Defying and Defining the Darkness:
Translating French Memories of the Holocaust

by

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Abstract

This project contributes to a growing body of scholarly work that reads the Holocaust in translation. It illustrates how Francophone writers bridge the gap between their experience of the Holocaust and its representation using "substitute vocabularies". "Substitute vocabularies" is a term employed in this thesis to describe some of the narrative techniques - multilingualism, poetry and song, the visual and literary idioms - used by Holocaust writers to communicate life-changing experiences of loss, absence and grief, and other related phenomena. The project brings together the analysis of Holocaust manuscripts, published narratives, graphic novels and films, as cultural products that translate Holocaust experiences for their authors. It explores how the various agents involved in the transmission of the Holocaust (translators, victims' family members, editors and illustrators) interact with such "substitute vocabularies", and the knowledge that these vocabularies communicate, across different modalities and in different languages (French, English and German). This thesis explores how translation is transformative for Holocaust representation in three case study chapters, allowing "the source text to live beyond itself, to exceed its own limitations" (Brodzki 2007, p.2). This thesis, therefore, stages translation as a critical tool that can enable new forms of knowledge about the Holocaust to come to light in a future soon to be without living witnesses.

Keywords: Translation, Holocaust, Testimony, Memory, Literature.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

This project contributes to a growing body of scholarly work that reads the Holocaust in translation. It takes as its starting point Mona Baker's statements that "…knowledge is 'produced' rather than 'discovered', and that "translation is a core mechanism for the production and circulation of all forms of knowledge" (Baker 2018, p.8). This role of translation in the production of knowledge is particularly pertinent for the Holocaust because, as Raul Hilberg (1992) asserts, survivors seem to have "a special kind of knowledge" about the Holocaust and "have referred to it in expressions like 'planet Auschwitz'" (Hilberg 1992, p.187). This doctoral project explores these connections between the knowledge of the Holocaust, Translation Studies and representation in case studies of three French-language narratives. This thesis will address the following three interrelated research questions: firstly, how do the writers of these three narratives bridge the gap between experience, knowledge and representation of the Holocaust? Secondly, which "substitute vocabularies", are used to represent their experiences? Lastly, what role does translation play in the construction and transmission of these narratives from texts written originally in French through their translation into English and German?

This introductory chapter is divided into four parts. It begins by working through key debates that have, historically, arisen in response to representing and even naming the Holocaust. These concerns have been taken up by literary and translation scholars who have discussed the appropriateness of literature and forms of translation to articulate traumatic experiences. This first part positions this thesis in relation to such scholarship. The second part of this chapter illustrates how existing Holocaust and translation scholarship has prompted the development of the concept of "substitute vocabularies", a term employed in this thesis to denote the narrative techniques used by Holocaust writers to represent their experiences. These substitute vocabularies are not unique devices when compared to literary narratives more broadly but, this thesis will argue, the presence of these techniques across the three case-study texts reveals how reflecting on different translation strategies can extend our understanding and knowledge of Holocaust narratives, and their place in contemporary culture. Walter Benjamin's notion of *Fortleben* will also be explored here as one important

means of understanding translation not only as the afterlife of an original text but as a strengthened form of its continued existence. The four forms of substitute vocabularies to be studied in the case study texts are: multilingualism, the language of the visual, lyrical poetry and song, and recurrent literary idioms. This section will also examine how attention to silence in Holocaust narratives has the potential to free up "concealed" knowledge of the Holocaust that becomes evident in translation. In exploring such substitute vocabularies, this thesis examines how translation impacts upon Holocaust representation across the post-war period in texts ranging from the 1950s to the 2000s. The third part of this introductory chapter will outline the historical and textual parameters that underpin the thesis's construction. This part will also include critical reflections on the researcher's subjectivity and the findings of a database that supported the choice of French-language texts for study. Finally, the fourth part of this introduction will offer an overview of the chapters that follow.

Bridging the Gap between Experience, Knowledge and Representation of the Holocaust

The fundamental debates over the representation of the Holocaust are often exemplified by Theodor Adorno's famous remark in 1951 on the barbarity of writing poetry "after Auschwitz" (Adorno 2003, p.30). In so doing, Adorno signalled the impossibility of art, and of language *per se,* to work against the cataclysmic events of the Second World War. He highlighted the dangers inherent in aestheticizing suffering. Since then, the incapacity of art forms to document events that defy articulation has been routinely endorsed by historians and victims. As Sarah Kofman writes: "About Auschwitz and after Auschwitz no story is possible, if by a story one means to tell a story of events which makes sense" (Kofman 1987, p.43). Equally, in the words of George Steiner: "The world of Auschwitz lies outside speech as it lies outside reason" (Steiner 1967, p.146) and for Primo Levi: "Then for the first time we became aware that our language lacks the words to express this offence, the demolition of a man" (Levi 1986/2017, p.126). The specificity of the conditions that victims were subjected to in Nazi concentration camps was understood to have brought about a transformation in the meanings of everyday words like "la faim" [hunger], "la soif" [thirst], "la peur" [fear], and "le froid" [cold] (Wiesel 2008, p.ix), thus annulling the "intersubjectivity of language" (Apel 1980, p.10) and rendering this task of testifying a seemingly impossible one: "[…] il nous paraissait impossible de combler la distance entre le langage dont nous disposions et cette expérience

que, pour la plupart, nous étions encore en train de poursuivre dans notre corps"[1] (Antelme 1997, p.10).

Yet, as Berel Lang (2000) observes, such strictures on the impossibility of expression have also generated various means of representing the Holocaust, including the representation of silence itself. Lang terms this "negative rhetoric", describing this Holocaust representation as follows: "We hear it referred to as unspeakable, and we usually hear afterward a fairly detailed description of what is unspeakable, that description intended, of course, to prove that the designation was warranted" (Lang 2000, p.18). Thus, it cannot be argued that language's inadequacy to convey such experiences is equal to nothing being said (Waxman 2006, p.175). Primo Levi, in fact, also argued that: "To refuse to communicate is a failing; we are biologically and socially predisposed to communication" (Levi 1986/2017, p.83). Yet whilst some victims have communicated, others remained silent. Testimony is always a matter of choice. As Robert Antelme contends: "Il était clair désormais que c'était seulement par le *choix*, c'est à dire par l'imagination que nous pouvions essayer d'en dire quelque chose"[2] (Antelme 1997, p.10). Similarly, Kaplan and Wang assert that: "[…] a *choice* must be made between the inadequate telling and the relegating of trauma to a mystified silence" (Emphasis added) (Kaplan and Wang 2004, p.12). It is, therefore, important to read secondary literature about the Holocaust and acknowledge its representation of silences. For Lang (2000), silence is a phenomenon which cannot be excluded in studies on the Holocaust. Silence "[…] arguably remains a criterion for all discourse (Holocaust or not), a constant if phantom presence that stipulates that whatever is written ought to be justifiable as more probative, more incisive, more revealing, than its absence or, more cruelly, its erasure" (Lang 2000, p.19). The question here is not whether the Holocaust can be communicated but rather how

[11] [And from the very beginning, it seemed impossible that we would be able to bridge the emerging gap between the language that was available to us and this experience that, for the most part, we were still living-out.] *Note on Translations*: This study compares testimonies written originally in French with their translations into English and German. Throughout this thesis, testimonies used as primary sources have been quoted in their original language and are translated in a footnote. In exceptional cases where a more immediate comparison illustrates the discussion, translations are cited in-text. Translations pertaining to the primary sources used in this thesis are my own, unless otherwise indicated. Translations are intentionally literal, perhaps at times awkward, but are intended to highlight certain aspects of the "original" rather than read fluidly.

[2] [It was clear that from now it was only by choice that is by imagination that we would be able to say something about it.]

the Holocaust becomes remembered and communicated through language and this is evident in its very naming.

The inadequacy of language to name the Holocaust as experience is evident in the multiple terms and expressions that have emerged to label "the planned total annihilation of the Jewish people, and the actual murder of six million of them at the hands of the Nazis and their auxiliaries" (Bauer 1989, p.16). The Holocaust saw the death of six million Jews, seven million Soviet civilians, three million Soviet prisoners of war, around 1.8 million non-Jewish Polish civilians, (including between 50,000 and 100,000 members of the Polish elites), 312,000 Serb Civilians, an estimated 250,000 people with disabilities, between 196,000 - 220,000 Roma Gypsies, around 2,000 Jehovah's Witnesses, and at least 70,000 so-called "asocials", an undetermined number of German political opponents and resistance activities, as well as hundreds, possibly thousands of homosexuals (USHMM 2015). These figures do not include the thousands of others who were subject to violent persecution outside of the camps under the Nazi regime. The many terms employed by scholars working in the field of Holocaust Studies and its associated fields make clear that there is no singular internationally agreed term to describe this event at the limits of representation.

Like all semantic developments, the term Holocaust did not emerge in a vacuum. Since its introduction into public consciousness in the Anglophone world in the 1960s, it has been used widely, often with little consideration. Yet, the term existed prior to the Second World War under a different guise. Revisiting the origins of the term Holocaust, as traced through the *Oxford English Dictionary,* corroborates apprehensions around its suitability to describe the annihilation of the Jewish people (Oxford English Dictionary 2015). The term's etymology carries religious connotations: the Greek *holokaustos* is composed of a compound whose adjectival substantives mean "whole" (holo) and "burnt" (kaustos) (Garber and Zuckerman, 1989 p.98). The term has been contested by Bettelheim who describes expressions like Holocaust and genocide as charged with negative religious connotations (Bettelheim 1979, p.120). According to Garber and Zuckerman (1989), survivor Elie Wiesel has been "the one man who has done the most to establish 'The Holocaust' in the modern consciousness" (Garber and Zuckerman 1989, p.202). But, Wiesel has admitted: "Holocaust is the wrong word too

[…] It is the wrong word. That's why usually I don't mention it anymore, if I want to say something about that period, I say Auschwitz or something..." (Wiesel 2004). However, despite their criticisms of the term, both Wiesel and Bettelheim employ the term in their own writing.

Researchers, as Reiter observes, also adopt Hebrew expressions such as *Shoah* or *churban*, "considering them more appropriate than the Greek term *holocaust* for the distinctively Jewish suffering" (Reiter 2005, p.7). Indeed, the term *Shoah* (modern Hebrew meaning "catastrophe" (Oxford English Dictionary 2015)) is most commonly used in French-language texts and in France. Research collections at the *Mémorial de la Shoah,* Paris, suggest that the term *Shoah* is now used to refer to the war experiences of both Jews and non-Jews. *Shoah* is, however, also a term that has widely criticised. For example, in 2009, Henri Meschonnic, French poet and translation theorist, wrote an article for *Le Monde* suggesting "qu'on laisse le mot "Shoah" aux poubelles de l'histoire"[3], arguing that Shoah has nothing to do with massacre and calling it a scandal that an atrocity carried out by man should ever be explained using a term which describes phenomena of nature (Meschonnic 2009).

As reflected in Francophone and Anglophone literature, furthermore, another term that can be discussed is the term genocide, defined by Lemkin as: "…any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethical or religious group, as such" (Lemkin 1944). It might be possible to speak more specifically of the Nazi genocide. However, this term might exclude all of those who did not perish, and yet suffered. There is also David Rousset's term, "concentrationnaire" (Rousset 1965). "Concentrationnaire" denotes a form of terror that was geared toward the annihilation of humanity, of which the camps are a single moment of atrocity that occurred in one place at one time (Silverman and Pollock 2011). While the "concentrationnaire" does extend a realised experiment beyond the camps, its semantic linkages with the term "concentrationary" make it impossible to disconnect it from the image of the camps. For the reader who is unaware of the sociological context in which it arises, this may be a term which readers might not identify at all.

[3] […that we consign the word "Shoah" to the dustbins of history]

Overall, it is unsurprising that an event that challenges representation has given rise to multiple words to describe it. Perhaps Adorno was correct when he cited Beckett, saying "Beckett has given us the only fitting reaction to the situation of the concentration camps – a situation he never calls by name, as if it were subject to an image ban. What is, he says, like a concentration camp" (Adorno, 1973, 380-1). In this thesis, Holocaust will be adopted as a term in order that this work may firmly ground itself among the existing studies on the Holocaust in the English-speaking world. It is to such scholarship that this next section will be dedicated.

Since the mid-1970s, literary scholars have been engaging with what it means to represent the Holocaust in writing. Lawrence Langer began forging the field with contributions such as *The Holocaust and the Literary Imagination* (1975), The *Age of Atrocity: Death in Modern Literature* (1978), *Versions of Survival: The Holocaust and the Human Spirit* (1982) and, most recently, *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (1991). In these works, Langer sets out the parameters for the literary treatment of the Holocaust and creates an early canon of what would become classic texts of Holocaust literature. In his early work, Langer contends that literary language is an ineffective tool by which to interpret "a meaningless death as meaningful" (Langer cited in Reiter 2005, p.4). As Andrea Reiter notes in her work critiquing Langer, it was not until 1984 and the publication of David Roskies's *Against the Apocalypse: Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture* (1984), that the supposed injunction or "ban" on metaphor imposed on Holocaust writing by scholars like Langer was finally lifted. Roskies states that "in the shadow of the gas chambers, metaphors lost their status as images and stood for nothing other than themselves" (Roskies 1984). Roskies, contrary to Langer, then acknowledges that even in the most extreme situations metaphor could become a singular symbol and, thereby, paved the way for legitimising literary investigation into Holocaust narratives. Taking forward these insights into literary narratives of the Holocaust, later critics, such as James E. Young in *Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequence of Interpretation* (1988), use literary analysis to engage with the specificity of the text and, significantly, with the factualness of memory. Young's work and that of the other Holocaust scholars, such as Andrea Reiter in *Narrating the Holocaust* (2005), consider how literature in its broadest sense becomes a way for victims to come to terms with life after the catastrophe

and to communicate their experiences. Alongside this growing acceptance of the literariness of Holocaust narratives in the early 2000s an awareness around issues of translation emerged.

The first Translation Studies scholar to engage significantly with the Holocaust was André Lefevere and his essay "On the Construction of Different Anne Franks" (1992) where he examined the ideology, politics and poetics involved in adapting Anne Frank's diary for a German audience. Lefevere's work on patronage illustrates the many hands at work in bringing this piece of Holocaust testimony to light. Yet it was not until 2010, following a conference on "Holocaust Writing in Translation", led by the Holocaust Writing and Translation research group at Aberystwyth University, that translation's critical role in the circulation of knowledge about the Holocaust began to be realised. The first edited volume devoted to Holocaust testimony and translation was published in 2014 in a special issue of *Translation and Literature* edited by Peter Davies, shortly followed by *Translating Holocaust Literature*, edited by Peter Arnds, 2015.[4] In 2018 Davies summarised the state of scholarship in Holocaust literature and translation, writing that:

> The scholarly endeavours of studies of translation still cause friction, discomfort, and occasionally outrage when applied to Holocaust testimonies, which have their own entirely legitimate ethical, political, literary and philosophical frameworks of interpretation and institutions to support them. The two fields of study seem to clash or contradict each other to such an extent that, when translation becomes an issue in studies of Holocaust testimony, it does so in the form of scandal, or unproductive, defensive complaints about the "betrayal" of a cherished "original. (Davies 2018, p.1)

This reflects current tensions that exist within studies of translated Holocaust testimonies, at large, with scholars like Davies (2014, 2018) promoting a norm-based, pragmatic approach

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[4] This includes my own contribution, "Berman and Beyond: The Trial of the Foreign and the Translation of Holocaust Literature on the English and German translations of Elie Wiesel's *La Nuit.*" In this edited chapter, I examined how the "imagined" is translated into allegorical and mythical images in Wiesel's *La Nuit* and how it is expressed and stylistically relived through literary idioms such as alliteration, assonance and repetition (Munyard 2015).

to translation and others like Deane-Cox (2013, 2014, 2017) and Boase-Beier (2015, 2017) adopting an ethically-motivated, stylistically-sensitive view of translation.

In her article, *The translator as secondary witness: Mediating memory in Antelme's L'espèce humaine* (2013) Deane-Cox introduces her ethical stance in relation to translated Holocaust testimony through the concept of the secondary witness, defined by Geoffrey Hartmann as someone who "provides a witness for the witness, [and] actively receives words that reflect the darkness of the event" (Hartmann cited in Deane-Cox 2017, p. 2). Later in 2017, in her article *Remembering, witnessing and translation: Female experiences of the Nazi camps*, engaged with in chapter two of this thesis, Deane-Cox upholds her view that translators have an ethical responsibility to be "unobtrusively present" (Laub 1992, p.71) in acts of translation, citing Colin Davis who acknowledges that "the best we can do may be to try to attend as honourably as possible to the traces of that which remains foreign to us" (Davis 2011, P.40). The translator, for Deane-Cox (2017), has a duty to make their role as a "secondary witness" explicit in paratextual spaces.

Boase-Beier who approaches the poetry of Celan from the position of both a researcher and a translator, in *Translating the Poetry of the Holocaust,* similarly argues that reading a Holocaust poem for translation entails a more penetrating, exacting encounter with the silences, ambiguities, and tensions of the original and that translators are tasked with retaining these in translation where they might be perceived and interpreted by the new reader (Boase Beier 2015). For Boase-Beier (2015) Holocaust experience is rendered as much through stylistic means as through a "realist" representation of lived experience and she warns of the corollaries of approaches to study that fail to engage effectively with an author's style. Boase-Beier (2015) writes:

> A perception of the poet as anonymous, and absent from their work, has several consequences. For one thing, it relegates [...] poetry to the level of outpourings of grief and expressions of suffering that could have been written by anyone. It also foregrounds the Holocaust as a topic at the expense of the question of how to represent it. And it reduces translation to a somewhat mechanical rendering of content rather

> than an attempt to recreate a particular voice and style and a particular response to the Holocaust. (Boase-Beier, 2015, p. 141)

Studies like Boase-Beier's and Deane-Cox's, and like previous research I have conducted, often result in arguments which emphasise the forces that deform survivor's testimony. This is often because, as Deane-Cox acknowledges, "the wider empirical evidence [has] a discouraging tendency to point in this direction" (Deane-Cox 2017,p.36) and, more importantly, reflects the very real "transgressive potential of translation as a form of secondary witnessing" (Deane Cox 2017, p.36). While it is critical to chart the changes that Holocaust narratives undergo through processes of translation it is, equally, important to acknowledge the broader contextual pressures that translated texts are under. Peter Davies has, effectively, begun to move the discussion of the translation of Holocaust texts away from issues of fidelity and equivalence, concepts that underpin studies that concentrate on the deforming nature of translation. He reminds us that genre and audience expectations are also fundamental to understanding how translation works "in a concrete context" and to understand "the extent of their contribution without resorting to simplistic theories of "loss" or "distortion" (Davies 2018, p.186). Davies' norm-based view of translation, the view that genre expectations affect the way a text is translated and his attention to target-reader expectations, however, have led him to be particularly critical of studies that "identify particular textual features as characteristic of testimony" (Davies 2018, p.12). Drawing on the work of Boase-Beier and Deane-Cox, this thesis acknowledges that authors rely on a set of traditional strategies and forms for both expression and for knowledge of the Holocaust to be made known.

Davies' most recent study *Witness between Languages: The Translation of Holocaust Testimonies in Context* has been influential in this thesis, recognising the positive and contributory role of translation in the transmission of Holocaust memory. For Davies, the Holocaust is always and already an event constructed and read through translation; "[…] we cannot think the Holocaust without also thinking about translation" (Davies 2018, p.2). Almost everything we know about the Holocaust has reached us through translation and without fluency in the languages in which many testimonies about the Holocaust have

emerged, the world of the Holocaust would remain alien to us (Davies 2018). Translation plays a critical role in the circulation of memory across geographical and cultural borders and in enabling Holocaust testimony to find continued existence as a form of afterlife. In this sense, Holocaust narratives take on particular significance as vehicles which allow the legacy of victims to persist, as Boase-Beier asserts: "Translation is one of the ways – indeed, the main way – in which the words of a Holocaust poet can be spoken for the poet after the poet has gone" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.143).

In this thesis I explore how Walter Benjamin's landmark essay "The Task of the Translator: An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire's Tableaux Parisiens" (1923/2004), and his view of translation as "überleben" [afterlife] and "Fortleben" [lit: living forward], offers an alternative perspective on how the Holocaust can be read in translation. Benjamin's essay suggests that, in translation, the original continues to exist but in an altered form, as an afterlife "…which could not be called that if it were not a transformation and renewal of something living" (Benjamin 1923/2004, p.77) and that "a translation issues from the original – not so much from its life as from its afterlife" (Benjamin 1923/2004, p.76). Yet, readings that concentrate on Benjamin's understanding of translation as afterlife often conclude that the original dies or is in some way deconstructed (Disler 2011). Caroline Disler (2011), however, acknowledges that, because of mis-translation, the concept of 'afterlife' has been interpreted as the defining message of Benjamin's essay. The direct translation for afterlife, *überleben,* according to Disler is only cited in Benjamin's essay once, and emerges within tentative citation marks (Disler 2011). It is, in fact, the term *Fortleben* that characterises Benjamin's truest understanding of translation (Disler 2011, p.186). *Fortleben*, Disler observes, is a German compound made up of *leben*, meaning to live, and *fort* which denotes a forward motion. Disler's (2011) analysis gives rise to a range of English expressions that help to conceptualise Benjamin's use of *Fortleben* more clearly: "so on and so forth", or "back and forth"; *Fortleben* is an expression that implies progress (*Fortschritt*), separation (*Fortgehen*), complementarity, supplementation, futurity and transformation (Disler 2011, p.189).

This current thesis brings together the work of prominent Holocaust scholars for a revised understanding of *Fortleben* in translation as not simply afterlife, but fortification; a strengthened form of existence. Described as a "literature of fragments, of partial and provisional forms, no one of which by itself can suffice to express the Holocaust, but the totality of which begins to accomplish and register a powerful effect," Rosenfeld observes that Holocaust writing is part of a composite literature, greater in the sum of its parts than as separate statements (Rosenfeld 1988, p.33-34). Each translation, conceived as *Fortleben*, gives new life to a text and provides it with new forms and new meanings. As Boase-Beier observes, translation allows for "the creation of an enhanced reading experience, and can potentially have upon its readers the full range of effects that the original poetry was able to have and more" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.50). Deane-Cox also evokes *Fortleben* when she concludes her essay *Remembering, Witnessing and Translation* by suggesting that translation is a mode of remembering forwards (Deane-Cox 2017, p.35). Translations, read in light of Benjamin's essay, do not replace the original, but stand alongside it; translations stand alongside one another. Drawing on this renewed understanding of translation as *Fortleben*, this thesis views the English and German translations of the three French texts under scrutiny in this thesis not as simple reproductions in different languages, but as productive representations where victims' memories are revived, corroborated, corrected and made to speak more clearly.

Through *Fortleben,* translation in this thesis is understood as a creative force which gives testimony new life in another language; testimony is understood as complex, collaborative and mediated. This thesis, thereby, aims to present a counterpart to Berman's (1923) negative analytic on the deforming tendencies of translation as applicable to Holocaust literature (Berman 2010), invoked by Davies when he wrote, "If we move beyond the melancholy reflections on loss, we are able to shed a much fuller light on the role that translation and translators have played" (Davies 2014, p.166-167). Discussion of translation has, thus far, according to Davies (2018) almost always been framed "in terms of an opposition between authenticity and falsification." (Davies 2018, p.5). In this thesis, though three case studies, I draw from current scholarship in translating Holocaust literature to illustrate how the two opposing schools of thought - of course, reflective of the world and practice of translating

Holocaust literature at large - can be brought together through the concept of *Fortleben*; this combination of perspectives forms the original contribution of this thesis. The thesis also extends the work of these scholars by engaging with Francophone authors little studied to date, extending the body of primary material to include further autobiographical and fictional visual representations and by engaging with translators of Holocaust literature in interviews, a task that has not yet been undertaken. I, thereby, aim to affirm translation's centrality in communicating different types of knowledge about the Holocaust, not least through an examination of the important role that substitute vocabularies, explored in the next section, play in extending our knowledge of the experience of the Holocaust and its afterlives.

Substitute Vocabularies: Translation and the Holocaust

In order to give voice to their lived experiences, Holocaust survivors have found new ways of expressing their trauma through language. This process has been described by scholars and victims as a near impossible task requiring a special language, a new genre, a new literature. Andrea Reiter, for example, asserts that: "It was to be expected that, when survivors did try to grasp in words what they themselves often said they could not speak about, they should have needed to find a special language for this task" (Reiter 2005, p.85). Indeed, the Holocaust survivor Imre Kertész explains that survivors "[…] had no language" and thus "borrow a national language" in which to write their story (Kertész 2002). The idea that language fails to represent the Holocaust resonates with Wiesel's statement in his Nobel Lecture: "We tried. It was not easy. At first, because of the language, language failed us. We would have to invent a new vocabulary, for our own words were inadequate, anaemic" (Wiesel 1986). Yet, as Shoshana Felman has later argued, witness testimony has "added a new idiom to the discourse on the Holocaust" and modified "our vocabularies of remembrance" (Felman 2002, pp.106-107). Holocaust survivors and writers have, therefore, been bound to transpose their worlds into writing using particular forms of expression or what this thesis is terming "substitute vocabularies".

The idea that writers must go in search of substitute vocabularies to represent the Holocaust finds parallels in critical discussions of Holocaust narratives in Translation Studies. Susan Suleiman sees Holocaust narratives as "in translation" from the start, with "no original"

(Suleiman 1996, p.401) and Bermann and Wood acknowledge that translation is not merely a matter of textual transfer but that "if one can translate within a language, as well as from language to language" then it is also possible to "translate from the 'lived historical event' to the legible trace of that event, and from that starkly present experience to the spectral permanence of history" (Bermann and Wood 2005, p.176). More recently, Angela Kershaw has written that "Holocaust discourse relies on translation for transmission" (Kershaw 2018, p.218) and that "we misread not only by failing to acknowledge that both war and Holocaust memory travel through translation, but also by failing to recognise the translational nature of 'original' works" (Kershaw 2018, p.218). Kershaw clearly alludes to this when she analyses the fictional work of French-language author and Holocaust survivor Anna Langfus who "…found fiction to be a more appropriate form than testimony for Holocaust writing because it allowed her to acknowledge that the suffering was not simply individual, was not hers alone, and because for her authenticity depended on what she termed 'transposition'" (Kershaw 2018, p.254).

Many terms were considered to describe the techniques used by Holocaust writers to translate events and emotions where their own words were inadequate (Wiesel 1986). Aside from those terms previously discussed, like "special languages" (Reiter 2005), "new idioms" (Felman 2002), "new vocabularies" (Wiesel 1986) or "transpositions" (Kershaw 2018), I also looked to literary criticism for a means of expressing these textual and literary devices or strategies. I was not persuaded by terms that implied that a victim's word choices are always pre-meditated or deliberate; the case studies examined in this thesis often reflect an immediate and urgent act of witnessing and self-discovery. They cannot always be considered carefully and consciously constructed pieces of writing. It was necessary to conceive of a term that could describe the strategies that victims use to narrate their experiences which would allow for Holocaust narratives to be read as in translation from their very conception. The term "substitute vocabularies" has been used to highlight these techniques as fundamental to the successful transmission of certain types of knowledge about the Holocaust. The word "substitute" indicates that strategies stand in for events and experiences that are difficult to describe when words evade victims, while "vocabularies" are drawn from a repertoire of expressive possibilities and need to be carefully sifted and decoded in the wider context of

Holocaust literature. The substitute vocabularies examined in this thesis are not extensive but are a part of the particular language or genre that an event as catastrophic as the Holocaust calls for.

Multilingualism as a Substitute Vocabulary

Multilingualism, or the use of multiple languages, has been central to the experiences of Holocaust survivors and to their literary representation. Lanzmann's *Shoah* (1985), for example, foregrounded the specificity of language and linguistic diversity as a key element in the Holocaust experience (see also Kaufmann 2016). Davies also acknowledges that: "…the multilingual nature of many of the victims meant that the Holocaust was experienced in and through an extraordinary variety of languages, dialects, and traditions of speech and writing, and the task of making the texts and statements produced by witnesses available to audiences in new linguistic contexts is unlikely to ever be completed" (Davies 2018, p.41). Attention to multilingualism challenges and expands traditional views of translation as a process of binary transfer between one language and another. As Kershaw observes: "the source text […] often bears the traces of multiple languages and cultures which expand its frame of reference far beyond the binary of the dominant language of narration [...]" (Kershaw 2018, p.18). Other scholars too make clear that this multilingual situation is vital for a full understanding of the experience of the Holocaust. In his introduction to his volume on literature and the Holocaust, Rosen comments that "the languages in which the story of the Holocaust is told shape the story that emerges" (Rosen 2013, p.8). Multiple languages are vital carriers of knowledge about the Holocaust and are, as Angela Kershaw affirms "an aesthetic resource on which many writers seeking to represent the Holocaust have drawn" (Kershaw 2018, p.235). Although Kershaw writes on the use of multilingualism in Holocaust fiction, her observations nonetheless open interesting questions that may also be considered in relation to Holocaust narratives and testimonies more broadly.

A small group of scholars have debated the role of multilingualism in Holocaust narratives and offered different perspectives on how to interpret the interplay of languages in such texts. Peter Davies, for example, corroborates his pragmatic view of translation in response to his

view of multilingualism when writes: "It is very common for survivors to re-narrate their experience in a new language, for a number of different reasons: [e.g.] survivors have ended up across the world in countries in which a different language, or languages are spoken, and have had to find new audiences [...]" (Davies 2018, p.143). Ezrahi (1980) likewise suggests that "the interchangeability of language seems to be a specific characteristic of the massive displacement of the Holocaust experience" (Ezrahi 1980, p.12-13).

However, multilingualism can also be a way of creating a safe distance between traumatic events and their re-narration for both the witness and his/her reader. Kershaw stresses that "the choice to write in a foreign language is [...] a means of creating distance between the witness and the traumatic event" (Kershaw 2018, p.249). Rosen similarly reasons that: "[…] others opted for an adopted tongue, either to establish a buffer between the war's devastating events and their recollection of them, or to recruit a specific tongue to better probe the Holocaust's overwhelming legacy – or both" (Rosen 2013, p.10). Rosen cites Wiesel to illustrate how Wiesel's decision to narrate his experiences in French, in place of, or in addition to, his native language Yiddish, provided him with a "refuge" (Rosen 2013). In this sense, multilingualism functions not only as a mode of escapism but also of survival as it offers the opportunity to "restore and recuperate loss and memory" and can "liberate from and challenge the mother tongue" (Yildiz 2012, p.20).

Multilingualism in Holocaust texts also reflects on notions of identity and identity formation. The characteristic toing and froing between languages typical of multilingual speech, often described as code-switching, has led scholars like Kershaw (2018) to identify multilingualism negatively as "the fracturing of identity, and an index of loss that conveys nostalgia for a lost homeland and lost loved ones" (Kershaw 2018, p.235). For Rosen, this code-switching represents not only "facility and diglossia, the ability to manoeuvre in more than one tongue" (Rosen 2013, p.10) but also "the changing need to do so in the tongue that mattered most" (Rosen 2013, p.10). Existing scholars, like Davies (2018), Kershaw (2018), Ezrahi (1980) and Rosen 2013), then point to a number of reasons why victims might choose multilingualism as a way of narrating their experiences: to reach new audiences, to create distance between the witness and the event or because it provides a means in which events can be rationalised for

both the witness and the reader and allow old and new identities to meet and compete. This thesis will explore how multilingualism gives rise to these through concrete examples from three case studies; it will examine how multilingualism is used as a substitute vocabulary to allow "a recognition of watershed events that demanded a new constellation of meaning" (Rosen 2013, p.10) and how the presence of multilingualism, thereby, generates new knowledge about the Holocaust.

The Language of the Visual as a Substitute Vocabulary

Although in Translation Studies it is now commonplace to consider multimodal representations as forms of translation and adaptation, scholarship on the Holocaust has tended to adopt a narrower definition of translation and focus largely on textual representations, suggesting that literary forms have been viewed as a privileged medium in which to transmit trauma. Yet, in *Literature of the Holocaust*, Rosen acknowledges that "certain post-war writers, survivors all, have pondered the Holocaust for decades on end, experimenting with a range of genres, or inventing others to meet their needs" (Rosen 2013, p.2). The most recent adaptations of Anne Frank's *Diary,* such as the 2009 BBC adaptation of Anne Frank, *Das Tagebuch der Anne Frank* (2016) [The Diary of Anne Frank] released in Germany in 2016, and its 2019 adaptation into graphic novel format, exemplify the huge shift taking place in the way that we remember the Holocaust as we move into an age without living witnesses.

Film Studies and film representations of the Holocaust have been one fruitful avenue for research and have generated important work (Hirsch 2012, Kerner 2011, Insdorf 2003, Haggith and Newman 2005). There is now increasing interest in the form of the comic and graphic novel (McGlothlin 2003, Witek 2007, Geis 2003, and Gonshak 2009, Tabachnick 2014) and considerable interest in the national and transnational patterns of production and reception that have emerged since Art Spiegelman's ground-breaking graphic family saga, *Maus* (1986). Work on contemporary graphic novels and representations of the past from second and third generation writers is now very much in vogue (Stańczyk 2018), yet the adaptation of written Holocaust narratives and their translation into visual forms have yet to

be fully considered.[5] For Thierry Groensteen, comics are "well and truly language" (Groensteen 2009, p.124). This thesis will build upon the work of Groensteen and others to consider how the language of the visual functions as a substitute vocabulary and outlet through which knowledge about the Holocaust can be remediated, above all for twenty-first century readers.

