscripts and published books were considerably different. To publish a book (a translation or otherwise), one had to obtain imprimatur in order to have access to a printing press controlled by the state. To copy a manuscript with one’s own hand, one had only to be literate. That is why at Peter’s time,

the printed production had little belles-lettres, whereas the majority of widely-circulating hand-written copies were mostly works of literary popular genres (of which many were translations) coming down from the seventeenth century. They were of no use for the Petrine system and that is why they never made their way to the press. Consequently, they had little effect on the official discourse / communication of the system (Rozov 1971: 91).

Anyone can translate anything from any language known to him / her. But the question of influencing the system is that of publishing the translation, making it known system-wide. For that, one has to have the support of those possessing the symbolic power of social collective action (Luhmann) or of the agent(s) in the social field who have the right to publish this translation, which can change the rules of the social game by the introduction of a *heterodoxy* (Bourdieu).

Thus, when Hermans defines the code of translation system as the opposition of valid and invalid, he seems to slip back from Descriptive TS to Prescriptive TS which was all about deciding which translation was valid and which was not. DTS relegated this right of decision to the target / receiving culture with certain social forces exercising the collective action. Even if we agree that it is not always up to the target / receiving culture to decide what translation is, which translation is valid or not, according to what criteria, we still have to admit that it is not up to the translating agency. As a result, the code 'valid / invalid' cannot be accepted as defining translation as a system. Rather, the code is 'represented / not represented'. Again, like an eye or ear, the function is to bring the noticed phenomena to the system's inner self-referential communication.

Translation stops at reporting observed / processed phenomena as represented / not represented. Whether this representation would be deemed as valid / invalid is up to the system. Here, we deal with a serious matter—the system’s identity / autopoiesis / reproduction. The autopoiesis is recursively closed off from the environment. The system cannot afford to let translation (represented by translators / interpreters and TS experts—Hermans 1999: 142) make decisions at this level. Rather, mostly the system orders translations of texts which it considers important for its communication. Moreover, infrequently it defines how translations are to be made.

Peter chose books for translation, edited translations, received all translations made and published.⁶⁴ He also determined translational policies, for example, he specified that translations were to be made not into Old Slavonic, the traditional medium of publishing, but into contemporary Russian. Translations were to be printed in the new civil alphabet. Sometimes, he rejected certain translations and commissioned new versions of the same original. Obviously, he was endowed with the system’s collective action, and in his ruler’s capacity he had the final say on whether a translation was a valid or invalid representation of the original or whether the system was interested in introducing that original into its communication.

Catherine herself engaged in translation thereby setting an example for other translators to follow. One of Catherine’s cultural enterprises was sponsoring the “Society Striving for the Translation of Foreign Books.” Headed by Kozitskii, the Society existed from 1768 to 1783. The empress’ interest in translating works that she considered useful for Russians can be traced to 1767 when, together with her courtiers, she translated Jean Marmontel’s *Belisarius* and a selection of articles from the *Encyclopaedia* (three

⁶⁴ See examples in Pekarskii 1972, vol. 1: 227, 229, 232 sq., 243.

volumes of these selections were published in 1767). The “Society Striving for the Translation of Foreign Books” was to continue the work begun by the empress. In its five years of existence, the group put out 112 translations and worked on yet another 129. The translations were later published by the Academy of Sciences. Among the translations, there were Petr Ekimov’s prose version of the *Iliad* and works by Cicero, Livy, and Tacitus. Modern writers such as Pierre Corneille, Voltaire, Henry Fielding, Daniel Defoe, and Jonathan Swift were also translated. The society also published a great deal of works by philosophers, notably Montesquieu, Voltaire, Gabriel Mably, and Rousseau (Whittaker 2003: 58). The function of translation was only to mediate by representing, and the system exercised its validation power. Catherine provides an interesting case in another respect: when she was involved in translating, she acted in two capacities. On the one hand, she embodied the system’s translating agency. On the other, in her selecting originals and setting her translations as models for emulation, she represented the collective action of the system.

Consequently, the fact that Hermans defines statements about translation (criteria, preferences, different poetics of translation, normative expectations and codifications of translations) as programs also requires an adjustment (1999: 142-143). Indeed, all these statements about translation do play the role of programs. However, given the intrinsic social nature of translation, it must be understood that these programs mean little if they are considered outside the reality of translation practice. That explains the evolution within TS from highly idealistic theoretical constructs when, for example, translation was announced impossible despite the obvious fact that it was being done. That also explains the gap between so many theoretical credos of translators and their translations

refuting their own speculations about the nature of translation. It is largely within DTS that translation-systemic programs become more and more realistic and less and less prescriptive and judgmental. It is because the social nature of translation was reflected not only in translation practice but in its programs.

Finally, I would like to comment on the notions of ‘structural coupling’ or ‘resonance’ between systems that Hermans’ consideration of translation distorted as compared to Luhmann’s original idea (Hermans 1999: 143). Hermans understands these notions as forms of translation’s entanglement or complicity with other systems, “whereby the norms, criteria and resources of one system are put at the disposal of or forced upon another system, there to be respected or resisted, as the case may be” (ibid.: 143). Obviously, Hermans means that translation interacts with other social (sub)systems like law, politics, science, religion, economy, and art. Otherwise, it is hard to find examples how translation can be entangled or be in complicity with another social system. It is difficult to imagine that translation is entangled with such social systems as France as a social-political unity, or Russia. Translation exists only as part of a social system, not in an a-social limbo, somewhere between France and Russia. Neither does translation lie between law and economy. Translation is an organic, integral part of the social system. There is no independent translation somewhere between France and Russia carrying out its mediation from Russian into French at one instant and then in the opposite direction at another instant. Neither is there a translation between law and

economy.⁶⁵ Translation always belongs to a social system. One may describe it as a system only if always keeping in mind that it is a subsystem within a social system.

Another important point is that Hermans presents translation's coupling / resonance in a somewhat simplistic way. First of all, "meaning-processing as well as living systems autopoiesis has to be secured before all else" (Luhmann 1989: 17). However, the system establishes a relation with its environment, which Luhmann calls "resonance." Society is a highly complex system whose interconnection with its environment is "produced through the closing-off of the system's self-reproduction from the environment by means of internally circular structures" (ibid.: 15). Only in exceptional cases, can a system start reverberating, resonating on the basis of its own frequencies. In biological terms, a system seals itself off from its environment and interconnects with its environment only very selectively. "This is by no means something that is more or less self-evident. On the contrary, it is improbable according to systems theory" (ibid.: 16).

The basis for the social system's capacity for resonance is that it processes information in the form of meaning. Meaning is never a *universitas rerum*, but a horizon out of which, at any given moment, only one option can be realized. Meaning options are processed according to the requirements of the system's autopoiesis. In fact, no meaning option can be actualized if it threatens the system's autopoiesis. The basis for the system's autopoiesis is establishing differences from its environment, as described below.

⁶⁵ There may be an intersemiotic translation between, for example, law and economy or literature and music. However, this kind of mediation is never carried out in a "hinterland" between law and economy or literature and music. It is always done from within the target or, sometimes, source medium/(sub)system.

The system introduces *its own distinctions* and, with their help, grasps the states and events that appear to it as *information*. Information is thus a purely system-internal quality. There is no transference of [processed] information from the environment into the system. Then environment remains what it is. At best, it contains data. Only systems can *see* the environment because this requires the seeing of other possibilities, the presence of a pattern of difference and the situating of items within this pattern as a ‘this instead of that’. In the environment there is no ‘instead of that’, no ‘this’ as a selection out of other possibilities, i.e., neither a pattern of difference nor information. [...] The difference technique can be used by [social] systems because distinctions, negations, possibility projections and information are and remain purely internal and because, in this respect, no environmental contact is possible. In this way the systems remain dependent on autopoiesis [...] but because information and information expectations, i.e., structures, are obtained by means of difference projections, this closure is openness at the same time. (ibid.: 18)

The system’s resonance with its environment is, in a sense, an exception, not a rule. Meaning-processing is always a bottleneck-situation when from a range of options only one can be actualized at a given moment. Some of these options coming from the environment—which are options for the system’s inner communication and not for its interaction with the environment, because the system’s main preoccupation is its *difference from the environment—find resonance within the system* (ibid.: 16).

On the social-systemic level, these options coming from the environment are introduced into the system’s meaning horizon by such boundary phenomena as translation (as a subsystem). Importantly, translation more often provides the system’s unity with its environment, rather than the difference between the system and its environment—the difference sought by the system for its reproductive identity. The famous adage *traduttore traditore* which is usually understood as the translator not being

faithful to his / her source-text can be understood in the social-systemic context as translation's always being unfaithful to the system's identity. Translation always introduces 'otherness' as 'sameness', alter as ego. Translation helps ego see alter as alter ego, that is to say that it brings ego to understand alter. To understand means to find something in common or referable to a *tertium comparationis*.⁶⁶ As a result, translation always impedes the execution of the system's difference technique. This actually shows the abnormality of the system's finding resonance with its environment at the social-systemic level. But this holds true also when we consider translation as a system.

Therefore, Hermans' benign statement that translation as a system exists in structural coupling and resonance with other (sub)systems with the concomitant sharing of norms and criteria and resources makes translation (and other systems interacting with it) too open, open to the point where one may wonder how translation as a system differentiates itself from its environment or whether translation is a system at all.

The solution to this paradox lies in a clear definition of translation-systemic properties and thereby translation's communication and boundaries. This definition is possible only if we put translation into a larger social-systemic context. The nature of translation as a subsystem is accurately described by its location within the social system. Translation is a boundary phenomenon. As such it always mediates in situations of double contingency—interactions between parties, hence its sole function is mediation by representing. Again, this mediation is defined by the code of "represented / not

⁶⁶ Domesticating and foreignizing translations are often two sides of the same coin in that they introduce the Other as worth contemplating, understanding and (possibly even) learning from. In Luhmannian terms, both present alter as alter ego. Invariably, contemplating, understanding the other leads to appreciating at least some sameness in the other's otherness. This sameness may provide the contemplating system with material for creating its own 'self' (as was the case in theatrical translation in Québec—Brisset 1996). This sameness may lead to a further appreciation of the other—even in its 'otherness' (cf. the German cultural program of *Bildung* through foreignizing translations of Ancient Greek classics—Berman 1992).

represented.” No communication act can be carried out without translation (whether intralingual, or interlingual, or intersemiotic, or intracultural, or intercultural, or intrasystemic, or intersystemic). Translation is a social phenomenon par excellence; however, translation’s only responsibility is to represent. Whatever is communicated by one party is represented by translation for the other party. Whether this representation is to be acknowledged as valid or invalid is not translation’s responsibility. Translation just mediates by representing.

To conclude, we considered the structural features of translation as a social subsystem. The analysis of available statistical data about what translation was in Russia in the seventeenth and then in the eighteenth centuries, gives us a clear picture of its radically changed social importance. From a rather marginal social structure (subsystem), translation suddenly developed into a *sine qua non* of the unfolding process of the system’s westernization. Quantitative data and consideration of the place translation occupied in eighteenth-century Russia’s social structure showed that it gained enormous prominence as a means of carrying out the collective action of the system.

At the same time, it would be wrong to ascribe to translation a decisive role in carrying out the collective action. The validation of translation’s mediation through representations of commissioned originals lay beyond translation’s reach. In this sense, translation as a social structure may be compared to the eyes, ears, skin of a living organism viewed as a biological system. They only register the information about the outer world and pass this information into the brain. It is up to the latter to validate or invalidate the representations and modify, if deemed necessary, the system’s dealing with its environment.

It is important, once again, to stress the difference between the psychology (and ethics) of translation and the sociology of translation. Confusing the two leads to inaccuracies in methodological handling of studied phenomena and distorting the nature of the social role of translation.

We cannot say that translation exists more in structural coupling and resonance with other (sub)systems, with the concomitant sharing of norms and criteria than any other (sub)system. Translation cannot be too open to any other (sub)system because that would endanger its own identity realized through the difference technique. Translation is a recursive closure as mediation. Mediation presupposes its processing other communications. This mediation, however, does not impede identifying translation as a (sub)system. On the contrary, translation as a (sub)system thrives on mediating. This mediation is carried out according to translation's binary code based on representing what is not yet represented and passing on what is represented to the social system for which translation serves as a boundary phenomenon (it is up to the social system to assess the representation, to validate or invalidate it, to accept or reject it). The programming of translation's operations depends on the function the system has to satisfy (Luhmann 1989: 45). Programming depends on what kind of mediation is recognized as acceptable by the social system. Mediating is never based on what translation poetics proclaim as an acceptable translation. Practical programs are informed by what the system encourages as the required mediation. This and only this type of mediation is granted imprimatur or allowed to be widely circulated with the potential of re-negotiating the existing systemic communication boundaries and creating the system's meaning horizon.

When Hermans says that there may be pliancy or recalcitrance on the part of translation as a system interacting with other systems, the ‘who’ and the ‘what’ of translation are confused. Translation as a social agent cannot be pliant or recalcitrant. Translation mediates whatever it is commissioned to mediate according to its binary code concretized by the existing program (imposed on translation by society). A particular translator may refuse to translate something or translate it according to how he or she sees fit as opposed to how they are told by this or that translation bureau or by this or that client. But there will be another translator to take over and comply with the imposed conditions. That is where the boundary lies between translation as a social agent (the ‘what’) and a translating ‘who’.