Lyrical Poetry and Song as Substitute Vocabularies

Like multilingualism and the language of the visual, poetry occupies a special space in Holocaust representation as a substitute vocabulary through which experiences and emotions, difficult to describe, might be narrated. Andrea Reiter points to poetry's unique ability to represent aspects of the Holocaust experience when she writes "only a minority of those who later managed to express themselves in writing about the camps did so in the form of verse, although at the time that was often the only possibility of grasping in literature what they were living through" (Reiter 2005, p.85). Jean Boase-Beier equally views poetry in translational terms as the mode that characterizes "[…] the tension between the impossibility of finding a fixed meaning and our need to try to do so…" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.103). For Boase-Beier, poetry was and is an aesthetic act of defiance for survivors: "In expressing individual experience, poetry is an act of defiance against the depersonalization of the Holocaust, which turned human beings into an inhuman 'question' not requiring empathy" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.148). Poetry's capacity to tap into a truth about the Holocaust experience is widely noted amongst literary critics of the Holocaust, as well as survivors such as Robert Antelme, who suggested that:

> Il sera nécessaire d'étudier plus profondément les poèmes qui ont été publiés sur les camps. Tous expriment l'acharnement du détenu à faire surgir une clarté de la réalité la plus oppressante, ou tout aux moins à entretenir, souvent en tenant de fuir cette réalité, la vie inlassable de la conscience. Témoignage ou prophétie, la poésie des camps est celle qui a le plus de chances d'être la poésie de la vérité.[6] (Antelme 1994, p.104)

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[5] Adaptation and translation will be used interchangeably throughout the thesis, as appropriate.

[6] [The poems that have been published about the camps need to be studied in much greater depth. They all express the prisoner's determination to represent the most oppressive reality clearly, or at least to uphold the

This thesis positions poetry as an important substitute vocabulary that allows victims to encode their experience and translate their feelings into what Heiser describes as "the figurative realm of lyrical metaphors" (Heiser 2014, p.7). Like Boase-Beier's in her volume *Translating the Poetry of the Holocaust,* this thesis will look at the "cognitive poetics" and "[…] the way poetic style reflects a mental state or set of beliefs, attitudes or values which we attribute to the poet, and expresses these in the text in a way that has effects on the mind and emotions of the reader [which] depend on the stylistic detail of the text, and it is thus this detail that translation needs to work with" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.32). For this thesis, the translation of Holocaust poetry in the selected case study texts will be analysed as allowing the recreation of a voice and style and a particular response to the Holocaust. By building upon the work of critics, such as Boase-Beier, this research will consider the function of poetry and song within Holocaust narratives and reflect on how translators respond to the task of presenting these narratives as new forms of knowledge about the Holocaust through translation.

Literary Idioms as a Substitute Vocabulary

In this thesis, literary idioms are understood as the aesthetic characteristics of a text, such as alliteration, assonance, metaphor, repetition and ellipses. This term has been chosen instead of the term 'literary devices' which, as earlier discussed, seems to imply that a victim's choice of words is pre-meditated or deliberate. In her work on the use of narrative strategies in testimonies from the camps, Andrea Reiter argues that: "While the importance of its content has to be recognised, the forms used to convey that content need to be critically examined. In other words, an attempt must be made to analyse the ways in which the terrifying and the unutterable are narrated" (Reiter 2005, p.86). Equally, Cathy Caruth argues that traumatic experience must "[…] also be spoken in a language that is always somehow literary: a language that defies, even as it claims, our understanding" (Caruth 1996, p.5). Alan Rosen also writes that: "[…] literature aims to make language conspicuous, to thicken it, as it were, and by doing so to make the reader aware of the means used to create the effect. At times

sense of a tireless life of consciousness within the camps, while often trying to flee that reality. Whether testimony or prophecy, the poetry of the camps has the greatest chance of being the poetry of truth.]

figurative language – image, symbol, metaphor – achieves this end" (Rosen 2013, p.2). In a postmodern frame, Robert Eaglestone acknowledges that "[…] idea of testimony as a genre implies engaging with the significance of each testimony's textuality regardless of its form" (Eaglestone 2004, p.20). All of these scholars agree that it is, indeed, difficult to separate discussions on the Holocaust narrative from questions of their inherent literariness.

For postmodern critics, such as Eaglestone, this inherent literariness also involves being alive to "the radical doubt and the self-consciousness of each of these texts, to read them with an eye to gaps, shifts, breaks, and ruptures, which show how they are not, in any simple way, easily consumed" (Eaglestone 2004, p.20). Eaglestone recognises the mediated nature of Holocaust testimony and describes how the texts are shaped by "conscious or unconscious desires" on behalf of the testifier (Eaglestone 2004). This awareness of the multiple influences, direct and indirect, on textual production has led some scholars to be critical of reading solely through literary analysis or seeing all texts as indelibly marked by trauma. James E. Young, for example, reads narratives as shaped within a specific ideological and narrative framework and as products of the "epistemological climates in which they existed" (Young 1990, p.26). Indeed, Translation Studies scholars such as Peter Davies also understand that: "witness texts are likely to be complex and multiply mediated products of collaboration, translation, and linguistic standardization" (Davies 2013, p.13). Davies criticises "theories that claim to find evidence of trauma in the text" (Davies 2018, p.13) and writes that: "It is tempting to define the inevitable gap between experience and textual formation in a universal way as a traumatic chasm that cannot be crossed, but which leaves traces on the text, which a sensitive reader […] must respond to and not attempt to close" (Davies 2018, p.31).

Davies' caution in reading Holocaust narratives via the lens of trauma studies is echoed by Eaglestone who is equally concerned about the potential of such a critical perspective to universalise the experience: "The misapplication of therapeutic terms to the understanding of literary texts involves the placing of a framework of interpretation meant for people onto a series of generic strategies, representations, and mediations. Trauma theory offers not only misapplied science but also an illusory redemption" (Eaglestone 2004, p.15). Yet, in his study

The Holocaust and The Postmodern, Eaglestone is alert to the value of considering literary tropes and strategies that contain traces of the "incomprehensible other, the witness" (Eaglestone 2004, p.89). Citing Derrida, and drawing on his concept of the trace, Eaglestone writes that: "[…] it is also the case that in testimony, signified by these tropes and strategies, something 'stubbornly persists', a link to a 'forgotten wound' or more accurately to a remembered event. It is these textual signs that bear a trace: the trace, as Derrida makes clear in an interview, which marks "the limits of the linguistic and the limits of the rhetorical"' (Eaglestone 2004, p.88). Textual signs or literary idioms in the Holocaust narrative are not, therefore, purely indicative of trauma; they hold communicative significance. Where Eaglestone's thinking differs from Translation Studies scholar Peter Davies is in his belief that victims' use of tropes and strategies, referred to by Davies as "linguistic standardization", can be both constructed and simultaneously unconscious. Eaglestone sees that "while, of course, these texts are constructed and are not immediate – Levi writing furiously, Wiesel editing and editing his Yiddish version, Semprún writing and destroying his manuscripts – they were not constructed as part of a movement" (Eaglestone 2004, p.24). Yet he recognises that they have "[…] the 'rhetorical potential and literary resonance' to reflect a wider collective breakdown in the world" (Eaglestone 2004, p.17).

Following Eaglestone's work, this thesis suggests that Holocaust narratives draw on cultural resources and traditional literary idioms and construct them in new ways that are not always directly accessible to the writers themselves. The power of Holocaust narratives is that they transform widely used literary idioms in ways that reveal different knowledge and understanding of the experience. Like the work of Peter Davies in *Witness Between Languages* (2018), this thesis acknowledges that translation takes place within a given context, according to prevailing theories of Holocaust witnessing and is a collaborative activity. It also shares commonalities with the work of scholars such as Sharon Deane-Cox (2017) who affirm the communicative relevance of literary idioms. Deane-Cox states that: "[…] if the form and content of words have been simultaneously charged with the task of communication by the original witness, then the secondary witness [i.e. the translator] is compelled to uphold and preserve these referential and aesthetic decisions" (Deane-Cox 2017, p.12). Indeed, as this section has highlighted, Holocaust victims are perpetually in search of

substitute vocabularies to narrate and work through their experiences, or to fill in the gaps in their memory of events. The translator has a duty to respond to these new languages in which the event can be spoken. This generates new constellations of meaning and a range of alternative modes of expression that are necessary to speak the unspeakable. As this thesis will contend, the Holocaust must be read through these substitute vocabularies. These demand an act of translation and to be thought about in translation.

As this section has argued, aesthetic decisions are an important part of the transmission of knowledge about the Holocaust. This thesis will, therefore, focus on close textual readings that explore instances of brevity, repetition, shifting-tenses, allegory, recurrent images, and metaphor in the case study texts and their translation. It also highlights the critical role of paratexts as "a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text" (Lejeune 1975, p.45), and as a conduit for the transmission of memories. In so doing, this thesis will demonstrate how a range of literary idioms help to construct new constellations of meanings and produce new knowledge about the Holocaust. Finally, in this section, the role of silence as a mediating presence in the representation of the Holocaust will be discussed.

Substitute Vocabularies and Silence

Dori Laub (1992) describes testimony as "a response to the summons from another language, the language of defeats and silences" and that, in line with Deane-Cox's view (2013, 2017), "it is the duty of those who encounter the Holocaust narrative to listen so that they can assume the form of testimony" (Laub 1992, p.58). Laub calls for, "an active engagement with the language of silence" (Laub 1992, p.58) providing a departure point for this section that demonstrates how substitute vocabularies might be viewed as silence and as a response to silence.

Silence, as described by Leslie Kane, is a "multidimensional mode of expression" (1984). Kane reads silence through Sartre: "Le silence même se définit par rapport aux mots, comme la pause en musique, reçoit son sens des groupes de notes qui l'entourent. Ce silence est un moment du langage ; se taire, ce n'est pas être muet, c'est refuser de parler, donc parler

encore…" (Sartre 1948, p.30).[7] Most scholarship on silence agrees that silence, rather than representing nothingness or a gap, always stands for something or has meaning. As Susan Sontag states: "Silence never ceases to imply its opposite […] Silence remains, inescapably, a form of speech (in many instances, of complaint or indictment)" (Sontag 1969, p.11). Machery (1978/2004) similarly reminds us that: "Speech eventually has nothing more to tell us: we investigate the silence, for it is the silence that is doing the speaking. Silence reveals speech - unless it is speech that reveals silence" (Machery 1978/2004, p.17).

Scholars conducting research into representations of the Holocaust in translation have acknowledged that the translator's role, in part, consists of maintaining the silences carried within a text. Jean Boase-Beier argues that translation entails a more penetrating, exacting encounter with the silences, the ambiguities and tensions of the original (Boase-Beier 2015). Equally, Cabrero argues that: "[…] if one wants to translate something – translating it well in the sense of a good utopianism – he has to translate silence; because silence speaks and does it using no words. This hidden and inner speech that one can find in every text and in every language must be conveyed in the act of translation" (Cabrero 2013, p.140). Existing studies, then, make it clear that silence is something hidden, out of sight, perhaps censored. Whilst it is not located in words, it can be found, known and located, and it speaks.

In relation to the Holocaust and Translation Studies, there is little consensus on what silence represents. Jean Boase-Beier makes useful observations in this regard in her examination of the role and function of silence in Holocaust poetry. Boase-Beier argues that it is a poem's way of saying rather than what is said that warrants consideration in translation (Boase-Beier 2015). Citing Csokits (1989, p.11) she writes that: "Clearly that what is at stake is not what the poem says but what it suggests, 'the inner core of his message and its mode of expression'" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.44). Silence, for Boase-Beier, serves therefore as "[…] an overall term for something that is reflected in Holocaust poetry, wherever it was written, by whomever it was written, and under whatever circumstances" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.33). Silence is present in the poem's "iconicity" (Leech and Short 2007) in the style of poetry, through its textual

[7] [Silence itself is defined in relation to words, like a musical pause, it receives its meaning from the group of notes around it. Silence is a moment in language; to be silent is not to be mute, it is to refuse to speak, and therefore to keep on speaking]

gaps, hiatuses and ambiguities, all of which "[…] resemble the events they are describing" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.33). Critically, Boase-Beier suggests that stylistic silences in Holocaust poetry carry different types of knowledge: "All these stylistic silences suggest feelings of grief, lack of understanding, the break with what was known, the brutality of events and people" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.35).

Boase-Beier's comments bring this thesis back to Mona Baker's idea of translation as "production of knowledge" (Baker 2018, p.8), and to a broadened notion of translation that extends beyond the textual, to include different forms of expression that encompass the manifestation of silence in narrative. Paying close attention to silence and acts of translation allows different knowledge about the Holocaust to be made visible. To echo George Steiner's understanding of translation, this can be a process which not only encodes but also decodes experience through silence: "To trans/late is to carry over from what has been silent to what is vocal, from the distant to the near. But also, to carry back" (Steiner 1975/1998, p.35). In this, there are parallels with Walter Benjamin's argument that it is the translator's task: "To set free in his own language the pure language spellbound in the foreign language, to liberate the language imprisoned in the work by rewriting it" (Benjamin 1923/2004, p.82). Elie Wiesel's comments on retranslation also suggest that translation may allow silenced memories to be explored: "I have told the story before and will tell it again, will tell it forever, hoping to find in it some hidden truth, some vague hope of salvation" (Wiesel 1996, p.67). This thesis, thereby, also reads Holocaust narratives with a view to silence[8] and deliberates on how concealed knowledge about the Holocaust might be freed up in translation.

Project Parameters

This section sets out the selection choices and approach taken to the texts for study in this thesis. Historical records indicate that, during the Second World War, 76,000 French and foreign Jews were deported from France, most of them to Auschwitz. Only 3 per cent were to return (Rousso 1994). A further 63,085 individuals were arrested and deported from France as political prisoners; 59 per cent of those returned (Wieviorka 1992, pp.20-21). This is

[8] In this thesis silence will be examined as a form of self-censorship, as a narrative theme, and particularly with a view to Boase-Beier's understanding of silence and "stylistic silence".

without accounting for the other targeted groups, the Roma-gypsies, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals and criminal offenders, whose voices are rarely accounted for in historical or scholarly records (Wieviorka 1992, pp.20-21). There are equally hundreds of thousands of French people who found themselves persecuted, forced to flee their homes and subjected to violence under the Nazis in occupied France. Of those deportees from France who survived the Holocaust, many chose to remain silent, meaning that French experiences of the Holocaust are poorly represented in numerical terms in the canon of Holocaust writing.

In addition to the relative paucity of texts produced in the post-war period, scholarship concerning French memories of the Holocaust has traditionally privileged the work of a handful of survivors. They have become the archetypal representatives of the Holocaust in France (Haft, 1973; Mole, 2002; Hutton, 2005). It is, therefore, unsurprising that the testimonies of Robert Antelme, Elie Wiesel, and Charlotte Delbo are those narratives that have received the most scholarly attention in translation. Influential critics in the field of the Holocaust and translation draw on the work of these influential authors in their analyses (Deane-Cox 2013; Davies 2011, 2014, 2017, 2018). The prevalence of these testimonies is corroborated by the authors of *Translating Holocaust Lives* (2017) who observe that "for the most part, scholarship has focused on the translation of texts that one can refer to as 'canonical' Holocaust testimonies, in the sense of being well known and having a significant influence in the English-speaking world: here one might name authors such as Primo Levi, Elie Wiesel, Anne Frank, Tadeusz Borowski, Ruth Klüger and Robert Antelme" (Boase-Beier et al. 2017, p.5).

These imbalances in French-language production have been challenged by scholars such as Gary Mole who, in *Beyond the Limit Experience* (2002), engages with writings of largely anonymous French prisoners and deportees. Margaret-Anne Hutton's *Testimony from the Nazi Camps: French Women's Voices* (2005) is another example of scholarship that engages with the experiences of underrepresented non-Jewish voices, specifically of French women deportees whose work she acknowledges has "received next to no critical attention" (Hutton 2005, p.2). A degree of awareness reflecting on why and how scholars are choosing texts for analysis and disregarding others is, therefore, required for this thesis and broader scholarship.

Peter Davies acknowledges selecting *La Nuit* for analysis based on the "exemplary status the text has gained" (Davies 2011, p.554); this position supports assertions made by Saldanha and O'Brien who suggest that Translation Studies scholars select texts "on the basis of their intrinsic significance" (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014, p.71). By representing exemplary texts, Translation Studies scholars can, therefore, unknowingly feed into a structure that privileges the memory of a select few and silences others. This is the first challenge facing all scholars of Holocaust literature as no study can hope to include the repertoire of titles and memoirs that merit attention, yet these choices have to be made. Saldanha and O'Brien offer a reasonable step in overcoming biased studies when they state: "…we should always be explicit about our motivations for selecting a text so that our choices are open to scrutiny" (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014, p.65).

To take up this challenge, the following section sets out how this doctoral project came into being and the choices and decisions made about text and case study selection. When this project began, there was no single source or bibliography which could be used to scope out how many victims had written accounts, memoirs, or testimonies of their experiences of the Holocaust in France and which of these had, then, been translated. There were empirically driven studies and databases that quantified patterns of Holocaust testimony, including Kluge and Williams's international bibliography of Holocaust literature (Kluge and Williams, 2009, pp.245-387), and French-language Holocaust examples which included Wieviorka's *L'Ere du témoin* (1998) and Hutton's *Testimony from the Camps* (2005). The latter two studies draw on case studies and present extensive bibliographies. The online *Mémorial de la Shoah* Library also contains over 32,000 works on the persecution and destruction of Europe's Jews and the anti-Nazi resistance, although these are not French-language specific (Mémorial de la Shoah, 2015). In 2017, I discovered the EGO (Écrits de Guerre et d'Occupation) database (1939-1945) which was constructed by a team at the Centre de Recherche d'Histoire Quantitative (CRHQ). This database gathers together post-1939 testimonies, stories, notebooks, diaries and memoirs concerning France and the French in the Second World War (EGO 1939-1945). However, the database is not designed to track translation flows and the general impact that translation has had on the transmission of French-language Holocaust testimony.

The first concern of this project was, therefore, to construct a database that might help examine patterns of translation for French-language Holocaust narratives over the post-war period. Constructing a database was also a means of exploring new ways to select texts for analysis that would move away from criteria based around literary canons and allow new voices to emerge. The database was collated using a range of sources, including the resources of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) and WorldCat websites. As Saldanha and O'Brien acknowledge, any dataset requires a coherent set of parameters because "often, the system or field is too large to be considered as a whole and some sort of artificial limit needs to be imposed; though artificial, this limit needs to follow rational and transparent criteria" (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014, p.216). The database for this project was constructed in three phases, with the first providing a detailed survey of the production of French-language Holocaust writings post-1945. The second phase recorded publications of English-language translations, and the third phase documented German-language translations. In both these latter phases, the role and identity of the translators was central to analysis. One of the project aims was to compare different translators' approaches to rendering the same narrative (for example, the Anglophone male translator vs the German female translator of Berr's *Journal* examined in chapter three). This approach aimed to show the richness of the source texts and the value of taking account of the different strategies of individual translators.

The criteria for inclusion of work in the database were defined as works that fell into the genre of life-writing, an umbrella term for a range of autologous texts which include biographies, autobiographies, diaries, journals and letters. The inputted texts would be survivor testimonies in the sense that they described memories of wartime events that resisted obliteration by the Nazis (in the form of testimony, diaries and auto-biography) and that the language that these titles were first published in would be French. The primary database also recorded the following meta-data: the author's name and surname, their gender, the work's publication title, the place and date of publication, any details of re-publication, details of the text's foreword, the grouping under which the survivor sat (i.e. Jewish prisoner/child rescapée) and the number of pages. It also provided a hyperlink to the front cover for the purposes of para-textual analysis. This first phase also detailed the publication's availability in English and German. The second and third phases concerning the translations included the same characteristics but

with additional details that comprised the translator's name/surname, as well as information concerning republications. The initial phases of the database construction brought together 443 French-language narratives published between 1945 and 2015, with 57 of these translated into English, and 33 into German. These small figures, although not exhaustive, may suggest why so few Translation Studies scholars are using French memories of the Holocaust as objects of investigation.

In order to enable the research project to focus on texts that could speak to the research questions posed on the Holocaust, representation and translation there were parameters imposed on the database which would allow a broad chronological scoping of Holocaust narratives to emerge from 1945 to 2015. Preliminary results from the database documented that only 18 of the 443 French source texts had been translated into both English and German. It then became important to select a sample from this that was representative of the range of French-language experiences. In order to avoid the temptation to impose the researcher's views on what was representative, it became necessary to define further parameters which would assist in the final case study text selection. It was decided that a sample of texts would be chosen from the key phases in the historiography of the evolution of French memories of the Holocaust as outlined by Henry Rousso in his work on the "Vichy Syndrome" (1994). The key phases identified from Rousso's model of interest were the periods he terms "the return of the repressed" (1954-1971), the "broken mirror" phase (1971-74) and a period of "obsession with Jewish memory" (post 1974). The corpus of texts emerging from this analysis were: *Un camp très ordinaire* by Micheline Maurel (1957), *Un sac de billes* by Joseph Joffo (1973), and Hélène Berr's *Journal* (2008). These narratives allow for the discussion of a range of wartime experiences (of those who experienced the camps first-hand, of children, of adults, and of those who lived in hiding) across different memorial time-frames (from the 1950s to the 2000s) and to give precedence to marginalised voices in studies of translation. These three case studies have also been chosen as the narratives share a recurrent interest in the search for substitute vocabularies with which to express the experience of the Holocaust and connect to the analysis and approach of this thesis.

Central to these textual choices is a belief that anyone engaged in discussions about the transmission of memory is drawn into an encounter with the witness of the Holocaust in a profound way and must be aware of the ethical dimension of their project. As Mona Baker has commented "[…] we must reflect on our behaviour and be ethically accountable to ourselves and others in our work as translators and translation scholars, as we are in other walks of life" (Baker 2008). Each of the chapters in this thesis came with its own set of ethical reflections. For example, navigating through the tensions in chapter three with Hélène Berr's diary, never intended for publication on the one hand, yet simultaneously interpolating a witness on the other. Peter Davies reminds us that: "…the task of scholarship is to work on behalf of the witness and to ensure that we clear a space for the voice to be heard, then we should still proceed with care and avoid scapegoating translators. The spaces in which voices speak – including our own – are never neutral or value-free, after all" (Davies, 2017, p.41). While this project explores a range of views and approaches to translated memories of the Holocaust, this work is motivated by a sense of ethical duty toward the victims of Nazi persecution.

This analytical and ethical stance is aligned with Deane-Cox who argues that "the very embodiment of a translator as an ethically motivated agent" is the translator "who purposely decides that their first and foremost obligation is to the survivor" (Deane-Cox 2017, p.8). My own approach is influenced by the experience of translating a French monograph by an author documenting his father's life in the Belgian resistance. This was a milestone in my understanding of the critical position that translators can sometimes occupy in the transmission of memory. During this project I negotiated the dual duty owed to the author of the book and to his father whose memory was the subject of it.[9] This experience has led me to an acuter awareness of the practical challenges of translating and allowed me to approach assessments of translators' work with a less judgmental mindset. Since this experience, I have sought to interrogate my own motivations and to model the kind of ethical reflection around

[9] I was commissioned to co-translate *La parole d'Abusz Werber* by Michel Werber from French into English in 2016. A number of issues arose during this process, including decisions around the extent to which to 'foreignize' Jewish terms in the text. Also, the author, a non-native speaker of English, often replaced words I had translated with words he deemed to be 'better'. While some of these words were merely synonyms, others did not make sense in the given context; this led to a number of tensions in the translation process.

our responsibility to adhere to the survivor's account that I believe we owe to Holocaust victims and to their narratives. I acknowledge that this survivor-orientated position has shaped the research that has been carried out. Similarly, this ethical stance has impacted on my broader acceptance of the subjective nature of my research and the need to consider its necessarily provisional conclusions and ongoing development; as Anthony Pym states, "[t]o accept incompleteness is to live with the researcher's subjectivity" (Pym 1998, p.49).

The case study narratives in this thesis are connected by the choice of a comparative analytical approach to the German and English translations of French-language Holocaust testimony. Comparative reading across a range of different textual versions provides insights into the process of translation and the choices made by different translators. The characteristics of each author's contribution to knowledge about the Holocaust will be examined through the previously discussed notion of substitute vocabularies, namely the use of multilingualism, the language of the visual, lyrical forms, such as poetry and song, and literary idioms. Each of the texts will also be read with a view to understanding how "stylistic silence" is inherently linked to the act of transmission. The English-language translations will be the primary point of reference and discussion with German-language translations will be a secondary means of analysis to enrich comparative discussion. This will move the thesis away from a purely descriptive discussion of the translation process. This thesis, thereby, moves away from the notion of translation as a binary process between one language and another setting out a more pluralistic conception of translation as core to the transmission of Holocaust memories and their afterlives.

Chapter Overview

This thesis presents different modes of translation and aims to explore the plural forms of Holocaust narratives in translation: moving from analysis of individual, textual forms of translation in chapter two to more collaborative, visual forms of translation, such as adaptation into graphic novels and films, in chapter four.

The second chapter of this thesis examines the testimony of Micheline Maurel in *Un camp très ordinaire* (1957). It draws from its English editions, *Ravensbrück* (1959), published for

a British readership, and *The Slave* (1958a), published for an American readership; both contain the same translation by Margaret Summers. These translations are the primary modes of investigation with the German translation *Kein Ort für Tränen* (No Place for Tears, 1960),[10] translated by Wolfgang A. Peters, as an additional object of enquiry. The study also cites examples from the paratextual apparatus of the Spanish translation of Maurel's account, *Un campo sin importancia* (An Unimportant Camp). The chapter begins by exploring the dynamic between Maurel's narrative (1957) and Elie Wiesel's *La Nuit* (1958) published just one year later by the same publishing house. The main body of the chapter is divided into two parts: the first section begins with the premise that translation is not primarily an act of linguistic transfer that takes place between one language and another but a more holistic endeavour. The chapter will open with a section that resists a view of translation as primarily interlingual transfer and considers the extent to which paratexts and extra-textual conditioning shape how memories of the Holocaust are read and received. The chapter then moves on to consider translation as a linguistic process taking place between multiple languages and shows how the literary idioms of Maurel's narrative are carried into different languages. The second section of this chapter explores how different literary idioms, such as tense shifts, brevity, repeated themes, ellipses and allegory, can be read as representing absence and are used to represent the unspeakable aspects of the victim's experience. This second section considers the significance of the multilingual vocabulary issuing from the camps, as well as poetry and song. Maurel's narrative and its translations into English and German are finally compared to reflect on how the unspoken aspects of her narrative are made to speak in, and through, different languages.

The third chapter reflects on Hélène Berr's *Journal* and its journey from its manuscript to the published copy. In the first part of this third chapter, Berr's manuscript is compared with the published French version (2008a) as a translational endeavour. By casting light on the specificities of her diary, this first part asks what it is that remains specific and unique in Berr's handwritten expressions. Through an interview with Mariette Job, Hélène Berr's niece, I outline the challenges that impact on the process of memorialising victims when family

[10] On occasions the 2014 Kindle edition of Maurel's re-published German narrative, *Die Liebe Besiegt Alles,* will also be cited.

members become the legal guardians of testimony. Following on from this, the chapter examines how Berr's *Journal* has been framed paratextually in English, German and in French, and how those paratextual framings re-contextualise Berr's *Journal* across different languages and cultures. The second part of chapter three analyses how other languages, literary idioms and literature itself, can be viewed as acts of translation that form part of a broader network of substitute vocabularies that help Berr to narrate the ineffable. After considering the role that these substitute vocabularies play in Berr's narrative, the final part of the third chapter highlights the challenges that linguistic plurality poses to translators of narratives of the Holocaust. By drawing on interviews and examples from a textual analysis of the English version of Berr's *Journal*, translated by David Bellos, and from the German edition, translated by Elisabeth Edl, the final part of this chapter highlights the significant role that translators play in shaping memories of the Holocaust.

Chapter four analyses Joseph Joffo's *Un sac de billes* as an example in the study of Holocaust narratives and their changing relationship with their own translation history. Joffo's autobiography was a best-seller in France in 1973 and has since been translated into more than twenty languages, including English (1975) and German (1996); adapted into a *bande dessinée* (in 1989, and 2012), an English graphic novel (2011/2012), and two French film versions (1975 and 2017), the latest directed by Christian Duguay. The latest adaptations of his narrative have involved the collaboration of Joseph Joffo. This final chapter is divided into three main parts all centred around Joffo's employment of substitute vocabularies to express his experiences. These are the language of the visual, literary idioms (including "stylistic silence") and multilingualism. The first section asks why Joffo writes and explores why he is compelled to engage and re-engage in acts of rewriting or translation. The first section also deliberates on Joffo's decision to choose the visual as one mode of representation. It compares these visual adaptations with the written narrative and what it is that could not be worked through or achieved in prose writing. This highlights the particularities of the visual form in representing memories of the Holocaust. Through a consideration of Joffo's involvement in translating his memory into the visual form, this chapter challenges the distinctions surrounding "source text" and "original" in the translation and adaptation processes. In the second part of this chapter, the various manifestations of silence within the

different inter-medial translations of *Un sac de billes* are explored to reflect on silence (as a form of self-censorship, as a narrative theme and as a style) in Joffo's (1973) texts, and how translations can foreground the unspoken elements of his experiences. The third section of this chapter explores Joffo's use of multilingualism across these different modes of representation. In this final section, the significance of Joffo's use of Yiddish and German is examined as different languages through which he gives voice to his memories. The chapter then considers how these languages are communicated in translation. The chapter, through its interactions with the language of the visual, explores how different translations negotiate different aspects of Joffo's memory suggesting that each new translation is its own container of remembrances and amnesias, inscriptions and elisions.

To conclude, this introductory chapter has considered major debates on representing the Holocaust in and through translation. It has suggested translation's capacity to overcome the contradictions surrounding the impossibility of representation through substitute vocabularies, as well as presented debates on the value and appropriateness of literary Holocaust writing. This chapter has proposed that it is through translation and important substitute vocabularies (such as multilingualism, poetry and song, the visual and literary idioms) that the Francophone writers under investigation in this thesis are able to bridge the gap between their experiences and representations of the Holocaust and also negotiate the need to address silence. The chapters to follow present three case studies that demonstrate how four forms of substitute vocabularies offer strategies for the authors under consideration to represent their experiences. These chapters will show the part translation plays in such processes of transmission and the power of translation to project new and ever-evolving forms of knowledge about the Holocaust into a future soon to be without living witnesses to the events of the Second World War.

Chapter 2. Translating the Fringes of Memory: Paratextual Framing and Substitute Vocabularies in Micheline Maurel's *Un camp très ordinaire*

Micheline Maurel's *Un camp très ordinaire* (1957) stands out as an example of Francophone Holocaust memories being one of only a small number of female-authored Holocaust narratives published in the 1950s.[11] Scholarship indicates that the work of female Holocaust writers has been largely neglected in academic studies. In 1986, Heinemann acknowledged that "The study of Holocaust literature has focussed primarily on the writing of men, whose perspectives have been taken as representative of the experience of all Holocaust victims" (Heinemann 1986, p.2-3). Similarly, Goldenberg asserted that: "English language audiences have known Holocaust literature primarily through male writers and have generalised those experiences to represent the whole [...] narratives by women survivors, however, form a group that differs significantly from those by men" (Goldenberg 1990, pp.150-152). Scholarship on French Holocaust representation has also privileged studies concerning the survivor testimonies of only a select few (Jones 2007; Klein 1992). Robert Antelme (author of *L'Espèce humaine*), Elie Wiesel (*La Nuit*) and Charlotte Delbo (*Aucun de nous ne reviendra*) have become the archetypal representatives of the French experiences of the Holocaust (Hutton 2005; Mole 2002). The focus, furthermore, has fallen largely on the Jewish experience and, until the publication of Hutton's own seminal work on French women's voices in 2005, on the experiences of male Jewish survivors. This is also corroborated by Deane-Cox who writes that: "With the exception perhaps of Charlotte Delbo, analytical focus has tended to fall on male memories and narratives of life in the camps" (Deane-Cox 2017, p.3). Thus, by consciously giving voice to victims like Micheline Maurel, we actively address gaps in scholarship and invite new avenues of enquiry.

In August 1943, Micheline Maurel was deported to Neubrandenburg, a branch of Ravensbrück, for her activities in the Marco Polo resistance network. *Un camp très ordinaire* (1957) is a record of the hardships that she and other female prisoners were subjected to by the SS during her twenty months of internment. *Un camp très ordinaire* was published less

[11] According to the database created for this project which comprises of 443 French language Holocaust narratives, there were six narratives published by female writers between 1950 and 1959.

than a year before Elie Wiesel's autobiography, *La Nuit* (1958). The relative success that Wiesel's *La Nuit* has enjoyed in comparison to Maurel's *Un camp très ordinaire* is extraordinary. While both authors' journeys from Holocaust victim, to survivor, to writer, are marked by distinct differences, the publication histories of their narratives converged in the early years. Maurel was deported to a concentration camp (Neubrandenburg) for her activity in the French resistance; Wiesel was deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau because he was a Jew. Maurel was an adult at the time of her deportation (27 years old); Wiesel was a teenager (15 years old). Both spent time in concentration camps, however, and experienced and bore witness to the atrocities committed by the Nazi Regime. Both wrote of their experiences and their testimonies were made available initially by the same publishing house, *Éditions de Minuit*, in Paris within a year of one another and both were prefaced by François Mauriac. Both narratives were translated into French and German within two years of their original publication date. Both Maurel's *Un camp très ordinaire* (1957) and Wiesel's *La Nuit* (1958) were translated into English by a female translator and into German by a male translator.[12] Yet, despite these similarities, Elie Wiesel has become an international phenomenon, winning the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize, while the name Micheline Maurel is relatively unheard of. To compound this, Maurel's narrative has been translated into just five European languages[13]; Elie Wiesel's *La Nuit,* on the other hand, has been translated into more than thirty languages (WorldCat 2018).

This chapter takes Micheline Maurel's testimony *Un camp très ordinaire* (1957) as a case study and draws from English editions *Ravensbrück* (1959) and *The Slave* (1958a)[14], translated by Margaret Summers, as primary modes of investigation, as well as its translation into German *Kein Ort für Tränen*[15] (1960) as an additional object of enquiry. This current contribution draws on the work of Sharon-Deane Cox and her recent (2017) study of *Un camp très ordinaire* in translation. Deane-Cox examines how irony, language, narrative time and paratext are reframed in translation. She illustrates how translation has the potential to distort

[12] English: *Nigh*t (trans. Stella Rodway 1958), *Ravensbrück* (trans. Margaret Summers 1959), German: *Die Nacht* (trans. Kurt Meyer-Clason 1958), *Kein Ort für Tränen* (trans. Wolfgang A. Peters, 1960).
[13] Spanish, Dutch, German and English (WorldCat 2018)
[14] Summers' translation is published in the UK under the title *Ravensbrück* (1959) and in America as *Slave* (1958a).
[15] [No Place for Tears]

the "factual, linguistic and tonal qualities encoded in the original telling, while paratextual material can also function as a site of appropriation and transformation" (Deane-Cox 2017, p.35). This chapter builds on Deane-Cox's work by adding to these critical discussions an analysis of the function and translation of Maurel's substitute vocabularies - literary idioms, poetry and song, and multilingualism. This chapter will also look at paratexts and will draw on the work of Gerard Genette and Kathryn Batchelor who has conducted research into paratexts in translation. Batchelor argues against "simply catalogu[ing] the features of paratextual elements, or in other words [producing] research that is purely descriptive" (Batchelor 2018, p.196).

This second chapter aims to avoid this cataloguing and to broaden out Deane-Cox's bi-lingual study through a consideration of the paratexts of Maurel's narrative across four different languages (French, German, English and Spanish). This will allow for a comparative approach to the study of paratexts and for the implications of multilingual analysis to be evaluated. This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first section sets the premise for the rest of this thesis that translation is not primarily an act of linguistic transfer that takes place between one language and another. Opening the chapter with a section that thinks translation away from interlingual transfer, the first section asks how paratexts and extra-textual conditioning factors shape how Holocaust memories are read and received. Deane-Cox suggests that paratext is secondary to translation when she writes that: "It is the translator who first participates in shaping the contours of the account, and only then can its content be repackaged and transmitted to a subsequent, broader audience in the target culture" (Deane-Cox 2017, p.3). This first section, however, suggests that paratexts exercise a disproportionate influence; they may be developed after the translation of the source text, yet are often encountered by the reader first. The second half of the chapter considers more traditional ways of thinking about translation as an interlingual process. With a keen interest not in what Maurel says, but in the way she says it, this chapter begins explorations into the different types of substitute vocabularies employed in the Holocaust narrative and points to their function. The second part of this chapter asks: why does Maurel use substitute vocabularies, literary idioms (like tense shifts, brevity, repeated themes, ellipses and allegory), poetry and song, and multilingualism in *Un camp très ordinaire*? I also ask what types of knowledge of

the experience do these substitute vocabularies allow her to bring forth, and how might these be transformed from the original, French, into English and German?

Paratext, Translation and The Transmission of Holocaust Memory

Gérard Genette reminds us that it is paratext that enables a book to come to fruition. As the vehicle that allows a narrative to be offered to readers, paratext is an important conduit for the transmission of memories. Paratext is described by Lejeune as: "a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text"[16] (Lejeune, 1975, p.45). Watts, moreover, asserts that: "[…] it is only in circulation that a text assumes its significance, and the paratext is perhaps the most useful site for understanding, how, for whom, and at what potential cost that significance was constructed" (Watts 2000, pp.42-43). Genette observes that a consideration of paratexts in translation is also critical, omitting it from his seminal work *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, by his own admission, only because of the magnitude of investigation that such a study would necessitate (Genette 1997, p.405). This study would, of course, not be complete without mention of Kathryn Batchelor's most recent (2018) contribution *Translation and Paratexts*. Batchelor provides an investigation of paratextual theory as it relates, specifically, to Translation Studies. Her contribution builds on Genette's work in terms of scope and on a theoretical level. For example, Batchelor outlines the developments of paratexts in digital and media studies, and she also discusses the idea that translations, themselves, might also be considered paratexts, in the sense that they too provide a commentary on the original text (Batchelor 2018, p.40). Batchelor offers a broad view of paratexts as "any element which conveys comment on the text, or presents the texts to readers, or influences how the text is received" (Batchelor 2018, p.12).

This first section reads the paratexts of Maurel's *Un camp très ordinaire* in French, English, German and Spanish through the frameworks outlined by Batchelor (2018) and Genette (1997). It considers the ways in which paratexts and their transfer set up controlled readings

[16] Keith Harvey (2003) also refers to paratextuality in translation when he speaks of "Bindings" in his article, "'Events' and 'Horizons': Reading Ideology in the 'Bindings' of Translations." Across three case studies Harvey considers how titles, covers, and back cover blurbs of the translations have been refigured to conform to prevailing target norms (Harvey 2003).

of texts and their translations. The section considers the translation of what Genette has termed the "extra-textual" elements of a work (from the *mise-en-page*, to covers, titles, sub-titles, prefaces, blurbs, illustrations etc.), but is also extended to include some para-textual elements in translations of testimony, such as empty spaces, dedications, photographs and translator's notes (Genette 1997). For Batchelor, paratext is defined as "a consciously crafted threshold for a text which has the potential to influence the way(s) in which the text is received" (Batchelor 2018, p.142). The section to follow, therefore, considers the important role that paratexts and their translations play in the production of different types of knowledge about the Holocaust.

For Genette, the title of a work is a powerful vanguard of the text (Genette 1998, p.93). Its purpose is manifold: to designate and identify, to describe the work (particularly its content and genre), while holding connotative values and luring the reader into purchasing a book (Genette 1998, p.93). This section begins by considering how the title of Maurel's narrative is transformed across different languages and cultures. In *Testimony from the Nazi Camps: French Women's Voices,* Hutton identifies patterns in the Holocaust narrative titles, specifically those that speak of experiences in concentration camps, arguing that the titles are constructed in a way that allow readers to identify its genre easily. She suggests that Holocaust narrative titles often allude to hell and death in their employment of terms like "détresse" (distress), "l'abîme" (abyss) or "l'enfer" (hell). A title, she proposes, can be used to move away from the idea of collective experiences towards the individual experience; titles that include terms like "matricule" (number) or "déporté" (deportee). Other types of title might be used to emphasise the authenticity of the work by including terms like "document" (document) within it (Hutton 2005). The title of Maurel's account, *Un camp très ordinaire,* is likewise suggestive of the way in which the editors seek to designate, identify, describe and market Maurel's testimony. *Un camp* is a clear indicator of both genre and content. The emphasis on the ordinariness of the camp, *très ordinaire,* however, indicates to its reader the presence of more than one camp, making this one story among many (i.e. a collective account).

By the end of 1960, *Un camp très ordinaire* had been translated and published into English (1959, 1958a), Spanish (1958b) and German (1960), and these are the languages which form

the objects of paratextual enquiry in this chapter. The transformations that the title of Maurel's narrative undergo in translation through these different languages are significant. The first English versions of Maurel's narrative, translated by Margaret Summers, were published a year after its first publication in France.[17] The American-edition's title, *The Slave,* has been the object of scholarly critique. Sharon Deane-Cox (2017), for example, writes that: "The original title has […] been eschewed in favour of *The Slave*, while the cover carries an extract from Maurel's text (but wrongly attributed to Mauriac) that asks 'Were you raped? Were you beaten? Were you tortured?', and in so doing, overtly fetishizes the testimony" (Deane-Cox 2017, p.33). *Un campo sin importancia* (1958b) which might be translated as "An Unimportant Camp", a Spanish-language version of Maurel's testimony, was also published in Mexico in 1958. This is a title which interacts with the images on the front cover to incite the similarly dramatized readings of Maurel's account described by Deane-Cox. The (1959) UK edition gives Maurel's testimony the title *Ravensbrück*[18] providing both historical and spatial indicators for its readers. The name of a concentration camp, *Ravensbrück,* a universal metaphor for death and destruction, draws the reader's attention to the idea that the narrative deals with a specifically female concentration-camp experience. Yet, as Maurel describes in her preface to *Un camp très ordinaire,* her experiences predominantly took place in Neubrandenburg, described by Maurel as "un succursale de Ravensbrück"[19] (Maurel 1957, p.9).

Finally, *Kein Ort für Tränen*[20] the first German edition of Maurel's account, translated by Wolfgang A. Peters, was published in West Germany in 1960. The flyleaf of *Kein Ort für Tränen* adds an accompanying subtitle to the title: *Bericht aus einem Frauenlager* [Account from a Women's Camp], a strategy that reflects wider traditions in German publishing history, a strategy aimed at reinforcing the testimony's authenticity. The transposition of these

[17] N.B. Other editions of translations of Maurel's narrative were also published English in 1985. E.g. An ordinary camp (1958) New York: Simon and Schuster. Ravensbrück (1958) London and Brown. These issues feature a plain cover.
[18] Margaret Summer's translation of *Un camp très ordinaire* has been republished under the following titles: *Ravensbrück* (Anthony Blond, London, 1959) *The Slave* (Simon and Schüster, New York, 1958a), *Slave* (E-book, Pickle-partners publishing, 2015).
[19] [A branch of Ravensbrück.]
[20] Re-publication under the title: *Die liebe besiegt alles: Bericht aus einem Frauen- KZ* (Ingo Koch Verlag, Rostock, 2014 – e-book/print).

languages across different languages and cultures clearly illustrates how titles can transform initial responses and even the type of readership that the narrative attracts. The title of Maurel's narrative can be translated easily into all the languages discussed: "A Very Ordinary Camp" in English, for example, [21] "Ein sehr gewöhnliches Lager" in German, or "Un campo muy ordinario" in Spanish. Thus, the editorial responses to translating the title of Maurel's work is not a case of untranslatability, but one which responds to a distinct understanding of what readers or editors want for a Holocaust narrative to be firmly situated within the genre of Holocaust testimony, and/or as Genette implies to be fully marketable (Genette 1998, p.93).

Batchelor (2018) reminds us "of the importance of analysing images with a full awareness of cultural and historical conventions, since it is in part these conventions that help determine what is meant by depicting an image in a certain way" (Batchelor 2018, p.175). It is, therefore, critical to consider how such marketing strategies might be illuminated and corroborated when read alongside the visuals presented on the front covers of Maurel's narrative through different languages. Batchelor observes: "In some times and places, a plain cover might be associated with the underground press (see, for example, Farzaneh Farahzad's (2017) discussion of jeld-sefid in 1970s Iran); in others, a plain cover might be the norm for literary fiction (as is the case in France)" (Batchelor 2018, p169). The plain covers of the 1957 paperback version of *Un camp très ordinaire* and the 1960 German version of it (see figures 1 and 2) are presented with the visual prestige of respected publishing houses; they provide implicit commentary on the text's seriousness and cultural worth.

[21] As per the title of the Simon and Schuster edition of Maurel's narrative, *An ordinary camp* (1958).

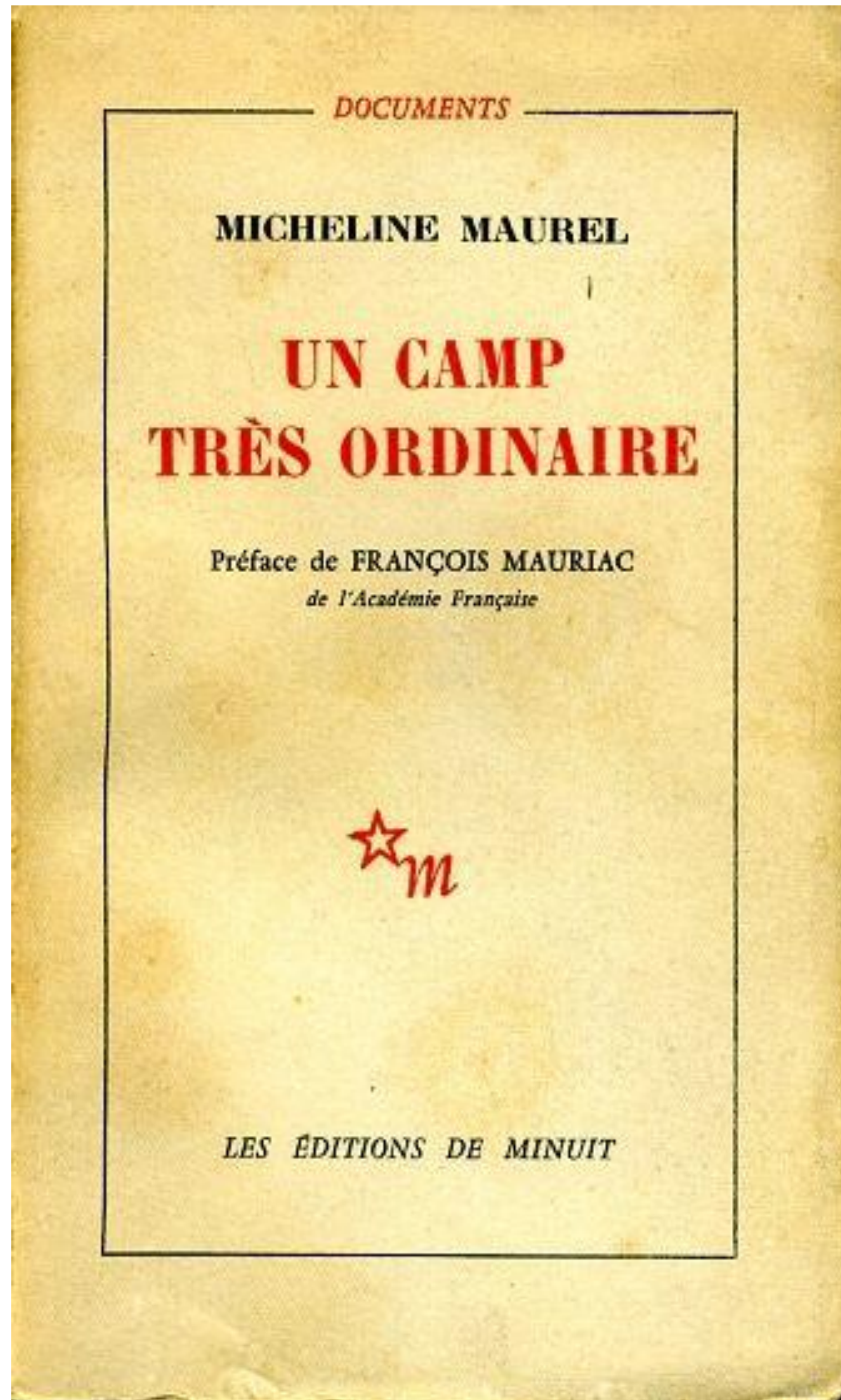

Figure 1 Un camp très ordinaire (Maurel 1957, Front cover)

Figure 2 Kein Ort für Tränen (Maurel 1960, Front cover)

By contrast, however, the cover of the 1959 UK paperback edition of the English translation *Ravensbrück* is heavily illustrated in a popular vein (see figure 3).

Figure 3 Ravensbrück (Maurel 1959, Front cover)

The cover of *Ravensbrück*, as Deane-Cox (2017) also observes, features a made-up woman with painted red lips and lustrous hair, stoutly positioned behind the iconic concentration-camp barbed wires in a tightly-fitted emerald-green dress. The readers of Maurel's *Ravensbrück* (1959) are presented with a sexualised image of a salubrious, seductive and healthy-looking prisoner, much in contrast to the presentation of Maurel's narrative in French.[22] Valerie Pellatt writes that: "It is not uncommon to find a dust jacket which in no way reflects the content of the book but is simply sensational and sexy" (Pellatt 2014, p.3). However, female objectification in a narrative dealing with Holocaust memories whose content explores instances of sexual violence raises controversy. The image on the front cover of *Ravensbrück* (1959) invokes glamour shots of movie stars and models. There are similarities, for example, between British-American actress Elizabeth Taylor and the woman on the front cover of *Ravensbrück* (1959) (see figures 4 and 5) and Taylor's position as a top box-office star in 1958 (Maltby 1995, p.476) might infer the popular, mainstream market to which Maurel's narrative was geared.

Figure 4 Detail from published paperback cover of Ravensbrück (Maurel 1959, Front cover)

[22] "Below this appears the bold and fallacious depiction of a voluptuous, perfect coiffed, red-lipped prisoner who bears more than a passing resemblance to Vivien Leigh, gripping a barbed-wire fence, and dressed in a well-tailored, low-cut khaki dress" (Deane-Cox 2017, p.32).

Figure 5 Detail from a 1956 portrait of Elizabeth Taylor (Sonic Editions 2018)

The front cover's image and cartoon font, furthermore, renders *Ravensbrück* quasi-fictional. Distinct parallels can be drawn between this image and the hairless, emaciated, expressionless absent-eyed, "les yeux dans la vague" (Maurel 1957, p.98) and pale-faced "fantômes" [phantoms] (Maurel 1957, p.99) in *Un camp très ordinaire*. The paratext of the 1957 French version of Maurel's account, its title and its modesty of packaging, give clear indications of the narrative's genre and the words that a reader might expect to find between the pages of its front and back covers. Comparatively, the genre of *Ravensbrück* (1959) is unclear as the reader wavers between a title that evokes a factual account and the visuals which are suggestive of a narrative belonging to the realm of fantasy. The flyleaf of *Ravensbrück* lists "Some other Digit war titles"[23] published by the same publishing house, thereby marketing it alongside a number of male-authored, war-related titles. Its target audience is, therefore, substantiated.

The sensationalist angle taken on the translated account is carried through in the explanatory material provided on *Ravensbrück*'s back cover which includes comments from the British press, *The Observer* and the *Times Literary Supplement,* and a blurb that employs emotive

[23] The book belongs to the publisher's Digit War Series. Maurel, M. 1959. *Ravensbrück*. Translated from the French, by Margaret S. Summers. London: Anthony Blond. (Source text originally published in 1957).

language: "dragged", "stripped," "hellish", "mal-treated" (Maurel 1957, back cover). A review by the *Times Literary Supplement* on the back cover of *Ravensbrück* suggests that Maurel's narrative will take its reader on a journey: "the reader will feel that he has descended with her into hell" (Maurel 1957, back cover). On the flyleaf, an edited version of the same review stating that: "… the reader who gets through "Ravensbrück" will feel that he has descended into hell." The use of the pronoun "he" indicates even more clearly that *Ravensbrück* is geared toward a male readership. Similar comments can be made on the 1959, American edition of Maurel's narrative whose problematic title, *The Slave,* also presents its viewer with sexualised images of a distressed woman.

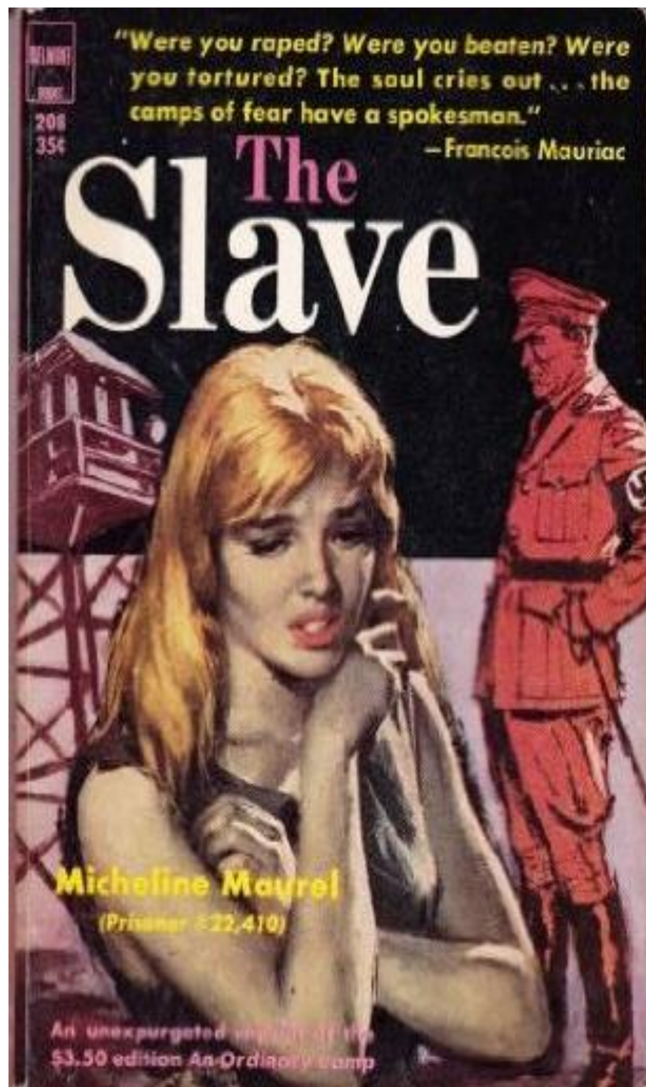

Figure 6 The Slave (Maurel 1958a, Front cover)

The SS guard towers above her, hips thrust forward, and the image on the front cover is also accompanied by a suggestive citation from a translation of Mauriac's preface to the book[24]: "Were you raped? Were you beaten? Were you tortured? The soul cries out… the camps of fear have a spokesman" (Maurel 1958a, front cover). *The Slave* envelops *Un camp très ordinaire* in a package that is fascinated by the theme of rape, a subject which remains implicit in Maurel's narrative (see figure 6). Maurel's narrative deals predominantly with the hardships of day-to-day living in a concentration camp where both the perpetrators and victims are female, as English translator Margaret Summers also observes in her translator's note: "Neubrandenburg was a camp for women and was operated mainly by women, the Aufseherinnen, overseers and guards, who were the female counterpart of the dreaded S.S. They were commanded by a woman colonel, the Ober […] Only a few men are mentioned in this account" (Maurel 1958a, p.11). The overtly sexualised visuals presented on the covers of Maurel's translated accounts likewise extend into the Spanish version, *Un campo sin importancia* (1958b). The front cover presents a scantily-clad woman, lying on the floor, cowering away from a snarling dog and a whip which might easily be read as a sexual apparatus[25] (see figure 7).

[24] Also observed by Deane-Cox (Deane-Cox 2017, p.33).
[25] N.B. It also features the now iconic camp images - the barbed-wire fence., and prisoners being made to march through the snow.

Figure 7 Un campo sin importancia (Maurel 1958b, Front cover)

Kerner, writing about the representation of males and females in Holocaust films of the late 1950s, observes that: "While male protagonists undergo a positive transformation, the eroticization of the (Jewish Female) Holocaust victim plays into voyeuristic fantasies […] transforming the Holocaust into a spectacle" (Kerner 2011, p.9). This example illustrates how this tendency applies to victims of the Holocaust, at large[26]. The arenas of film and literature in the representation of the Holocaust visually share close links. In a study of the cinematic representation of women in 1950s Britain, Bell reports the increase in the number of women

[26] Maurel was imprisoned for being a member of the resistance; she was not Jewish.

going out to work and the increasing focus on female sexual behaviour in the aftermath of the *Kinsey Report* (1953), a study on the sexual behaviour of women (Bell 2009, p.2). The translated front covers of *Un camp très ordinaire* might, then, be read as a societal response to the fear linked with the emergence of the newly independent woman; as an attempt to re-establish the male-female hierarchy that had existed prior to the wars.

It is relevant also that the voice of the preface's author, François Mauriac, is used to reinforce the authenticity and facticity of the narrative, is also male. Hutton remarks that: "the prefatory privilege is usually given over to men, often those with sound Resistance or, perhaps unexpectedly, literary credentials" and "[…] often high-profile figures" (Hutton 2005, p.55). François Mauriac's preface to Maurel's narrative represents a convention in the translated testimony of survivors. A year later, Mauriac is also the preface author of Elie Wiesel's *La Nuit,* a narrative that, as earlier stated, has become a canonical piece of French Holocaust writing. In that preface Mauriac states his wish that the readers of Wiesel's account would become "as numerous as those of the diary of Anne Frank" (Mauriac in Night, 1986, p.viii). Elie Wiesel's *La Nuit,* while not as well-known as Anne Frank's diary, has now been made available in over 30 languages in over 50 countries (World Cat 2015) and is still a cherished book which has carved out its own space in the Holocaust literary canon. *Ravensbrück* also exhibits an extra-textual reference to Anne Frank's diary: "as Real as THE DIARY of ANNE FRANK…" (Maurel 1959, front cover). A 1959 *Sunday Times* review, similarly, describes Maurel's narrative through Anne Frank:

> Anne Frank died. Micheline Maurel survived. Her *Ravensbrück* is a chronicle of slave-labour. If it differs from other books of its sort it is only because it is confined to a female camp. For the rest its pages are all too terribly familiar. The soul grows numb beneath the blows. The body edges through the months. Hope resides in a spoonful of soup. When it is all over the genial Russian and the G.I. look for favours. The repatriation official fusses because his pencil has been moved. (Bryan 1959, p.14)

This *Sunday Times* (1959) review illustrates how its writer has interpreted the book's front cover, elevating the themes of violence, slavery and rape. The review divests Maurel's

narrative of its uniqueness, transforming it into a typical story of survival where Maurel makes it clear in the final pages of her narrative that she wasn't even sure that she had really survived. This example, thus, echoes Batchelor's (2018) observation on the function of reviews as taking part in intellectual or artistic discussions that form part of the reviewed material itself (Batchelor 2018, p.149). Reviews function as a critical paratextual apparatus that circulate knowledge of the Holocaust and victims' experiences. The example presented in this paragraph illustrates how reviews treating translated texts as 'originals' can exacerbate and propagate the misrepresentation of Holocaust memory that result from translation processes.

This section has illustrated distinctions in the way that the titles of Maurel's narrative have been translated into English, German and Spanish. The different editions of Maurel's narrative give an indication of the various audiences that each language edition was seeking to address. The striking deviation from Maurel's original title to replace it with a well-known women's concentration camp, *Ravensbrück*, for the UK edition of Maurel's camp, highlights the politicised nature of translation, with translators and editors reaching out to a specific target audience. These audience-driven decisions are also evident in the American-English (1958b) edition examined in this chapter, and the Spanish edition. By contrast, the German edition *Kein Ort für Tränen* and its subtitle: "Bericht aus einem Frauenlager"[27] seeks to emphasise the authenticity of Maurel's narrative. These titles interact with the graphic design presented on the books' front covers to reinforce these editorial decisions. The simplicity of the French and German cover designs means that in the pages contained within the book, Maurel's voice is able to speak independently of editorial influence. Comparatively, the sexualised and visually-saturated images presented by the English editions presented in this chapter, and the Spanish edition, invite readings of Maurel's narrative from a predominantly male audience. The text's functions and genres are changed then with different audiences, different readings and, even before reader reaches the words of Maurel's translated narrative, his/her perception is transformed. The paratext's function as a critical vanguard of a translated Holocaust testimony is, thus, undeniable.

[27] [Account from a women's camp]

Literary Idioms in *Un camp très ordinaire*

The second half of this chapter focusses on the literary idioms that Maurel employs in *Un camp très ordinaire* to bridge the epistemological abyss that separates the universe of the camps and the world of the reader who has no experience of them (Hutton 2005). This section will illustrate how Maurel's literary idioms, her use of tense shifts, brevity, repeated themes, ellipses and allegory become substitute vocabularies for an otherwise inexpressible world. It will also consider how translators perceive, and thereby transmit knowledge of Maurel's experience to new readerships.

Maurel's *Un camp très ordinaire* is preceded by an epigraph in which she speaks about her need to remember: "Froidement, gravement, sans haine, mais avec franchise pourtant… Il faudra que je m'en souvienne"[28] (Maurel 1957). She narrates her concerns about not being able to fully describe her experiences: "Après avoir lu le manuscrit de ce livre Michelle m'a dit: 'La réalité était bien plus tragique.' Je le sais bien"[29] (Maurel 1957, p.13). Maurel also recognises that there are some memories that she was unable to gain access to: "En écrivant j'ai buté plus d'une fois sur des souvenirs fermés qui ont refusé de s'ouvrir. Ma mémoire les repousse"[30] (Maurel 1957, p.13). She continues: "Je ne sais si la mémoire refuse de les évoquer ou si elle n'a rien pu enregistrer parce que j'étais trop fatigué"[31] (Maurel 1957, p.13). Maurel's awareness of the unspeakable nature of the events that she seeks to describe, the existence of a manuscript that precedes the narrative's publication and her admissions about the gaps that exist within her narrative bring to the fore the problem of treating any testimony dealing with Holocaust memories as original and unchangeable. Historical memory is as Caruth observes "[...] always a matter of distortion, a filtering of the original event through the fictions of traumatic repression, which makes the event available at best indirectly" (Caruth 1995, p.16). We might, therefore investigate how Maurel's literary idioms speak for some of the internalised, silent aspects of her memory.

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[28] [Dispassionately, soberly, without hate and yet in all honesty too… It's necessary for me to remember (it).]
[29] [After having read the book's manuscript, Michelle said to me: "The reality was definitely more tragic." I knew that only too well.]
[30] [While writing I stumbled more than once on closed memories that refused to open, and my memory pushes them out.]
[31] [I do not know if my memory refuses to recall them, or if it wasn't able to record anything because I was too tired.]

Maurel's first chapter is titled: *Futur souvenir*[32] (1944) and her narrative goes full-circle, completing its cycle in the last chapter titled: *Futur souvenir*?[33] The oxymoronic titles that simultaneously refer to the past and the future mimics the survivor's trauma, the compulsion to remember and the need to bear witness and to keep on bearing witness. This desire to communicate her memories with a listener is also foregrounded in Maurel's use of pronouns which she uses to address her reader and to seek understanding: "*Vous* arrivez, frissonnante, le dortoir n'est pas chauffé, et *vous* trouvez votre châlit sans couvertures […] Elle *vous* lancera une gifle, criera que c'est votre affaire […] et que d'ailleurs *vous* devriez *vous* estimer heureuse de trouver encore *votre* paillasse"[34] (Emphasis added) (Maurel 1957, p.65). The direct address is such that, as Oatley describes: "The reader experiences cognitive effects including a sense of involvement and identification" (Oatley 2011, p.161-2). The English translator of Maurel's narrative substitutes the first person plural "we" with the pronoun "vous" for "We came back shivering, to an unheated building [...] She would only box our ears and shout that it was none of her business […] and that in any case we should be thankful we still had a mattress" (Maurel 1959, p.52). The same strategy can be observed in the German translation which uses the first-person plural "wir": "Zitternd vor Kälte trafen wir ein, der Schlafsaal war ungeheizt […] Sie hätte Ohrfeigen ausgeteilt, hätte uns angeschrien, das sei unsere Sache […] im übrigen könnten wir uns glücklich schätzen, noch einen Strohsack zu habe"[35] (Maurel 1960, p.48). Maurel's narrative in English and German, therefore, do not communicate the urgency that Maurel gives to narrating her memories to others. The reader's active engagement and participation in the immediacy of Maurel's experiences dissipates.

Like many other testimonies from the camps, *Un camp très ordinaire* is narrated primarily in the preterite (Hutton, 2005). Yet, at several points during the narrative, Maurel's use of tenses becomes confused, mixed up, like a living nightmare: "Nous marchons. Il pleut. Il fait nuit.

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[32] [Future memory.]
[33] [Future memory.]
[34] [*You* arrive, shivering, the room isn't heated, and *you* find your bunk without covers […] She throws *you* a punch, crying out that it's your business […] and that in any case, *you* should consider yourself lucky that *you* still have *your* mattress.] (Emphasis added)
[35] [We came back shivering, the sleeping-room was unheated [...] She would have slapped us, shouted at us that this was our fault [...] and in any case we should consider ourselves lucky to still have a straw mattress.]