As a mediating social structure, translation does exist in structural coupling or resonance with other (sub)systems. But this is a limited coupling respecting translation’s communication closure which is based on translation’s mediating social function with the specific efficacy, code, program, and medium. Too broad an understanding of translation’s structural coupling with other systems would negate translation’s (sub)systemic identity. Here, we should not confuse translation as a boundary phenomenon with its mediation role. In other words, translation is always the boundary between something and something—interacting parties. But this is not what is meant by structural coupling. Translation’s inner (sub)systemic structure is never influenced by its environment: translation has mediated since time immemorial and it will always only mediate. The only change is a change in programs—what should be represented, that is selected from the original (because the original can never be transferred fully, in all its complexity, there will always be a reduction of the initial complexity in the

representation). The change of program comes from the respective social system. That is the only resonance that may be found here in the dealings of translation as a subsystem with the entire system or other subsystems.

CHAPTER 7. BETWEEN SYSTEMS

To appreciate the system-environment relationship properly, one has to keep in mind that the system's environment remains of crucial importance for the system's autopoiesis. The system's relationship with its environment helps constitute the system formation. The environment is not only of 'accidental' significance for the system; nor is it significant only insofar as it supplies the system with energy and information. Indeed, according to the theory of self-referential systems, for example, social systems, the environment is a presupposition for the system's identity and that identity is possible only by differentiating the system against the background of its environment (Luhmann 1995: 176-177).

Importantly, the system-environment relationship may be observed on at least two levels. The system may consider its environment as a unity (homogeneous 'otherness' against which the system's inner communication appears as homogeneous 'selfness'). However, this must be a very basic condition of the system-environment relationship. As soon as the system moves on to a higher level of its organization and complexity, it becomes capable and must become capable of distinguishing between different parts of the environment. On the level "C+D," where C is a resulting relationship of A and B ($A+B$) that can be qualified as a generated self-referential system, D is an influx from the environment. However, before D is allowed into the system, the system has already, first, developed a basic difference that made it a system as opposed to the rest (environment). Second, D is not anything from the environment. It is a certain element coming from a certain part of the "out there" that is deemed

necessary for the system's "in here," for the system's recursive autopoiesis. That is to say, the environment is necessary for the system's identifying itself as itself. The second part brings us to the system's developed ability to distinguish between different parts of the environment. Some of the parts do not attract the system's attention because the system does not see their usefulness for its autopoiesis. Some, on the contrary, arouse interest because thanks to them the system can continue its autopoiesis.

Moreover, some parts of the environment, are *loci* for the system's experience (an influence of the 'outside'); some are *loci* for the system's action (an influence upon the 'outside'). Experience as the inwardly-bound attribution of meaning selection can be exemplified in cases like eighteenth-century Russia which, especially in the first quarter of the century, was absorbing what the western part of its environment had to offer. This was necessary for the system's coming out of its century-long slumber or, in some aspects, even autism. We described this process as modernization which boiled down to westernization. We viewed this westernization process as 'intrasystemic' effects caused by translation.

This chapter will look at the system's action directed towards its environment. In the eighteenth century, Russia was not only the subject of the environment's influence. The Russian Empire also exercised influence on the environment. Before continuing, I would like to emphasize the following. When I wrote about different *loci* of the environment, I meant not only synchronic, let alone simply geographically distributed parts of the environment. Environmental *loci* are found not only in the synchronic dimension of the system's interaction with the environment. They are also found diachronically. It is important to keep this in mind because translations are made both

from living and dead languages. This diachronic aspect is crucial in such subsystems as politics, law, science, education, and art. Therefore, on the level “C+D” of the system’s genesis, D can come either from a synchronic or diachronic part of the environment.

We have seen examples of this earlier. When translation from Western European vernaculars was a means of creating the modernist ‘libidinal’ futurism, translation brought this chronotopic dimension into the meaning horizon of the system from its chronological environment. Translation combined Western Europe (*topos*) with the ‘punctual’ present (future-present) (*chronos*). Any translation from Latin or Ancient Greek into eighteenth-century Russian (of, for example, Aesop’s fables by Kopiewski) was adopting something from another chronotopical dimension—from Ancient Greece and from the past. The relevance of this transfer was manifest within the ‘enduring’ present (past-present) (Luhmann 1995: 78-79).

The appearance of D on the horizon of the system’s meaning selection leads the system to seeing its environment as composed of other systems. This makes the system-environment relationship much more complex:

Everything that happens belongs to a *system* (or to many systems) and *always at the same time* to the *environment of other systems*. [...] Every change in a system is a change in the environment of other systems; every increase in complexity in one place increases the complexity of the environment for all other systems. (ibid.: 177.)

The system grows to see the difference between the environment and systems within the environment. This is the difference between system / environment relations and intersystem relations. At some point the system progresses from viewing “the” environment as only its negative correlate, a unity incapable of operations, as simply “everything else”; the system moves on from seeing the environment as an amorphous

non-system, with which it is impossible to have dealings, and starts appreciating the environment as a constellation of systems. This happens when the system reaches the “C+D” level.

When the system sees the environment as containing many systems, the basic unity of such an environment dissolves into relations between different systems and their own environments. Now, the system can have contacts with other systems from the environment. Systems reciprocally find one another in their respective environments (ibid.: 181-182, 187).

In the eighteenth century, Russia came to a point when the environment became extremely diversified. Before, Russia had only a limited scope of observation and could myopically see only certain systems around it:

A system can see only what it can see. It cannot see what it cannot. Moreover, it cannot see that it cannot see this. For the system this is something concealed ‘behind’ the horizon that, for it, has no ‘behind’. (Luhmann 1989: 23.)

However, little by little, due to the meaning-creating function of translation, among other boundary phenomena, the system becomes capable of making out more and more in its environment. In the case at hand, the growing complexity of the observed environment caused the system to grow more complex itself, as evidenced by the growth of translation-related structures described earlier. The increase in the system’s structural complexity shows the system’s growing understanding of its environment’s complexity (“complex systems presuppose an adequately complex environment”—Luhmann 1995: 202).

As the system became capable of making out more ‘features’ in its environment it also realized what it needed for optimizing its autopoiesis, and where in the environment

it could obtain the needed information. This led the system to the next stage of complexity: it differentiated a part of the environment and provided structures within itself for dealing with this part of the complex environment (ibid.: 187-194).⁶⁷ At this stage of social-systemic evolution, the system re-negotiates its input / output ('throughput') policies.

7.1. Throughput

In discussing the system's interaction with its environment, Luhmann draws on Ludwig von Bertalanffy's concepts of 'input' and 'output'. However, he critiques the reduction of the system-environment relationship to a structurally functional and consequently very narrow approach because the system's difference from its environment is not exhausted by problems of steering transactions involved in boundary-crossing (Luhmann 1995: 201 sq.). One should take into account that this difference is indispensable for constituting elements of the systems in its reproductive effort and for its self-identification. Otherwise, some phenomena observed in the relationship between systems and their environments cannot fit the narrowing scheme of throughput—as for instance, the fact that the complexity of the system presupposes an adequate complexity of its environment. If we limit our consideration of the system-environment relationship to throughput, it would be hard to draw a line between types of throughput in the pre-Petrine, Petrine and post-Petrine periods of Russian history as regards social-structural

⁶⁷ Another aspect of the system's responding to the environment's complexity is appearance of its various inner differentiations. We saw, for example, Old Believers and westernizers, Latinists and Grecophiles in pre-Petrine Russia. Later, in the nineteenth century, this differentiation based on opposite approaches to Russia's development caused Russian society to split up into Slavophiles and Westernizers.

organization of the system. In all three stages, there was some input-output relationship between Russia and its environment. However, the ratio and the scale between input and output were different. The growing complexity of the system gave a clear sign of its growing capacity to observe the environment. The latter became more and more diversified in the eyes of the system. Describing system-environment relationship in terms of mechanically understood input-output presupposes unification of environment rather than its differentiation in terms of input-source and output-receiver (ibid.: 202).

In the irreversible time progression, the system constitutes and attributes elements of meaning—actions. These actions are linked to processes, in which every selective element causes the selectivity of other elements to increase. This creates an asymmetry in the unfolding of the system's evolution. This affects the difference between system and environment. The difference appears in a twofold form—as a boundary of input and a boundary of output.

The environment appears divided into a supplier and a receiver according to the system's temporal structure, and if this projection somehow catches hold and finds a reference in reality, it can be used to strengthen reduction to action within the system and to steer the action process following environmental requirements. (ibid.: 203.)

Thus, the interdependence of system and environment becomes more complex than simple input / output.

7.2. A Throughput Mechanism

Since translation is an omnipresent agent of any dealings between the system and its environment, it must be present in the throughput between both. Indeed, as we have

seen, the complexification of translation as a social phenomenon may serve as an indication of the complexification of the system's observation of its environment. As we are blind without our eyes and deaf without our ears, the system is blind and deaf without translating agencies (consisting of employed professionals, free-lance translators / interpreters, people involved in translational activities temporarily, etc.) who make information about the environment available for the system and mediate its interaction with the environment.⁶⁸

Translation as a membrane of the society / organism can be thick or thin to the point of being totally interiorized in the system's representative. In other words, the translating agent may be a person or an organization (e.g., the *Posol'skii Prikaz*)—a screen between system and environment. Texts are usually translated by one person, but translations are subject to other agencies such as editing and eventual granting or refusing imprimatur. One can apply the notion of collective action to the decision-making process about the validity of a translation. One translator's translation is an action. This action, however, may not have (and often does not have) the status of a collective action in the sense of a final decision. The translation is going to be assessed by an editing agent. Moreover, translations are often based on guidelines. In Petrine Russia, the general guiding principle was renewing the Russian language, making it less and less influenced by the former bookish Church-Slavonic. That is why Peter did not grant imprimatur to some Church-Slavonic-based, rather traditional, not innovative translations. That is why he formulated the principle for translators—not to translate with Church-Slavonic words but to write clearly and in the Russian language (Pekarskii 1972

⁶⁸ Translating 'agencies' involve more than just translators as evidenced in recent studies, for example, Buzelin 2005.

vol. 1: 227). This was a program for translation as a subsystem. Peter acted as both a representative of the political social subsystem structurally coupled with the translation subsystem, and as part of the translation subsystem itself.

Sometimes, the translating agent as the system's boundary / membrane may be very 'thin' (one person). Mediation between system and environment may be reduced to a member of the system exposed to the environment. S/he is a carrier of the system's communication and therefore all the new communication s/he is exposed to is systemically processed in his or her mind and transfers of ideas may be initiated there. Some of these transfers may not be verbal texts and yet they influence the behavioural or thinking patterns of the system's members. Some of these transfers, however, may take the form of written texts with a more or less obvious imprint of some other (foreign / coming from outside the system) texts.

In the previous chapters, we considered the influences on the system coming from outside the system. In Luhmannian terms, the environment becomes the "input-source." The environment can also be the "output-receiver" when the system becomes the input-source.

To emphasize, translation is a ubiquitous agent in all system-environment interactions. As such, translation serves as a means of throughput, whoever plays the role of source or receiver at this or that stage of the system-environment interaction history—the environment or the system itself.

7.3. Conditions, Results And Programming of Action

Actions as meaning elements are linked by the system to form processes. The resulting growing selectivity of further actions causes the system's ever tilted asymmetry

in its interaction with the environment, which calls for searching a new balance (double contingency underlies this process). The difference between system and environment generates a boundary of input and a boundary of output.

The input and output boundaries may be distinguished diachronically and synchronically. That is, the system can function as the / an input-source for the same part of its environment. The difference will be that the system and the environment assuming the role of input-source or output-receiver will alternate depending on when their interaction is observed. Or the system may be an input-source for one part of the environment and at the same time an output-receiver for another.

The third possible variant of system / environment interaction arises when both of them play both roles (source and receiver of the throughput) at the same time. This can be considered as a special case of their diachronic interaction. That is to say, they play both roles simultaneously over longer stretches of time. However, if we break their interaction down into individual operations when the system or the environment tilt the established balance in the course of their double-contingency-based interaction, the latter can be described as diachronically organized. As a result, at a point of time (T_n), the system is an input-source and the environment (in its targeted part or universally) is the output-receiver. At the next point of time (T_{n+1}), they exchange their roles and the system now becomes the output-receiver while the environment (partially or universally) becomes the input-source.

For example, in Peter's time, Russia was mostly the environment's output-receiver (of its Western European part). In Elizabeth's or Catherine's time, when Russia made its position stronger in Western Europe, the system became both a receiver of the

Western European input and a source of input for it. What concerns us is that the throughput in any variant of role distribution came by means of (but not controlled by) translation.

The throughput is carried out provided certain conditions are met. Among examples of such conditions, Luhmann gives (1) willingness to be motivated, (2) objects to be 'handled', and (3) means of communication (1995: 203). Let me outline the applicability of these notions to the case at hand.

(1) Willingness to Be Motivated. Russia's motivation for its interaction with its Western European environment was much greater in the eighteenth century as compared to its previous history. This opened the system for Western European input and also motivated the system for projecting its own input onto Western Europe.

(2) Objects to Be 'Handled'. Values of Western Europe, broadly conceived, played the role of objects that Russia as a system became interested in adopting. The cause of pre-Petrine Russia's autism had been the opposite state of affairs. The system had firmly believed in the exceptional worth of its version of Orthodoxy throughout Christendom. That had been tantamount to a lack of objects to be 'handled' in the environment (Whittaker 2003: x). However, when the system became open, a throughput was set in motion: the system appreciated the environment's values, and the environment became more open to the system (hence, Europe's interest in Russia's political, economic, military and cultural aspects). Consequently, the system's finding objects to be 'handled' in the environment prompted the environment's finding objects to be 'handled' in the system.

(3) Means of Communication. After centuries of autism, translation came to be understood as one of the most important means of interaction of Russia with its environment. Hence, translation's role and importance grew exponentially in the eighteenth-century as opposed to Russia's previous history. For the first time after the Kievan Rus' adopted Christianity, translation started to play a crucial role in Russia. It became a *sine qua non* means for introducing objects to be 'handled' into the system. Translation also became a means of communication in the opposite direction and as such was perceived as a powerful means of informing the environment about the system.

Before entering into more details, I want to draw upon two more aspects of the throughput between system and environment. For the throughput to take place, there must be expectable results. Luhmann suggests "states to be changed" as an example (1995: 203). Indeed, an expectation of something to happen after the throughput action leads the system to interact with the environment. In eighteenth-century Russia the expected result was catching up with Western Europe and becoming part of the European community.

The throughput-based interaction of the system with its environment takes the form of programming action. Programming fixes "conditions for the action's correctness by providing either conditions that trigger action or goals that action should aim for or both" (ibid.: 203-204). Hence, one distinguishes programs providing conditions and programs providing goals. Let us consider these theoretical points in application to Russia before and during the period under study.

7.4. Intersystemic Autism

The isolation of Russia was affected by two major factors. In the secular sphere, Tatar invasions in the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries nipped in the bud its nascent

republican social mechanisms. In the sphere of religion, it was the great schism between Eastern and Western Christendom in the eleventh century that isolated Russia with its ambition to safeguard the true and pure Christian faith (Whittaker 2003: x). These two events had far-reaching consequences for Russia. This barrier, placed between East and West, had become more effective than the wall of China, and had remained virtually unbreached until the time of Peter the Great:

Hemmed in on the one side by the barbarians of deep Asia, on the other by the militant Church of Rome (Poland), with Tatars in the Crimea, with the Turk in Azov and Constantinople, with her only seaboard blockaded by the ice, Russia for several centuries might have been on another planet for all the intercourse she had with our [Western] world. Adventurous traders could penetrate into her; but her own citizens were utterly prevented [...] from putting out feelers towards the growing light in the West. Thus it was that except for certain Dutch and German merchants, except for the members of the Hanseatic League, Russia was *terra incognita* [...] until the sixteenth century and the reign of Ivan Grozny, the Terrible. (Crankshaw 1944: 42.)

This summarizes Western European's view of a far-away, mysterious, if ever heard of land of Russia.

The Hanseatic League and England were among the few contacts Russia had with Western Europe. When on its wide-eyed journey to China, fabulous Cathay, the English expedition of 1553 led by Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor discovered Muscovy, it was not only a discovery of a new market for England but a contribution to Western European geographical knowledge. So obscure and little known was the far-away land that the celebrated Gerardus Mercator wrote:

The most famous navigation of the English men by the Northeast Sea hath offered unto me a great occasion, and certaine direction for the reformation of the

mappe of Europe: which discoverie hath the Northerne parts of Finmarke, Lapland, and Moscovie, laied out according to the just elevation and the quarters of the world. And further, the true observation of the latitude of the city of Moscow, made by the foresaid Englishmen, hath yielded me an infallible rule, for the correcting of the situation of the inland countries: which notable helpe being ministred unto me I thought it my duetie to exhibite to the world this Mappe, more exact and perfect than hitherto it hath been published. (Cited in Crankshaw 1944: 67.)

Indeed, earlier travellers from Western Europe to the East (notably, Benjamin of Tudela and John di Plano Carpini) had troubles distinguishing Russia from Bohemia, on the one hand, and Tatars, on the other (Mohrenschildt 1936: 160).

England was among the first Western European countries with whom Muscovy wanted to establish closer and stable relationship (Mohrenschildt 1936: 165, 181). Ivan the Terrible even intended to marry Queen Elizabeth I, later Lady Mary Hastings, a daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon. He was rejected in both proposals. He also suggested an alliance with England, and again, his initiatives did not find a favourable reception at the English Court (Crankshaw 1944: 58 sq.). But this was a beginning of the system's letting the environment know about itself and the system's growing claims to the environment's attention. This was the beginning of the throughput process.

At the same time, the system was quite passive in reacting to whatever impression it made on foreign visitors. When they passed too strict judgements in their publications, apparently the system could resort only to cutting off economic dealings with them. When Master George Turberville, secretary of Thomas Randolph, English ambassador to Russia in 1568, shared his impressions about Russia with his

correspondents in England in a series of letters in verse, he wrote that he kept back some of unpleasant things about the Russians for fear of hurting the trade with Muscovy:

But if no traffique were, then could I boldly pen
The hardness of the soile, and eke the manners of men.

Another Englishman Dr. Giles Fletcher published a strongly unfavourable study of the Russian government and general conditions prevalent at the time of his visit (he was appointed ambassador of Queen Elizabeth to Tsar Fedor Ivanovich in 1588). The first edition of his *Of the Russe Commonwealth* was put out in London in 1591. However, the Russia Company (the English trade mission in Russia) complained that the book might impede their business. The book was immediately suppressed, and although later it appeared in print, all passages which could give any offence to the Russian side were deleted (Mohrenschildt 1936: 167-169). Thus, one might say the system was not yet able to speak for itself and could resort only to harsh actions. This changed only in Peter's and his followers' time, as we shall see later.

However, over time, there appeared hints at the system's becoming more and more aware of the environment's interest in it. For example, there was a Russian translation of Alessandro Guagnini of Verona's account of his travel to Ivan the Terrible's court—*Sarmatiae Europaeae description* (A Description of Sarmatian Europe). Another means of the environment's finding out about Russia was copying Russian maps. At this point of Russian history, the environment had a vague idea about Russia's geography (as exemplified by the above quotation from Mercator). When Russia produced its own maps, these were taken as the only source for copying abroad. The first map of Muscovy appeared in the Posol'skaia Izba (later, the Posol'skii Prikaz) in 1496. That was the time of centralization of Russia. Apparently, this map was copied by

foreign cartographers. In 1523, another map is known to have appeared in the Posol'skaia Izba which reflected Muscovy's western annexes. Around 1600, Fedor, Boris Godunov's son, added more Muscovy's cities to that map. In 1613, Western European cartographer Gessel Gerrits copied this map of Muscovy (Glukhov 1979: 192-194).

Some of the books made in the Posol'skii Prikaz later described Russia and its tsars. These were sumptuous editions shown to visiting foreigners. One, entitled *Tituliarnik*, was a history of Russian princes and tsars from Rurik, the founder of the Rurik dynasty, up to Aleksei Mikhailovich. This may be considered among the first examples of the system's projecting information about itself into the environment (ibid.: 199-200).

However, there still was no full realization of the necessity to mingle with the West. Little by little channels such as the Posol'skii Prikaz library and the 'newspaper' *Kuranty* were established. Yet, according to the above given classification of conditions for throughput, there still was no object to be 'handled', no willingness to be motivated and no fully developed means of communication. Hence, there were no expected results and no programming of action.

The system, with its minimal throughput at the time, may be described as a social system that did not exploit the possibility of constructing its own image in its environment via the input / output schema (Luhmann 1995: 204).

7.5. Scales Falling from Eyes

A very different picture comes to us from Peter's reign. The situation changed radically with the input increasing enormously.⁶⁹ This state of the system neatly fits the following description given by Luhmann:

The system / environment difference is raised to a combinatory level on which more dependencies and independencies can be actualized at the same time. The system becomes more dependent on certain properties or processes in the environment—namely, those relevant for input or for registering output [...] It can achieve more sensitivity, more clarity in perceiving the environment [...]. (1995: 204)

Indeed, Russia under Peter with the chief goal of 'catching up' with the West became much more dependent on what its environment had to provide for its unfolding process of westernization / modernization. The Russian view of the environment became much clearer, which led to some of its inner structures, whose primary responsibility was to observe the environment, becoming much more complex subsystems.

Moreover, the growing input produced the need to increase output. The output was regulated by the system "depending on what [was] available as input" (ibid.: 204). The purpose of the output was to balance the input whose volume was so overwhelming that it endangered the system's self-identity. Hence, the system increased output through

⁶⁹ Some changes relevant to my application of Luhmann's social systems theory here were presented in the preceding chapters. A succinct yet complete description of such input transfiguring Russia according to Western models with bibliographical references can be found in Lieven 2006 (notably, in Lindsey Hughes' article on Russian culture in the eighteenth century, pp. 67-91).

translation, the goal being to ensure a clear demarcation between the system and its environment. The balancing carried out by means of translation was aimed at reinforcing the system's identity.

Two aspects of the system's output through translation may be observed. The first, inner, aspect was the output within translation, as it were. I have already discussed the linguistic intrasystemic effects of translation. Chronologically, there were different stages of translation. In the first half of the eighteenth century, translation was full of transliterated or calqued terms. Later, a more balanced approach was adopted: only terms which did not exist in Russian were borrowed from foreign languages. Certain purists demanded that all concepts be rendered by Russian linguistic means. Thus, one may distinguish between two stages in the translation of Western terminology in eighteenth-century Russia: (1) extensive copying and (2) a more balanced rendition. The (2) tendency may be considered as the system's output to counterbalance the extensive copying of the (1) tendency. This aspect of the system's output was carried out within the input through translation and consisted in the difference of prevailing translation techniques: literalism vs. translation proper.

The second, outward, aspect of the system's output through translation can be observed in the increase of translations made / commissioned by the system aimed at Western European readership and intended for circulation abroad. The goal was to let the environment know about the system, its inner state and its achievements. Let us consider some examples. There were two types of literature about Russia in foreign languages. One was produced by foreigners independently, i.e., these texts were not commissioned by the system. Rather, the initiative of their production was that of the environment. The

other type was texts (translations) produced by initiative of the system. Only this second type by which the system was projecting information about itself into the environment will be discussed here.

Translations into foreign languages were used for announcing Russia's military victories. After his victory in Poltava (1709), Peter was greeted in Kiev. Feofan Prokopovich delivered a laudatory speech which Peter liked very much and for which he commissioned a Latin translation. The Russian original was destined for the Russian readership, whereas the Latin version was clearly meant for Western European political circles.⁷⁰ News about Peter's other victories were circulated in Western Europe in translations. Translations were commissioned by Russian ambassadors from translators / writers in their, ambassadors', countries of interest. In fact, ordering such materials about Russia was one of an ambassador's responsibilities. Such a case is referred to in Venturi 1975: 120-121. After General Count Orlov visited Naples, a letter praising him was sent for publication in the newspaper *Notizie del mondo*. This was a typical example of Catherine's propaganda.

When this was impossible, a way was still found to let the environment know about the system's achievements. For example, during his Persian military campaign, Peter took pains to carry with him a printing press from the Moscow printing shop. The press was used for printing so-called Turkish manifestos. In 1722, one such manifesto about his seizure of Derbent was presented to the Duke of Holstein in Russian, and later a German version was prepared. This report mentioned manifestos in Turkish. Eventually, the German translation was published as a separate booklet. Apparently,

⁷⁰ Sermons by Lopatinskii were also translated into Latin (by Feofil Krolik—see Pekarskii 1972, vol. 1: 235).

there also existed a Latin version (Pekarskii 1972 vol. 2: 577-579, 652-653; Pekarskii 1972 vol. 1: 237; Luppov 1973: 57, 68).

These are examples of Russia's concern about its image in Western Europe. The system started projecting information about itself and thereby filling up the lacunae existing in its Western European environment about itself. This growing output was the result of the realization based on the input the system was receiving from the environment about the latter's awareness of the system. Among other things, this input signalled the necessity of creating the system's image thus reinforcing its identity, which was vital for exercising its difference technique and ensuring its recursive self-reproductive closure.

7.6. Antidotes and Manipulation

After Peter, a significant corpus of texts about Russia appeared in Europe, written either by foreigners or by Russians and translated into foreign languages. This corpus is sometimes referred to as "rossica" (Somov 1986: 173).

Starting with the mid-eighteenth century, Russia gained considerable significance in Western Europe. Understandably, this was due to Russia's appearance on the European arena after its victory over Sweden. The most typically represented themes in the rossica were Peter's reforms, the person of the emperor himself, coup-d'états that followed his death, Catherine II and her home and foreign policy.⁷¹

To be sure, the Russian Crown encouraged and generously rewarded those who wrote about 'glorious' Russia. This was the case during the Greek campaign when

⁷¹ A catalogue of the French rossica can be found in Somov 1986: 228-245.

Russia was presented as the liberator of Greece from the Turkish yoke and the guarantor of Greek revival. For example, Catherine rewarded a Neapolitan Domenico Diodati for his treatise *De Christo Graece loquente exercitatio* (Of Christ Speaking Greek) with a golden medal and a sumptuous edition of her plan for Russian legislation with a parallel text published in Russian, Latin, French, and German languages. The Saint-Petersburg Academy of Sciences rewarded another panegyrist of Russia, Francesco Mario Pagano, for his eulogy for Count Orlov—*Oratio ad comitem Alexium Orlow virum immortalem, victrici Moschorum classi in expeditione in Mediterraneum mare summon cum imperio praefectum* (A Speech to Count Aleksei Orlov, an Immortal Man, Commander-in-Chief of the Moscow Fleet in the Mediterranean Sea Expedition) (Venturi 1975: 121-122).

Not all circulated publications were to the Russian government's liking. However, in stark contrast to the time of Ivan the Terrible or even of the first Romanovs, Russia did not cut off trade connections; it learned to wield finer mechanisms of counteracting undesirable voices.

Catherine's range of counter-actions was listed in her recommendation on how to deal with the author of a 'newspaper' published in London in October of 1763. The newspaper contained passages tarnishing the reputation of the Russian court. Catherine ordered to try one of the following: (1) to beat the author; (2) to bribe him so that he would stop writing; (3) to kill him; or (4) to write in defence of the Russian court (Somov 1986: 182).