La route monte sans cesse"[36] (Maurel 1957, p.154). These moments of oscillation between the past and the present illustrate what Hutton describes as "a gap between two worlds, two times, two selves" (Hutton 2005 p.16). Sudden shifts in time and place may prove telling as may "abrupt changes in tense (past to present and vice versa) and pronoun (first to third; unexpected use of the impersonal)" (Hutton 2005, p.16). Deane-Cox similarly observes that the sudden shift to the present tense is "heavy with the weight of inescapable immediacy and dread, while the subsequent use of the perfect tense situates the survivor in the close aftermath of the event to convey a transitory moment of reprieve" (Deane-Cox 2017, p.17). In the English translation of Maurel's narrative, the English translator uses the simple past (Deane-Cox 2017): "We walked. It was raining; it was dark. The road was one long ascent" (Maurel 1959, p.128). The German translator, by contrast, sustains Maurel's use of the present: "Wir marschieren. Es regnet. Es wird dunkel"[37] (Maurel 1960, p.114). Other scholars have also suggested that the shifting of a narrative into the present represents moments where witnesses relive their captivity. Anne Whitehead, for example, wrote that: "This method of narration emphasizes the traumatic nature of the memories described, which are not so much remembered as re-experienced or relived" (Whitehead cited in Deane-Cox 2017, p.19). Therefore, retaining these specific characteristics of Maurel's narrative in translation seems particularly significant. The shifting tenses mean that *Un camp très ordinaire* is not a linear text. Rather, it is a narrative that defies chronology: "where the present is the past and the past is always presence" (Lyotard cited in Langer 2000, p.15). Such narrative ruptures are symptomatic of what Lawrence Langer terms "durational time":

> [w]hich exists this side of the forgotten, not to be dredged from memory because it is always, has always been there – an always-present past that in testimony becomes a presented past… The duration of Holocaust time, which is constantly re-experienced time, threatens the chronology of experienced time. It leaps out of the chronology, establishing its own momentum, or fixation. Testimony may appear chronological to the auditor or audience, but the narrator who is a mental witness rather than a temporal one is "out of time" as she tells her story. (Langer 2000, p.15)

[36] [We are walking. It’s raining. It’s getting dark. The road is a never-ending ascent.]
[37] [We're walking. It's raining. It's getting dark.]

Durational time, as illustrated in *Un camp très ordinaire,* resists putting an end to the past; the narrative becomes a living, breathing document. The translator of *Ravensbrück* states that "the author of this book *was* a witness" (Maurel 1959, p.3) where François Mauriac comments: "L'auteur de ce livre *est* le témoin"[38] (Maurel 1957, p.5). The translator of *Ravensbrück,* therefore, clarifies the temporal planes of Maurel's account, creating a linear story and an historical event with no continuation into the present.

Un camp très ordinaire is also punctuated by instances of brevity. According to translation theorist Antoine Berman, brevity can contain an infinity of meanings which somehow "renders short clauses long" (Berman 2004, p.282). Reiter has likewise noted that authors of Holocaust testimonies frequently employ "a refrain-like repetition of short sentences when describing an experience that especially affected them" (Reiter 2005, p.164). Survivors including Elie Wiesel corroborate this and affirm the value and significance of short sentences within the Holocaust testimony. Wiesel writes: "Naturally the anguish comes: whether I have not said too much – it's never too little but too much" (Wiesel cited in Cargas 1976, p.91). Expansion within the 1959 English edition of Maurel's narrative, through the addition of conjunctions, punctuation marks, and explicative and decorative signifiers, disrupts the narrative's literary idiom. Maurel writes for example: "Les mortes aussi. Par les mêmes camions" (Maurel 1957, p.14), two sentences which do not constitute sentences in and of themselves (mimicking the lack of comprehension that Maurel attaches to the experience that she had lived through). These two short sentences: "Les mortes aussi. Par les mêmes camions"[39] (Maurel 1957, p.14) are rationalised in both English and German to become one sentence: "The same trucks carried both the living and the dead" (Maurel 1959, p.9) and "[…] die Toten auch, in denselben Lastwagen"[40] (Maurel 1960, p.10). In a later pertinent example, Maurel is describing camp routine and the monotony of day-to-day life: "Ensuite on rentrait au bloc. Eau de choux. Portion de pain. Chasse aux poux. On se grattait un long moment. Et

[38] [The author of this book is a witness…]
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] […the dead women too, by the same trucks.]

à peine étions-nous endormies que c'était de nouveau : - Aufstehen"[41] (Maurel 1957, p.54). In Maurel's narrative, her short sentences and frequent use of full stops serve as stumbling blocks, causing the reader to pause and to reflect on the words contained between them. The English translator, however, expands out such sentences in *Ravensbrück* (1959): "Afterward, we returned to the block, to the cabbage water and the slice of bread, to the hunt for lice, and at last to bed, to spend a long time scratching. Hardly had we fallen asleep than once more we heard: - aufstehen" (Maurel 1959, p.43). In the translator's attempts to create translations which are easy to read, the effect that Maurel's writing builds up for her French reader is effaced. This is particularly significant because of the aforementioned attention that Maurel gives to her reader in the production of her narrative. Moreover, in *Un camp très ordinaire*, the foreign term "Aufstehen" is separated from the rest of the text visually on the page in a silence that reflects a constructed distance between Maurel, the reader and the German language. This is a strategy, illustrated again later in this thesis, employed by many writers writing about their experiences of the Holocaust. The German language remains foreign and separate and thus does not, or cannot, occupy the same space as the French language that Maurel understands so well.

Un camp très ordinaire, furthermore, evidences recurrent themes and terms or expressions. For instance, in the latter half of her narrative, the term "fantôme" remerges in a number of places. Maurel writes: "Nous avons marché comme des fantômes" (Maurel 1957, p.157). Later, she writes : "Devant ces hideux fantômes…"[42] (Maurel 1957, p.157). In another example, she describes how "les autres regardaient avec un sourire hésitant les fantômes déchirer la viande crue" [43] (Maurel 1957, p.158). For Dominick LaCapra, such repetitions may also be considered representative of the experience: "In traumatic memory the event somehow registers and may actually be relived in the present, at times in a compulsively repetitive manner [...] But it returns in nightmares, flashbacks, anxiety attacks and other forms of intrusively repetitive behaviour characteristic of an all-compelling frame" (LaCapra 2001, p.89). The repeated image of the phantom is one that has been used by a number of Holocaust

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[41] [Then we returned to the block. Cabbage. Water. Slice of bread. Lice hunt. Scratching ourselves for a long time. We'd barely managed to sleep at all when it started all over again -Aufstehen.]
[42] [In front of these hideous phantoms…]
[43] [The others watched the phantoms rip into the raw meat with a hesitant smile.]

survivors. Primo Levi writes that: "We lay in a world of death and phantoms. The last trace of civilization had vanished around and inside us. The work of bestial degradation, begun by the victorious Germans, had been carried to its conclusion by the Germans in defeat" (Levi 1991, p.204). Thus, the image of the phantom functions as a substitute vocabulary to describe the degradation of the human being, the ultimate dehumanisation. The image of the ghost or the spectre also represents absence and silence; its repetition embodies a living present that returns to haunt the reader of the page embodying Maurel's own experiences of her memories. The English translation of "hideux fantômes"[44] (Maurel 1957, p.157) as "automatons" (Maurel 1959, p.130) breaks down the network of signification described by Berman in *Translation and the Trial of the Foreign* (Berman 2004). Comparatively, the German translation uses the term "Gespenster" (Maurel 1960, p.115 & Maurel 1960 p.116) meaning "ghosts" or "phantoms", allowing Maurel's inferences to resonate.

The theme of absence or silence is most strongly imparted in Maurel's repeated use of ellipses within her narrative, another characteristic of written memories of Nazi persecution which will later be explored in greater detail. In one example Maurel writes: "Dans presque toutes ces chansons populaires que nous écoutions avec tant de plaisir, c'est l'homme qui s'en allait… et la femme qui restait à l'attendre"[45] (Maurel 1957, p.110). Here, her use of ellipses makes a physical absence known, in this case of the men who left the women behind. In another example, ellipses impart a lack of food: "Nous les avons regardées prendre avec leurs doigts les betteraves, dévorer tout, essuyer la gamelle avec les doigts, et la tendre de nouveau…" (Maurel 1957, p.21). In the English translation the ellipses have been removed: "We watched them pick the beets up in their hands and devour them, wiping the bowls clean with their fingers and then holding them out for more" (Maurel 1959, p.15). Thus, it can be argued that the ellipses, these verbal breaks in the fabric of the Holocaust narrative, are silent features of Maurel's writing that allow indescribable, unspeakable absences to be made known. Their removal from her narrative means that such knowledge can no longer be communicated.

[44] [Behind these hideous phantoms…]

[45] [In almost all of the popular songs that we used to enjoy listening to so much, it's the man who left, and the woman who was left waiting for him.]

As a final example of how silence speaks in Maurel's narrative, Maurel recalls: "On nous avait *enfournées* dans une immense salle" (Emphasis added) (Maurel 1957, p.18). Maurel's employment of the verb "enfourner" is later repeated: "Et toujours courant nous sommes arrivées à la gare, où l'on nous a *enfournées*, schnell et Schweinehunde, dans des wagons à bestiaux"[46] (Emphasis added) (Maurel 1957, p.25). The term is laced with suggestion. "Enfourner" can mean to "introduire quelque chose en enfonçant" (to introduce something by driving it in) (Larousse, 2018). However, the most common output of the dictionary entry "enfourner" returns: "mettre dans un four" (to put [sth] in the oven) (Larousse 2018).[47] The ominous meaning of the word is emphasised later in the narrative when Maurel writes: "Nous échangions des recettes de confitures, de gâteaux, *de petit fours…*"[48] (Emphasis added) (Maurel 1957, p.135). In this later example, Maurel conflates the everyday language of cuisine with the world of the camps. The "petit fours" have ambiguous connotations in their literal translation as: "little ovens" and its associations with the crematoria. These examples exemplify language's ability to silence integral and difficult facets of Maurel's experience and thus illustrate the importance of listening attentively to the author's voice (Deane-Cox 2017). The English translation of "On nous avait *enfournées* dans une immense salle"[49] (Emphasis added) (Maurel 1957, p.18) reads: "We were *marshalled* into an immense hall" (Emphasis added) (Maurel 1959, p.12) and the German reads: "…dann hatte man uns in einen riesigen Saal getrieben"[50] (Maurel 1960, p.13). Likewise, when Maurel writes: "Et toujours courant nous sommes arrivées à la gare, où l'on nous a *enfournées*, schnell et Schweinehunde, dans des wagons à bestiaux"[51] (Emphasis added) (Maurel 1957, p.25), the term "enfournée" is translated into English as "loaded" (Maurel 1959a, p.19) and into "verlud" also meaning "loaded" in German (Maurel 2014, chap.3, para.26).

This second section has shown that Maurel employs different literary idioms as substitute vocabularies to bring to the fore the inadequacies of language to fully represent her

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[46][And still running we arrived at the station, where we were *enfournées* schnell and Schweinehunde, into cattle wagons.] (Emphasis added)
[47] http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/enfourner/29494 (Accessed: 30.05.2016)
[48] [We exchanged recipes for jams, puddings and little cakes.]
[49] [We were shoved in [to an oven] to a huge hall.]
[50] [... then they had driven us into a huge hall.]
[51] [And still running, we arrived at the train station, where we were *enfournées* schnell and Schweinehunde, to cattle wagons.]

experiences. She uses tense shifts, brevity, repeated themes, ellipses and allegory. These literary idioms highlight aspects of Maurel's experience like the monotony of day-to-day living and are symptomatic and mimic Maurel's experience. Like the phantoms that return in *Un camp très ordinaire,* Maurel's experiences of camp life resist closure. Maurel's use of literary idioms hints at the great losses and absences linked to her experiences: from a lack of food within the camps to an absence of people and a loss of humanity. Her literary idioms also speak for the very things that she feels unable to talk about: the crematoria, death and destruction. This section has presented examples of instances in which these important facets of Maurel's writing are not negotiated in translation. The knowledge of the loss, absence and distress that lies silently behind or between the words and structure of Maurel's narrative is, subsequently, not transmitted in different languages.

Multilingualism in *Un camp très ordinaire*

This third section corroborates Naomi Seidman's assertion that language choice in testimony is both performative and communicative, "doing something with words rather than merely communicating information" (Seidman 2006, p.4). Reiter similarly argues that: "[…] language had a meaning beyond communication for prisoners in the camps. Whether they distrusted words or uncritically adopted them, whether they drew strength from them, or collapsed under their weight, they lived with and in language" (Reiter 2005, p.93). As discussed in chapter one, there is a wealth of scholarship that underlines the various functions of multilingualism in Holocaust literature. This section highlights the critical function that multilingualism, as a substitute vocabulary, plays in Maurel's *Un camp très ordinaire*. It explores how multilingualism is representative of violence and intrusion, and inherently untranslatable, but is also the embodiment of survival. This section then moves on to show how translators have dealt with the challenges posed by multilingualism. It indicates how different approaches result in different kinds of knowledge of Maurel's experience being transmitted.

In the preface to *Un camp très ordinaire*, Maurel gives translations for some of the vocabulary used in the camp. She writes:

> J'ai gardé le vocabulaire du camp. Là-bas, les Françaises étaient en minorité. Très peu d'entre nous connaissaient l'allemand et nous n'avions jamais l'occasion de voir les mots écrits. Nous francisions les mots en les prononçant. Nous avions transformé Kopftuch en "coiffe-tout", Schüssel en "jusselle", Nachtsicht en "narchiste", Schmutzstück en "schmoustique". Et les brutes en uniforme qui nous surveillaient, les Aufseherinnen étaient pour nous les "officerines", les femelles des officiers SS. Les mots "blokowa" (chef de baraque), "stubowa" (chef de chambre, ou assistante de la blokowa), "kolonkowa" (chef de colonne) était ceux qu'employaient toutes les prisonnières.[52] (Maurel 1957, p.15)

Her decision not only to retain this aspect of her experience within her narrative, but also to dedicate a large section of her preface to it points to the integral but also untranslatable nature of what she describes as "le vocabulaire du camp". This is a substitute vocabulary for which there is no adequate translation. As the prisoner's language, like every other aspect of their lives, is literally colonised by the oppressors. *Un camp très ordinaire,* like other testimonies from the camps, is distinctly multilingual in its employment of foreign words. While Maurel uses terms from the German, Russian and Polish lexica (Deane-Cox 2017), this particular section is interested in the relevance of Maurel's use of German and the "Frenchified" German dialect that developed in the camps. It also considers their function in enabling Maurel to bridge the gap between her experiences and narration.

Ezrahi has written that the concentration camp, described by David Rousset as "l'univers concentrationnaire", was "a self-contained world which both generated its own vocabulary and invested common language with new, sinister meanings" (Ezrahi 1980, p.10). Maurel's description of the "vocabulaire du camp"[53] (Maurel 1957, p.15) is illustrative of how the camp environment manipulated everyday words and gave rise to new languages; substitute

[52] [I kept the vocabulary of the camp. There, French women were in a minority. Very few of us knew German and we rarely had the chance to see words written down. We frenchified words while pronouncing them. We transformed Kopftuch into "coiffe-tout", Schüssel into "jusselle", Nachtsicht into "narchiste", Schmutzstück into "schmoustique". And the brutes in uniform who supervised us, the Aufseherinnen became for us the "officerines,' the female SS officers. The words "blockowa" (head of barracks), "stubowa" (bedroom warden or block assistant, "kolonkowa" (head of column, were the words employed by all of the female prisoners.]
[53] [Camp vocabulary.]

vocabularies to create a new language would be needed in order that its horrors could be fully described.

Maurel's use of German words is made to stand out in the narrative either by including the foreign term or expression within speech marks, in italics, or by placing foreign words on new lines, separated from the main body of the text. Such editorial decisions mark the German language within Maurel's testimony as foreign, intrusive and without translation. Maurel remembers: "Dans l'atmosphère du camp, un mot incompris sonnait comme une injure"[54] (Maurel 1957, p.67). She describes the German language as "…cette langue détestée"[55] (Maurel 1957, p.31). Maurel could have chosen to translate the German or Frenchified-German terms and expressions into French, but her decision to highlight and draw attention to them instead allows her reader to encounter misunderstood words and the space of non-understanding which Maurel was thrust into. As Améry observes, it would be "ridiculous and contrary to the facts to have the SS bellow in French" (Améry cited in Hirschauer 1989, p.125). Maurel's use of the Frenchified German terms attest to a form of resistance in the camps – the way in which prisoners conserved their own language amidst the brutality. Quoting Sofsky (1997, p.157), Andrea Reiter writes that:

> The camp jargon is an expression of the prisoners' need not so much to come up with new concepts for the experience, as to endow words from "normal" usage with meanings specific to the camp. Here "there were almost no words to designate feelings"; it was a skewed "language of naming and calling, threat and warning, order and demand". (Reiter 2005, p.87)

Importantly, Maurel also indicates that while the language of the perpetrator had the power to be injurious or lead to one's annihilation, the foreign tongue also represents a mode of survival. In a significant section Maurel writes:

[54] [In the camp atmosphere, an unknown word sounded like an insult.]
[55] [This detested language.]

> Die Liebe besiegt alles auf der Erde. Je ne savais pas grand-chose en allemande, mais cette phrase-là était facile à comprendre : "L'amour vainc tout sur la terre." Cette phrase banale, dans ces circonstances et dans cette langue détestée, n'était plus banale: elle exprimait ce que je croyais depuis toujours; elle me rappelait les raisons d'espérer. Presque toutes, nous avions travaillé par amour, ou nous étions en prison par amour. Presque toutes, nous avions depuis longtemps offert notre vie. Et la réponse était là. Nous avions eu raison. Le pays serait libéré, l'Ami reviendrait vivant et en bonne santé. Die Liebe besiegt alles auf der Erde...[56] (Maurel 1957, p.31)

While the language of the camps remained untranslatable, for Maurel the human condition of love is something that endures. Yet, the ellipses seem to speak for something unsaid, to her scepticism, to the repeated "presque toutes", and to those for whom the description would remain senseless. Moreover, scholars like Peter Davies link victims' use of German to survival. Writing about translations of Krystyna Żywulska's narratives into German,[57] Davies suggests that Żywulska's use of multilingualism indicates the "particular linguistic situation that she found herself in, and [demonstrated] her skill in negotiating her way through it as part of her survival strategy" (Davies 2018, p.164). Reiter similarly argues that, "Newcomers soon learnt that survival depended on, among other things, their ability to understand the orders of the SS and to work out their camouflaged meaning" (Reiter 2005, p.92). The phrase "Die Liebe besiegt alles auf der Erde" (Maurel 1957, p.31) becomes emblematic of how the German language allowed Maurel to survive.

Writing about Maurel's use of multilingualism, Deane-Cox observes that "Summer's translation […] demonstrates a keen sensitivity to these markers of otherness preserving a vast array of German orders […] insults […] and the nomenclature that designates the reality of the camps" (Deane-Cox 2017, p.22). This chapter argues otherwise, by drawing attention

[56] [Die Liebe besiegt alles auf der Erde. I didn't know a lot in German, but that phrase was easy to understand: "Love conquers everything on earth." This banal phrase, in these circumstances, in that detested language, wasn't banal anymore: it expressed what I had always believed: it reminded me of the reasons to be hopeful. Almost all of us had worked for love, or we were in prison for love. Almost all of us, had given up our lives a long time ago. And there was the response. We were right. The country would be liberated, the [?Ami] would come back alive and in good health.] N.B. This expression becomes the title in a later German version of Maurel's narrative.

[57] Holocaust victim and author of author of Przeżyłam Oświęcim (I survived Auschwitz).

to how the English translator of *Ravensbrück,* Margaret Summers, and the German translator of *Kein Ort für Tränen,* Wolfgang A. Peters, adopt different strategies to deal with Maurel's use of multilingualism. These strategies, I would argue, highlight a misapprehension of the function of multilingualism in Maurel's narrative. Margaret Summers, the English translator, omits the whole aforementioned paragraph which begins "J'ai gardé le vocabulaire du camp…" (Maurel 1957, p.15), a paragraph which highlights the significance of the foreign language to Maurel's potential readership. In other examples Summers clarifies Maurel's use of German for her readership, shadowing camp vocabulary with an English rendering between parenthesis. *"Aufstehen!"* (Maurel 1957, p.48) becomes *"Aufstehen!"* (Get up!)" (Maurel 1959, p.38). The German translation, comparatively, removes any indication that Maurel's narrative included a multilinguistic layer: "Aufstehen!" (Maurel, 2014, Tage Ohne Geschichte). In other examples, the English translator chooses to translate Maurel's use of German. The phrase, *"Aufstehen! Schweinerei! Aufstehen!"* (Maurel 1957, p.48) is translated as: "Get up, you pigs, get going"[58] (Maurel 1959, p.38). On another occasion, Maurel records the command: *"Kaffee holen!"* (Maurel 1957, p.48) which the English translator translates as: "…came the blokova's order to fetch in the coffee" (Maurel 1959, p.38).[59] Other terms like "Gartenkolonne" (Maurel 1957, p.28) are not translated into English. There are numerous examples where both the English-language and the German translator "correct" the author's German. These instances highlight Maurel's unfamiliarity with the German language to the French reader. "*Straffstehen"* (Maurel 1957, p.76) becomes "*Strafstehen"* (Maurel 1959, p.61) in the English translation and "Strafestehen" (Maurel 2014, chap.7, para.10) in the German translation. Corrections are also illustrated by the following examples:

> "Raouss! Raouss! Schnell!" (French edition, Maurel 1957, p.153)
> *"Raus! Raus! Schnell!"* (English UK edition, Maurel 1959, p.127)
> "Raus! Raus! Schnell!" (German e-Book edition, Maurel 2014, chap.21, para.22)

> "Les "Verfügbars" (French edition, Maurel 1957, p.116)
> "The *"Verfügbar"* (English UK edition, Maurel 1959, p.94)

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[58] "Aufstehen! Schweinerei! Aufstehen!" (Maurel 2014, chap.7, para.5)
[59] "Kaffee holen!" (Maurel 2014, chap.7, para.11)

"Die "Verfügbaren" (German e-Book edition, Maurel 2014, chap.16, para.1)

Similar strategies are used to correct Maurel's use of Russian: "J'entendais la doctoresse entrer avec les paroles reconfortantes et consoler la plus jeune Russi qui gemissait […]: - Tiajko, tiajko… J'ai mal"[60] (Maurel 1957, p.73). In English, this is translated as: "I could hear the doctor coming into the room to speak comfortingly and consolingly to the youngest Russian, who moaned as she coughed, *'Tiazhko, tiazhko'* (I'm suffering)" (Maurel 1959, p.59). In German, this reads: "[…] hörte, wie die Ärztin eintrat und die jüngste Russin ermutigte und tröstete, die Russin […] stöhnte: "Tjaschko, tjaschko… Es tut so weh"[61] (Maurel 2014, chap.10, para.4). In one notable instance in the English translation the German word *Achtung!* is translated into a kind of homophone in English: "Atten-shun!" (Maurel 1959, p.40). German orders in *Un camp très ordinaire* are often followed by exclamation marks, "Schnell! Schnell!" (Maurel 1959, p.18). Yet these exclamation marks are taken out of the English translation: "Schnell, schnell"[62] (Maurel 1959, p.13) which deemphasises the urgency and violence attached to these phrases.

This section has invited a consideration of the importance of Maurel's use of multilingualism as a substitute vocabulary. Maurel's use of fragments of German, Russian and even a "Frenchified" dialect of German reflect the inherently multilingual nature of the camp environment; a place where language came to symbolise both reason and irrationality, both annihilation and survival. Maurel's use of these languages, instead of her native French, suggests that these words have no equivalents and attempts to translate become a misrepresentation of Maurel's experience. By its very translation into German, the linguistic plurality of Maurel's experience and, more critically, the violent, intrusive and insulting undertones attached to its use dissipate. Writing of the translation of Krystyna Żywulska's Holocaust memoir, *Przeżyłam Oświęcim,* into German, Davies similarly observes how the:

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[60] [I heard the doctor come in with comforting words and consoling the youngest Russi who was groaning […]: - Tiajko, tiajko... I'm in pain.]

[61] [I heard the doctor enter and encourage and comfort the youngest Russian, the Russian moaning: "Tjaschko, tjaschko… It hurts so bad.]

[62] "Schnell! Schnell!" (Maurel 2014, chapter.3, para.26)

> […] German version makes no effort to signal the alienness of these German phrases in the text: they are simply assimilated into the flow of the German narrative, whereas in the Polish text they are markers within the text itself of foreign occupation, linguistic violence, and concepts that are imposed from outside. (Davies 2014, p.164)

The English translator of Maurel's narrative also employs a range of different strategies to deal with Maurel's use of multilingualism: from clarification to foreignization, from re-transcription through to homophonic translation. Both the English and German translators correct Maurel's incorrect use of German, despite her admission that: "…nous n'avions jamais l'occasion de voir les mots écrits"[63] (Maurel 1957, p.15) and "Je ne savais pas grand-chose en allemand"[64] (Maurel 1957, p.31). The diverse range of strategies and approaches to translation by both translators highlight an overarching misapprehension of multilingualism in Maurel's account. However, it is also true that at the time that these translations were published, in 1957, Lagersprache was not part of the vocabulary of the Holocaust as it is today.

Poetry and Song in *Un camp très ordinaire*

Nada has written that: "Occasionally, inmates in the camps – Jewish and non-Jewish, men and women, in a variety of languages – expressed themselves in a manner that exceeded the absolute contingencies of the moment: they composed poems" (Nader 2007, p.4). In a chapter entitled "Chansons et Poèmes", Maurel observes that: "Une autre richesse a Neubrandenbourg, c'était la poésie"[65] (Maurel 1957, p.110). She writes not only of the significance of the acts of writing, reciting and also of gifting poetry, but also of the relevance of songs within the Neubrandenburg concentration camp. By referring to examples in Maurel's testimony and by drawing on comments made by other victims of Nazi persecution and historians, this section highlights the significant role that songs and poetry, as substitute vocabularies, play both within the camp environment and in the transmission of Holocaust memory. This section considers what these art forms can tell us about experiences within the camp and language in extremity and then moves on to consider how these are conceived and

[63] [We never had the opportunity to see the words written.]
[64] [I didn't know a lot of German.]
[65] [Another treasure in Neubrandenburg was poetry.]

framed in the English and German translations of Maurel's narrative.[66] Boase-Beier asserts that: "Poetry represents the tension between the impossibility of finding a fixed meaning and our need to try to do so…" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.103). This section argues that poetry and song function as substitute vocabularies through which Maurel was not only able to understand the increasingly tumultuous world that surrounded her but also able to survive and narrate her experiences. As Reiter suggests, poetry conveys "…in a short space more information than prose does; for it is not only the content but also the form of poetical discourse that is a bearer of information" (Reiter, 2005, p.15).

The ability of song and poetry to enable survivors to retrieve and relay certain unspeakable truths about their Holocaust memories has been explored by a number of survivors and historians. Fabien Lacombe, a survivor of the Dachau concentration camp but also a French journalist, observed that: "In times of suffering, poetry is like a song that liberates and penetrates right to the very bottom of the truth…" (Lacombe cited in Heiser and Tabener 2014, p.1). Charles Williams, in his study *Poetry and Consciousness* points out that "poetry attaches itself to consciousness in a way no other language experience does" (Williams 1998, p.255). Given this view, it is not surprising that when Maurel describes her reflections of poetry and song she slips into the present tense: "Je la revois toujours chantant ces derniers vers…"[67] (Maurel 1957, p.108). Poetry and song evoke such strong memories for Maurel that she quite literally relives those moments, precisely because it is the form which, as Lacombe acknowledges, most clearly expresses a truth.

In 1995 Laub and Podell proposed the notion of "art trauma" (Laub and Podell 1995, p.993). They suggested that through its "indirect and dialogic nature" it can "come close to representing the emptiness at the core of trauma while still offering the survivor the possibility of repossession and restoration" (Laub and Podell 1995, p.993) Henri Pouzol asserts that what characterises these poems is the intrusion into the inexpressible: "the unimaginable, to discover the real human being under the pitiable, striped prisoner's clothing" (Pouzol 1975,

[66] Framing, as defined by Baker, "involves setting up structures of anticipation that guide others' interpretation of events, usually as a direct challenge to dominant interpretations of the same events in a given society" (Baker 2007, 156).
[67] [I can still see her singing these last verses.]

p.12). Heiser describes poetry as a "lyrical metaphor" and writes that: "Poetry itself lives in an unusual manner, through the encryption of individual experience and through the transposition of feelings into the figurative realm of lyrical metaphors" (Heiser 2014, p.7). This comment evokes an understanding of translation as an act that consists in the encoding of an inexpressible experience and in the decoding of it for others (Steiner 1975/1998). Reiter's comments support this view:

> It was to be expected that, when survivors did try to grasp in words what they themselves often said they could not speak about, they should have needed to find a special language for this task […] only a minority of those who later managed to express themselves in writing about the camps did so in the form of verse, although at the time that was often the only possibility of grasping in literature what they were living through. (Reiter 2005, pp.84-85)

It, thus, becomes possible to understand poetry and song within the camps as acts of translation, as a substitute vocabulary for an experience for which there are otherwise no words. However, poetry and song are not the only tools by which survivors were later able to retrieve their memories and to pass them on to future generations. Poetry and song played a critical role within the concentration camps themselves. In *My Shadow in Dachau*, Heiser recalls that: "Although it was forbidden for prisoners to keep personal records during their time in the concentration camp, diaries, reports and poems were written in secret" (Heiser 2014, p.2). In *Un camp très ordinaire*, Maurel testifies to this when she writes: "…chaque feuillet de ces carnets, chaque crayon qui les accompagnait, étaient aux yeux des SS autant d'actes de sabotage, pour lesquels Sissy s'exposait à être terriblement battue"[68] (Maurel 1957, p.103). Thus, the acts of writing poetry and the singing of songs are examples of "the ways in which inmates tried to resist the attacks on their cultural identity, and on their individuality" (Nader 2007, p.4). Henri Pouzol, French poet and survivor of the Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen and Dachau concentration camp, writes that: "In this appalling context of cynical destruction… poetic language finds itself instinctively returning to its original character… it

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[68] [And every page contained in these notebooks, and each crayon that accompanied them were, in the eyes of the SS, equivalent to acts of sabotage, to which Sissy was making herself vulnerable to terrible beatings.]

takes the final, ultimate form of human resistance, the resistance of thought, of the mind…" (Pouzol in Heiser 2014, p.3). Finally, as Boase-Beier writes: "[…] in expressing individual experience, poetry is an act of defiance against the depersonalization of the Holocaust, which turned human beings into an inhuman 'question' not requiring empathy" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.148). Through the creative acts of poetry and song, victims sought to overcome extreme situations, and through creativity to oppose destruction through the creation of something that belonged to them.

In a letter to Heiser, Fabien Lacombe also observed that poetry was not only an act of resistance but also one which allowed survivors to escape the brutality of their surroundings:

> There were those on the one hand – and they were many – who, before their deportation, were poets and therefore found it the best way to express themselves. But there were those on the other hand – they were many also – who, to escape the vulgarity, and triviality of the brutal language of the camp, sought and found poetic expression, which more than anything else was able to restore the sensitivity and the last bit of humanity that the prisoners were trying to preserve…" (Lacombe in Heiser 2014, p.10)

Charlotte Delbo also attests to this in *Mesure de nos jours* (1971) as she writes: "Quand je recitais un poème, quand je racontais un livre ou une pièce de théâtre à mes camarades autour de moi, tout en bêchant la boue du marais, c'était pour me garder en vie, pour garder ma mémoire [...]"[69] (Delbo 1971, p.14). At several points in her narrative Maurel reports the effects emanative of not only the recitation, but also writing of poetry as both comforting and encouraging: "Je ne peux comparer à rien le plaisir pur et parfait que ces vers nous donnaient"[70] (Maurel 1957, p.112). Songs and poetry also allowed Maurel to escape the reality of her situation: "La encore les vers que nous préférions étaient ceux qui traitaient de thèmes tout à fait étrangers au camp et à la misère matérielle"[71] (Maurel 1957, p.111). "En

[69] [When I recited a poem, when I recited a book or a play to my comrades around me, while digging in the mud of the swamp, it was to keep me alive, to keep my memory…]
[70] [Nothing can compare to the pure and perfect pleasure that these verses gave to us.]
[71] [There again, the verses that we preferred were those that dealt with themes outside of camp-life and material misery.]

général, nous réclamions surtout des chansons qui n'avaient pas le moindre rapport avec la captivité…"[72] (Maurel 1957, p.109). "Tout comme les chansons, les vers que nous aimions le mieux nous rappeler était ceux qui évoquaient le moins a prison, la morte et aussi (la deuxième année) l'espérance. L'Esperance en poésie sonnait comme une fausse note"[73] (Maurel 1957, p.111).

The value of poetry in the concentration camp for both Maurel and her fellow inmates is also clear in the words that she uses to describe it. She describes poetry as a gift: "Sissy avait la plus jolie voix et le répertoire le plus riche. Mais plusieurs autres femmes savaient aussi nous régaler de quelques chansons"[74] (Maurel 1957, p.109). Maurel records how other inmates would ask her to write poetry for them: "De temps en temps une femme me demandait quelques vers à offrir à une amie. Un fois, l'une des meilleures Françaises, Germaine […] m'a demandé d'écrire un poème sur ses enfants et son amour pour eux…Elle a pleuré sur son poème et m'a dit qu'il lui faisait du bien"[75] (Maurel 1957, p.113). "Une autre fois, j'ai trouvé Françoise-Odette en larmes au fond d'un 'washraum', mon carnet de vers entre les mains. Je ne sais qu'elle y avait trouvé qui avait brusquement ranime sa tendresse pour sa fillette restée en France. Mais elle aussi disait que cela lui faisait du bien"[76] (Maurel 1957, p.114). In this citation Maurel records that, on at least three occasions, the poems that she wrote for her comrades allowed them to cry, doing them some good. Through Maurel's repetition it seems clear that victims had become almost depersonalised, without emotion as if to protect themselves mentally, emotionally, from the harsh conditions through which they lived. Poetry, as a substitute vocabulary, allowed them to find a new language in which to reconnect to their humanity, to access their emotions, to cry, to feel something, to feel human.