The Russian government came to realize the power of publications reinforcing Russia's positive image and prestige on the European scene. Although beating, bribing and killing were still considered to be acceptable measures, the Russian crown started to

order eulogizing publications from foreign authors of the highest calibre or published works about Russia in European languages.

Diderot was one such author. He participated in translating a book on the Russian educational system written by Ivan Betskii, one of Catherine's courtiers. Voltaire was commissioned by the Russian court to write a history of the Russian Empire under Peter the Great and a number of pamphlets in support of Russian policy in Poland. Later, he ironically remarked about himself and his European fellow correspondents of Catherine the Great that they were secular missionaries preaching the cult of Saint Catherine. He seems to have been less ironic when he wrote his panegyrics on Russian victories in its First Turkish War (1768—1774) like the Russian capture of the Turkish fortress Khotin in 1769:

O Minerve du Nord, ô toi, sœur d'Apollon,
Tu vengeras la Grèce en chassant ces infâmes,
Ces ennemis des arts et ces geôliers de femmes [...].⁷²

Not all commissioned publications were overt translations. Sometimes, Russian officials who acted on behalf of the state and in this capacity commissioned texts about Russia, supplied potential authors with original materials or translations of them. Such materials were incorporated into Western authors' publications. These were covert translations. For example, Voltaire was provided with materials for his history of Russia. In 1757, Mikhail Lomonosov was asked by Ivan Shuvalov, one of the most prominent among Elizabeth's courtiers, to prepare materials for Voltaire. Lomonosov prepared a number of extracts from various sources. These extracts were translated into French and sent over to Voltaire (Menshutkin 1947: 218).

⁷² O Minerva of the North, O you sister of Apollo,/ You will avenge Greece by chasing out those reprobates, /Those enemies of the arts and jailors of women[...] (Whittaker 2003: 64).

Catherine's *Nakaz komissii o sostavlenii proekta novogo ulozheniia* (Instructions to the Legislative Commission of 1767) was published several times in French. The *Instructions* greatly contributed to her fame as an enlightened monarch. This provides, once again, a clear example of the system's projecting information about itself into its environment or that part of the environment in which the system was interested or whose opinion about itself the system treasured and wanted to influence.

In this case, it was irrelevant whether the information was true, partly true or false. The main thing was that the system made an effort to produce an output to adjust the environment's vision of the system. This was done by means of translation as a powerful systemic throughput mechanism. Translation was already considered more adequate than cutting off trade and thereby admitting the system's faults and deficiencies brought to the environment's attention.

At some point in its history, the system realized the necessity to create / adjust its image and circulate information about itself in the environment, especially in that part of the environment which it sought to be part of. This is exactly where the system / environment dependency increased. The throughput was considerably intensified as compared to earlier stages of the system's evolution. The growing input required a commensurately growing output. One conditioned the other. The system produced the output depending on what was available as input. The system decided to block out excess because the initial deficit was filled to increase the environment's awareness about the system and its achievements (Luhmann 1995: 204).

The system obviously controlled the part of the rossica which it commissioned,⁷³ but it had little control over the part of the rossica written by foreigners. It could, however, create antidotes. The purpose of such antidotes was to adjust the image of the system as presented in some publications. If the system did not agree with how it was presented, if it felt that a publication damaged Russia's international reputation, it intervened.

For example, a book *Voyage en Sibérie* (The Voyage to Siberia) was published in Paris by Chappe d'Auteroche. The system reacted with *Antidote, ou examen du Mauvais livre intitulé: Voyage en Sibérie fait en 1761* (The Antidote, or The Examination of the Bad Book Entitled "The Voyage to Siberia," Published in 1761) (Amsterdam, 1771—1772). Catherine herself took to anonymously criticizing d'Auteroche's book. First of all, she disagreed with his definition of the Russian political regime as backward and despotic. As a counter-argument, she pointed to her own legislative accomplishments. Lomonosov's and Sumarokov's achievements in their literary activities served her an argument against d'Auteroche's claim that Russians were rude, immoral and uncivilized. The empress' response came in a remarkably detailed fashion: she left none of d'Auteroche's alleged mistakes without comment.

Ivan Boltin's *Primechaniia na Istoriiu drevniia i nyneshniia Rossii g. Leklerka* (Notes on the History of Ancient and Modern Russia by Mr. LeClerc) (1788) was commissioned by Catherine and also provided the system's riposte to its defamation in

⁷³ Apparently, not everything went smoothly. Although some of the publications, for example, P.-Ch. LeVêque's *Histoire de Russie* (A History of Russia) published in Paris in 1782 and N.-G. LeClerc's *Histoire physique, morale, civile et politique de la Russie ancienne et moderne* (A Physical, Moral, Civil and Political History of Ancient and Modern Russia) published in Paris in 1783-1794, were commissioned by the Russian crown, the commissioner was not satisfied with the outcome. Thus for instance, Catherine severely criticized both LeVêque's and LeClerc's works.

the environment. In his *Notes*, Boltin criticized LeClerc for factual mistakes and the backwardness of his presentation of pre-Petrine Russia.

Intervention occurred not only on the level of the royal court. The system reacted on lower, and yet significant, levels. Thus, in the case of the history of Russia commissioned from Voltaire, as mentioned above, Lomonosov was not happy with the final version. Only a small part of the materials painstakingly collected by Lomonosov and sent to Voltaire were actually put to use. Moreover, the French philosopher was not always exact and made quite a few factual mistakes. Lomonosov wrote his comments on Voltaire's work. Showing himself as a Russian patriot, he questioned some of the historian's conclusions about Russian people's national pride. He critiqued some of Voltaire's errors in historical, geographical and ethnographic descriptions of Russia (Menshutkin 1947: 218).

Antidotes are examples of covert translations. The mechanism of their creation from the translational viewpoint was as follows. A representative of the system penning an antidote transferred his / her views of the system's communication into another language and cultural-systemic medium in order to influence the target system in its environment. There was a transfer, or, as we saw in the previous chapter—mediation took place. The intrasystemic communication reacted to a piece of extrasystemic (environmental) communication. Antidotes may have been followed by new versions of 'failed' materials. For instance, Lomonosov wrote his own version of Russian history. It was first translated into German, then into French and English and became one of Russia's historical works of European reputation. In French, it was published in 1769 and reprinted in 1773 and 1776. Lomonosov's contribution to European *rossica* dealt

with Russian history before Peter's reign: "Lomonosov was one of the first to inform France that even prior to Peter, Russia was an organized state and possessed a culture of her own" (Mohrenschildt 1936: 204). Although it is not clear who initiated the German translation and after that the French, Lomonosov's intention was obvious. His disappointment with Voltaire's history of Russia was prompted by the intrasystemic communication reacting to extrasystemic communication about the system. In fact, he seems to have had three goals in mind. For the Russian (intrasystemic) readership, his book was part of the system's effort to unite Kievan Rus' with Muscovy. A hetero-reference (another superethnos) was turned into a self-reference (Kievan Rus' was considered part of Muscovy's history). For the foreign (extrasystemic / environmental) readership, Lomonosov's ancient Russian history let the environment know about the system primarily in the synchronic plane. He also adjusted Russia's image in the West. Translation was involved in reaching all three goals. In the first case, it mediated in the diachronic dimension. In the other two, it fulfilled its intersystemic functions on the synchronic plane.

To summarize, translation acts as a mechanism of throughput between the system and its environment, although throughput may be carried out in different proportions of input and output. Sometimes the system is more an output-receiver and the environment is more an input-source and vice versa. In pre-Petrine Russia, translation was not a significant means of intersystemic communication. The system was largely apathetic towards its environment's opinion. When the system was not satisfied with the environment's opinion, it reacted by 'rude' economic or military measures. In the

eighteenth century, the system became much more 'sophisticated' through the realization of its environment's complexity, consequently increasing its own complexity. The system's reaction to unfavourable opinions circulating in the environment also became finer. Creating texts-antidotes or texts of an informative nature appeared to be a more adequate way to counteract the environment's antagonism. Translation of these texts was a principal means for making them available for the environment.

Before Peter, the system's reaction was incongruous with the medium of the attack: verbal / political critique was answered by economic / military measures. After Peter, verbal / political critique was answered by verbal / political information and counter-critique through translation. Naturally, this also explains why the status of translation was raised: translation was perceived to be a powerful means of intersystemic communication.

CHAPTER 8. IN A GLOBALIZED SYSTEM

In the preceding chapters, I have considered two major aspects of the role translation played in eighteenth-century Russia—intrasystemic and intersystemic. I now will consider yet another role of translation in the process in which Russia was involved and which unfolded in eighteenth-century Europe.

When the intra- and intersystemic functions of translation were discussed, translation was viewed as a boundary phenomenon. It mediated the throughput between the system (Russia) and its environment (mostly Russia's Western European environment). The aspect which I am going to discuss in this chapter places translation differently in relation to the system. Instead of being a mediator located on the outer border of the system, it moves inside the system. To understand such a change, I have to draw on Luhmann's idea about the globalization of Western European, or even about the world as a system.

8.1. A Global System

Luhmann suggests distinguishing between various types of social systems based on their respective primary modes of internal differentiation. Internal differentiation is defined as the way in which a system builds its subsystems thereby reflecting "the difference between system and (internal) environments within itself" (Luhmann 1990: 177). Forms of such differentiation determine the degree of complexity attained by a

society. Clearly, we are talking about social systems higher than the 'A+B' level. Sociocultural evolution started with segmentary systems (families, villages). Higher stages of sociocultural evolution led to a higher order of intrasystemic differentiation—to social stratifications according to rank. Hierarchically organized traditional societies produced complexity high enough to enable them to develop higher cultures. These societies with their aristocracies were based on land or cities and assumed territorial references. They saw themselves and were seen as different coexisting societies despite their reciprocal awareness of one another's existence and communication between them.

As opposed to these rank-based social systems, modern society, according to Luhmann, operates as a system following a different pattern of differentiation. It is function-based. Inner subsystems in European societies (such as religion, politics, economy) attained advanced degrees of differentiation. European countries came to have evolved into functionally differentiated systems. The dominant principle of system formation shifted from rank to function. Each function system has grown into a communication system as a fully-fledged operational closure with its own autopoiesis. For example, modern society has formed the political subsystem contrasted to its environment, which consists of other subsystems (law, economy, science, arts). The economic subsystem is clearly distinguished from its environment. Science and education are also different subsystems with their respective environments. In other words, every such subsystem proclaims the primacy of its function as the basis for its communication and autopoiesis. All the other subsystems play the role of the environment.

Functional differentiation leads to the formation of a new type of system. Such a system is characterized by an unprecedented degree of complexity:

The boundaries of its subsystems can no longer be integrated by common territorial frontiers. Only the political subsystem continues to use such frontiers, because segmentation into “states” appears to be the best way to optimize its own function. But other subsystems like science or economy spread over the globe. It therefore has become impossible to limit society as a whole by territorial boundaries, and consequently it is no longer sensible to speak of “modern societies” in the plural. The only meaningful boundary is the boundary of communicative behaviour, i.e., the difference between meaningful communication and other processes. Neither the different ways of reproducing capital nor the degrees of development in different countries provide convincing grounds for distinguishing different societies. (Luhmann 1990: 178.)

When modern society is considered as based on functional differentiation, it becomes a “global system” (ibid.: 178).

Luhmann traces the appearance of new system differentiation back to medieval Europe. Russia was introduced into this global system no earlier than the sixteenth century but mostly in the eighteenth century. As we have seen in the previous chapters, it is at this time that Russia opened itself to European influences (input) and later became able to produce some output. The growing throughput between Europe and Russia made the latter part of Europe and strengthened its desire to be westernized and thereby modernized.

As we have seen, translation played an important role in introducing European values into the system’s meaning horizon, re-negotiating boundaries of Russia’s inner communication. Later, translation became a principal means of letting the environment know about Russia as an emerging ‘sister’-system of other systems. The environment

became more and more diversified for Russia. Europe ceased to be simply a lump of unorthodox heretics.

The clarity of the system's vision caused (and, simultaneously, was caused by) the growth of its structural complexity. Its structural complexity was commensurate with the need for the system to deal with the complexity of the environment. I have considered changes in the systemic-structural role of translation; however, translation was only one social subsystem. Other subsystems also became more complex. Consequently, Russia as a system grew more and more complex and its inner structure gained higher and higher degrees of differentiation. Religion, politics, economy, law, education, and science were separated from one another. These subsystems started developing along European lines and little by little they became integrated into respective subsystems of European global society.

8.2. Striving to Become Part of Europe

The main aspiration of Russia in its effort to be westernized / modernized in the eighteenth century was to catch up with the rest of Europe and become part of Europe. From the global-systemic point of view, all transfers / translations had this purpose in view. All the intrasystemic changes were ultimately for this—to integrate Russia into Europe. All the intersystemic transfers / translations were, as we have seen, to let Europe know that Russia was bone of its bone and flesh of its flesh, so to speak, that it was not Asia. Among other things, this ambition informed Peter's and Catherine's intention to

cooperate with the most prominent European scientists and philosophers—Leibniz, Diderot, Voltaire, Grimm.

I already gave examples of both overt and covert, verbal and non-verbal transfers of Western European ideas into Russia. I analyzed them primarily from the perspective of their benefit to Russia as a system. I would like to adduce one more example of Russia's effort to be part of Europe.