[72] [In general, we requested songs that had the least to do with captivity.]
[73] [Just like the songs, the verses we liked remembering best were the ones that spoke the least about prison, the dead, and also (the second year) hope." Hope in poetry sounded like a wrong note.]
[74] [Sissy had the most beautiful voice and the richest repertoire. But many other women also knew how to bestow a few songs upon us.]
[75] [From time to time a woman asked me for a few verses to give to a friend. Once, one of the best French women, Germaine [...] asked me to write a poem about her children and her love for them... She cried over her poem and told me that it was doing her good.]
[76] [On another occasion, I found Francoise-Odette in tears at the back of the "washraum," my notebook full of verses in her hand. I do not know what she discovered in there that had suddenly revived her affection for her little girl who was still in France, but she too said that it did her good.]

Boase-Beier (2016) writes that: "If poetry, rather than merely documenting or describing, engages the mind, the thought processes and the emotions of its readers, then the way this happens will be at the heart of the translator's concern with the original text" (Boase-Beier 2016, p.3). Having now considered the integrated nature of songs and poetry in camp life and drawn attention to the important role that these also played in the post-war transmission of survivor's memories, it seems significant to consider how these elements have been brought forth in translation. In some instances, the English translator includes the French original song or poem, followed by an English translation:

> Vingt-cinq janvier ! Chez nous les amandiers
> Fleurissent,
> L'herbe pousse plus verte au pied des oliviers…
>
> January twenty-fifth! At home the almond trees are blooming,
> The grass grows greener beneath the olive trees… (Maurel 1959, p.63)

The German translator, on the other hand, includes the lines in French with no German translation (Maurel 2014, chap.11, para.5).

In many instances, the English translator of *Un camp très ordinaire* removes the songs and poetry from the narrative entirely. In chapter 13, Maurel cites verses from several songs and stanzas from several poems, at length. She writes about a number of the songs that were sung in the camp and records verses from five songs. The English translation of the chapter "Chansons et Poèmes" [Songs and Poetry] (Maurel 1959, pp.89-94) includes lines from just one of these songs; "In which the refrain was repeated like a leitmotiv: "Il est pourtant temps de nous marier"[1] to which the reply was "Je ne suis pas tell'ment pressé…." I'm not in any hurry, I'm not in any hurry" (Maurel 1959, p.110). The German translator, on the other hand, translates the poem: "Dennoch wird's zeit, dass wir heiraten,", während der Partner stets antwortete: "Ich hab's nicht so eilig, so eilig…" (Maurel, 2014, chap.15, para.8). Margaret Summers omits all of the other song stanzas from the English translation of Maurel's narrative. "Chansons et Poèmes" also includes stanzas from ten poems, three of which were composed

in the camps by Maurel. Of these ten stanzas, only three are reproduced in the English translation (including two of Maurel's poems). The others are absent. By contrast, the German translation includes the stanzas from all of the songs and poems referenced by Maurel. The German translator's strategy towards the translation of songs and poetry, however, varies. Where an official translation is available in the German language, the German translator cites this and credits the translator:

> Pendant que des mortels la multitude vile
> Sous le fouet du plaisir, ce bourreau sans merci…
> Der Sterblichen gemeiner Haufe hat begonnen,
> Vom Schinder Trieb gepeitscht, der keine Gnade zeigt…
> (Übersetzung von Wilhelm Hausenstein)
>
> (Maurel 2014, chap.15, para.14).

Where a pre-published translation is not available, the German translator includes the French. Of the five songs cited by Maurel in "Chansons et Poèmes", the German translator includes the stanzas from three songs solely in French, and two in French followed by a German translation (Maurel 2014, chap.15). Of the nine poems cited by Maurel in her chapter dedicated to songs and poetry, three are cited entirely in French, three in French accompanied by an accredited German translation, and three in German without French. The three poems included in German, and without French translations, are translations of the poems that Maurel had written (Maurel 2014, chap.15).

To conclude this final section, I return to my earlier citation from Lacombe who reminds us that: "All these poems are revelations of a final, ultimate truth of human existence in the face of death, at the edge of what is expressible; they are also evidence of the spiritual freedom of the human being under the most extreme and degrading conditions" (Lacombe in Heiser 2014, p.3-4). The aesthetic practice of poetry and songs can be viewed as creative acts of survival and resistance, a gesture that opposes humiliation and silencing in an environment which sought to strip individuals of their personality by depriving them of the most basic human rights and freedoms. Poetry serves as a metaphor that allows real and truthful representations

of an inexpressible kind of knowledge to be exposed. It becomes a substitute vocabulary, a special language, an imaginative act of translation through which Maurel is able to give form and meaning to the horrors through which she was living. Maurel's poetry allows her to access her memories in the most vivid way and to the extent that the moments that she evokes are relived. Poetry, like song, brings to the fore some of the deepest expressions of the victim's experience and allows the survivor and subsequently his/her reader an immediacy in accessing the original experience, giving rise to a re-living of memory. Writing about poetry as a form of resistance, Boase-Beier writes that: "One of the most important aspects of the translator's task is to preserve such acts of defiance as part of the response to the Holocaust" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.148). This section has shown that there have, historically, been a range of different strategies at play in the translation of songs and poetry included in Maurel's narrative; the translators of Maurel's narrative do not seem to have acknowledged the important role that songs and poetry play as a tool in her survival and as a tool through which she, the survivor, can narrate her experiences. The German translator invests in seeking out recognised translations for Maurel's songs and poems in his attempt to represent Maurel's experience. In her translator's note, Margaret Summers admits the omission of the earlier discussed camp terminology for "simplicity's sake, though they might have added local colour" (Maurel 1957, p.23). She makes no reference to the number of stanzas of poetry that have been removed from her translation, however, and one might easily assume that these too have been omitted in favour of a straightforward translation. This indicates the translator's possible lack of understanding of the function of poetry in the camps and in narrating victims' post-war experiences.

Chapter Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has shown that paratexts are a critical aspect of published Holocaust testimony and demand to be thought about both in translation and as translation. The translations of Maurel's paratext into English show how visual designs and title transformations can result in changes to a narrative's genre. The English versions of Maurel's narrative, *The Slave* (1958a) and *Ravensbrück* (1959), are presented as sexualised fictionalisations about the enslavement or rape of a young woman. They are packaged not as testimonies but rather as fetishized war narratives targeted toward a predominantly male

readership in an anxious post-war society that feared the rising status of a new generation of independent women. By comparison, in 1960, the German translation highlights an altogether different tradition which will be reinforced in later examples in this thesis: the paratextual apparatus of the German translation, the simplicity of its cover-design and the added subtitle emphasise the narrative's status as a testimony. It would be nice to conclude that in 2019 shocking transformations to Holocaust narratives in translation were a thing of the past. However, the publication of the narrative in an e-book edition by Pickle Publishing in 2015 under the title *The Slave* suggests that there is more work to be done.

While the paratexts of the translated versions play an important role in the transmission of memory, so too do translation choices. The second half of this chapter has argued that Maurel's literary idioms, her use of tense shifts, brevity, repeated themes, ellipses and allegory are substitute vocabularies for a world without words. The chapter has suggested that Maurel's literary idioms point to the extent of the losses and absences of her experience and they allow her to voice aspects of her memory that she is unable to verbalise. These specific and critical features of Maurel's narration rarely find their place in translation. The chapter has also explored the function and significance of Maurel's use of multilingualism. Her narrative includes German, Russian and a "Frenchified" dialect of German which reflect the multilingual nature of the camp environment. These words have no French equivalents and, thus, any attempt at translation can become a misrepresentation of Maurel's experience. The chapter has shown that the translation of German into German is particularly problematic and that the act of not translating reduces the linguistic plurality and diversity of Maurel's experience. It eradicates the violent and insulting undertones attached to Maurel's use of German. The range of different strategies to deal with Maurel's use of multilingualism result in neither translator attaching sufficient significance to Maurel's use of different languages in her account. This could also point to Gramling's observation that the publication orthodoxies of the early post-war era compelled the production of monolingual testimonies (Gramling cited in Davies 2018, p.5).

Finally, this chapter has brought into focus the critical function of poetry and song as creative acts of survival; acts that allowed individuals to resist being silent, to retain parts of their

identity and, ultimately, to survive. Songs and poetry, like literary idioms and like multilingualism, became a substitute vocabulary through which Maurel was able to give form and meaning to the horrors that surrounded her. Regardless of how we choose to view the changes that can be traced through translation, as misapprehension or as adherence to certain conventions, the fact remains that translations of Maurel's *Un camp très ordinaire* have until now not fully acknowledged the function of substitute vocabularies in narrating Holocaust experiences. This recognition may be useful for future translation practices.

Chapter 3. Translating Materiality and Substitute Vocabularies in Hélène Berr's *Journal*

Hélène Berr's *Journal* has been the subject of scholarly articles since its first publication in France in 2008 (Bracher 2010, 2014; Egelman 2014; Jaillant 2010 and Sabbah 2012). Yet, despite having been published in more than thirty languages and having been the subject of scholarly study in French and also other languages, little attention has been paid to the question of how Berr's voice has been reframed in translation.[77] This third chapter explores the role of substitute vocabularies in enabling the transmission of experiences of Holocaust victims and uncovers the central role played by translation as a process that exists not just between the source and target language, but within the genealogy of Holocaust narratives themselves. The existence of a manuscript that precedes publication, in the case of Berr's *Journal,* calls for consideration of how editorial processes influence translation practices. The manuscript's journey into publication is seen here as an act of translation whereby Berr's experiences are revised and rewritten by both Berr herself and her French editors before they even reach the desk of her English and German translators. The first part of this chapter examines the material and institutional structures that shape the transmission of Berr's memory and considers how Berr's *Journal* bridges the gap between the knowledge of the events and the representation of it in manuscript form. Berr's manuscript, which is impacted by the manuscript's gatekeeper, Mariette Job, who is Berr's niece, will be compared with the published French (2008a)[78] version. Berr's manuscript raises ethical considerations that go beyond the decision to publish a diary posthumously. Yet, the moment that we realise that Berr's consent is written into her diary,[79] the ethical questions arising from posthumous editing and publication become those that are also asked of translation: how, why and for

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[77] Peter Davies does, however, refer to the translator's afterword in the German translation of *Journal* (Davies 2018, p.50). This contribution will be discussed later in the chapter.

[78] This chapter works with the following editions of Berr's *Journal*: Berr, H. 2008a. *Journal, 1942-1944*. Paris: Éditions Tallandier. Berr, H. 2008b. *The Journal of Hélène Berr*. Translated from the French, by David Bellos. London: Maclehose. (Source text originally originally published in 2008). Berr, H. 2009. *Pariser Tagebuch: 1942-44*. Translated from the French, by Elisabeth Edl. Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag. (Source text originally published in 2008).

[79] "…il y a la partie que j'écris par devoir, pour conserver des souvenirs de ce qui devra être raconté" (Berr 2008a, p.213). [I'm writing out of duty, to preserve the memories of those things that have to be told.]

whom? Moreover, this chapter will address questions of paratextual framing and the strategies used by publishers to promote Berr's story and its interpretation.

The second part of this chapter considers how Berr uses substitute vocabularies to narrate her experiences. The horrors and the increasing incomprehensibility of the events that surround Hélène Berr, as well as her fluency in and love of the English language, give rise to a range of literary idioms in her writing that enable her to record her traumatic experiences of loneliness, pain and grief. Zoë Egelman offers an insightful overview of the critical and evolving role that literature in particular plays in *Journal* by analysing the diary in reference to the literary works in Berr's bookshelf (Egelman 2014). In doing so, Egelman (2014) illustrates how literary works took on a new meaning in the context of the Occupation and Jewish persecution in Paris, and how literature illuminates some of Berr's most complex thoughts. Egelman's article, thus, provides some crucial underpinnings for the second part of this chapter which draws on her research and expands on. In this chapter, I will suggest that Berr's use of literature can be read as an act of translation alongside her use of multilingualism, poetry, and literary idioms such as repetition and brevity; these substitute vocabularies enable Berr to narrate moments or events where her own language fails her.

After considering the important role that substitute vocabularies play in Berr's narrative, the third part of this chapter expands on the discussion which originated in chapter two surrounding the challenges that multiple languages within a text pose to translators of Holocaust narratives. Grutman argues that, "[…] translators of multilingual texts often find themselves in a catch-22 situation" (Grutman 2006, p.23) and this is particularly true when translating into a language which corresponds to the foreign language expressed in the "source text". By drawing on and comparing examples from David Bellos' English version of Berr's *Journal* (2008b) and Elisabeth Edl's German translation (2009) against Berr's *Journal* (2008a), the final part of this chapter considers how translations of Berr's narrative deal with her use of multilingualism. Scholars working in the field have acknowledged the need for studies that engage with the individuals involved in the transmission of Holocaust memory. Peter Davies, for example, argues that more research needs to be done to uncover the work of "innumerable individuals who have made knowledge about the Holocaust available across

linguistic, cultural ,and generational boundaries, including not only the writers and translators, but also editors, publishers, booksellers, and librarians" (Davies 2018, p.40). Writing of her own experience as a translator of Paul Celan's poetry, Boase-Beier also notes that learning more about translators' perspectives and approaches helps to "widen the focus from the poem as representation of Holocaust events … to the way the poem makes us reflect on those events and the sort of changes we are prepared to make in our own perceptions as a result" (Boase-Beier, 2015, p.128). Importantly, the close analysis of Edl's and Bellos' translations is informed by original interviews with both. Translators often talk about translation, yet translators rarely publish research, and so insights like this are rare in studies combining Holocaust writing and translation[80]. My choice to spotlight the translator in this chapter also reflects broader concerns within Translation Studies at large, which have prompted scholars to develop methodologies that bring into focus translators' motivations and rationales. Tryuk, for example, argues that:

> In order to understand why a text is translated in a certain way and not another, you need to look at the person who performed the translation. It is the translator […] whom we must focus on in order to understand why a certain translation or interpreting took place at a given time or place. (Tryuk 2015, p.23)

By including critical reflections on the role of gatekeepers in translation based on my conversations with Mariette Job, David Bellos, and Elisabeth Edl, the chapter highlights the central role that editors and translators play in the construction and transmission of new forms of knowledge about the Holocaust. By considering the role of translators and editors rather than looking at translation as a product, this chapter also seeks to evade what Peter Davies terms as the "scapegoating" of translators in Holocaust literature[81] (Davies 2018, p.41) and reinstate translators and editors as central players in the safeguarding of Holocaust memory.

[80] See Davies (2011, 2014, 2017 and 2018) and Deane-Cox (2013, 2014, 2017).

[81] "What criteria do we actually have for differentiating between these cases, beyond simple – and theoretically naïve – comparisons of original and translation that construct a 'translator' as scapegoat for a multitude of sins?' (Davies 2018, p.41)

Translating the Materiality of Berr's *Journal*

Hélène Berr was just 21 years old when she began writing her diary in April 1942. The first half of *Journal* provides descriptions of the quite ordinary life of a student of English literature at Paris' prestigious Sorbonne University. Hélène Berr is a young woman who loved music and strolling through the parks of Paris in the sunshine. Berr's *Journal* details her initial love-interest in Jean Morawiecki, who would later become her fiancé and the intended recipient of the scrap pages of the notebook that would make up her diary. On 27 th October 1943, Berr observes, "Il y deux parties dans ce *Journal*, je m'en aperçois en relisant le début: il y a la partie que j'écris par devoir, pour conserver des souvenirs de ce qui devra être raconté, et il y a celle qui est écrite pour Jean, pour moi et pour lui"[82] (Berr 2008a, p.213). June 8th 1943 marked a pivotal moment in Hélène Berr's diary; her status as a Jew in Nazi-occupied France and the mandatory wearing of the yellow star was to change her life forever. From that point onward, her intimate descriptions of love would become interwoven with the horrors of what would later become known as the Holocaust.

Brenner, who has written about writing as resistance in women's Holocaust diaries argues that: "The insistence on their vocation as artists is reflected in the search for adequate language and literary forms to represent their experiences" (Brenner 1997, p.132). Berr's manuscript passed half a century in the private possession of those closest to her. She had given loose pages of her diary to the family cook before her arrest on the 8th March 1944 (Grice 2008). Hélène Berr died in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp in April 1945, just five days before the liberation of the camp. The pages of her diary reached her uncle and eventually its intended recipient: "Je sais pourquoi j'écris ce *Journal*," writes Hélène Berr, on 27th October 1943, "Je sais que je veux qu'on le donne à Jean si je ne suis pas là lorsqu'il reviendra. Je ne veux pas disparaître sans qu'il sache tout ce que j'ai pensé pendant son absence, ou du moins une partie"[83] (Berr 2008a, p.206). In 1994, Jean Morawiecki entrusted the manuscript to

[82] [There are two parts to this diary, I'm noticing as I reread the beginning; there's the part that I'm writing out of duty, to preserve memories of what will have to be told, and there is the part that is written for Jean, for him, and for myself.]

[83] "I know why I am writing this journal… I know that I want it to be given to Jean if I am not here when he returns. I don't want to disappear without him knowing everything that I have thought of in his absence, or at least some of it" (Berr 2008b, p.183).

Hélène's niece, Mariette Job who, with the family's agreement, donated it to the *Mémorial de la Shoah* in Paris in 2002.

In his contribution to *Tradition, Translation, and Trauma* on how to read Holocaust memoirs, Peter Kuhiwczak commented that: "If we succeed in tracing a Holocaust memoir from the manuscript to the published copy, we can often discover that the original text has often gone through a complex operation of radical editing, rewriting, and translation" (Kuhiwczak 2011, p.286). Yet, just a year earlier in 2010, Jaillant in her article on Berr's *Journal*, "A Masterpiece Ripped From Oblivion," also asserts that: "It seems that the Tallandier edition was, as Mariette Job claims, an unedited copy of the original" (Jaillant 2010, p.374). Is Berr's *Journal,* then, a unique example in the history of Holocaust memories? Has the manuscript evaded revision, as Jaillant suggests, or has it been subject to editorial tailoring and rewriting as other Holocaust memoirs have been?[84] This first section takes as its starting point Berr's manuscript, its materiality and Berr's handwritten words. By casting light on the specificities of the manuscript (including errors and shortcuts), this section considers firstly how the materiality of Berr's manuscript facilitates the construction of an image of the young Berr, while also pointing to her unique situation. Through a consideration of the extent to which these features are reproduced in the French published version, this first section asks what, if anything, remains frozen in Berr's handwritten expressions. It also explores the defining role that family members as gatekeepers play in the shaping and re-shaping of the manuscript and the possibility of wilful withholding of information for the sake of an honourable representation of the victims and their histories. Drawing on original interviews with Mariette Job, this chapter will demonstrate some of the misinterpretations that can arise (and continue to circulate) as a result of a gatekeeping relationship with this iconic text. Building on discussions started in Chapter two, the final part of this first section considers the paratextual framing of Berr's manuscript in its published form (in English, German and French editions)

[84] For example, Anne Frank's Diary. Lefevere's, 'On the construction of different Anne Franks,' explores the various transformations that Anne Frank's Diary undergoes, from manuscript to published copy, and eventually into translation. Lefevere describes how Anne Frank made literary and 'personal' edits to her diary when it became clear that it could be published, and how editors, translators, and Anne Frank's father, Otto Frank, responded to the constraints of ideology and patronage. (See Lefevere, A. 2016. Translation: ideology: On the construction of different Anne Franks. In: Translation, Rewriting and Literary Fame. London: Routledge, pp.45-54).

and how these re-contextualise readings of Berr's *Journal* across different languages and cultures.

Millim argues that, "A published diary always bears the traces of editorial distortion, so the authentic text could only really be worked with more widely if manuscripts were made accessible to scholars in digital archives" (Millim 2000, p.978). Although researchers are unable to gain access to the hard-copy of Berr's manuscript, a digitally scanned version of Berr's *Journal* is available for consultation in a reading room at the *Mémorial de la Shoah* in Paris. This digitised replica of Berr's manuscript and her handwritten words are unique markers or traces of Berr's surroundings and expose the communicative situation in which she writes. This allows the reader to be drawn closer and into a moving encounter with her experiences. One of the most striking characteristics of Berr's manuscript, for example, is its rawness. The fact that Berr records her diary entries on an assortment of pages (sometimes lined, sometimes squared, sometimes neatly cut, at other times tattered), and that she was not inscribing her thoughts in one fixed place, facilitates the construction of the image of a young Berr tearing out pages of paper from various different notebooks or picking up sheets of paper haphazardly whenever and wherever she felt compelled to write. She notes that: "Cela m'est un bonheur de penser que si je suis prise Andrée aura gardé ces pages, quelque chose de moi, ce qui m'est le plus précieux, car maintenant je ne tiens plus à rien d'autre qui soit matériel ; ce qu'il faut sauvegarder, c'est son âme et sa mémoire"[85] (Berr 2008a, p.213). Her very decision not to write in a notebook seems significant in light of her astute and increasing awareness of the situation surrounding her. Berr was undeniably writing for Jean, her fiancé, in the hope that something of her might live on. As Rosen (2013) observes, writing was an act of resistance.[86] The fact that this diary is not just a personal artefact but one written for another might perhaps explain why Berr chooses to write on these individual pages; in this way she is able to construct her experiences, to add to them, to revise them or simply to omit

[85] "It makes me happy to think that if I am taken, André will have kept these pages, which are a piece of me, the most precious part, because no other material thing matters to me anymore; what must be rescued is the soul and the memory it contains" (Berr 2008b, p.183).
[86] "A Jew still alive in the Jew-Zone was a statistical error by the fall of 1943. For such a person to take pen in hand at that time was an act of profound self-awareness" (Rosen 2013, p.27).

them. We also know that Berr "re-read" her diary[87] and hence these pages might be read not merely as a space in which Berr was to express her thoughts, but also as a space in which she could reflect on them. A notebook might have been lost or destroyed, but by writing her manuscript on several individual pages Berr constructs multiple snapshots of herself and of her life, bringing into existence not one but several tangible pieces to stand up to destruction.

Her hand-written words, sometimes written in pen and sometimes written in pencil, seem to have a pronounced effect on those who encounter Berr's manuscript. On some days, Berr writes neatly, while on others her writing becomes almost illegible. On the 19th April 1942, for example, Berr writes: "Et mon doigt me donne une souffrance physique dont je suis reconnaissante"[88] (Berr 2008a, p.33), and the physical pain of her finger is made manifest through her weary handwriting (see figure 8).

[This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons]

Figure 8 Berr's Manuscript – Weary Handwriting (MS, 2016)

[87] "Il y deux parties dans ce journal, je m'en aperçois en relisant le début: il y a la partie que j'écris par devoir, pour conserver des souvenirs de ce qui devra être raconté, et il y a celle qui est écrite pour Jean, pour moi et pour lui" (Berr 2008a, p.213) [There are two parts to this diary, I'm noticing as I reread the beginning; there's the part that I'm writing out of duty, to preserve the memories of those things that have to be told, and there is the part that I'm writing for Jean, for him, and for myself.]
[88] [My finger is causing me immense pain, which I am grateful for.]

Her emotional suffering is also illustrated within these loose pages; it might be suggested that her tears are exposed by the ink blot stains and smears of ink that blemish the pages. It must be remembered, furthermore, that Berr was writing a diary and as such she did not always have the time to neatly connect her thoughts and feelings. Her manuscript shows evidence of this throughout in the form of missing orthographical markers, question marks, accents, incorrectly placed capital letters and crossings out. Through these material signs of hurried writing and her use of bullet points and short sentences, one begins to sense the urgency with which she writes and, indeed, the horrors that surround her: "Je note les faits, hâtivement, pour ne pas les oublier parce qu'il ne faut pas oublier"[89] (Berr 2008a, p.105). David Patterson, examining wartime victim writing in Western Europe, writes:

> Despite their many differences in background, age, and upbringing they had one thing in common: they put their words to the page along the edge of annihilation. This feature of their existential condition shaped the nature of their writing, the motives for their writing, and the stake of their writing. Pressed for time and in lands under German occupation, they had no time for rewriting. Regardless of genre, this victim wartime writing is characterized by an air of urgency, a sense of responsibility, and an impetus to testimony. And yet they had no real expectation that their words would see the light of day. Putting their pen to paper required both courage and faith on the part of these authors, as they took up their task in the midst of fear and foreboding. (Patterson 2013, p.33)

Berr also refers to her friends and family using their initials, for example B.M.[90], G[91] and J.M.[92] Given the number of names that Berr records using this shorthand form, this particular facet seems less an indicator of her desire to censor parts of her diary and more so an illustration of her eagerness to record the facts; a time-saving exercise. Therefore, even before reading the words it contains, the materiality of Berr's manuscript gives several indicators that point to her situation; a keen writer, resisting destruction through the act of writing and

[89] [I'm noting the facts, in haste, in order that they are not forgotten, because we must not forget.]
[90] Bonne Maman.
[91] Gérard.
[92] Jean Morawiecki.

keeping a diary, a student with an active social life and so pressed for time, or so affected by the events that were unravelling around her that she chose to record things concisely and without embellishment. In 2006, Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, in reference to testimonial objects, remind us that: "such remnants carry memory traces from the past… but they also embody the very process of its transmission" (Spitzer and Hirsch 2006, p.35), and this process of transmission constitutes part of Berr's memories, the memory that Berr had so hoped would be rescued.

The inevitable effects of publication that scholars like Millim (2010) and Kuhiwczak (2011) have pointed to mean that many facets of Berr's *Journal* are lost as they are carried into the French published edition. This view diverges significantly with Jaillant's (2010) evaluation of *Journal* as "[…] an unedited copy of the original" (Jaillant 2010, p.374) and also that Mariette Job's idealised appraisal of Berr's *Journal* which will later be explored. The French published copy makes subtle transformations to Berr's *Journal.* The transferring of Berr's penned or pencilled words into a neat and consistent font transforms the status of *Journal* from a personal and intimate artefact into a public document in whose presence any reader might feel at ease. The French published copy silences the physical pain of Berr's emotional and physical suffering and explains the initials recorded in Berr's manuscript through descriptions in closed parenthesis and through the provision of footnotes. These explain not only the significant role that these people played in Berr's life[93] but also contain descriptions of historical events. Rather than recognising the young Berr as a fallible being, someone who was capable of making errors, and acknowledging the distinct situation in which she was writing, in its corrective approach to publication the French (2008a) edition seeks to construct an image of an exceptional human being. This is why Millim argues that: "Editorial tailoring is in itself worth analysing as it is an important indicator of a desirable public image and of the regulation of the discourse of the self" (Millim 2010, pp.979-980).

To counter this, however, one might acknowledge that not seeking to replicate the specificities of Berr's *Journal* and dismantling the intimate encounter that is bound up in a reading of Berr's

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[93] N.B. These footnotes in the French version of *Journal* also contain numerous translations to words that Berr narrates in English, a characteristic of her *Journal* which will later be explored.

handwritten pages is what makes the published copy accessible and palatable for a reader. Indeed, Jean Morawiecki, who was Hélène Berr's fiancé and the *Journal*'s intended recipient, observes that the immediacy and emotion that is contained within Berr's manuscript pages makes reading it a difficult and challenging experience. For this reason, he often turned to the typed copy. In a letter he wrote to Mariette Job on 1st May 2008, he comments that**:**

> Le journal d'Hélène m'y a toujours accompagné sous ses deux formes : le manuscrit et l'un des exemplaires dactylographiés par les soins des survivants de la famille. C'est surtout celui-ci que je relisais de temps en temps. L'original était chargé de trop d'émotion. L'écriture, la "main", abolissait les années et ne la rendait plus présente que pour faire mieux sentir la cruauté de l'absence sans retour : cette main exsangue et glacée tendue vers moi pour que je lui rende la vie… [94] (Morawiecki in Berr 2008a, pp.309- 311)

The very act of printing Berr's words allows a necessary gap to be created between readers and the horrific events she describes. Another interesting aspect of Morawiecki's statement is the clear differentiation that he makes between the manuscript and Hélène's "main" and the various hands at work in the typed copy which is brought to fruition "par les soins des survivants de la famille"[95] (Morawiecki in Berr 2008a, p.309). Here, the aforementioned role that Mariette Job had in the transmission of her aunt's memories must also be returned to. Jaillant cites Job in several places and records her putting forward her experience of receiving the manuscript for the very first time. Job recalls: "What I had in my hands was a brown envelope containing a set of undamaged sheets from a student notepad. There are almost no crossings out, no revisions. She wrote in a single sweep" (Job in *Telegraph*, 2008). Through secondary readings, interviews carried out by others, through my own conversations with Job, as well as information gleaned second-hand from the translators of Berr's *Journal* on their interactions with Mariette Job, the decisive role that she has played merits attention. Indeed,

[94] "The journal of Hélène Berr has always been part of my life in both its forms – as a manuscript, and as one of the typescript copies. It was the latter that I reread from time to time. The original was too charged with emotion. Hélène's writing, her 'hand', wiped out the years that had passed, and if it made her more present, it only emphasized the cruelty of her irremediable absence: a pale and frozen hand stretched out towards me so I could bring it back to life…" (Berr 2008b, p.275).

[95] [Through the care of the surviving family members.]

her comments in light of an analysis of the manuscript against the French published copy point to some interesting divergences. The pages of Berr's *Journal*, although not damaged, do show signs of wear and the pages that it is comprised of were most certainly drawn from several different sources. Contrary to Job's (2008) appraisal, there are several crossings-out and corrections, many gaps and a period of nine months when Berr writes nothing at all (see figure 9).

[This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons]

Figure 9 Berr's Manuscript – Crossings-out and ink-blot stains (MS, 2016)

As someone closely connected to Berr, and given Berr's terrible fate, Mariette Job's desire to create a favourable image of Berr comes to the fore when we compare her comments with the evidence contained in the original manuscript. This hypothesis comes through in conversations with David Bellos, the English translator of Berr's *Journal*, who also alludes to some of the difficulties or "Mariette Job's resistances"[96] in accepting that the act of translation had drawn attention to errors which would have to be corrected in subsequent versions of Berr's *Journal.* Bellos reports that the English translation resulted in corrections to later French language editions which originally contained both "historical and linguistic mistakes," (Bellos 2016). He cites the following as being corrected in later copies of *Journal* in French: "…typos, especially mis-spellings of words in English and German; mis-translations (especially of the English quotations) and missing or inadequate attributions of sources; and

[96] "Many living authors are extremely accommodating, but the rights-holders of dead authors can sometimes be a total pain in the neck. In some senses they are much more of an obstacle because they are not writers themselves and have some pretty peculiar ideas about what writing is. But in the end, I got over Mariette Job's resistances, and we have become good friends. As with living authors, the translation led to numerous corrections to the later editions of the original." (Bellos 2016).

in a number of places where it seemed probable that the manuscript had been incorrectly transcribed, a second look produced a different reading" (Bellos 2016).

Furthermore, it is striking that neither the German nor English translator were able to translate Berr's entry noted on 1st June 1942 and recorded in the French edition: "Refait L'Ancren Rivoli". My own attempts to find an adequate solution also failed. However, returning to the manuscript entry makes it clear why this phrase has been rendered so untranslatable. The entry does not read: "Refait L'Ancren Rivoli", but rather, as the image from Berr's manuscript provided below shows, "Refait L'Ancren Riwle" (see figure 10).

[This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons]

Figure 10 Berr's Manuscript - Refait L'Ancren Riwle - (MS, 2016)

L'Ancren Riwle, otherwise known as *The Ancrene Wisse*, is a "manual for anchoresses" that explains different aspects of religious rule and devotional conduct (Gunn 2008) (see figure above). In correspondence with Mariette Job, I presented her with a photo of the manuscript and with the possibility that this sentence had been mis-transcribed. She contested this interpretation: "Enfin, je vous précise que la phrase 'refait l'ancien Rivoli' est bien conforme à ce qui est écrit dans le manuscrit, et qu'il n'y a donc pas lieu de faire une interprétation à ce sujet. Je n'ai jamais pu expliciter clairement la signification de cette phrase"[97] (Job 2016). This points to the practical difficulties that translators and scholars might face when tasked with respecting and responding to the contending desires and wishes of the legal gatekeepers of testimony. This translation episode, thus, serves as an example for scholars who read Berr's *Journal* of the need to retain a critical distance from the revisions and the filtering to which

[97] [Finally, I should let you know that the sentence "refait l'ancien Rivoli" indeed conforms to what is written in the manuscript, and so it is not necessary to conduct further interpretations on this subject. I have never been able to clearly define what is meant by this sentence.]