Peter encouraged foreign travels (*peregrinatsii*) to Europe so that Russian could learn about European countries first-hand. Feofan Prokopovich whose “sermons” “very often appear to a modern observer as very able promotional documents” and the “gospel according to Peter” where he eulogized “the sovereign's innovations as necessary, useful and contributory to Russia's world position” aptly expressed the reasons why foreign travels were good:

Above all, foreign travel [...] is, I say boldly, the best and liveliest school of honourable politics. For it offers, not on paper but in very fact, not to the ear but to the very sight, the customs and behaviour of peoples. If we hear the same things from tales or read them in books of history, there is much that the thought refuses to credit; for not a little is falsely related. But much also even of what is credible and genuine (I know not why) we do not recognize so clearly as when we have seen the very places where something happened... How much more clearly will all this be realized when, as travellers, we look on not merely the bare places of ancient actions, but see clearly the veritable deeds and actions of peoples, their purposes, counsels, judgments, manners, and modes of government... In a word, foreign travel makes a man far wiser in a few years than the span of many years of age” (“In Eulogy of the Russian Fleet and the Victory Won by Russian Galleys over the Swedish Ships on July 27 [1720]”). (Brown 1980b: 14-15.)

One of those sent to Europe was Fedor Saltykov, an offspring of an old boyar family. In 1697, he went to Europe to study seamanship and the art of shipbuilding and was later commissioned by Peter to buy ships for the Baltic fleet. Saltykov lived in several cities of Western Europe—in Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Hamburg and others. From 1712 to his death in 1715, he lived in England. All the time while abroad, Saltykov observed other peoples' life with the view that Russia could learn from their experience. Saltykov's memoranda sent to Peter in 1712, 1713 and 1714 were the result of his observations. He acted as a representative of the system, which aspired to be a subsystem of a larger social body—Europe. The following is an extract from one of Saltykov's memoranda:

I hereby report to your Majesty that, while fulfilling your orders, I have during my spare time tried diligently to extract [ideas] from the prevailing decrees in England as well as in those countries of Europe where only autocracies and not republics or parliaments prevail, ideas which, if dutifully introduced, would benefit the state greatly both externally and internally; many of these concepts are unknown in our country and their implementation would not burden the people. Moreover, universal education in all the sciences and arts could be undertaken, so that in a short time we could *equal the best European states [...]*" (Letiche 1964: 336, my emphasis—S.T.)

It was through covertly translated Western European ideas introduced into Russia that Saltykov suggested to transform the country and make it "equal" with the best European states. In his view, implementing these ideas would benefit the empire not only internally, but also externally.

8.3. Integration through Translation

Translation's place in such a global system, in the eighteenth century encompassing primarily Europe, should be re-considered taking into account that boundaries were no longer territorial. Now one subsystem covered several former nation-states. Political and linguistic boundaries, on the one hand, and subsystemic boundaries, on the other, no longer coincided.

In that respect, it should be added to Luhmann's theory, that media of certain subsystems consisted of (1) specific languages and (2) terminology. For example, some of the newly emerged subsystems adopted Latin (and to a lesser degree Greek) as a subsystemic lingua franca. Translation was from a vernacular into Latin or Greek and vice versa (as opposed to another vernacular).⁷⁴ Some time later, Latin and Greek terms were replaced by vernacular equivalents. Importantly, these equivalents were nevertheless either calques or borrowings from these classical languages.

This can be observed in Russian science during the eighteenth century. Originally, minutes of academic sittings were taken in either Latin or German (Pekarskii 1976 vol. 1: v-vi). Scientific papers and articles created within the system (Russia) were translated into Latin before they could become part of the Western European science subsystem. Russian library catalogues were translated into Latin to make them available for the entire European scholarly community and thereby for the newly developed scientific subsystem. In the library of the Academy of Sciences, a catalogue was compiled in Latin (Luppov 1976: 352-353).

⁷⁴ See Isabelle Pantin's paper on the role of translations in early modern European scientific exchanges in —Burke and Hsia 2007: 163-179.

Besides terminology, a specific language, traditionally associated with this particular subsystem, was employed. Indeed, Latin was used before vernaculars started developing their own terminology. Russia was no exception from this rule when it struggled to form its own terminology in various arts and sciences. Since new terms were coined on the basis of the classical languages, translation played a key role. Translation became the testing ground of new vocabulary. When experts study this process in relation to the eighteenth century, they pay more attention to those aspects that were relevant to the evolution of the Russian language. The process had another effect, though.

It was a time when Russia was becoming part of the European subsystem of science. To be part of that subsystem, Russian scientists and scholars needed terminology, which did not have to be Latin.⁷⁵ Terms could be Russian, but they had to be in direct correlation with the international pool of scientific knowledge. Translating was one mechanism for choosing between longer descriptive or polysemantic equivalents of foreign terms and shorter alternatives—transliterations and calques. Consequently, a considerable number of scientific and technical terms were borrowed from original languages, calqued with Russian word-formation affixes, or Russian words of common stock were used as terms (Sorokin 1964: 24, 113-115). They were fine-tuned, as it were, to the existing Latin-, Greek- or vernacular-based terms. To emphasize, terminological experimentation and fine-tuning were carried out in the realm of translation. From the global-systemic viewpoint, translation opened the gates for Russian science to enter the emerging Western European science subsystem.

⁷⁵ For some time, in Russian higher education, arts and sciences were also taught in Latin. Latin was a prevalent medium not only in the science subsystem but also in the adjacent subsystem of education (Pekarskii 1976; Uspenskii 1981).

In some other subsystems, vernaculars were used alongside Latin more freely. Since law is closely associated with the nation where it is developed, applied and practiced, legal terminology is usually based on corresponding national languages—definitely to a greater extent than, for example, science. This was the case for Russia's legal codices before the eighteenth century. But when the empire strove to enter the legal subsystem of European nations, its own legal subsystem turned out to be unsuitable. Hence, Russia had to develop a new legal subsystem with corresponding legal terminology (medium). A new jurisprudence based on European legal principles actively started to borrow notions and terms from European legal codices. At the same time, newly created legal normative documents were translated (back) into vernaculars. For example, the system of the state organization was modelled on the Swedish example. The Russian law department had the Swedish charter translated into Russian. The Russian version was translated into Latin and German (Pekarskii 1972 vol. 1: 229).

The Russian legal (sub)system was influenced by the West not only on the terminological level, the level of medium, but also on the conceptual level—overtly and covertly. For instance, suggestions to start a legal reform came from the aforementioned Fedor Saltykov (Letiche 1964: 339-340). In his recommendations, Saltykov suggested to introduce special titles for nobles, comparable to those of contemporary European states—landgraves, marquises, counts, barons, etc. Russian cities were to be turned into principalities—marquisates and counties, on the example of England. The nobles were to be kept apart from merchants in that they should not engage in trade or industry. Saltykov also recommended changing the patrimonies of monasteries into 'ranks'.

Despite their nature, confusing rank- and function-based social systems, these measures were by and large signs of an emerging functionalization of the system. This was in keeping with the tendency of the macro-systemic unification of Europe, with the economic subsystem developing its own communication in opposition to communications in other subsystems.

Another example of a new legal functionalism developing along the European lines was Saltykov's advice to establish primogeniture in Russia. The immovable property of lords and nobles was to be inherited by their eldest sons. Younger sons, who would have to be satisfied only with a share of the movable property, could be freed for state services and sciences. Although Peter's decree on primogeniture (1714) differed from Saltykov's project in a number of important ways, it is most likely that the latter hastened the issuance of the former.

Saltykov's suggestions for legal reforms may be qualified as an example of a covert transfer of Western European legal principles to the Russian legal (sub)system. I showed how Catherine the Great's legal reforms were influenced by contemporary European legal thought. On the one hand, there were examples of intrasystemic changes; on the other, the same changes made the Russian legal (sub)system part of the evolving European legal subsystem.

Russia also strove to be part of the European economic system. It is a well-known and undeniable fact that Russia learned much from Western European mercantilism.

Mercantilism is a system of ideas and policies the most important trait of which is the view that only gold and silver—that is, money—represent wealth; and the

main task of the economic policy of a state is considered to be the guarantee of the flow of money into the country by means of foreign trade. An inseparable and extremely important characteristic of this system is the recognition of the right and obligation of the feudal-absolutist state to interfere in the economic activity of the population, to regulate it, and to establish guardianship and supervision over it. [...] Mercantilism was not a peculiarity of any particular country, but was inherent in all European countries at a particular stage of their economic development. (Letiche 1964: 285, 290.)

Although the influence of mercantilism on the economy of Petrine Russia should not be oversimplified, it seems obvious that Peter adopted mercantilism as the basis of his economic policy (Bobylev 1990: 16-18). For example, mercantilism as suggested by Colbert, Louis XIV's Prime Minister, pleading for a strong economy bolstered by a strong state, called for introducing new legal norms. The methods employed by Peter to increase the inflow of money into the country were mercantilistic in essence. He prohibited the export of money and of precious metals; he attempted to increase the export of goods; he tried to guarantee a trade balance between exports and imports. He made colossal efforts to develop a native heavy industry and create a national merchant fleet (Letiche 1964: 245-294; Hudson 1986).

Other major figures of Russian history and its evolving economy cannot be considered without taking into account their intimate involvement in heated European economic disputes of their day. A few brief examples will suffice. Lomonosov's economic ideas also contained a palpable mercantile influence (Letiche 1964: 395). Catherine's economic ideas were praised by Montesquieu, Voltaire, Galiani, Necker and Beccaria and were in opposition to the nascent school of physiocracy. Thus, although Catherine can hardly be called an economist, in her reformation of the legal system she

had to consider certain economic issues, and she did consider them within the background of existing trends of European economic thought (ibid.: 421-423). Aleksandr Sumarokov is another example. He, however, supported the physiocrats. He argued that Russia should preserve its basically agrarian economy rather than develop heavy industry, Sumarokov referred to the expert opinion of “various French examiners” (ibid.: 423-427). These examples show that Russian economic theory and practice became more and more integrated into the European economic subsystem. This was accomplished through covert conceptual transfers / translations.

Education in Russia became more European with the underlying concept of *humanitaet*. In its initial stage, Russian higher education was conventionally carried out in Latin, partly because professors and teachers had no other medium of instruction in common with their students and partly because even Russian instructors could not teach in Russian for lack of Russian terminology. In both cases, Latin or much less used vernaculars became the basis for developing Russian terminology used in the teaching professions, as well as arts and science. While translators were struggling to produce overt translations that would correlate Russian with Western European science and education and make them one subsystem of the European global system, transfers of scientific knowledge were done in a covert way. Nevertheless the Russian science / education systems started to converge with the Western European ones.

In literature and the fine arts, Russia also became European-oriented. Russian literary history provides a great deal of examples, oddly enough, since Peter was not

particularly interested in literature. Indeed, in his age, this was one of the last domains affected by westernization. Almost immediately after his death, in the late 1720s and 1730s, contemporary aesthetic literary ideas penetrated Russia. In the decades to follow, they may be said to have firmly taken root there. Prokopovich and his circle, above all Antiokh Kantemir, the creator of Russian literary satire; Vasilii Trediakovskii, a poet and translator, the initiator of the reform of Russian versification; Lomonosov, the acknowledged “father” of modern Russian literature, and Aleksandr Sumarokov, one of the founders of Russian drama and a highly reputed lyrical poet of the eighteenth century, as well as their contemporaries and followers, notably Gavriil Derzhavin, Mikhail Kheraskov, Vasilii Maikov, Ivan Dmitriev, Ivan Krylov, Denis Fonvizin, Nikolai Karamzin paved the way to the golden age of Russian literature at the turn of the eighteenth century and especially during the nineteenth century. Although eighteenth-century Russian literature was just starting on its way to later international renown with such names as Aleksandr Pushkin, Iurii Lermontov, Nikolai Gogol’, Ivan Turgenev, Leo Tolstoi, Fedor Dostoevskii and Anton Chekhov, entering the European literary subsystem would ensure that Russian literature developed the way it did.

In pre-Petrine Russia, there was no question of adopting European aesthetics, although European literary works had not only been translated, but also widely circulated and eagerly received, only in the eighteenth century did translations of European literary works become models for emulation. Trediakovskii’s translation *Iezda v ostrov lubvi* of Tallemant’s novel *Voyage de l’isle d’amour* (The Voyage to the Isle of Love) was an attempt to create a similar genre of Russian literature with its appropriate language (Lotman 1994).

Late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Russian drama furnishes another example of the system's aspiration to be westernized. Written drama appeared in Russia during the reign of Alexei Mikhailovich and was a combination of the Jesuit ecclesiastical and didactic school drama, on the one hand, and the secular German tradition. However, "as a Western, and presumably civilizing, institution," theatre began to be actively promoted by Peter. The plays, shown at that time, "afforded an opportunity for glorifying the achievements and ideals of Peter's reforms" (Brown 1980b: 25, 28). In Petrine and post-Petrine Russia, the theatre was formed with the active participation of German actors, Italian *commedia dell'arte* performers and French companies. The first prominent Russian troupe was formed at Elizaveta's court and was led by Fedor Volkov (1729-1763). Aleksandr Sumarokov (1717-1777) and Vladimir Lukin (1737-1794) were among the leading playwrights of the period. They translated European comedies and tragedies, the most popular genres after French models. Translations were mostly adaptations. As Lukin explained in the preface to one of his translations, his translations of foreign plays were "adjusted to our tastes." This may be viewed as the tendency to make Russian drama European, on the one hand, and yet organically Russian, on the other. The comedy *Nedorosl'* (The Minor) by Denis Fonvizin (1745-1792) was the final step in this process and, no wonder, it became one of the first Russian plays that was known in Europe (O'Malley 2006; Brown 1980b: 208 sq.).

In 1772, Nikolai Novikov published his *Opyt istoricheskogo slovaria russkikh pisatelei* (An Attempt at a Historical Dictionary of Russian Writers). The dictionary was the first systematic account of contemporary Russian literary names. In his dictionary, Novikov deliberately created the impression that "educated Russians were living amid a

literary cornucopia, an unprecedented flowering of the pen and the press” (Gary Marker as quoted in Whittaker 2003: 52). All major and minor Russian authors, those who published much and those who could boast no more than one printed book, made their way into his dictionary. Characteristically, he largely discarded the medieval period of Russian literary history thereby confirming “the wide-spread eighteenth-century opinion that Russian literature dated from the Petrine era, that is from the time when it began to adopt European literary notions” (Whittaker 2003: 54).

In 1800, in a sense summing up the eighteenth century, Nikolai Karamzin created his *Panteon rossiiskikh avtorov* (Pantheon of Russian [Literary] Authors). What immediately leaps to the eye is that Russian authors are assessed and their contributions gauged based on a Western European frame of reference. They are compared to European classical or contemporary writers. Kantemir is said to be “our Juvenal”; Lomonosov is believed to have written his name in the book of immortality together with Horace, Rousseau, Pindar;⁷⁶ Sumarokov is compared to Voltaire, he is said to be dubbed by his contemporaries ‘our’ Racine, Molière, La Fontaine, Boileau (Karamzin 1984: 105, 110, 111). These examples testify to Russian literature’s aspiration to be part of the Western European literary subsystem.

Catherine the Great herself assumed the role of the patroness of Russian belles-lettres (among so many other roles). Being well-read, she considered literature extremely important in shaping Russia into a European nation.

She financed a number of literary and publishing enterprises and promoted the further adoption of European literary models in Russia, both by encouragement

⁷⁶ Apparently, Karamzin was not the only one to compare Lomonosov to Pindar. For example, a Russian diplomat and translator of Russian writers into English, Aleksei Ievstafiev (1779-1857), did the same in the preface to his translation of Sumarokov’s tragedy *Dimitrii Samozvanets* (Demetrius, the Impostor).

and by example. Overall, Catherine the Great clearly strove to be perceived as a philosopher on the throne, who, like Frederick the Great, not only wrote herself but also sought to attract talent and wit to her court. To a significant degree Catherine's effort was directed abroad, toward famous and influential Europeans. (Whittaker 2003: 52.)⁷⁷

Again, translation / transfer was viewed as a key means for the westernization of Russian literary system and making it part of the Western European literary subsystem. This process was an organic part of the general westernization and reformation of Russia. The other side of this same process was 'projecting' Russia abroad. These two aspects combined into the process of integrating Russia into the Western European global system. This effort was obvious in Catherine's gestures such as offering Diderot to move the printing of his *Encyclopaedia* to Russia (which was, however, politely turned down). In keeping with European courtly traditions, she established her own panegyrists—two poets Vasilii Petrov and Gavriil Derzhavin. In other words, Catherine viewed Russia in the second half of the eighteenth century as a legitimate part of the European global system.

The Western European system and its literary subsystem also showed interest in Russia and Russian men of letters.

In French, Russian arts were addressed by both Levesque and LeClerc in their histories. In their opinion Sumarokov owed his theatrical style to Racine. LeClerc provided his own curtailed prose translation of one of Sumarokov's poems. While LeClerc misrepresented Sumarokov's ideas, he forced his own conviction into his

⁷⁷ Apparently, European diplomats and noblemen travelling to Russia well understood the empress' eagerness to let them know and experience a flowering of new Russian culture. Ironically, they sometimes described their impressions in great detail knowing about perustration of their correspondence (Cross 1995: 64).

translation of Sumarokov's poetry: "O Russie! vous aviez un second Racine [...]" (O Russia you possessed a second Racine!—Cross 1995: 66).

A German *Journal von Russland* (Journal on Russia) published the repertoire of Russian theatres with brief comments about the most important plays and operas presented in Saint-Petersburg (Hexelschneider 1959: 334). Jakob von Staehlin published his *Zur Geschichte des Theaters in Russland* (On the History of Russian Theatre) (1769). Moscow theatrical life was described by J. Richter in his *Moskwa: Eine Skizze* (Moscow: A Sketch) (1799) and in his article *Beschreibung des Theaterwesens in Russland bis zur Regieren Catharina's der Grossen* (An Outline of Theatre in Russia before Catherine the Great) for his magazine *Russische Miszellen* (Russian Miscellany) (1802).

A chapter about the arts and sciences in Russia was written in English by William Coxe as part of his *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark* (published in 1784). Later William Tooke published his free translation of J.-H. Castera's *Vie de Catherine II* (The Life of Catherine the Great) to which he added a chapter on cultural life in Catherinian Russia modelled after *Gemaehld von St. Petersburg* (A Picture of Saint-Petersburg) by a German, H.F. Storch (1793-1794). Two years later, Tooke published his translations of Sumarokov's poetry made from Storch's German translations (Cross 1995: 67-68).

Some Russian texts were also translated into European vernaculars, either on Russian or Western initiative. For example, in 1751, Sumarokov's tragedy *Sinave et Trouvore* was translated into French by Prince Aleksandr Dolgorukii and published by the press of the Russian Academy of Sciences, although at the author's expense! Sumarokov was eager to be known both in Russia and abroad. Aleksei Ievstafiev

translated Sumarokov's theatrical works into English. He also translated an article by Karamzin and a biography of Lomonosov into English (Cross 1995). Karamzin was the Russian writer whose works were translated into the widest range of European languages at the turn of the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries (Bykova 1969).

Russian literary works and theatrical plays were also translated into German. Kantemir's satires were one of the early translations of Russian literary works into German. As to the most prominent among Russian plays, Denis Fonvizin's comedy *Nedorosl'* (The Minor) appeared in German in 1787 (Hexelschneider 1959).

Journalism was another area, close to literature, where Catherine contributed significantly to Russia's joining the European global system. Here, the models were taken from English satirical and moralistic journalism of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele. Between 1769 and 1774, as many as sixteen new magazines were published. All of them actively participated in Russian social life bringing up a variety of topics. Europeanism did not only consist in discussing burning social issues on the pages of these magazines and journals. These also became a demonstration of Catherine's tolerance. The tolerance of the empress was presumably manifested in her letting the society openly discuss such topics as serfdom. Catherine also encouraged publishing even magazines headed by those journalists and writers who engaged in polemics with her personally, notably Nikolai Novikov and Denis Fonvizin. Sometimes her tolerance and openness to criticism went as far as subsidizing their publications.

In 1783, she went even further and issued the 'free press' law, according to which individuals were permitted to own and operate private presses. Whatever the reasons for

this legislation, it definitely gave another powerful boost to the development of book culture in Russia and definitely contributed to the image of the empress as a European enlightened despot ruling a European country.

In the development of journalism, one cannot fail to notice an enormous leap from the pre-Petrine *Kuranty* through Peter's *Vedomosti* to the veritable blossoming of journalism (together with book culture) under Catherine. Russia strove to be part of Europe and was definitely becoming one. To reiterate, overt translations and covert transfers constituted one of the major factors making this major change from autism to integration possible.

Even in the subsystem of politics which, according to Luhmann, is an exception in otherwise integrating global system, we see that in the eighteenth century Russia entered the European political and diplomatic circles as an equal partner. The eighteenth century would prove a crucial period in the evolution of today's Europe's international system. Three interlocking developments made this happen (Scott 2006: 2):

- (1) An expansion in the number of great European powers with the ensuing extension of their control on the world political stage;
- (2) The completion of Europe's diplomatic network;
- (3) The establishment of the term and concept of 'great power'; the great powers were tacitly or explicitly recognized as invested with collective action, in Luhmannian terms, on behalf of the developing European global system.

The new way of aligning European political forces, which largely evolved in the eighteenth century, offered a guarantee of the comparative peace and stability of the

following nineteenth century. The Pentarchy started being formed by the five great powers appearing on the stage one after another. In the sixteenth century, the Spanish Monarchy rose first; in the seventeenth century, the French Bourbons. The eighteenth century brought Britain, Prussia and Russia into the Pentarchy (ibid.: 362).

Russia was fully incorporated into the Pentarchy in the 1760s-1780s. It had become a dominant political power in northern and eastern Europe by 1740. Russia's rise and the spectacular territorial gains at the expense of the Ottoman Empire and later Poland made it a great power. But the further process of its becoming recognized as such by Western European peers was not linear. Only under Catherine II did Russia's emergence as a European power become irreversible.

From the purely political perspective, the process of Russia's incorporation into the European political subsystem may be described as follows (ibid.: 24-28). The decisive step was Peter the Great's decision to overcome Russia's backwardness and isolation and to become part of the anti-Swedish coalition in 1700. While the rise of Russia in the eighteenth century seemed to have been inevitable, only after its impressive military success over Sweden in the Great Northern War (1700-1721) did Russia ensure its dominant position on the Baltic and its eastern shores and started its way into the Pentarchy.

In the Great Northern War, Russia searched for allies and for European technology. Translation contributed to this aspect of Russia's integration into Europe through major intrasystemic changes in its recursive closure.

Peter's victories over Sweden also "gave Russia a new-found importance in European eyes" (ibid.: 26). We saw earlier that translation played a vital role in

mediating between Russia and Europe by making news about those military successes and general information about Russia available for its intersystemic involvements. The result was that by 1725,

[t]here were no fewer than twenty-one permanent Russian missions abroad [...] The dramatic expansion of Russian diplomacy far outstripped the supply of noblemen with the knowledge of Europe's languages, history and political culture required to fill these embassies, and a shortage of trained personnel long hindered the country's full incorporation into the diplomatic network. Yet the decisive break had been made with the isolated and xenophobic Muscovite past. Russia henceforth maintained substantial and permanent links with other European courts, despite enduring problems over language and ceremonial (*ibid.*: 26-27).

Russia secured its position in the coalition of European great powers after the Seven Years War (1756-1763) in its successes over Prussia. This position was further strengthened in the time of Prussia's and Austria's economic exhaustion and France's political decline (*ibid.*: 147-148).

Russia entered the European Pentarchy as the latter's arm in eastern Europe. It was in the capacity of a European power that Russia planned to inculcate European values in the south-eastern European nations. Noteworthy is the fact that Voltaire took an active part in the fine-tuning of Russian official rhetoric (Zorin 2001: 31-64; Whittaker 2003: 64).⁷⁸ It was in the common European struggle against Napoleonic France that the role of Russia was fully realized. The final stage of the coalition formation was cemented by the peace negotiations after Napoleon had been defeated (Scott 2006: 365).

In the global-systemic dimension, translation became a most active element in all diplomatic interactions. As in all other subsystems of the European global system, translation moved inside the political subsystem. It was no longer a boundary

⁷⁸ On Naple's corroboration with this ideological scheme, see Venturi 1975.

phenomenon between languages and cultures. From the global-systemic perspective, it mediated between parts / members of the same subsystem and within the same global system.

To conclude, in this chapter, I considered the global-systemic function of translation. In the eighteenth century, Russia became part of the evolving global European communication. The new global system was a complex communication body with relatively independent and highly developed functional subsystems. Russia entered the global system by entering its respective subsystems. Translation played an indispensable part in Russia's integrating into the European global system. In the science subsystem, translations were made into Latin, the scientific *lingua franca* of the day. Russia took pains to make its scientists' achievements part of the European scientific process. At the same time, translation became a field for experimentation in creating Russian scientific terminology, thus establishing a direct link between Russian terms and their foreign equivalents. In this way, even scientific discourse held in Russian, within its natural linguistic boundaries, was made easily transferable into other European vernaculars or Latin.

Russia actively modernized its educational subsystem keeping the country abreast of the contemporary European educational subsystem and scientific knowledge.

Similar tendencies of making Russia part of the European global system were observed in such subsystems as law and economy. In these subsystems, many covert translations were readily observed. Russia borrowed patterns of thought and models from European countries and incorporated them into its legal and economic domains.

In the subsystem of the arts, Russia dropped its Byzantine Orthodox aesthetic norms and opened itself to learning and adopting very different Western European aesthetic values.

Translation contributed to Russia's entering the European great powers' Pentarchy by playing a paramount role in enlarging its intrasystemic meaning horizon and renegotiating its intrasystemic communication boundary. Translation made it possible for Russia to let the environment know about itself on the level of intersystemic communication. As mentioned earlier, all these measures led to reaching the ultimate goal that Russia had set for itself—to become part of Europe (the European global system). Thus, the intra- and intersystemic tasks in which translation played such a crucial part, made Russia part of the European global system.

In the global-systemic communication, translation ceased to be a phenomenon of the outer boundary; instead, it moved inside the newly-formed system. Now, it mediated communication between members of the same (sub)system.

CONCLUSION

My analysis of eighteenth-century Russia's westernization based on Luhmann's social systems theory, concepts of Bourdieu, Gumilev, Habermas, as well as premises of social historiography has demonstrated that, during the period under study, translation played an important role. In Luhmannian terminology, translation was a *sine qua non* conditioning of the system's communication. That is to say, without translation the process of westernization understood as Russia's catching up with Western European modernization would have proved inevitably much more time- and effort-consuming on the part of Russia. Transferring Western European knowledge considered as a gateway to a more efficient organization of the society in economic, military, political, aesthetic, ethical aspects.

Translation became a locus of systemic revisions (Habermas). Translation played the role of the system's initial reconnaissance and supplied information about the environment which the system then processed and this caused the system to reconsider and radically revise its inner communication. The function of translation was to supply the system with information about the environment. This information led to the system's self-critical assessment of its communication and, consequently, to the desire to be westernized.