Berr's *Journal* has been subjected. These were, perhaps, the result of Job's endeavours to safeguard the authenticity of Berr's memory. She has wished to create an enduring tribute to her aunt. My discussion of this term, L'Ancren Riwle, and the impact of it on interpretations of this section of Berr's text open up the shaping role that Mariette Job has played in bringing Berr's memories to light. To this date, she continues to play an active role in pedagogical and commemorative activities that profile Berr's work to the public:

> Mon rôle dans la publication du *Journal* de ma tante a été décisif, et j'ai expliqué dans une brève postface que j'ai intitulé "une vie confisquée", mon cheminement semé d'embûches qui m'a finalement mené à la publication du livre plus de 60 ans après les faits. Ma rencontre avec Jean Morawiecki, fiancé et dédicataire du *Journal*, a été déterminante. J'ai participé à de multiples rencontres pédagogiques depuis 9 ans avec les jeunes élèves et étudiants en France et à l'étranger, tout récemment en Russie. J'ai initié plusieurs projets commémoratifs, les plaques mémorielles Hélène Berr sur le mur de l'immeuble où elle a vécu, et à Aubergenville. Des lieux commémoratifs aussi : la Médiathèque Hélène Berr dans le XIIème arrondissement, et un amphithéâtre Hélène Berr à la Sorbonne. [98] (Job 2017)

Having now considered the transformations that Berr's *Journal* undergoes as it travels from manuscript to published copy, in the next section I start to think about how the ways in which Berr's *Journal* has been packaged in the French, English and German editions have helped to frame the reading of Berr's experiences to ensure the continued transmission of her voice. In 2010, Jaillant writes that "*Suite française* and Berr's *Journal* exemplify the importance of paratextual elements in the production of international bestsellers" (Jaillant 2010, p.379). This section thus considers the French, German, and English paratextual framing of Berr's *Journal* to consider how it conforms to and/or stands out from social and literary practices linked to

[98] [My role in the publication of my aunt's diary has been decisive, and I explained in an afterword that I entitled "A stolen life" the pitfall-strewn journey that eventually led me to the publication of the journal more than 60 years after the event. Meeting with Jean Morawiecki, Hélène's fiancé, and intended recipient of the journal, had been a determining factor. I've participated in numerous pedological events over the past nine years, with children and young students in both France and abroad, most recently in Russia. I've set up numerous commemorative projects, and the Hélène Berr memorial plaques on the building where she lived, and at Aubergenville; and at some commemorative places as well: the Hélène Berr Médiathèque in the 12th arrondissement and the Hélène Berr lecture theatre at the Sorbonne.]

the transmission of other Holocaust memories. Chapter two illustrated how female concentration camp survivor Micheline Maurel had her story paralleled and promoted through Anne Frank. The section to follow shows how Berr's *Journal* has been similarly marketed in this way, speaking to broader trends in the way that Holocaust narratives are packaged and marketed. Jaillant observes: "Like *Suite française*, Berr's *Journal* has been marketed as a tragic Holocaust story, with Berr often compared with Anne Frank, who also died at Bergen-Belsen in 1945" (Jaillant 2010, p.373). This connection has been made both in scholarly articles and in more sensational reports in the French, German and English-speaking press.[99] The same black-and-white photograph of Hélène Berr is printed on the front cover of the French, German and English publications of Berr's *Journal* (see figures 11, 12 and 13). The use of this photograph not only reinforces the diary's status as a true story or an authentic artefact but it also sets up a strong visual reference to Anne Frank and to Frank's iconic photograph which has been the face of many editions of her diary since its publication in 1947.

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[99] "It seems more appropriate to compare it with Anne Frank's diary: both diarists were young women who wrote truly private diaries that were not initially meant for publication, or even to be read by anyone else" (Sabbah 2012, p.206).
"Like the diary of Anne Frank, Journal is ultimately an uplifting book, because in its pages we meet not so much a great writer – though her prose is fine and elegant – as a human being whose heart is great." Callil, C. (2008). "We must not forget,", *The Guardian,* 8 November 2008, p.1.
Dufay, F. (2009) Hélène Berr, l'autre Anne Frank, *POCHE LePoint.fr,* 20 May 2009, p.1.
Pascal, O. (2009)'La grande soeur d'Anne Frank, *ACTUALITÉ LITTÉRAIRE HISTOIRE*, 1 February, 2008, p.74.
Ramdani, N. "The French Anne Frank sheds fresh light on an old darkness,", *The Daily Telegraph,* 12th January 2008, p.19.
Burke, J. "France finds its own Anne Frank as young Jewish woman's war diary hits the shelves,", *The Observer,* 6th January 2008, p.34.
JA (2014) "HÖREN!; Die anderen Anne Franks,", *Jüdische Allgemeine,* 7th August 2014, p.18.

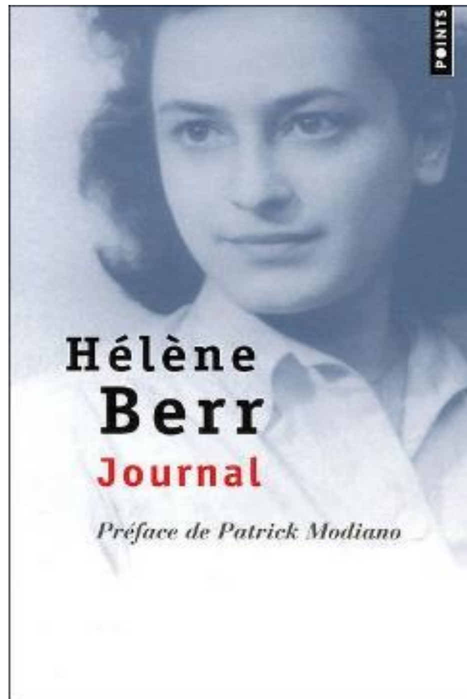

Figure 11 Journal (Berr 2008a) French edition – Front Cover

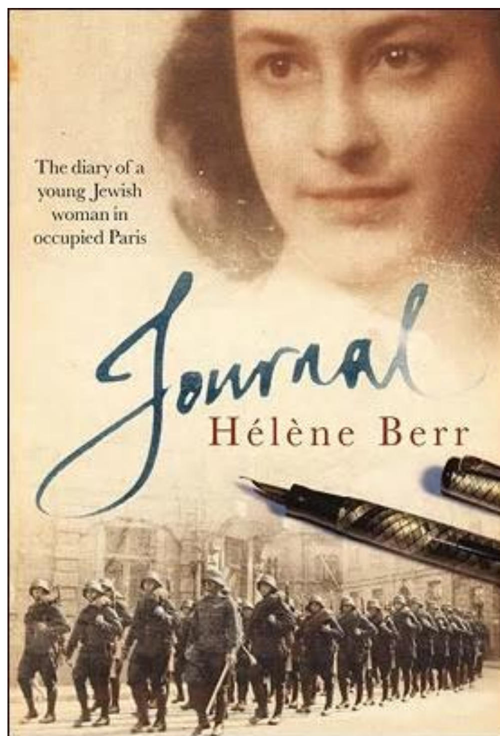

Figure 12 Journal (Berr 2008b) English edition - Front Cover

Figure 13 Journal (Berr 2009) German edition - Front Cover

This parallel is stressed in particular in the French edition which also contains photographs and captions referring to happy moments in Berr's life inserted between the diary's pages. It seems that this is only the first of a range of strategies employed by the publishers and editors to give young Hélène Berr, a relatively unknown figure at the time of the publication of her *Journal* in France, a legitimate and trustworthy voice. For example, the French version of the diary opens with a preface by well-known French writer Patrick Modiano. In the preface, Modiano sees in Berr's writing haunting comparisons with his own literary heroine, young Dora Bruder (1997). She is a fictional character who, by Modiano's admission, is made real in Hélène Berr. Despite the fact that the preface creates a wall between the reader and Berr's words, a redeeming feature of Modiano's preface is the way in which he allows Berr's voice to echo through it: "Sa voix est si proche, dans le silence de ce Paris-là"[100] (Berr 2008a, p.7), and "Une voix et une présence qui nous accompagneront toute notre vie"[101]. (Berr 2008a,

[100] [Her voice is so close, in the silence of this Paris.]
[101] [A voice and a presence that will accompany us for the rest of our lives.]

p.14). Words from Berr's diary are repeated throughout the preface more than thirty times in eight pages. In this way, Berr's history is being re-told and her narrative contextualised. The preface, then, becomes a means of allowing Berr to speak once again. Modiano's preface, moreover, re-visits key dates; acknowledges the significance of her months of silence and asks rhetorical questions: "Avait-elle le pressentiment que très loin dans l'avenir, on le lirait? Ou craignait-elle que sa voix soit étouffée comme celles de millions de personnes massacrées sans laisser de traces?" [102] (Modiano in Berr 2008a, p.13). Patrick Modiano opens up Berr's diary to new interpretations without imposing his own views onto it.

The English diary, on the other hand, is introduced by a page of accreditations highlighting the literary and historical value of *Hélène* Berr's diary rather than containing a translation of Modiano's preface, deemed "weak"[103] and "not well angled to a non-French readership" by David Bellos (Bellos 2016). The (2008b) English edition of Berr's *Journal* contains an introductory note by David Bellos himself. Bellos' "Introduction", of a similar length to Modiano's, can be divided into two sections: the first places Berr's narrative into a broader historical context and, in comparison to Modiano, provides a wealth of information on her love story, her life under the German occupation, her decision to stay in Paris, her networks, the friends she made and her admiration of the English language. The second part of Bellos' introduction deals with issues of translation: the challenges of translating English into English, untranslatable phrases, extending initials from Berr's manuscript and finally words of gratitude for those involved in bringing the English translation of Berr's diary to light. The English translation is thus introduced to its readers: first as a historical document to be read and understood within a given wider historical context, and secondly as a translation. The English edition, like the French, contains footnotes referencing a number of historical events.

While the Modiano preface is translated and used to introduce German readers to Berr's diary, the German version of Berr's *Journal* charts a notably distinct paratextual trajectory to the

[102] [Did she have a feeling that it would be read far into the future? Or did she worry that her voice would be stifled, like the millions of other people massacred without trace?]
[103] "I thought Modiano's preface rather weak, and not well angled to a non-French readership, and so the publisher agreed to drop it and replace it with other material. The English introduction and the essay on 'France and the Jews' were translated for the Dutch edition, and maybe for some others too" (Bellos 2016).

English and French versions. One of the most notable differences in the German translation is the addition of words and clauses to the title. The title moves from Hélène Berr, *Journal,* and its subsequent associations with the diary of Anne Frank in the French edition, to Hélène Berr followed by the subtitle: *Pariser Tagebuch: 1942-1944.* Folkvord (2014) observes a similar occurrence when Ruth Maier's *Dagbok* (published originally in Norwegian) in 2007 was translated into German using a quotation from the diary "Das Leben könnte gut sein" with the subtitle: *Tagebücher 1933 bis 1942* (Folkvord 2014, p.249). We recall that a subtitle emphasising the narrative's authenticity was also added to the German edition of Maurel's *Un camp très ordinaire*, as discussed in the previous chapter. This practice of adding dates to wartime diaries is indicative of a wider trend in the practice of publishing Holocaust narratives in Germany. In our correspondence, the German translator Elisabeth Edl also raised some further relevant comments:

> Durch diesen Titel sollten Ort und Zeit, in dem das Tagebuch angesiedelt ist, auf den ersten Blick erkennbar sein. Das war ein Vorschlag des Verlags, und ich war damit einverstanden. In Frankreich war Hélène Berr schon ein wenig bekannt, bevor ihr Tagebuch erschien: durch die Dauerausstellung im Pariser Mémorial de la Shoah, wo ihr und ihrer Familie schon seit längerem eine Vitrine gewidmet war. Auch in historischen Werken (z.B. Michel Laffitte: Juif dans la France allemande. Paris: Tallandier 2006) fand ihr Tagebuch bereits Erwähnung, denn für Forscher war es zugänglich, seit Mariette Job es im Mémorial de la Shoah hinterlegt hatte. Einem – auch interessierten – deutschsprachigen Publikum war ihr Name völlig unbekannt. Die Präzisierung im Titel sollte Aufmerksamkeit wecken.[104] (Edl 2017)

Folkvord acknowledges that: "For obvious reasons, contemporary German literary culture demonstrates a stronger awareness of editorial issues relating to texts by authors who were

[104] [By using this title, the place and time in which the diary is located, should be immediately recognisable. This was suggested by the publisher, and I agreed. In France, Hélène Berr was well known before the publication of her diary: through the permanent exhibition at the *Mémorial de la Shoah* in Paris, where she and her family have had a display cabinet dedicated to them for quite some time. Her diary had also received attention in historical works, for example, Michel Laffitte, *Le Juif dans la France allemande* (Paris: Tallandier 2006) because it had been accessible to researchers from the moment that Mariette Job gave it to the *Mémorial de la Shoah*. Her name was completely unknown to a German-speaking audience. The clarification in the title should attract attention.]

victims of the Third Reich" (Folkvord 2014, p.48). Indeed, through the re-titling of Berr's *Journal*, a different mode of reading seems to be implied. This is that Berr's *Journal* is not only a diary but also a historical document belonging to an unfamiliar voice; Hélène Berr. The decision of the German editors/translators to give to a subtitle to *Journal*: *Pariser Tagebuch: 1942-1944*[105] is also reflective of editorial practices which are also cemented through the decision to use endnotes instead of footnotes. Moreover, in contrast to David Bellos' seven-page introduction to Berr's *Journal*, Elisabeth Edl's translator's note "Zur Deutschen Ausgabe"[106] is just two pages long and appears as an appendix or an afterword to Berr's *Journal*. In this, she explains "Zahlreiche Einzelheiten werden dem deutschen Leser sehr viel weniger sagen als dem französichen"[107] (Edl 2009, p.317), and thus acknowledges that time, space and relation to the event create a distancing that translation cannot overcome.

While Edl does give some historical detail concerning the Nazi occupation of France and the role of Vichy in the deportation of Jews (Edl quotes some statistics), she gives the reader the ultimate responsibility of educating themselves on the historical specificity of Berr's *Journal* and provides a list of suggested readings. She comments that the German translation tries to, as far as possible, "wiedergeben" (to restore, to render, to echo) Berr's spoken narrative voice and to preserve the immediacy of Hélène Berr's voice (Berr 2009, p.317-318). Furthermore, the German edition, in line with Berr's original manuscript and in contrast to both the English and French published versions of *Journal,* does not contain a single footnote. It instead includes two-hundred and seventy-five endnotes listing the historical, social and linguistic specificities of Berr's *Journal*. The German translation does not destroy the mimetic effect of Berr's words, it does not break the flow nor disturb the continuity by drawing the reader's eye, even if only briefly, away from her words to a piece of information that is not present in her relation of events. All of this helps to frame her voice in German, in contrast to the English edition, not as a literary nor translational endeavour but as a historical one.

To conclude, this section has shown that the process of editing and publication as primarily translational activities transforms and reframes Berr's *Journal* in significant ways. The first

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[105] [Parisian *Journal*: 1942-1944.]
[106] [On the German edition.]
[107] [Many details will say far less to a German reader than it would to a French reader.]

and most significant effect of publication is that it alters the status of the reader. Reading a diary manuscript provokes a different response in a reader to that of reading a published diary (Hassam 1987). The process of publication renders the reader an authorised reader (Hassam 1987, p.438) granting us access to Berr's memory while leaving behind many important and tragic traces of it. The first part of this section has shown that family members' resistance to altering narratives and their commitment to maintaining an image of the Holocaust victim challenges our ability to remember the intricacies of the victim's life. However, this "censored" approach to publication seems to be necessary, a reminder that one should always maintain a distance as an observer, and that such a fine line exists between attempting to understand a victim's experience and being so close that it risks over-identification or appropriation. Contrastingly, the paratextual apparatus attached to publications of Berr's *Journal* threatens to do the opposite. In her article on "Anne Frank's Fame and the Effects of Translation", de Vooght (2017) remarks that Anne Frank's success has "led to the creation of a collective mindset that has failed to acknowledge voices that have expressed survivors' trauma in individual, poetic ways" (de Vooght 2017, p.116), and that the name of Anne Frank is being used to authenticate or to legitimise experiences. By building up such links between Berr and Frank, and Maurel and Frank, and by authenticating their experiences through well-known translators and preface authors, we are at risk of creating perhaps too much distance, allowing the voice of others to speak before the victims themselves.

Multilingualism and Literature as Substitute Vocabularies in Berr's *Journal.*

Berr's narrative, written primarily in French, is a patchwork of foreign languages and citations from works of foreign literature. These emerge frequently in English in the form of utterances or citations from authors or characters and also through poetry. The co-existence of these substitute vocabularies within Berr's *Journal* most clearly indicates her ongoing process of self-translation and linguistic integration. This is synonymous with her mastery of the English language; one could even argue, her bilingualism. Hélène Berr was a linguist. She had completed a *baccalauréat* in Latin and philosophy and she was a student of English at the Sorbonne's *Institut* where she also worked as a librarian (Berr 2008b, p.283-4). She surrounded herself with English-speaking people – a private English teacher, "Miss Day", as well as an English nanny "Miss Child" who worked for her family. Her use of the English

language in her diary allows her to bring together the different cultural matrices in which she finds herself. A keen anglophile, Berr often uses characteristically British expressions like "glorious muddle" (Berr 2008b, p.52) and "glorious mess" (Berr 2008b, p.171) in her writing (Egelman 2014, p.4). By doing so she is able to foreground the idea that an expression in one language might not find its equivalent in another. Hence, where her own native language, French, is insufficient to convey the realities of her situation, Berr goes in search of substitute vocabularies such as English to convey them for her. For example, on 11th January 1944, Berr notes: "Or ce qui est l'essence de mon être, c'est l'unité d'esprit, *single-mindedness* (Berr 2008a, p.274). After writing "l'unité d'esprit" [lit. unity of mind], she then insists on making a clarificatory statement through English, "single mindedness" (Berr 2008a 274) as if to suggest that her description in French was not quite accurate or honest enough (Egelman 2014, p.4). She also retains in her diary English words or expressions such as "hot and bothered" (Berr 2008a, p.152), "cosy" (Berr 2008a, p.162) and even "Damn it" (Berr 2008a, p.258), which do not easily find translation into French and she does so without clarification, highlighting a certain untranslatability in her words.

This untranslatability is most evident in the French edition of Berr's manuscript *Journal* (2008a) which makes attempts to translate Berr's use of multilingualism for the French reader. On the 1st June 1943, Berr writes: "Mais je savais quelque chose de désagréable était *at the back of my mind*" (Berr 2008a, p.52). The French (2008a) edition provides the reader with a translation in brackets "[me préoccupait confusément]" (Berr 2008a, p.52) whose literal rendering as something like "worried me confusedly" falls somewhat short of the intended message of her English utterance. Berr, thus, proves to be not only a linguist but someone who is consistently engaging in acts of translation. On 11th January 1944 she talks about being asked to translate the "Defence of Poetry", an opportunity that she describes as "une planche de salut" ("a life-line") (Berr 2008a, p.239). Translation seems to take on value for Berr not only as a metaphorical but also as a literal means of survival. On Saturday 13th November 1943, Berr talks to her family about Winnie-the-Pooh which she had read the evening before. She says: "J'expliquais mal, je rendais mal le charme du texte, car il est intraduisible en français, et Mlle Detraux est bien plus loin que Maman ou Denise de cette atmosphère […]

J'oubliais tout, sauf mon effort pour faire sentir le charme du livre."[108] Berr observes that, despite her efforts, she ends up boring her family: "[…] je les ennuyais" (Berr 2008a, p.240). Yet despite their perceived lack of interest and her acceptance that Winnie-the-Pooh is untranslatable, she never gives up trying to carry across the charm of the book to her loved ones. In a similar way, Berr recognises that writing and recording her experiences is an impossible task, yet with effort, through the employment of the substitute vocabularies at her disposal and through translation, she is able to record her most honest descriptions of life: "[…] écrire, et écrire comme je le veux, c'est-à-dire avec une sincérité complète […] écrire toute la réalité et les choses tragiques que nous vivons en leur donnant toute leur gravité *nue* sans déformer par les mots, c'est une tâche très difficile et qui exige un effort constant"[109] (Berr 2008a, p.184).

Berr was writing at a time when the Nazis were denying her rights and seeking to obliterate all traces of her and of the Jewish people. She surrounded herself with literature and describes the books in her library which include many foreign authors, such as Keats, Shakespeare, Shelley, Morgan, Hemingway, Chekhov, Dostoyevsky and Carroll, as "un petit foyer chaud et lumineux dans le froid qui m'entoure"[110] (Berr 2008a, p.183). Berr's *Journal*, like her books, gave her something tangible in the face of so much loss and allowed her to remain in control in the face of overwhelming terror. Her reference to literature and use of multilingualism might also, hence, be read as a form of resistance. Not only was Berr reading and citing the work of foreign writers but she was also actively invoking authors like Martin Du Gard, André Gide, Heinrich Heine and Ernest Hemingway whose works were prohibited in Nazi occupied France under the *Liste Otto* (1940, 1942) [111].

Berr also retreats to the world of literature to overcome what seem like everyday concerns (Bracher 2010, p.161-162). On 21st May 1942, when Berr is beginning to feel overwhelmed

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[108] [I explained poorly, I conveyed the charm of the text poorly, because it's untranslatable into French […] I lost sight of everything except my effort to allow the charm of the book to be felt.]
[109] [Writing, and writing as I want to write, in other words with complete sincerity, the reality of the situation, and the tragic things that we are living through, while simultaneously giving them their naked gravity without distorting through words, is a difficult task that requires constant effort.]
[110] [A warm and bright hearth in the cold that surrounds me.]
[111] Seconde liste Otto. *Unerwünschte französische Literatur* (« littérature française non désirable »), Paris, Syndicat des éditeurs 1942.

by her new feelings for Jean Morawiecki, her future fiancé, she uses books to escape: "Seulement, comme tout cela est très compliqué […] Heureusement que j'ai *Beowulf*"[112] (Berr 2008a, p.47). When things become complicated for Berr, she falls back on literature where she is often able to read herself, and her own situation (Egelman 2014, p.4): "Mais je suis comme Brutus et je *fall back on instinct*… "[113] she writes in May 1942 (Berr 2008a, p.46). The value she places in allowing literature not only to speak to her but to speak for her is evident: "J'ai fini Daphné Adeane. Ce livre m'a causé un étrange malaise, parce que j'ai peur d'y trouver mon histoire, je crois trop aux livres"[114] (Berr 2008a, p.136). On 1st November 1943, Berr allows Ishmael, the only survivor of Moby-Dick's shipwreck,[115] to voice her feelings (Egelman 2014). Writing at a time when many of her best friends had been arrested and taken away during the roundup at the UGIF[116] headquarters on 30th July, Berr laments the loneliness that surrounds her:

> Que de vide autour de moi ! Pendant un long temps après la rafle du 30 juillet, j'ai eu la sensation angoissante d'être restée la seule après un naufrage, une phrase dansait, frappait dans ma tête. Elle était venue s'imposer à moi sans que je la cherche, elle me hantait, c'est la phrase de Job sur laquelle se termine *Moby-Dick*: *And I alone am escaped to tell thee*…[117] (Berr 2008a, p.224)

She once again uses the English vocabulary of other writers to communicate her emotions. Sabbah observes that: "…at the point when she is condemned to loneliness and concentrates on her pain, she enters into a dialogue with the literary works that she loves and uses them to sustain an ethical exchange for a time when all ethics have collapsed" (Sabbah 2012, p.212). More than this, however, it is most significant that Berr follows her citation of Job's final

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[112] [It's all just so complicated […] Luckily, I have Beowulf.]
[113] [But I am like Brutus, and I *fall back on instinct.*]
[114] [I finished Daphné Adeane. This book makes me feel uneasy because I'm worried about reading my own story in it; I believe too much in books.]
[115] Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick.*
[116] "Union Generale des Israelites de France," UGIF, an organization established by the Vichy government's Office of Jewish Affairs to consolidate all the Jewish organizations of France into one single unit (Yad Vashem 2018)
[117] [What emptiness surrounds me! For a long time after the July 30 roundup, I had the unbearable feeling of being the only survivor of a shipwreck, a sentence was dancing around in my head. It imposed itself upon me without me having to look for it, it haunted me, it the sentence Job utters at the end of Moby-Dick: And I alone am escaped to tell thee...]

sentence in *Moby Dick*, "*And I alone am escaped to tell thee*", written in English, with her own observation written in French, that: "Personne ne saura jamais l'expérience dévastatrice par laquelle je suis passée cet été"[118] (Berr 2008a, p.224). Portelli links this sentence from the book of Job to a victim's sense of duty to bear witness: "Some narrators describe testimony as a mitzvah, a sacred obligation: "I only am escaped alone to tell thee," says the book of Job" (Portelli in Rosen 2013, p.194). I agree with Portelli here in arguing that, writing in English, Berr alienates French readers of her *Journal,* casting them into foreign territory, a space of non-understanding. Such a space mimics her own psyche, while simultaneously highlighting the sense of responsibility she feels to make knowledge of the events known. Berr also employs similar strategies to describe her pain. While talking about the huge death counts falling upon France, she employs the voice of Shakespeare's Othello: "[…] la Mort pleut sur le monde. De ceux qui sont tués à la guerre, on dit qu'ils sont des héros…Ceux qui étaient de l'autre côté se sont figurés qu'ils mourraient pour la même chose. Alors que chaque vie a tant de prix en elle-même. *The pity of it, Iago! O Iago, the pity of it, Iago*!" (Berr 2008, p.210). Egelman argues: "Les mots qu'elle lit dans ces textes célèbres portent une autorité puissante dont elle se sert pour intensifier le sens des siens propres"[119] (Egelman 2014, p.11). The substitution of the voice of others for her own is an acknowledgement from Berr that her own words are not enough.

As Hélène Berr's world becomes ever more oppressive, the inability of her own words to describe the horrors taking place around her becomes increasingly evident. From 1943 Berr turns to literature and multilingualism more and more often (Egelman 2014). She begins to quote whole pages at length, sometimes taking up pages in her diary and, significantly, she finds expression in poetry which she describes as the medium best able to convey truth: "…rien n'est exagéré lorsque Shelley dit que la poésie est la suprême des choses. De tout ce qui existe, elle est le plus près de la vérité, et de l'âme"[120] (Berr 2008a, p.253). Jean Boase-Beier also acknowledges the important role that poetry sustains in allowing victims of the

[118] [Nobody will ever understand the devastating experiences that I've experienced this summer.]
[119] [The words that she reads in these well-known texts carry a powerful authority in allowing her to intensify her own words.]
[120] [It is no exaggeration when Shelley says that poetry is the most supreme of things. Of all that exists, it is closest to the truth and the soul.]

Holocaust to express their emotions: "It is the ability not only to express feelings but also to have cognitive effects on the reader that makes poetry so important and necessary a response to the Holocaust" (Boase-Beier 2016, p.6). It is unsurprising, then, that Berr turns to poetry when she experiences intense emotions like grief. She loses her grandmother in November 1943 and pens seven lines from a poem by Shelley in English into her diary:

> He has outsoared the shadow of our night;
> Envy and calumny and hate and pain,
> And that unrest which men miscall delight,
> Can touch him not and torture not again;
> From the contagion of the world's slow stain
> He is secure, and now can never mourn,
> A heart grown cold, a head grown grey in vain.
>
> (Shelley, *Adonais,* quoted in Berr 2008a, p.253)

Crucially, she concludes this section of her entry by noting that there was a moment in which she had felt that she had made those lines her own: "Il y eu vraiment un moment aujourd'hui où j'ai fait miens ces vers"[121] (Berr 2008a, p.253). Berr quite literally appropriates the English-speaking voice of Shelley to allow her to make sense of a senseless world and to describe it. The inadequacy of her French words finds further reinforcement in her entry on the following day. On the 30th November 1943, Berr continues to explore the theme of death through Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound.* After citing a few lines, she observes that these verses had enabled her to finally express what she had been unable to find the words for: "Saisissant, c'est ce que je cherchais à exprimer tout à l'heure. Je viens de le trouver comme une lumière dans la nuit"[122] (Berr 2008a, p.256). Berr's recognition of poetry as one of the purest forms of expression, as a light to the darkness, and her commitment to authentically relating her experience[123] is surely why the work of Keats plays such a significant role in *Journal:* "Keats

[121] [There was truly a moment today, when I made these verses my own.]
[122] [Gripping, it's what I've been trying to express all along. I've just found it again like a light in the darkness.]
[123] "[…] écrire, et écrire comme je le veux, c'est-à-dire avec une sincérité complète… écrire toute la réalité et les choses tragiques que nous vivons en leur donnant toute leur gravité *nue* sans déformer par les mots, c'est une

est le poète, l'écrivain, et l'être humain avec lequel je communique le plus immédiatement et le plus complètement"[124] (Berr 2008a, p.192). On 27th October 1943, she quotes from Keats', *This Living Hand*:

> This living hand, now warm and capable
> Of earnest grasping, would, if it were cold,
> And in the icy silence of the tomb,
> So haunt thy days and chill thy dreaming nights
> That thou wouldst wish thine own heart dry of blood
> So in my veins red life might stream again,
> And thou be conscience - calm'd - see, here it is –
> I hold it towards you.
> (Keats, *This Living Hand*, quoted in Berr 2008a, p.207)

In his poem, Keats compares the ephemeral nature of life and his warm hand to the immortality of his penned words which have the ability to rise from silence and allow him to live again or to live on beyond himself. For Berr, the work of these great authors becomes an immortal and ever-living presence: "Je sais qu'elles sont là, comme une preuve vivante, et que je pourrai les regarder"[125] (Berr 2008a, p.183). It seems possible that, like Keats, Hélène had sensed her impending death (Egelman 2014) and that writing her diary became a way of testifying and creating something tangible of herself that would not perish. This link becomes more pertinent in light of her notes a few days earlier on the 27 th of October 1943, when she writes: "Cela m'est un bonheur de penser que si je suis prise Andrée aura gardé ces pages, quelque chose de moi, ce qui m'est le plus précieux, car maintenant je ne tiens plus à rien

---

tâche très difficile et qui exige un effort constant" (Berr 2008a, 168).[Writing, and writing as I want to write, in other words, with complete sincerity, the reality of the situation, and the tragic things that we are living through, while simultaneously giving them their naked gravity without distorting through words, is a difficult task that requires constant effort.]

[124] [Keats is the poet, the writer and the human being with whom I communicate [lit] most immediately and completely.]

[125] [I know that they are there, like living proof, and that I could look to them.]

d'autre qui soit matériel; ce qu'il faut sauvegarder, c'est son âme et sa mémoire"[126] (Berr 2008a, p.213).

Translating Berr's substitute vocabularies into English and German.

Scholars working in the field of Holocaust Studies and translation have stressed the need for discussions that draw into focus the multilingual nature of Holocaust narratives. Kuhiwczak has acknowledged that other languages, and English in particular, have been used not only as a primary language with which to narrate events but also as a secondary language (Kuhiwczak 2007, p.285). In their introduction to *Translating Holocaust Lives,* Boase-Beier et al. (2017, p.16) remind us that the Holocaust is an event that is marked by multilingualism and that this needs to be considered in studies that concern translation:

> In discussing the translation of voice and style we must consider the multilingual nature of the source texts. It has been remarked many times that the Holocaust events were marked by multilingualism… But what is less often discussed is this particularly multilingual situation gives rise to writing which often combines words from different languages and thus causes particular challenges for the translator, since to unify it in a target language would not only be to lose its qualities of poetic foregrounding and difference but would also ignore what Levinas (2006) distinguished as the importance of the Saying over the Said. (Boase-Beier, Davies, Hammel and Winters 2017, p.16)

Having considered some of the possible functions of multilingualism in Berr's *Journal* this chapter has thus far highlighted the significant role that it plays in the creation of knowledge about the event in French. Yet as Kershaw acknowledges, multiple languages within a narrative provoke an array of strategies in translation: "[…] multilingualism is difficult to manage in translation, and can provoke cumbersome, self-reflexive solutions such as footnotes or in-text explanations" (Kershaw 2018, p.220). The third part of this chapter considers how translators of Berr's *Journal* have responded specifically to her use of multilingualism. I draw on discussions with translators of Berr's *Journal* in order to

[126] "It makes me happy to think that if I'm taken Andrée will have kept these pages, something of me, the most precious part of me, because right now no other material thing matters to me; what must be rescued, is its soul and its memory." (Berr 2008b, p.183)

understand some of the complex decision-making processes that are at work in the translation of her experiences and, in this instance, in the translation of the multilingual nature of Holocaust memories. This section is concerned with the English and German translations of *Journal*, translated by David Bellos and Elisabeth Edl, respectively. David Bellos is a biographer and professor of French and Comparative Literature at Princeton University. He has translated well-known Holocaust writers from French into English, including Georges Perec and Robert Antelme. Elisabeth Edl's similarly impressive portfolio of translations from French into German includes texts by Yves Bonnefoy, Flaubert, and Patrick Modiano. The two translators, as the section to follow will show, read the multilingualism within Berr's *Journal* very differently which results in two distinct approaches to translating this aspect of Berr's voice.