The process of westernization was itself accomplished by means of translation. I singled out three effects of this westernization—intra-, inter- and global-systemic.

Translation, as the system's boundary phenomenon, actively participated in meaning constituting and processing. Translation brought new options into the existing

range of possibilities of experience and action. This led to re-negotiating the system's actualizations in the meaning domain. Another important aspect of intrasystemic changes in the system's communication caused by the system's opening to its environment through translation was its boundary re-constitution. In eighteenth-century Russia, translation introduced considerable cultural-semiotic changes and actively participated in negotiating state-imposed moral norms.

Translation's place in the overall structure as a social subsystem in the eighteenth century shows how from a rather marginal social subsystem, translation suddenly became well represented in other governmental and social structures. Translation gained prominence as a means of carrying out the collective action of the system.

As far as its intersystemic role is concerned, translation was a mechanism of throughput between system and environment. In the eighteenth century, the system (Russia) became quite 'sophisticated', thanks to its realization of its environment's complexity and, respectively, by increasing its own complexity. Its reaction to unfavourable opinions, circulated in the environment, also became sharper. Creating texts-antidotes or texts of an informative nature was realized to be a more adequate way to counteract the environment's antagonism. Translation of these texts was an inevitable means for making them available for the environment.

Finally, I considered the global-systemic function of translation. In the eighteenth century, Russia became part of the evolving global European communication. Russia entered the global system by entering respective subsystems—science, education, arts, as well as political, legal, economic subsystems. Translation played an indispensable part in Russia's introducing into the European global system. Importantly, in the global-

systemic communication, translation ceased to be a phenomenon of the outer boundary. Rather, translation moved inside the newly-formed system. Now, it mediated communication between members of the same (sub)system.

In further studies of social function of translation in old and modern Russia, it would be interesting to consider at least three more comparable periods. The first concerns what could be termed the period of the Kievan Rus' when the Byzantine version of Orthodox Christianity was adopted by Eastern Slavs. Translation played a key role in this process (Bulanin 1995; Mathauserova 1976; Vereshchagin 1997). Translated Christian texts defined social discourse for centuries up to the eighteenth century reforms with a new direction of the system's orientation—towards Western Europe as I described in the present study. Another interesting period is the revolution of 1917. Translations of classics of Marxism and (re)translations of scientific and literary texts as well as major ideological shifts should be traced to such texts that informed the writings of the most influential social figures of the period, notably Vladimir Lenin (Althusser 1969). Finally, the relatively recent perestroika (1985), again, brought translation to the fore of social processes. Foreign authors and publications previously prohibited by the Communist government were translated or retranslated in their entirety and brought into the system's newly formed meaning horizon and communication boundaries were renegotiated.⁷⁹ This has contributed to those radical social-systemic changes which we are observing in Russia today.

⁷⁹ My own participation in a UNESCO-IATIS project on World Translation Flows under the supervision of Prof. Annie Brisset proves this. I analyzed translation flows in the former Soviet Union and countries-participants of the Warsaw Treaty and dynamics of these flows after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union. The analysis showed most radical changes in directions of the flows, in thematic choices of translated publications, in volumes of translational activities, etc. The social-systemic analysis of these flows as influenced by one of the empire-like ideological social mega-formations of our days as was the Soviet Union with its ideological satellites would be no doubt of great interest for a number of reasons.

Analysis of all these other periods would provide a basis for comparison with the object of this study. Even before any in-depth analysis, it is clear that in these other periods of Russian history introducing environmental elements into the system's communication by means of translation also affects three aspects of the system's functioning—the intra-, inter- and global-systemic. Having changed by introducing new elements into its communication, the system is eager to inform its environment about its new 'self' in order to become part of some sort of new 'globality'—be it a 'brotherhood' of Christian nations or economic, social, political and cultural global systems (like the European Pentarchy, UN, G-8, EU, WTO).

Interestingly, after the Socialist revolution of 1917, the Soviet Union used translation in order to build a new global system—the socialist 'camp' in contrast with the capitalist one. Here, the global-systemic function of translation was especially important. First, translations into Russian of classics of Marxism changed the ideological discourse within Soviet Russia. Second, this ideology penetrated through translation into languages of the former Soviet republics and minor Soviet nations. At this time the ideology was exported (again through translation) into countries of all the Warsaw Treaty as well as other countries of the entire globe. This was the formation of a global socialist system. Note, however, that translation probably played here a somewhat different role as compared to what I described in the present study.

Luhmann's theory of social systems, therefore, turns out to be very instrumental in explaining translation's role in these social processes from a vantage point elevated enough to observe them. The social systems theory allows us to take a bird's eye view of social processes in which translation plays a vital role. Luhmann's theory also helps us

theorize translation in a broader sense. Translation as a systemic phenomenon can be viewed not only as a verbal transfer, but virtually any kind of transfer (technologies, know-how, ethic and aesthetic concepts, etc.). Translation as a systemic phenomenon includes both overt and covert translational processes.

This view of translation as the social system's boundary phenomenon can be applied not only to large nation-states (like Russia) with one official language. The Luhmannian term 'system' is broad enough to embrace any social body which claims to be a distinct unit—be it a super-ethnos, an empire, a national community, a trade union or a family. The system is a distinct unit of any 'size' as long as this unit is characterized by a communication. Such system stands out against other social systems. Geography is far from being a central characteristic of boundaries of social systems. Therefore, Luhmann's theory is especially of interest for cases when translations take place in one and the same geopolitical (multilingual and multicultural) space, when translators with their *habitués*, absorbing interacting systems' communications with their respective values, become the very locus of intersystemic exchange. With such a vision, it becomes feasible to "account for the possible plurality of [translator's] dispositions and identities" (Meylaerts 2006).

At the same time, it is crucial to keep in mind the difference between general paradigms and concrete case studies. General paradigms (Luhmann's and Bourdieu's included) are not infrequently criticized for losing sight of individuals when they analyze social structures or for making people (actors, agents) dopes, playthings of overly deterministic societies. These reproaches of theoretical reductionism are hardly legitimate. The problem seems to lie in understanding the difference between paradigm

building and case studies—to use Edward O. Wilson’s terms, ‘systems building’ and ‘bookkeeping’. When Wilson was criticized for his large-scale sociobiological theory he explained:

The problem was that people didn’t understand. It wasn’t so much that they didn’t understand the gene-culture theory—though was part of the problem—as that they didn’t understand science. Science is a continual oscillation between expansion and compression. The cycle begins when a scientist—a “systems builder,” more specifically—comes along and claims he can compress a large body of information into a small theoretical package. [...] It may not immediately be clear how a theory is going to accommodate all the information in its domain; being new, it is still rudimentary. But as it is tested and refined, it will begin to ‘unfold into a full display of rich detail’. In the meantime, though, you can’t expect the theory’s creator to sit around contemplating its shortcomings. That is left to the ‘bookkeepers’, the scientists who “fill in the blanks.” It is their job to collect lots of data and see whether they really do fall into the pattern predicted by the theory. (Wilson as quoted in Wright 1991: 160)

Scientific theories like Wilson’s sociobiology or Luhmann’s and Bourdieu’s sociological theories inevitably generalize, however that does not mean that this generalization is to be understood as made at the expense of individual elements (for example, human or non-human beings). When Bourdieu outlines contours of social fields with *doxas* and *heterodoxas*, *habitus*es, and symbolic capital, he “compresses a large body of information into a small theoretical package.” At the ensuing “bookkeeping” stage, other scholars “fill in the blanks” and consider individual cases, for example, individual social figures (like in Gouanvic 2005 or Meylaerts 2006). In a sense, one may say that Bourdieu’s model of *habitus* is a maximal generalization, a black-and-white presentation of the phenomenon, which, further, should be applied to concrete cases. Then, the initial black-and-white figures of field agents are presented in their individual

‘colours’ or shown as resulting from combinations of factors (interpenetrating systems, overlapping *habitus*es, etc.). It hardly does justice to Bourdieu’s theoretical paradigm to take his ‘black-and-white’ sociological presentations (which were meant to be ‘black and white’) as depicting people as dopes because he did not intend to present them in all their ‘colours’.

The same holds for Luhmann. The common misunderstanding of his theory as divorcing people from societies is flagrantly incorrect. First, one has to fully grasp the importance of Luhmann’s methodology of distinguishing between a sociological approach to studying social phenomena, on the one hand, and studying the psychological aspects of human beings, on the other. The latter considers the ‘black box’ and such a consideration constitutes psychology. Luhmann insists on keeping this approach apart from the purely sociological approach. This does not exclude combined approaches like social psychology, but this would be a deliberate and conscious combining effort whereas Luhmann is against confusing the two, confusing caused by lack of understanding of the difference between the two. In my research, I demonstrated that the experiences of individual translators or other people involved in social processes of a translatorial nature may well be used in the application of Luhmann’s theory—provided the proper methodological stance is strictly observed. If we consider these individual’s experiences as carriers of social communication and do not ‘drown’ in details of their portraits, we can glean important points about the social functioning of translation as revealed in these individuals’ experiences. At that, we may deal only with whatever they did or said (wrote) and what, thereby, became part of social communication. Such actions or statements are stages or moves in the social situations governed by double

contingency. All psychological underpinnings of their actions and statements are a legitimate subject of study within the psychology. They are beside the point for sociology because as Luhmann's famous dictum states: only communication can communicate, not brains, minds, emotions, intentions, etc. Hence, I stressed the importance of keeping apart psychology and sociology of translation in translation historiography as well as in other subdisciplines of TS.

To emphasize, social systems theory proves well applicable to all kinds of social systems: to multilingual, multicultural, and multiethnic social bodies. The most obvious examples of such social structures are nation-states. However, taking into consideration that they are a recent development in human history, and bearing in mind their artificial nature (Anderson 1991), one should not take systems for nation-states. Any social group or social phenomenon can be studied from the standpoint of the social systems theory.⁸⁰ Boundaries between such social systems are not solely geopolitical frontiers. As I showed, even people, concrete carriers of this or that social system's communication, can become and often do become sites of the respective systems' interaction. Translational activities are an important locus of (intra)systemic revisions caused by intersystemic interaction.

There can be no doubt as to the potential of Luhmann's social systems method. More case studies would help to "fill in the blanks." Unfortunately, the scholarly community in TS (and elsewhere) is still not fully open to the idea of applying his theory

⁸⁰ In his study *Love as Passion: The Codification of Intimacy* (1986), Luhmann writes that social phenomena may be described as generalized symbolic media differentiated according to specific problems of communication. Improbabilities of social communication are overcome by generalized symbolic media. For example, the communicative medium of love makes understanding possible. "Once a special semantics has become sufficiently differentiated, the processes ordered by this medium can also become self-referential. [...] Assuming that this special phenomenon becomes sufficiently isolated, then one can postulate that love is only to be motivated by love, i.e. love refers to love, seeks love, and grows to the extent that it finds love and can fulfil itself as love" (pp. 20-30).

to various social phenomena and thereby fine-tuning it. One of the reasons remains the difficulty of his texts for reading and the lack of translations. Therefore, his texts are read not in their contextual entirety and some statements are often misunderstood or misinterpreted. As for instance, when he claims that “only communication can communicate” instead of understanding this as a call for differentiation between psychology and sociology and changing the angle of consideration of a multitude of social phenomena in their social functioning, scholars (sociologists included) still are shocked that this allegedly excludes people from sociological consideration all together. However, as I attempted to show in my research, a constructive (rather than hysterical) attitude may bear more fruit.

Another final consideration is that Luhmann’s theory should not be viewed as an all-embracing theory. Like any other theory, it has its own objectives and its misapplication does not produce anything but confusion or frustration. His method proved to be helpful to me in seeing translation’s role in social processes in eighteenth-century Russia. Yet, to see why the system started using translation more actively in this period of its history than before, I had to turn to Gumilev’s theory of the evolution of ethnos. In order to consider the distribution of roles in the field of translation (viewed among other fields of social life of Russia of the day), I used Bourdieu’s concepts, because Luhmann’s reference to different roles in social structures does not go much deeper than discussing which are sometimes not detailed enough. In other words, Luhmann’s theory is good for studying certain aspects of social-systemic structures but needs to be complemented by other theories when certain other social aspects are

concerned. Such a balanced and unprejudiced approach to his theory may greatly stimulate further research and not only within sociocritical DTS. (See Appendix 3.)

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**Political and Social Chronology from the Reign of Ivan the Terrible
through the Enthronement of the Romanov Dynasty
to the First Half of the Nineteenth Century⁸¹**

The Chronology primarily reflects (1) the most important events in Russia's interaction with European countries (these entries are marked in red); (2) reforms and innovations within Russia (marked in purple) and (3) stages of secularization of the society (marked in blue). Different colours will help observe the developments over time in the respective spheres of Russian society. I have marked in green events related to the establishment and operation of educational institutions, to the increase of scientific knowledge, and to the practice of various arts.

Pre-Petrine Russia

1533-1538	Reign of Ivan IV (the Terrible)
1553	Opening of the northern sea route to Russia by British seaman Richard Chancellor ⁸²
1555	Formation of the Muscovy Company in London
1577	Establishment of commercial ties with Holland
1587-1598	Boris Godunov acts as regent (named regent in 1594)
1588	Giles Fletcher is the English ambassador to Russia. Later, Fletcher publishes a treatise, <i>Of the Russe Common Wealth</i> (1591)
1597	Death of Fedor I and end of the Riurik dynasty
1598-1605	Boris Godunov is tsar
1605-1613	Time of Troubles (a period of unrest with no legitimate tsars recognized nationwide)
1613	Mikhail Romanov, the first of the Romanovs, is elected as tsar of Russia

⁸¹ The Chronology is loosely based on Chapter 3 in Paxton 2001: 14-27.