Lefevere writes that: "An expedient solution, used fairly often, is to leave the foreign word or phrase untranslated, and then to append a translation between brackets or even to insert a translation into the body of the texts a little later" (Lefevere 1992, p.29). This is clearly illustrated in the French (2009) published edition's presentation of Berr's multilingualism. On Saturday 11th April 1942 Berr's handwritten manuscript reads: "It sufficeth that I have told thee, mon bout de papier; tout va déjà mieux" (Berr manuscript). However, in the 2008 French published edition, Berr's use of English is shadowed by a French translation within enclosed brackets: "*It sufficeth that I have told thee,* [Il me suffit de t'en avoir parlé], mon bout de papier; tout va déjà mieux" (Berr 2008a, p.24). This disrupts narrative flow and in its representation of English as a foreign entity might be perceived as a misrepresentation of Berr's experience of the English language.[127] The German translation does not clarify the meaning of Berr's English phrase for its readership: "*It sufficeth that I have told thee*, mein Blatt Papier; schon ist alles besser"[128] (Berr 2009, p.22). In contrast, Berr's use of an English phrase within the English version of the journal is, by nature of its non-translation into English, invisible: "It sufficeth that I have told thee, dear little writing paper; I'm feeling better already" (Berr 2008b, p.22). To suggest that the multilingualism of Berr's *Journal* is not translated into English, simply because it could not be, is unsatisfying. Indeed, a translator

[127] N.B: A large part of Berr's *Journal* was not written for an audience, but rather for her fiancé, Jean Morawiecki.
[128] [It sufficeth that I have told thee, my piece of paper, everything is getting better.]

seeking to replicate or draw attention to Berr's use of English in English might have done so, for example, as Kershaw observes, through "[…] footnotes or in-text explanations" (Kershaw 2018, p.220), or through a different font - by italicising Berr's use of English, as per the response of both the French editor and the German translator. Any one of these strategies might have allowed these differences in translation to emerge. In his introduction to Berr's *Journal*, translator David Bellos acknowledges the challenge that translating Berr's English into English posed to him but defends his decision not to draw attention to it:

> I have not sought to indicate which of Hélène Berr's words were written in English in this translation so as not to introduce distracting or misleading emphases. This produces an unusual somewhat paradoxical effect: the translation contains fewer foreign words and expressions than the original and is therefore a plainer text. […] It is not the translator, but the simple fact of translation that has made the *Journal* in English more straightforward, and if that were conceivable, even more moving than it is in French. (Bellos in Berr 2008b, p.4)

For Bellos, to highlight the complex linguistic layers in Berr's *Journal* in its English translation is understandably to present the reader with unnecessary stumbling blocks. Thus, he makes a decision to level-out Berr's use of multilingualism in favour of a largely monolingual English translation. In an email exchange with David Bellos, I had hoped to explore his consideration of other strategies that might have allowed the linguistic differences in Berr's *Journal* to be foregrounded more prominently in the English translation.[129] His responses elicited a number of fascinating insights into his translation practice and into the practice of translation more generally. First, they illustrate that he is a translator whose ethical conduct is focused on delivering on the brief outlined to him in line with cultural norms.[130]

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[129] This chapter cites from multiple interventions with D. Bellos between 2016 and 2018: Bellos, D. 2016. Email correspondence between David Bellos and Stephanie Munyard 21st December 2016; Bellos, D. 2017. Email correspondence between David Bellos and Stephanie Munyard 13th January 2017 and Bellos, David. 2018. Email correspondence between David Bellos and Stephanie Munyard 9th July 2018.

[130] Both Bellos and Edl also explained that they had worked very closely with Mariette Job and were also subject to, and sensitive to, her wishes for *Journal.* This supports Davies' observation that: "[…] many translators stress their closeness to the person of the witness as a way of emphasizing their trustworthiness and loyalty." (Davies 2018, p.43)

When footnotes were proposed, during the email exchange, as a solution for dealing with this linguistic disparity, David Bellos returned a clear response:

> It would be quite out of order to indicate which of Berr's words were in English in the original. Only the French do that with *en français dans le texte*. Please note that even the French never say *en anglais dans le texte* when translating a German novel in which someone says "Hallo." It is of no interest. (Bellos 2016)

His responses also seem to indicate that his reading of Berr's use of English differs quite significantly from that put forward in this chapter:

> The frequent English expressions make the French sound slightly pretentious and also make it not easy for average French readers to understand unless they read the translations in brackets and quote marks, which disturb the flow. In English you have none of those problems, and that is why it has greater polish. (Bellos 2016)

For translator David Bellos, it is the ease with which the reader is able to access the text that takes on the greatest significance and there is scope for arguing, as he does, that we write in order to be read. After all, a fluent translation is one that is ultimately readable and "[…] therefore, consumable on the book market" (Venuti 1995, p.15), and so the ethical act and duty for the translator lies in ensuring that Berr's *Journal* reaches as many readers as possible. David Bellos does, however, leave one important phrase in French in the English translation and, thereby, restores at least one element of multilingualism to the reading experience. In the introduction to Berr's *Journal*, Bellos writes:

> The word Mme Loewe used for "same batch" is the ordinary one for a baker's tray of loaves: "la même fournée" – made out of the suffix "-née attached to a stem "four", whose literal meaning is "oven". The French makes your heart miss a beat. The language itself seems to know what the speaker did not. I cannot reproduce in English the hideous lurch into prophecy made by this phrase in French, and so I have left it alone." (Bellos in Berr 2008b, p.6)

This example of course resonates with Maurel's (1957) use of the term "enfourner." This "lurch into prophecy"[131] is made ever more present by the existence of the ink-blot stains at this point in Berr's manuscript (see figure 14).

[This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons]

Figure 14 Berr's Manuscript - Ink-blot stains (MS 2016)

The German translator Elisabeth Edl, unlike Bellos, does perceive Berr's use of multilingualism as significant. This is evident not only in her decision to leave visible markers of Berr's expressions in English within the German translation but in the responses she gives during our email exchanges: "Nein, ich wollte die englischen Ausdrücke nie ins Deutsche übersetzen. Denn auch im französischen Original stehen sie ja einerseits als Fremdkörper und sind andererseits aber das Zeichen für Berrs Liebe zur englischen Sprache"[132] (Edl 2017). Furthermore, for contemporary readers, English expressions in a German text are nothing unusual: "Für heutige Leser sind englische Ausdrücke in einem deutschen Text auch überhaupt nichts Ungewöhnliches"[133] (Edl 2017).[134]

[131] (Bellos in Berr 2008b, p.6)
[132] [No, I never wanted to translate the English terms into German. Because in the French original too, they are on the one hand a foreign entity, and on the other a sign of Berr’s love of the English language.]
[133] [For today's readers, English expressions in a German text are not unusual at all.]
[134] The translation strategies outlined here are consistent for all instances of Berr's use of multilingualism and through all of the languages discussed here. Thus, while the provision of just one example per language might seem inadequate, these are indicative and exemplary of the approaches taken by the editors and translators of Berr's *Journal* more generally.

The different strategies employed by the translators in the translation of Berr's multilingualism give rise to numerous observations. First, the task of translation and the ease with which a translator is successfully able to reproduce the effects of multilingualism within a narrative is largely dependent on the languages out of and into which it is being translated. Translating Berr's use of multilingualism into English is not a task that can be deemed equivalent to that of translating those same features in German.[135] David Bellos acknowledges the specificity of translating Berr's English into English when he states that: "[…] the Dutch edition […] leaves the English in English without Dutch translation on the assumption that Dutch readers know English sufficiently well" (Bellos 2016). Both translators, thus, allude to cultural norms in translating which, in the case of the English and German versions, highlight some visible differences between translating practices in two different countries. David Bellos implies that readers of English are not trained to receive multilingualism and neither do they desire it. By contrast, Elisabeth Edl anticipates that her prospective audience will process and be accepting of it. However, one of the most decisive factors behind the translators' strategies lies in their own perceptions of why Berr writes in English. David Bellos' understanding of Berr's use of English as "slightly pretentious" compared to Elisabeth Edl's understanding of it as "a foreign entity" and "as a sign of Berr's love of the English language" account for two very different approaches and thus speaks for two very distinct presentations of English in Berr's *Journal*.

Best summarised by the work of Peter Davies, the translators' diverging approaches to translating multilingualism is illustrative of an overarching tension that often emerges when discussing strategies for bringing forth Holocaust narratives in translation. The first approach, outlined by Davies, resonates with David Bellos' understanding of translation as "[…] taking place within a network of influences, constraints and obligations towards many different parties, that sees the translator as a creative and engaged agent, draws attention to cultural context and difference, and that does not consider translated texts to be inferior versions of an original" (Davies 2017, p.24). When I asked David Bellos whom he was translating for, he responded: "[…] everybody, obviously. Who else does one write books for?" (Bellos

[135] It would be interesting to consider how Berr's use of English is translated into other languages, however, this lies outside the scope of this chapter.

2016). This seems to concur with the idea that he views the role of translator as being synonymous with that of the author who writes and whose task is, thereby, to make the diary accessible and relevant for any reader of Berr's *Journal*. The idea of translation as a creative act, that translated texts need not be inferior versions of an original, but on the contrary can be an improved version of the original is also promulgated in a number of ways. Firstly, in the significance that David Bellos gives to correcting Berr's *Journal*, secondly in his efforts to add to it a "greater polish", and also in his suggestion that *Journal* in English might be considered "even more moving than it is in French" (Berr 2008b, p.4). During our email exchanges David Bellos points out that "[...] the translation led to numerous corrections to the later editions of the original" (Bellos 2016) and that "[…] it is also true that there are a few corrections that arose not from my work but from readers' observations" (Bellos 2016). The changes that he detailed when prompted in later correspondence were as follows:

> The improvements to the original that arose from the translation include: the correction of typos, especially mis-spellings of words in English and German; mis-translations (especially of the English quotations) and missing or inadequate attributions of sources; and in a number of places where it seemed probable that the manuscript had been incorrectly transcribed, a second look produced a different reading. (Bellos 2017)

Such changes and improvements are evident in, for example, Bellos' translation of Berr's citation from *Moby Dick* "…and I alone am escaped to tell thee" (Berr 2008a, p.224). Bellos corrects Berr's English citation so that it corresponds precisely to that which appears in Melville's classic: "And I only am escaped alone to tell thee" (Berr 2008b, p.194). These corrections and David Bellos' endeavours to improve upon Berr's *Journal* are also present in other instances where Berr chooses English as the appropriate language for expression. For example, on 14th June 1942, Berr writes: "Nous étions tout à fait cracked [toquées]" (Berr 2008a, p.65). The German retains Berr's use of English: "Wir waren vollkommen *cracked*" (Berr 2009, p.64) and one might, therefore, assume a literal English translation of "We were completely *cracked*" (My translation). However, in the 2008 English translation of Berr's

Journal, this reads quite differently: "We were completely out of our minds" (Berr 2008b, p.61).

In more recent correspondence and in response to correcting the *Moby Dick* epilogue in *Journal*, Bellos comments that the citation from Job 1:15, "and I only am escaped alone to tell thee", appears in the King James Version of the Bible, and is so well-known that it "would simply not be fair to Hélène Berr to leave her mistake in the English edition" (Bellos 2018). He justifies this position further on with how readily some readers might dismiss a translation on its "English mistakes" and that incorrect citations might have "led to accusations of sloppy proof reading" (Bellos 2018). However, there must also be scope for prioritising the preservation of Berr's memory which is precisely what these English citations are. Attempts to correct them seem to displace the journal from the context of its original production. Indeed, Berr writes : "Je note les faits, hâtivement, pour ne pas les oublier parce qu'il ne faut pas oublier"[136] (Berr 2008a, p.105). Her errors are, above all, an inscription of her situation, of the fact that she was writing a diary and that in it she recorded comments that not only spoke for her but to her.

Bellos' response concerning the "English mistakes" do not, however, answer for the number of other corrections and improvements that he makes to create order within Berr's *Journal.* As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Berr's *Journal*, like many Holocaust testimonies, is marked by a poetics of brevity. These include short sentences that give insights into not only the situation in which she was writing but to the horror of the events which surrounded her. According to Antoine Berman, such short sentences "contain an infinity of meanings which somehow renders short clauses long" (Berman 2004, p.282). The English translation disrupts this by introducing a number of "connective words" into Berr's writing, such as "and" and "then", which "shifts the tone of the original by a notch" (Bellos in Berr 2008b, p.5). For example, Berr writes that:

> La cousine de Margot, partie la semaine dernière, et dont nous savions qu'elle avait échoué dans sa tentative, a été prise á la ligne [de démarcation], jetée en prison : après

[136] [I'm noting the facts, in haste, in order that they are not forgotten, because we must not forget.]

> que l'on eut interrogé son fils de 11 ans pendant des heures pour obtenir l'aveu qu'elle était juive ; elle a le diabète, au bout de quatre jours elle est morte. C'est fini. Lorsqu'elle était dans le coma, la sœur de la prison l'a fait transporter à l'hôpital, il était trop tard.[137] (Berr 2008a, p.196)

The German translation (Berr 2009), by Elisabeth Edl, follows the stylistic features of Berr's diary much more closely without introducing connections:

> Margot's Cousine, die letzte Woche gegangen ist, und von der wir wussten, dass ihr Versuch gescheitert war, wurde an der Linie geschnappt und ins Gefängnis geworfen; nachdem man ihren elfjährigen Sohn stundenlang verhört hatten, um das Geständnis zu erzwingen, das sie Jüdin sei; sie hat Diabetes, nach vier Tagen ist sie gestorben. Es ist vorbei. Als sie im Koma lag, hat die Gefängnisschwester sie ins Krankenhaus bringen lassen, es war zu spät.[138] (Berr 2009, p.104)

Berr's *Journal* (2008b) in English is as below:

> Margot's cousin, **who** left last week**, and** we knew she hadn't succeeded in her attempt, was caught at the demarcation line **and** thrown into jail after they'd interrogated her eleven-year-old son for hours to get him to confess that she was Jewish; she has diabetes, **and** four days later she was dead. It's over. The prison matron had her moved to a hospital when she went into a coma, **but** it was too late." (Berr 2008b, p.99) (Emphasis added)

[137] [Margot's cousin left last week, and so we knew she had not succeeded in her attempt, had been caught at the line (demarcation), thrown into prison: after they'd interrogated her 11-year-old son for hours to get him to confess that she was Jewish; she has diabetes, four days later she died. It's over. When she fell into a coma the prison matron transferred her over to a hospital, it was too late.]

[138] [Margot's cousin, who left last week, and of whom we knew that her attempt had failed, was caught at the line and thrown into prison; after they had interrogated her eleven-year-old son for hours to compel the confession that she was Jewish; she has diabetes, four days later she died. It's over. When she was in a coma, the prison matron had her taken to hospital, it was too late.]

Bellos' translation strategies here align to what Antoine Berman (2004, p.85) labels as "ennoblement"; a tendency to "improve" on the original by rewriting it in a more elegant style (Berman 2004, p.285).

As one final point of comparison, I would like to draw attention to how the repeated themes in Berr's *Journal* are tackled by each translator. This example concerns the repeated presentation of the term "une folle"[139] in Berr's *Journal* and is presented in tabular format (see figure 15) for ease of reading and comparison:

Berr (Berr 2008a) French Edition	**My translation**	**Bellos (Berr 2008b) English**	**Edl (Berr 2009) German**
J'ai couru **comme une folle** (p.102)	I ran **like a crazy person.**	I ran **like a hare** (p.96)	Ich bin **wie eine Verrückte** gelaufen (p.101)
J'ai couru de douze heures à douze heures quinze **comme une folle** (p.120)	I ran **like a crazy person** from twelve to twelve fifteen.	I raced around **in a frenzy** from 12:00 to 12:15. (p.112)	…bin ich von zwölf bis Viertel nach zwölf **wie eine Verrückte** herumgelaufen. (p.117)
[…] maintenant, elle vit cachée, traquée, **comme une folle.** (p.232)	[…] now she lives hidden, hunted, **like a crazy person.**	Now she is hiding, on the run, **like a madwoman** (p.201)	Jetzt lebt sie versteckt, gejagt, **wie eine Irre**. (p.217)
[…] est arrivée **comme une folle** (p.235)	[…] came rushing in **like a crazy person.**	[…] **came rushing in** (p.204)	[…] **wie eine Verrückte** hier angekommen… (p.220)
Comment Mme Weill, par	How does Mme Weill, for example,	How is it, for example, that Mme	Wie ist es möglich, dass zum Beispiel

139 [A crazy person.]

exemple, la mère de Mme Schwartz que j'ai vue hier matin, ne **devient-elle pas folle** ? Comment la veille Mme Schwartz, avec deux fils déportés, une belle-fille déportée, un gendre prisonnier, une fille internée, et un mari gâteux, ne **devient-elle pas folle?** (p.248)	Mme Schwartz's mother whom I saw yesterday, **not become crazy**? How does the old Mme Schwartz, with two sons deported, a deported daughter in law, an imprisoned son-in-law, and a senile husband, **not become crazy?**	Weill, the mother of Mme Schwartz, **remains sane?** How does Granny Schwartz, with two deported sons, a deported daughter-in-law, a son-in-law who is a PoW, an interned daughter and a senile husband**, keep her senses?** (p.217)	Mme Weill, die Mutter von Mme Schwartz, die ich gestern Vormittag gesehen habe, **nicht verrückt wird?** Wie ist es möglich das die alte Mme Schwartz, mit zwei deportierten Söhnen, einer deportierten Schweigertochter, einem gefangenen Schwiegersohn, einer internierten Tochter und einem kindische geworden Mann, **nicht verrückt wird ?**

Figure 15 Table of repeated theme "folles" from Berr (2008a, 2008b and 2009)

The above examples illustrate Bellos' resistances, or his misperception of the repeated themes in Berr's *Journal.* Similarly, in the first section of *Journal*, readers of French might be drawn to Berr's frequent use of the "épatante" which also finds many translations in the English translation: "wonderful", "magnificent", "splendid", "fabulous" compared to just one word in the German: "phantastisch" (Berr 2009, p, 36, p.51, p.63). In translation theory, avoiding repetition of words or phrases is part of a set of translation norms found to "operate consciously or subconsciously on the translator" (Ben-Ari 1998, p.2). Kuhiwczak observes that:

> In a majority of cases these radical editorial interventions are well meaning. They arise from the desire to give the narrating subject an authoritative voice in English, but the

> price is rather high because a lot of what constitutes the actual circumstances is reflected in the author's style, his or her use of language, or often several languages. (Kuhiwczak 2011, p.286)

Indeed, Bellos' approach to translating Berr's *Journal* is well-intended; he seeks to produce a translation in line with the target expectations of his readership. This confirms Davies' view that: "[…] translators' work has often been profoundly influenced by the ways that the Holocaust is understood in the target culture, and what readers may expect from a testimony" (Davies 2018, p.213). However, it might be argued that this prioritisation of the readers' expectations prevents Berr's own voice from being fully heard and acknowledged.

Peter Davies speaks of a theorising on translation that "places value on the voice of the victim above all other possible factors" (Davies 2017, p.24) and from our email exchanges and through close engagement with the German version of the journal, this characterises Elisabeth Edl's approach to translating. On this same issue of translating the *Moby Dick* citation in Berr's *Journal*, Edl admits: "[…] concernant la citation issue de *Moby Dick*: "and I only am escaped alone to tell thee"− j'avais décidé de laisser la version erronée de HB (et de mettre une note avec la citation correcte en fin de volume) parce que HB cite de mémoire, évidemment − et la phrase anglaise en elle-même est correcte et bien compréhensible"[140] (Edl 2018). She continues: "[…] en traduisant, ma démarche est essentiellement littéraire […] Donc, ce que je veux c'est de rendre le mieux possible le style de l'auteur […] même avec ses lacunes ou défaillances"[141] (Edl 2018). Peter Davies also cites Edl's afterword in a chapter on "Making Translation Visible":

> Discussing her German translation of Helene Berr's French diary, Elisabeth Edl defines the text against "literature," going on to talk about the diary's uneven style

[140] [Regarding the Moby Dick citation: "and I only am escaped alone to tell thee" - I decided to leave in Hélène Berr's incorrect version (and included an endnote detailing the correct citation) because Hélène Berr is clearly citing from memory and the English sentence is, itself, correct, and makes sense]. Please note: Edl also acknowledges that "bien sûr, un lecteur anglophone sera peut-être plus irrité par l'inexactitude qu'un lecteur germanophone" (Edl 2018) [Of course, an anglophone reader might be more irritated by the inaccuracy than a German reader.] N.B. Conversations with Elisabeth Edl were held in both French and German.

[141] […in translating, my approach is essentially a literary one [...] So, what I want is to render the author's style as far as possible […] with all its gaps or shortcomings.]

> which, in her view, is one of the text's most attractive qualities, reflecting as it does the circumstances of its composition. The translator's choice to emphasize these aspects anticipates criticism of the translation's style, but also contains a theory of witnessing: the witness text reflects in its structure and linguistic features aspects of the experience, and the more immediately this is conveyed, the more authentic the text. (Davies 2018, p.50)

Davies uses Edl's response to translating Berr's *Journal* to illustrate how her fidelity to particular aspects of style supports a "'theory of witnessing" (Davies 2018), rather than one which views a victim's style as a carrier of knowledge about the Holocaust. Edl's sensitive approach to translating Berr's voice is evident throughout her translation. This extends to the inclusion of an afterword as opposed to a preface and when asked about this decision she explains: "Das ist eine deutsche Tradition, würde ich meinen [...] Ich finde, ein Buch muss mit dem eigentlichen Text beginnen, alles andere kommt danach. Es steht jedem Leser frei, zuerst nach hinten zu blättern und mit dem Nachwort zu beginnen"[142] (Edl 2017). As a further illustration of Edl's engagement with Berr's voice, one can also consider how she approaches the translation of initials in Berr's *Journal.* Hélène Berr uses initials to refer to people instead of their assigned names or titles. B.M in the manuscript becomes "Bonne Maman" in the French (2008a) publication and similarly "G" (Berr 2008a, p.71) becomes "Gérard." The English translation expands these initials to full names as recorded by David Bellos in his introduction to Berr's *Journal:* "In the manuscript, many initials are used in place of personal names.[143] Wherever possible these have been expanded into full names" (Berr 2008b, p.5). However, Elisabeth Edl's commitment to "wiedergeben" (to restore, to render, to echo) Berr's narrative and to preserve the immediacy of *Hélène* Berr's voice, (Berr 2009, pp.317–18) leads her to take quite a different approach to the German translation. Responding to why she reverted back to initials in the German translation of *Journal* during our email exchanges, Elisabeth Edl comments:

[142] [I think a book has to start with the actual text, everything else comes after that. Every reader is free to go back and begin with the afterword.]
[143] "In full agreement with Mariette Job, a number of them (some intentionally altered for the French edition) have been left as initials (in the Introduction also)." (Bellos 2018)

> Ganz einfach: aus Diskretion. Auch Hélène Berr hat nicht nur aus Gründen der Schnelligkeit erwähnte Personen mit Initialen bezeichnet. Ich habe diese Frage damals mit Mariette Job besprochen, sie hat mir auch die vollen Namen genannt (was für mich wichtig war, um bestimmte Zusammenhänge richtig zu verstehen), aber die Diskretion sollte gewahrt bleiben. Vor allem noch lebenden Personen und ihren Familien gegenüber.[144] (Edl 2018)

Edl's sensitivity to the uniqueness and significance behind each of Berr's utterances results in a German translation which is more closely aligned to Berr's manuscript than the French published edition which many readers may regard as the original.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has charted the transformation of Berr's *Journal* from manuscript into its French publication and into English and German. The discussion confirms Kuhiwczak's comment that: "If we succeed in tracing a Holocaust memoir from the manuscript to the published copy, we can often discover that the original text has often gone through a complex operation of radical editing, rewriting, and translation" (Kuhiwczak 2011, p.286). The presence of a manuscript that precedes publication serves as a reminder that the text which corresponds to the reader's understanding of an original or source text, in this instance the French edition of Berr's *Journal,* is often preceded by something else, usually a manuscript, which has been subject to revisions or omissions by the author him/herself. Furthermore, in the context of Holocaust writing and the inefficiency of language to adequately describe its realities, the concept of a source text dismantles almost entirely. It seems impossible to speak of a source text in the context of memories or experiences of Nazi persecution and, because of this, it becomes difficult to speak of translation as only textual transfer across a binary divide. Translation becomes the means by which writers narrate their experiences and thus the notion of translation has to continually be opened up in relation to Holocaust memory.

[144] [Quite simply: out of discretion. Hélène Berr also used initials, and these weren't only for reasons of speed. I discussed this question with Mariette Job at the time, she also gave me the full names (which was important for me to understand certain connections), but discretion should be respected. Above all for people who are still living, and their families.]

Like Maurel, Berr uses substitute vocabularies to bridge the gap between her experience of, knowledge of and duty to represent the Holocaust. Her use of multilingualism, literature and poetry express her love of the English language and also as a vehicle through which her resisting spirit, her engagement in acts of escapism, as well as her feelings of grief and loss, can be made known. When read contextually in light of Berr's other entries, their communicative purpose and the effects of difference that they bring forward for a French reader is clear. Berr's use of multilingualism and her employment of literature are demonstrative of her commitment to represent her experiences "avec une sincérité complète"[145] (Berr 2008a, p.184). It is therefore uncomfortable, in my opinion, to suggest that Berr's use of English makes her diary sound in any way "pretentious"[146] (Bellos 2016). If it appears that her use of multilingualism poses obstacles to the French reader, then perhaps it is because it embodies her experiences and the horrors that Berr seeks to translate.

In the first part of this chapter, I examined the defining role that Mariette Job has played in the framing of her aunt's legacy, showing how unverifiable versions of her memory become fixed in publication as a way of authenticating them. These memories have now been able to find their voice but only through the study of translation. Through a series of conversations with translators, this chapter has also compared the ways in which different translators approach the translation of the same narrative. It has highlighted the significant role that translators play in shaping memories of the Holocaust but also the value of taking account of the different strategies of individual translators. It has shown how translators' responses to Berr's use of substitute vocabularies are shaped by conflicting views about the needs of the readership and their varying levels of commitment to maintaining the victim's voice in translation. Translations of Berr's *Journal* into English and German illustrate a distinct divide between norm-bound pragmatism and the broader ethical questions posed by writers of Holocaust texts[147]. The distinct responses to Berr's use of multilingualism, literature and

[145] [In complete sincerity.]
[146] "The frequent English expressions make the French sound slightly pretentious and also make it not easy for average French readers to understand unless they read the translations in brackets and quote marks, which disturb the flow. In English you have none of those problems, and that is why it has greater polish" (Bellos 2016).
[147] Both context bound in different ways.

poetry explored in this chapter produce diverse texts which allow different aspects of Berr's memory to be foregrounded, concealed and even corrected.

On the 30th November 1943, Hélène Berr writes : "La seule expérience de l'immortalité de l'âme que nous puissions avoir avec sûreté, c'est cette immortalité qui consiste en la persistance du souvenir des morts parmi les vivants" (Berr 2008a, p.213). [148] Victims of the Holocaust have, in spite of the perceived impossibility of the task, often found ways to represent their experiences. Therefore, we must remember that there is always something more pressing than accurate representation. The narrative, like translation itself, might always be an inadequate representation, yet, in the act of writing, victims fulfil their duty to communicate, bear witness or to commemorate. The most ethical response and best model that a translator can have in translating Berr's *Journal* is to listen to her voice, to the words that cry out for someone to "[…] sauvegarder […] son âme et sa mémoire" (Berr 2008a, p.213),[149] and to "[…] faire sentir le charme du livre" (Berr 2008a, p.213).[150] The primary concern for Hélène Berr, like many victims of the Holocaust, is that her voice is communicated. Thus, the distinctive contribution that each translator makes in allowing her voice to be heard must be duly credited.

[148] [The only experience of the immortality of the soul, of which we can have any security, is the immortality that consists in the continuing memory of the dead among the living.]
[149] [[…] to rescue its soul, and its memory.]
[150] [[…] to make the charm of the book be felt.]

Chapter 4: **Carrying over and carrying back: revis(ualis)ing memory in Joseph Joffo's *Un sac de billes***

Un sac de billes (1973) describes Joseph Joffo's childhood memories of fleeing Nazi occupied Paris with his older brother Maurice during the Second World War. The narrative, labelled autobiographical, was a bestseller in the year it was first published and has since been translated into over 20 languages. It has been adapted twice into a *bande dessinée* (1989 and 2011/2012), and also yielded two French film adaptations (1975 and 2017). In 2017, moreover, the most recent version of the *bande dessinée, Un sac de billes*, adapted by scriptwriter Kris and illustrated by Vincent Bailly, formed part of the *Mémorial de la Shoah's* 10-month exhibition[151] aimed at exploring the place of the *bande dessinée* in education about, and mediation of memories of, the *Shoah.* Despite having first been published over forty years ago, *Un sac de billes* continues to inform public consciousness of French memories of the Holocaust. We are increasingly seeing that, as the Holocaust moves outside of living memory, visual forms, such as graphic novels and films, are replacing, or indeed corroborating, viable ways of representing it. As an obvious example, Anne Frank's *Diary* has been adapted several times for the screen[152] and in 2018 was published as a graphic novel for the first time.[153] This chapter considers the role that Joseph Joffo plays in the multimodal retransmission of his own memories. Like Anna Fletcher's (2015) study on adaptations of Levi's *Se questo è un uomo*[154] I acknowledge that translation, as it relates to the Holocaust, is more than the mere transfer of words between one language into another.[155] The chapter will investigate how the language of the visual, alongside literary idioms and multilingualism, functions as a substitute vocabulary and as an outlet through which knowledge about the Holocaust is remediated. This chapter, thereby, explores how the renegotiation of Holocaust narratives into the language of the visual can generate new discussions into the nature of memory of the Holocaust.

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[151] Ran from the 19th January until October 30th 2017.
[152] Adaptation and translation will be used interchangeably throughout the chapter, as appropriate.
[153] Frank, A. (2018)*, Anne Frank: The Graphic Adaptation*. Adapt. Ari Folman and David Polinsky (Pantheon Graphic Library). See also 2019 Italian graphic adaptation of Primo Levi's *If this is a man*, and *the Truce*: *174517. Deportato*. Adapted by Franco Portinari; Giovanna Carbone. (Molfetta: Edizioni La meridiana).
[154] I.e. Fletcher's "Transforming Subjectivity: Se questo è un uomo in Translation and Adaptation," published in Eds. Arnds *Translating Holocaust Literature* (Göttingen, V&R Press, 2015) pp.33-44.

Joseph Joffo's manuscript for *Un sac de billes* was initially rejected by several publishing houses. It was not until the 1970s that publisher Jean-Claude Lattès accepted it but Joffo was advised to seek help to improve his work. With the help of writer, Claude Klotz (Patrick Cauvin), Joseph Joffo was eventually able to disseminate his story.[156] Theo Hermans reminds us that translations "[…] may be partially authenticated, or they may have a degree of authority bestowed on them without being fully authenticated" (Hermans 2014, p.18). This is, indeed, true of the (2011/2012) *bande dessinée*[157] and 2017 filmic remakes of *Un sac de billes* which can be considered at least partially authenticated.[158] Peter Davies considers some of the tensions that readers may be confronted by when testimony goes through various revisions. Writing specifically about Elie Wiesel's emblematic *La Nuit,* he writes that:

> […] it is clear that the question of genre has caused difficulties for readers caught between Wiesel's own insistence that the text is not fictional, and that a novel about the Holocaust is a contradiction in terms, and the clear evidence that the text does not entirely reflect documented facts, that the narrative has been shaped with literary skill, and that the text has undergone an extensive process of translation and editing. (Davies 2018, p.69)

This chapter will explore why literary crafting, translation and editing should not be understood as stumbling blocks that cast shadows on existing knowledge about the Holocaust. They are rather representative of memory and survival, of the victim's desire to be heard and understood, and are ultimately knowledge-enhancing. Through an analysis of the authenticated versions with the earlier non-authenticated versions[159] of Joffo's memories, this chapter highlights how erroneous depictions or previously unrepresented aspects of Joffo's life come to light in translation. Like those that precede it, this chapter develops a close textual

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[156] "Je tiens à remercier mon ami l'écrivain Claude Klotz, qui a bien voulu relire mon manuscrit et le corriger de sa main si sûre" (Joffo 1973, Epilogue). [I want to thank my friend Claude Klotz, who kindly reread my manuscript and corrected it with his trusty hand.]
[157] The most recent French *bande dessinée* was published over two volumes, one in 2011, the other in 2012.
[158] Joffo collaborated in the production of the 2011/2012 *bande dessinée* and has provided extensive commentary in interviews endorsing the 2017 film directed by Christian Duguay.
[159] Authenticated refers, here, to translations that have been endorsed by Joffo, either through active collaboration or explicit commentary. Non-authenticated is understood here as having not been reviewed by Joffo, and/or translations which he explicitly criticizes.

analysis of substitute vocabularies (particularly literary idioms and multilingualism) in *Un sac de billes*. These facets of Joffo's testimony will be traced through a multi-media analysis of Joffo's narrative in translation: its English (1975) and German (2017) translations, its representation through French *bande dessinée*[160] (1989 and 2011/12) and the English translation of the graphic novel (2013).[161] I will also present comparative examples from the 2017 film directed by Christian Duguay. This final chapter is divided into three main parts. The first part will consider why Joffo chooses to write and then engage in acts of retranslation specifically into the language of the visual. It, thereby, opens up discussions into what, for Joffo, cannot be worked through or achieved in a purely narrative form. This first section illustrates how Joffo's active participation in, and commentary on, the remaking of his own memories and the fallible nature of memory narrows the gap between translation and the original, thereby urging a re-examination of how we view both authenticity and equivalence. The second section of this chapter explores the function of silence and Joffo's employment of different literary idioms as substitute vocabularies in *Un sac de billes* (1973). It explores Boase-Beier's notion of "stylistic silence" and its affinity with substitute vocabularies and also examines silence as a form of self-censorship and as a narrative theme. This chapter will show how acts of translation transform silence in testimony, allowing memories to be reconciled or revised, and for alternative scenarios to be explored. The final section of this chapter explores how Joffo's use of multilingualism as a substitute vocabulary is also transformed across different modes of representation to generate innovative understandings of the Holocaust.