⁸² I have included some of the diplomatic interactions of Russia with Western European countries because this was the process of its emergence onto the European scene, coming out of relative isolation until the year 1672 when Russia finally established embassies in all major European countries. Because of the ever-increasing role Russia played in the politics of Europe, it becomes impossible to touch upon all interactions. I will only mention some of the most important ones.

- 1618 Filaret Romanov, father of the tsar, elected patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, tries to reduce the role of the *Zemskii Sobor* (Landed Assembly)
- 1623 A French delegation comes to Moscow seeking an alliance against Poland and the Hapsburg Empire
- 1626 Military reforms are instituted; 5,000 foot soldiers, as well as cannon makers and instructors, are recruited from abroad and arms are purchased from Holland and Germany
- 1628 Punishments are made more humane; a limitation is placed on the infliction of corporal punishment
- 1633 Philaret dies. Mikhail Romanov restores power to the Zemskii Sobor
- 1645 Mikhail Romanov dies, and his eldest son Aleksei I succeeds him
- 1649 The Zemskii Sobor publishes a new legal code (*Ulozhenie*). Its nearly 1,000 sections reflect the essential content of Ivan IV's legal system; however, new elements were borrowed from the Lithuanian and Byzantine codes. Under its terms, privileges of foreigners are abolished; the Church is subjected more firmly to state control
- 1653 Aleksei ceases to convoke the Zemskii Sobor on a regular basis
- 1656 Russia enters into its first negotiations with China
- 1672 Birth of Peter I (the Great)
Russia establishes embassies in all major European states
- 1676 Tsar Aleksei I dies. Fedor III accedes to the throne
- 1679-1682 The penal code is revised, maiming is prohibited

Petrine Russia: Peter I (the Great) 1682-1725

- 1682 Fedor III dies. Ivan V and Peter I are co-tsars. Regency of Sofiia with Prince Vasili Golitsyn, one of the forerunners of the future westernization, as Foreign Minister
- 1687 Slavo-Greek-Latin Academy in Moscow begins to function
- 1688 Peter's first contact with the inhabitants of the Nemetskaia Sloboda (Foreign District of Moscow). Peter begins to manifest his interest in shipbuilding

- 1690 Peter creates his first personal regiments of guards with whom he conducts his military exercises
- 1696 Death of Ivan V; Peter becomes sole tsar
A naval squadron is built after the capture of Azov and access is gained to the Azov Sea
- 1697- An unprecedented event: the tsar travels abroad
1698 as a member of the so-called "Great Embassy" (*Velikoe posol'stvo*) to Western Europe (the Netherlands, England, Austria) IN ORDER TO LEARN. Peter lives near a shipbuilding yard at Zaandam where he works as an ordinary labourer. In London (1698) he meets William III and visits the Observatory and the Mint. It is certain that Peter met with one of the world's greatest scientists of the time, Edmond Halley, and very likely also met with Isaac Newton, who was in charge of the Mint.
- 1698 A permanent army is established
Peter orders the shaving of beards and the wearing of Western clothes⁸³
- 1699 A new printing press is set up in Amsterdam to publish secular books without the church's approval, which was mandatory at the Moscow Printing House
- 1700 Patriarch Adrian dies but no successor is appointed and he is replaced by the acting head of the church
The Julian calendar is adopted
- 1701 Foundation of navigation school in Moscow
Monasteries are required to turn over their revenues to the state
- 1703 Founding of St Petersburg, a 'Western' capital ("this great window recently opened in the north through which Russia looks on Europe," 1739 by Francesco Algarotti/cf. Pushkin's employment of the metaphor in his poem *The Bronze Horseman*)



Peter I.
By Paul Delaroche.
1838

⁸³ Here and elsewhere we see how the reforms are directly influenced by Peter's impression of Western Europe. It is difficult to decide which colour I should choose for marking this type of statements: the purple for intrasystemic events or the red for the system's being influenced by its contact with the environment.

- Vedomosti*, Russia's first newspaper, is published in Moscow
- 1704 Reform of the alphabet
- 1705 The first systematic conscription for the armed forces in Europe is established
Beard tax is introduced (a tax for not shaving beards as in Western European countries, thus adhering to the ancient Russian tradition)
- 1709 Decisive Russian victory over Sweden at Poltava (NB: the Swedish army is viewed by Peter as his teachers—cf. Pushkin's lines from his poem *Poltava* where Peter, while celebrating his victory, drinks to his teachers; the Swedish king Charles XII is called "our first and foremost formidable teacher")
- 1710 An edict is issued making official a simplified Cyrillic alphabet. The Old Slavonic alphabet is retained only by the Church
- 1711 The boyars' (old nobility's) Council is replaced by the Senate to supervise the administration
- 1712 St Petersburg replaces Moscow as the capital of Russia
- 1715 Royal Naval Academy is established in St Petersburg
- 1716-1717 Peter's second journey to Western Europe (to the Netherlands and France)
- 1721 The Patriarchate is abolished, replaced with Holy Synod
Peter the Great proclaimed emperor
by the Senate, the full title being
"Emperor of all the Russias"
- 1722 The Table of Ranks is promulgated
- 1724 Establishment of the Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg, later known as the imperial Academy of Science
- 1725 Death of Peter the Great; accession of Catherine, his second wife whom he married in 1707



Post-Petrine Russia

- 1725-1762 Catherine I, Peter II, Ivan VI, Elizaveta, Peter III
- 1725 First scientific expedition of Vitus Bering

- 1733-1743 Bering's second expedition. He dies in Alaska
- c. 1740 Imperial Ballet School is established at the Winter Palace in St Petersburg
- 1741-1762 Rule of Empress Elizaveta, daughter of Peter the Great and Catherine I
- 1745 Marriage of Peter, Duke of Holstein, nephew of Empress Elizaveta and heir to the Russian throne, to Princess Sophia Augusta (later Catherine) of Anhalt-Zerbst
- 1747-1762 Rastrelli, an Italian architect, oversees the building of the Winter Palace, Smol'ny Convent and Peterhof Palace⁸⁴
- 1749 The first Russian oil field is discovered
- 1753 Internal tariffs and tolls throughout the Russian Empire are abolished; the State Nobility Bank is established
- 1754 The University of Moscow is founded
The Commercial Bank is established in St Petersburg
- 1756 The first permanent theatre opens in Russia
The Academy of Fine Arts opens in St Petersburg
- 1762-1764 Church and monastic properties are sequestered



Russia of Catherine II (the Great) (1762-1796)

- 1762 Catherine II (the Great), wife of Peter III, gains the throne by coup d'état (July 9). Peter III abdicates (July 10) and is murdered under mysterious circumstances (July 17)
- 1764 Church lands are managed by the Economic College
A Regulation on the education of children is issued and a school for young noble girls (the future Smol'ny Institute) is established
Diderot, the French encyclopedist, sells his library to Catherine the Great. She allows him to use it and also gives him a yearly pension.

⁸⁴ NB: the switch from predominantly economic and social reforms to the introduction of Western European arts to eighteenth-century Russia.

- 1765 The Free Economic Society is founded in St Petersburg
- 1766 **Annexation of the Aleutian Islands**
- 1767 Automatic promotion rules for civil servants are extended
- A Legislative Commission is established to draft a new code of laws. It consists of 564 deputies: 30% nobles, 39% city dwellers, 14% state peasants, 12% national minorities, 5% state administration; serfs are not represented. Only ONE deputy is an ecclesiastic
- 1769 Russia's first satirical journals are published
- 1773 The Institute of Mines is created
- 1775 Provincial reform, increasing the number of provinces and making local government responsible to the Senate. Manufacturing activity is open to all
- 1782 The equestrian statue of Peter the Great by Falconet is unveiled. The Latin inscription reads "PETRO PRIMO CATHARINA SECONDA" (To Peter I from Catherine II) symbolizing Catherine's continuation of Peter's initiatives
- 1782-1785 Hermitage is built by Quarenghi
- 1783 The Nobility is allowed to operate private printing presses
- 1785 Legal reforms: Charter of Nobility expands aristocratic privileges; Charter of Towns divides the urban population into groups represented by elected deputies in the town assembly
- 1790 Publication of Radishchev's *Journey from St Petersburg to Moscow*, violent critique of autocracy and serfdom. The author was arrested, condemned to death but sent into exile in Siberia
- 1796 Death of Catherine the Great



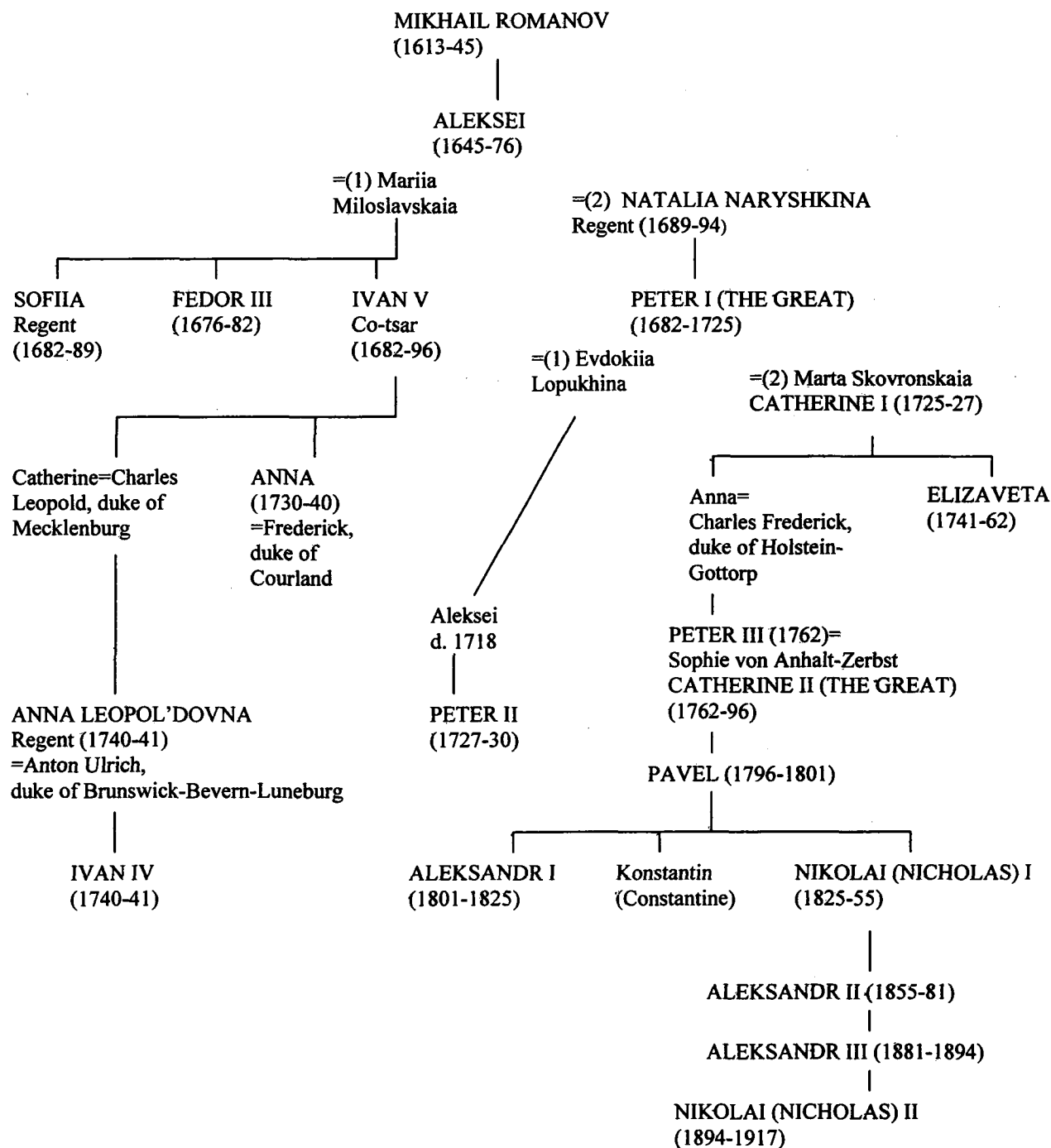
Russia after Catherine II

- 1796-1801 Pavel's, Catherine's son, reign



1797	All unauthorised printing presses are closed A Decree is issued on religious freedom
1798	Importation of French books is prohibited
1799	Aleksandr Pushkin, an emblematic figure of Russian literature and culture, is born
1800	The Ministry of Commerce is established Importation of all foreign books is prohibited Pavel forms an alliance with Napoleon against England
1801	Pavel is strangled
1801-1825	Reign of Aleksandr I, Catherine's grand-son Foreign books are once again freely imported The Senate becomes the supreme institution of administration and justice. Eight ministries are established: War, Navy, Foreign Affairs, Justice, Interior, Finance, Education and Commerce Education is reorganised and Russia is divided into six educational districts. Foundation of Khar'kov, Kazan', Dorpat (Tartu), and Vil'na (Vilnius) universities Aleksandr supports the Bible Society, which provides bibles for the poor. Within the Society, Orthodox officials are forced to work side by side with Protestant pastors
1825-1855	Nikolai (Nicholas) I's reign. Nikolai is known as one of the most reactionary of the Russian monarchs
1837	Death of Aleksandr Pushkin

Genealogy of the Romanov Dynasty



Complementarity of Sociological Theories of Luhmann, Bourdieu and Gumilev