Writing and (re)translating *Un sac de billes*

This first section considers what compelled Joffo to write in light of the fact that his narrative did not emerge until some thirty years after the events it describes. It considers the important role that translation plays not only as an interlingual act, or as an act of narration, but also as

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[160] The term *bande dessinée* will be used to refer to the (2011/2012) French-language adaptation of Joffo's narrative: Joffo, J. 2011. The French-language adaptation was published in two volumes over two years: *Un sac de billes. Première partie*. Adapted, by Vincent Bailly and Kris. Claude Gendrot.(Ed. Paris: Futuropolis) & Joffo, J. 2012. *Un sac de billes. Deuxième partie*. Adapted, by Vincent Bailly and Kris. Claude Gendrot. (Ed. Paris: Futuropolis).
The term graphic novel will be used to refer to the English-language adaptation of Joffo's narrative: Joffo, J. 2013. A bag of marbles. Adapted by Kris and Vincent Bailly. Translated from the French, by Edward Gauvin. Minneapolis: Graphic Universe.
[161] N.B. The (2013) English graphic novel contains the two translated French-language volumes in one volume. The 1975 film will not be examined here, but could be an avenue for future research.

a therapeutic and necessary act that allows survivors to work through their traumatic wartime experiences. The section will go on to explore the significance of the language of the visual as a substitute vocabulary which facilitates previously unexplored or misrepresented facets of Joffo's memory. It therefore recognises translation's value in reconciling memories or in exploring alternative scenarios. El Refaie suggests that "It is impossible to draw strict boundaries between factual and fictional accounts of someone's life, since memory is always incomplete and the act of telling one's life story necessarily involves selection and artful construction" (El Refaie 2012, p.12). By highlighting the constructed and fallible nature of memory, the inadequacy of languages to fully represent the victim's experiences and translation's ability to reveal and simultaneously conceal, this section adds weight to my overall argument in this thesis about the complexity and non-linear dynamics of translation.

Through the admissions given by Joffo in his epilogue and through the plethora of interviews and acts of public engagement (i.e. conferences and seminars) that he has participated in, it becomes evident that for Joffo, as for Micheline Maurel and Hélène Berr, the act of writing is accompanied by wider anxieties.[162] Victims who write about their experiences of the Holocaust share a deep concern about how their memories will be received and understood. As discussed in chapter three, Berr wrote: "Je sais pourquoi j'écris ce journal. Je sais que je veux qu'on le donne à Jean si je ne suis pas là lorsqu'il reviendra. Je ne veux pas disparaître sans qu'il sache tout ce que j'ai pensé pendant son absence, ou du moins une partie."[163] (Berr 2008, p.206). Joffo justifies writing *Un sac de billes* in similar terms. Responding to the question "Pourquoi ai-je écrit ce livre ?" (Joffo 1973, p.379), Joffo acknowledges that writing was a necessity: "Il est sorti de moi comme une chose naturelle, cela m'était peut-être nécessaire**[164]** (Joffo 1973, p.379). He adds: "Ecrire ce livre n'a pas d'abord été, pour moi, une expérience littéraire. Il s'agissait d'exorciser mon enfance, de me 'défouler' si l'on veut. De deux maux, il faut choisir le moindre : j'ai préféré l'écriture à la psychanalyse, et je crois avoir

[162] Joffo's concern with accuracy and detail is also evidenced by his direct involvement in retranslations, and discussions on retranslations, of his narrative.

[163] "I know why I am writing this journal… I know that I want it to be given to Jean if I am not here when he returns. I don't want to disappear without him knowing everything that I have thought of in his absence, or at least some of it" (Berr 2008b, p.108).

[164] [Why did I write this book? I should have asked myself that before I started; it would have been the logical thing to do, but things don't often happen logically. The book came out of me like something natural, maybe I needed to write it.]

fait le bon choix"[165] (Joffo 1973, p.406). Writing was not something that Joffo chose to do but rather something that he was compelled to do in order to continue to survive, an affirmation that he returns to in later acts of public engagement (see also Anspach 2011).[166]

Joffo's engagement with acts of witnessing suggests that writing can be a compulsion, a kind of therapy, rather than a decision. Cecilia Rossi ponders on this idea this when she writes: "I wonder if there is a choice in the retelling, re-vising, and versioning of writing, such as Holocaust writing, which plays such a central role in the individual's process of coming to terms with traumatic experience" (Cited in Davies 2018, p.145). The idea of writing as a compulsion is a view widely corroborated in the literature. Siobhan Brownlie, in *Mapping Memory in Translation* (2016), writes that: "In the late twentieth century the proliferation of Holocaust memory writing was no doubt due in part to a therapeutic impulse" (Brownlie 2016, p.6). Peter Davies also observes that: "It is not simply a question of rewriting out of free will and interest in new perspectives, but out of necessity arising from experiences of violence, dispossessions, and flight" (Davies 2018, p.145). In this sense, Peter Davies acknowledges translation's role in responding to trauma. Tal concurs that: "Literature of trauma is written from the need to tell and retell the story of the traumatic experience, to make it real both to the victim and to the community. Such writing serves both as validation and [a] cathartic vehicle for the traumatized writer" (Tal 1996, p.137). Furthermore, for Robert Eaglestone, the changing nature of memory is mirrored in the constant rewriting of memories through time in new forms. He writes that: "Barbara Foley suggests that the 'great majority of Holocaust memoirists fall silent when they have completed their tales'. In fact, the opposite is the case. Once they have told their tales, they tell them again: another characteristic of testimony writing is the lack of closure" (Eaglestone 2004, p.65). Joffo, like Berr, and like Maurel, writes not only to communicate, but to work through and survive the hardships that they had lived through.

[165] [This book wasn't a literary enterprise when I first began writing. My goal was to exercise some of my childhood demons, to get it out of my system. Of the two choices open to me, I preferred writing to psychoanalysis, and I think I made the right choice.]

[166] "Vous avez écrit votre premier livre, *Un sac de billes,* tardivement. Vous aviez passé quarante ans…" "Oui. Deux solutions s'offraient à moi : soit aller chez le psy, soit écrire un livre […] C'est une excellente thérapie […] Des images me reviennent encore souvent en mémoire" (Anspach 2011). [You wrote your first book, A Bag of Marbles, belatedly. You'd spent forty years […] " "Yes, two solutions presented themselves to me: either go to a psychiatrist or write a book [...] It's an excellent therapy [...] Images often come to mind."]

Victims write not only to create a form of testimony, as evidence that these events really happened, not only as a mode of surviving, but also to be survived. This is also explored by Joffo in his writing. In his epilogue, Joffo explains that this book was, for him, a way of fulfilling one of man's three obligations: "Il est écrit dans la Bible qu'un homme doit faire trois choses dans sa vie : se marier et avoir des enfants, construire sa maison, et laisser derrière lui quelque chose qui lui survive. Pour moi, cela aura été ce livre"[167] (Joffo 1973, p.407). Writing is part of Joffo's continuing legacy, an ensuring of memory beyond life. Through translation and re-writing, Joffo gives new life to his memories. When asked why he wanted his narrative to be produced as a *bande dessinée,* Joffo turns to a famous citation from Napoléon Bonaparte: "a good sketch is better than a long speech" (Anspach, 2011). Joffo, thus, recognises the inadequacy of words to describe his experiences and acknowledges that images can speak for him and his experiences in ways that words cannot.

The capacity of graphic novels to open up new avenues for imaginative investigation is explored by Saïd (2006) who observes that "comics seemed to say what couldn't otherwise be said, perhaps what wasn't permitted to be said or imagined, defying the ordinary processes of thought" (Saïd in Whitlock 2006, p.967). Similarly, Joffo uses the language of the visual as a substitute vocabulary through which to expand his ways of saying. The language of the visual is an instrument through which he can *translate* his memories and transform his own relationship to them. Joffo's belief that through visual modes of literacy he would be able to reach new audiences "qui ont envie de connaître ce roman, de le voir en images"[168] (Anspach 2011) allows for the languages through which experiences are spoken to be broadened. Joffo's understanding of the capacity of visual modes to transmit knowledge to new audiences no doubt plays a defining role in his collaboration in the production of the 2011/12 *bande dessinée* and his comments endorsing the 2017 film directed by Christian Duguay.

Joffo's reservations about the 1975 film adaptation of his narrative are clearly signalled in his views on the images portrayed in the film and their misrepresentation of key personalities in

[167] [In the Bible it is written that a man has to do three things in his life: get married and have children, build a house, and leave something that will survive him behind. For me, that would have been this book.]
[168] [Who want to understand/be introduced to this novel, to see it in images.]

his life and his survival. Speaking of his father in the epilogue to *Un sac de billes,* Joffo notes that "M. Doillon l'a représenté au bord de la dépression nerveuse, ne sachant pas très bien ce qu'il va faire de ses enfants. Rien de commun avec mon père, qui a toujours fait preuve de sang-froid et qui, dès le début de la guerre, n'a jamais hésité sur la conduite à tenir face aux événements"[169] (Joffo 1973, p.386). Such mis-representations led to Joffo denying Pathé renewal rights for the film.[170] Here, Joffo's affirms Berr's[171] and Maurel's[172] position that despite knowing that language is inadequate, victims also believe that there is something to be faithful to. In the case of Joseph Joffo, this is linked to the representation of important people. In his epilogue, of the priest who saved his life, he writes: "[…] je tiens à souligner qu'il ne ressemblait en rien à celui mis en scène dans le film que le réalisateur Jacques Doillon a tiré de mon livre [...] Le même problème se pose d'ailleurs pour mon père"[173] (Joffo 1996, p.385). In a public talk at the Alliance Sorbonne, Joffo reiterated that *Un sac de billes* (1975) by Doillon was not "véridique"[174] (Joffo 2017). He had wanted a remake of the film to re-portray the roles played by his father and the priest who had saved his and his brother's lives.[175] On his decision to collaborate in the 2011/2012 *bande dessinée*, furthermore, Joffo states: "Il fallait que cela soit mes images"[176] and not "ses [Doillon's] images […] de ma vie"[177] which suggests that he well understands the power and longevity of filmic representations (Anspach, 2011). Joffo, therefore, collaborates in multimodal reconfigurations of his narrative for three reasons: he sees the written language as not fully adequate to describe his experiences and believes that coupling it with the language of the visual can help to overcome some of these inadequacies; he understands that the language of

[169] [Mr. Doillon portrayed him on the verge of a nervous breakdown, not knowing what he should do with his children. Nothing at all like my father, who always showed extraordinary resolve and who, from the very beginning of the war, never hesitated to take the lead in facing events.]
[170] "J'ai le droit de refuser l'autorisation de continuer à exploiter un film qui n'est pas l'authentique histoire de ma vie. Ceci dit, j'espère qu'il y aura un jour un film, plus fidèle, sur la trilogie du *Sac de billes*." [I have the right to refuse the authorisation to continue to produce a film which is not an authentic history of my life. That said, I hope that one day there will be a more faithful film on the *Sac de billes* trilogy.]
[171] See thesis page 90, para.1.
[172] See thesis page 46, para.2.
[173] [But since I'm on the subject of the priest, I'd like to clarify that he was nothing like the one portrayed in the film that Jacques Doillon directed based on my book [...] The same problem arose with respect to my father.]
[174] [Truthful.]
[175] By declaring the boys' circumcision as performed for surgical reasons.
[176] [It was important that these were 'my images'.]
[177] [His images […] of my life.]

the visual opens up his memories to new audiences; and he wanted an opportunity to correct erroneous representations of his life.

In *Un sac de billes* Joffo also gestures to the unstable nature of memory. In his prologue to the book, he writes that: "Trente années ont passé. La mémoire comme l'oubli peuvent métamorphoser d'infimes détails. Mais l'essentiel est là, dans son authenticité, sa tendresse, sa drôlerie et l'angoisse vécue"[178] (Joffo 1973, p.7). He also expresses concerns about potential distortions to his memory when he describes his reactions to learning that a group of children at a school in Paris had been acting out *Un sac de billes* in the playground. In his prologue he attempts to work through this, commenting: "Que peut être ces enfants, à travers ce jeu, voulaient en savoir davantage, comprendre ce que nos avions pu ressentir. Je pense aussi que personne ne peut ainsi se mettre à la place de quelqu'un d'autre : la situation étant recrée, provoquée, déviant forcement fausse"[179] (Joffo 1973, p.414). Joffo, hence, confirms his belief that recreating a situation inevitably distorts it in some way. His engagement in retranslations of his narrative reveal, moreover, that translations can be both unreliable and yet not inauthentic representations of his memory. This can be illustrated by one significant example. In the 1973 memoir, Joffo recalls that he and his brothers had given their mother a sewing machine for her birthday: " […] embrassa son époux qui lui avait offert avec mes frères une machine à coudre Singer ce qui était pour l'époque quelque chose d'inappréciable"[180] (Joffo 1973, p.204). This scene is replicated in the later *bande dessinée* version of the narrative (2012) (see figure 16).

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[178] [Thirty years have passed. Memory like loss, can change an infinity of details. But the important part, the true part is still there, in its tenderness, its comedy and the anguished lived.]

[179] [What do I think about it? Perhaps those children were trying to understand something through this game. Perhaps they were trying to understand what it was like for us. I also think that no one can really put himself in another person's shoes. Trying to act out, or recreate a situation, inevitably falsifies it in some ways.]

[180] [Then Mama kissed Papa who, together with my brothers had given her a Singer sewing-machine. For in those days, it was a priceless possession.]

Figure 16 Panel from Un sac de billes, Adapt. Bailly and Kris (Joffo 2012, p.23)

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In the 2017 film adaptation this scene is replicated but with one important revision: the sewing machine is replaced by a violin (see figure 17). In the film, the violin is exploited by Elsa Zylberstein, the actress casted as Joffo's mother, to stand as the film's leitmotif; it produces a melancholic melody which is dramatically cut short in the scene when a Nazi officer bangs at the door investigating the status of all those residing at the apartment. It is true that substituting the sewing machine with the violin allows the film to achieve a dramatic effect through music that it might not otherwise have realised. However, the sewing machine in 2017, when the film was first screened, might also carry connotations of being a sexist object. It might, therefore, be suggested that where a victim's memory no longer corresponds to societal norms or expectations, it can sometimes be substituted.[181] This is a decision that has the potential to raise significant ethical questions. Joffo approves of Duguay's retranslation of his memory in interviews which, however, authenticates it in some way.[182]

Figure 17 Film Still - Violin Gift from Un sac de billes 2017. Dir. Christian Duguay

[181] This finds parallels with Wiesel's *La nuit* which has been critiqued for being a heavily revised version of the first Yiddish version of his memories. For discussions on revisions to Wiesel's testimony in translation see: Seidman, N. (1996) Elie Wiesel and the Scandal of Jewish Rage in Jewish Social Studies. New Series, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Autumn, 1996), pp. 1-1 and also Davies, P. (2018) Elie Wiesel's Night: Searching for the Original in Davies, P. 2018. Witness Between Languages: The Translation of Holocaust Testimonies in Context. Rochester, New York: Camden House, pp. 58 to 97.

[182] An interview with Christian Duguay suggests that he communicated with Joffo during while adapting the film: "J'ai été obnubilé par l'homme, sa générosité, sa disponibilité et je comprenais toute la pression qu'il pouvait avoir de voir une adaptation cinématographique qui resterait assez fidèle à l'oeuvre." (Duguay in JdF 2017) [I was obsessed with the man, his generosity, his availability and I understood all the pressure he might have felt towards seeing a film adaptation that would remain relatively faithful to the work]. Joffo endorses the film. See: "Un Sac de Billes" plus qu'un film: le témoignage de Joseph JOFFO, Alliance Panthéon Sorbonne (2017).

Tim O'Brien suggests that autobiography is less a matter of "actual truth" and more about finding ways to communicate the experience to those who were not there (O'Brien 1991, p.157). This echoes Berr's comments explored in the previous chapter about translation; it is an impossible act, yet one which one should nevertheless endeavour to carry out. It is possible that Joffo and his brothers had originally gifted their mother a violin and that this act of remembrance is coloured by traumatic recall. Cathy Caruth speaks to the suppression and re-emergence of memory when she writes that: "…trauma is not locatable in the simple violent or original event in an individual's past, but rather in the way that its very unassimilated nature – the way it was precisely not known in the first instance – returns to haunt the survivor later on" (Caruth 1995, p.4). The fact that Joffo's mother was a musician, a violinist moreover, and that Joffo writes about this in *Anna et son orchestre* in 1975, however, makes this memorial revision an illustration of the capabilities of translation to illuminate the past (see figure 18).

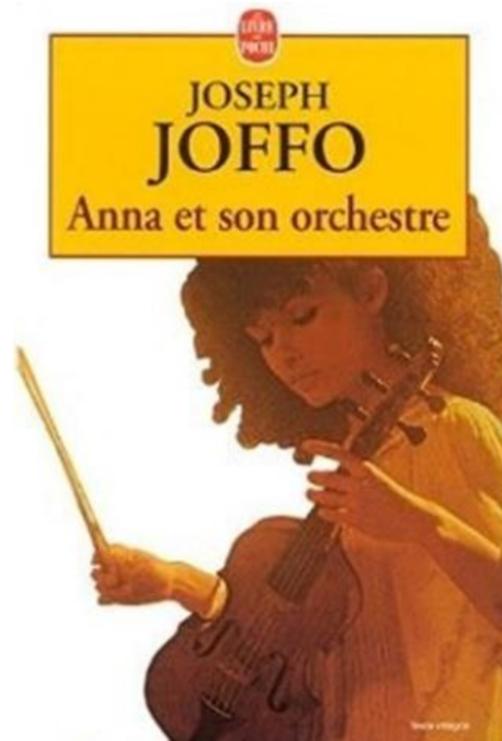

Figure 18 Anna et son orchestre (Joffo 1975) Front cover

This can also be evidenced in translations of a different scene. Joffo's father warns him and his brother never to tell anybody that they are Jewish. In the French (1973) narrative, Joffo's father states: "Enfin, dit-il, il faut que vous sachiez une chose. Vous êtes juifs mais ne l'avouez jamais. Vous entendez : JAMAIS" (Joffo 1973, p.51). The scene continues and Joffo's father asks the young Joseph Joffo, "Tu es juif, Joseph?" (Joffo 1973, p.51), to which he responds "Non" (Joffo 1973, p.51). Joseph Joffo's father delivers a blow to Joseph's face and asks the question again: "Ne mens pas, tu est juif, Joseph?"[183] (Joffo 1973, p.51), to which he responds again: "Non" (Joffo 1973, p.51). In the 2017 film adaptation, however, Joffo's father asks this question not in French, as written in his 1973 narrative, but in Yiddish: "Bin Yid sied?"[184] Joseph shakes his head, before receiving a blow to his face. Then Joffo's father tells him, in French this time, never to reply "quand on te parle en Yiddish."[185] The language in which Joseph's father really addressed him seems insignificant in a scene which culminates in Joseph asking his father: "qu'est-ce que c'est qu'un Juif?"[186] The scene's real meaning lies in the young Joseph's inability to understand what it means to be Jewish and in the senselessness of the persecution that he and his family would be forced to endure. Andrea Reiter writes that: "Many Jewish victims countered the sense of exclusion and later discrimination by reaffirming their Jewishness" (Reiter 2005, p.32). The use of Yiddish in the film, as opposed to French, not only dramatizes this lack of understanding for the audience, many of whom will not understand Yiddish, but also serves to bring Joseph into a closer contact with his Jewish identity as a speaker of Yiddish. The Nazis were intent on wiping out the memory of both the Yiddish language and its speakers, as Cledinnen observes: "Yiddish, that yeasty brew of Hebrew, German, Romance, and Slavonic, which for the Jews of Eastern Europe had been their only homeland, was nearly destroyed by the Holocaust" (Cledinnen 2002, p.41). The retranslation of Joffo's narrative into an audio-visual mode returns to a point of origin before the French text, attempting to recapture Joffo's identity as a Yiddish speaker. This is an aspect of Joffo's memory that is less visible in the French 1973 text.

[183] [Don't lie, are you Jewish Joseph?]
[184] [Are you a Jew?]
[185] […when you are spoken to in Yiddish.]
[186] [What is a Jew?]

Since neither memory can neither be corroborated or verified, these revisions to Joffo's 1973 narrative become less proof of an inauthentic memory than an exposition of another memory, an aspect which would otherwise be left concealed in *Un sac de billes.* This final example speaks to Steiner's comment that: "The writer makes a gift of his own work to another language yet seeks in the copy the primary lineaments of his own inspiration and, possibly, an enhancement or clarification of these lineaments through reproduction" (Steiner 1975/1998, p.338). Through reproduction and change, be it clarification, enhancement or exploration of alternative scenarios, these two examples from translations of *Un sac de billes* prove that translations can be authentic and, yet, not necessarily remain true to a victim's narrative expression of their own experiences. The idea that the original text holds the closest connection to the original experience is therefore refutable.

This first section, then, has identified a number of features in Joffo's work and its translations. Firstly, it has suggested that writing and rewriting, both acts of translation, are therapeutic tools for Holocaust survivors. The language of the visual provides Joffo with new vocabularies that open up new ways of seeing, of telling, and of remembering. For Joffo, translation into new languages allows him to "restore and recuperate loss and memory" (Yildiz 2012, p.20). This section has corroborated the fallible nature of memories and the inadequacy of language to describe fully traumatic experiences, as explored in previous chapters. It has stressed that the notion of an original is particularly problematic when used to describe any narrative relating to the Holocaust. This is supported by Joffo's collaboration in revisions of his narrative and the support he gives to re-writings of his narrative due to what he perceives as inaccurate representation.

Translating silence(s) and literary idioms in *Un sac de billes*

Fuchs argues that an emphasis on narrativity has produced "an assimilationist theory of cultural memory which fails to take account of alternative modes of cultural transmission that communicate through the unsaid, the sous-entendu, through innuendo, and silence" (Fuchs 2002, p.235). Additionally, Pierre Machery considers silence as a significant component of literary texts, stressing that it is the critic's role "to ask of every production what it tacitly implies, what it does not say" (Machery 1966/2004, p.463). Thus, this second section

investigates the "language of defeats and silences" alluded to by Laub (1995). By drawing attention to the various manifestations of silence within different translations of *Un sac de billes,* this section shows how silence in the Holocaust narrative speaks for, and represents for Joffo, and subsequently for his reader. This section considers the manifestations of silence in *Un sac de billes* not only as a form of self-censorship and as a narrative theme, but in relation to Jean Boase-Beier's (2015) work on "stylistic silence". Furthermore, as suggested in the introduction to this thesis, theorists working in Translation Studies imply that the silences inherent in a work might be liberated through acts of translation. These silences can open up new historical truths and/or spaces to explore alternate ones. This section illustrates how the translation of these different types of silence can offer new constellations of meanings and produce new knowledge about the Holocaust.

In *Speaking Silence: The Social Construction of Silence in Autobiographical and Cultural Narratives,* Robert Fivush argues that: "Narrating our experience by very definition implies a process of editing and selecting, voicing some aspects of what occurred and therefore silencing other aspects" (Fivush 2009, p.88). An analysis of *Un sac de billes* shows that Joffo employs silence as a means of self-censorship. In his prologue, he states that he changes the names of a number of people: "Afin de ne pas heurter des susceptibilités, de nombreux noms de personnes qui traversent ce récit ont été transformés"[187] (Joffo 1973, p.7). At the end of the narrative Joffo moreover records that he and his brother spend some time in a place he calls "R": "De nouveaux personnages sont apparus dans ma vie depuis deux mois que je vis à R" (Joffo 1973, p.332) In his afterword for a later edition (1997), Joffo points out that readers of the first editions of his book had written to him asking why he had not named the village, Rumilly, in *Un sac de billes*. Joffo explains that:

> La réponse est bien simple. Toute cette histoire est vraie, et, même sans y être alors retourné, je savais bien que plusieurs protagonistes devaient être encore en vie […].

[187] [So as not to offend anybody, a number of names of people who appear in this narrative have been changed.]

> Je n'ai pas voulu donner l'impression que je 'pointais du doigt' un village où les gens n'étaient ni meilleurs ni pires que n'importe où ailleurs.[188] (Joffo 1997, p.393/394)

In this response, Joffo affirms that the censoring of place names does not affect the authenticity of the story nor the history that he narrates in *Un sac de billes*. He draws attention, thereby, to the fine line that exists between authentic and accurate representations of memory that have already been explored in this chapter. With the passing of time and with revisions and re-writings of his history, it has been possible for Joffo to make known previously unspeakable truths about his experiences and to voice his silences: "Mais alors pourquoi le révéler à présent? Tout simplement parce que la situation a changé depuis la parution du livre"[189] (Joffo 1997, p.393/394). This links strongly to Bauer's observation that: "In the past, the witness may have had reasons to hide or misrepresent things, reasons that have in the meantime disappeared" (Bauer 2002, p.24). Joffo's admissions provide further evidence of how changes can emerge through processes of translation and that the "truth" of translation changes over time; what was once unspeakable becomes speakable, but the reverse may also true and something once speakable becomes unspeakable.

In a brief interview I conducted with Vincent Bailly, illustrator of Joffo's 2011/2012 *Un sac de billes* in *bande dessinée*, Bailly was asked if there were elements of Joffo's narrative that were difficult to recreate in images. He pointed out that the few violent scenes that Joffo had been able to put into words had been particularly difficult to draw (Bailly 2016). Bailly was later asked how he perceived silence in Joffo's *Un sac de billes*. It was not so much what Joffo had said in his narrative that had most impacted Bailly's work, but what was unsaid:

> Je suppose que dans un récit comme *Un sac de billes* les silences sont d'abord les moments qui sont occultés. En français nous disons 'passés sous silence'. Je crois que Joseph Joffo n'a pas écrit les moments les plus dures de son histoire, en particulier le

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[188] [The response is simple. Everything in this story is true, and even without having to go back there, I, indeed, knew that several of the [story's] protagonists would still be living there… I did not want to give the impression that I was singling out a certain village, whose inhabitants were no better, or worse, than they were elsewhere.]
[189] [So, why am I revealing it now? Quite simply because the situation has changed since the emergence of the book.]

> passage devant la Gestapo à l'Hôtel Excelsior qui a sans doute été plus violent que ce qu'il écrit. C'est un récit d'aventure pour des adolescents. La violence y est édulcorée, les silences sont ce qui n'est pas montré dans le récit, les tortures et la mort.[190] (Bailly 2019)

The idea that victims therefore repress or bury speech results, then, as Caruth (1995) observes, no so much from "personal volition but rather from the unspeakable nature of an experience that is beyond narrative"[191] (Caruth 1995, p.7). Joffo's employment of silence is not only implicitly contained in his 1973 narrative, silence is also a narrative theme. Joffo references silence specifically and demonstrates an awareness of the critical role that it plays in the retelling of his own history: "C'est long le silence quand on est petit"[192] (Joffo 1973, p.32). The way that his understanding of the function of silence changes throughout *Un sac de billes* indicates how silence functions in the world of the survivor. In the first part of his narrative Joffo remembers that, while his family slept, he and his brother, reassured by the silence, would creep downstairs into the family barbershop:

> Ça nous arrivait de temps en temps. Lorsque tout le monde dormait. Avec des précautions infinies, nous ouvrions la porte de notre chambre et après un coup d'œil dans le couloir, rassurés par le silence, nous descendions au magasin, pieds nus, sans faire craquer les marches."[193] (Joffo 1973, p.43)

The same silence that had once reassured Joffo, the epitome of security and family life, later becomes a referent for the unknown: "J'étais dans une chambre inconnue, et le silence était total"[194] (Joffo 1973, p.280). It is this silence that speaks for the unknown that best articulates

[190] [I suppose that in a story like *A Bag of Marbles* the silences are, primarily, hidden moments. In French we say "passed over". I believe that Joseph Joffo did not write about the most difficult moments of his (his)story, especially what happened in front of the Gestapo at the Hotel Excelsior which was, undoubtedly, more violent than what he writes. It is an adventure story for teenagers. The violence is watered down, the silences are what is not shown in the story, the tortures and the death.]
[191] This resonates with Elaine Scarry's observations that pain, inexpressible and incommunicable, "does not simply resist language but actively destroys" the victims' voices (Scarry 1985, p.4).
[192] [Silence is long when you're little.]
[193] [From time to time we used to do that. When everybody was asleep. With infinite precautions, we would open our bedroom door and look down the corridor; encouraged by the silence, we would go downstairs into the shop, barefoot, without letting the steps creak.]
[194] [I was in an unknown room, and there was complete silence.]

Joffo's fear: "Il existe une autre sorte de peur: celle que nous inspire ce que nous ne connaissons pas"[195] (Joffo 1973, p.389). Silence, for Joffo, testifies to a state of distress for which there are no words, to the kind of fear that he explains in some detail in his epilogue:

> J'ai connu d'autres peurs dans ma vie: la peur du dentiste, la peur des coups (j'ai fait un peu de boxe), la peur de l'accident de voiture, la peur du gendarme lorsque on est en infraction, la peur du noir lorsque l'on est enfant, la peur de la maladie, aussi. […] Je puis vous assurer cependant que ces peurs-là n'ont rien à voir avec celle dont je parlais précédemment.[196] (Joffo 1973, p.393)

By way of a further example, in *Un sac de billes* (1973) Joffo attends to the soundscape linked to his memory of the final meal that he shared with his parents before he and his brother left Paris for the free zone. He recalls:

> Je ne me souviens pas du repas, il me reste simplement des sons tenus de cuillères heurtées sur le bord de l'assiette, des murmures pour demander à boire, le sel, des choses de ce genre.[197] (Joffo 1973, p.52)

It is not speech but rather sounds that fill Joffo's textual and memory landscape. The silence, understood here as the absence of spoken words, is linked to a loss of memory, but also to fear and uncertainty. In the 2017 film this scene is recreated. The scene begins with the family stood around the dining room table. Joffo's father's gaze moves first to Joseph Joffo's older brother Maurice who had recently been involved in an anti-Semitic confrontation on the school playground. The camera then fixes upon the mother's gaze, moving to each of the older brothers, in a movement that is followed by a powerful silence. The boys start eating, and silence falls upon the room once again. We hear Joffo's father pulling out the dining table chair. He sits down, and this action is followed by yet more silence. Analogous to the

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[195] [There is another kind of fear, and this is one we feel when we are confronted by the unknown.]
[196] [I have known other fears in my life: the fear of dentists, the fear of beatings (I boxed a little), the fear of being involved in a car accident, the fear of police having committed an offence, the fear of the dark as a child, and even the fear of illness […] but none of these things has anything to do with the fear I described earlier.]
[197] [I don't remember that meal anymore. The only things that stick in my mind are the clink of spoons against the rims of the bowls, the murmur of voices asking for something to drink, to pass the salt, that sort of thing.]

recollections recorded in Joffo's 1973 narrative, the only sound that can be heard around the dinner table is the ominous clinking of Joffo's father's glass. Through its use of silence, the whole scene effectively recreates and foreshadows the world of uncertainty and fear that the two young boys would soon be plunged into as they approached the moment where they would be forced to leave their family home and flee Paris. What began in Joffo's narrative as the sound of spoons hitting the side of the bowls (Joffo 1973, p.52) is translated into the image of a chiming grandfather clock in the *bande dessinée* version of Joffo's narrative (Joffo 2011, p.25) and, then, into the image of a clinking glass in the 2017 film adaptation. These everyday household items are used to emphasise silence, and as a way of describing the anxiety and the fear that accompanied Joffo's memory of the last meal he would share with his family (see also Figure 30, panel 1). Like the sewing-machine/violin revision, or the French language/Yiddish language examples presented earlier, these illustrations again highlight that translations can be an authentic representation of the victim's experiences, though not necessarily equivalent to his/her own narrative expression of events.

In a related example, Joffo describes the moment that two Nazi soldiers enter into the Joffo family barber shop. The room falls silent: "Dans le salon, dans le silence, le plus intense que jamais sans doute salon de coiffure ait pu connaître, deux S.S. têtes de mort attendaient, genoux joints au milieu des clients juifs de confier leurs nuques à mon père juif, ou à mes frères juifs" (Joffo 1973, p.16). The SS, unaware that they are in a Jewish shop, claim that the Jews are to blame for the war. Joffo's father announces that in his barber shop "tout le monde est juif" (Joffo 1973, p.16). In the 2017 film, this admission is followed by the camera zooming in to the gloved hands of the SS officer, a visual illustration and representation of the violence, power, and control that bred fear and anxiety among the Jews of Nazi-occupied France (see figure 19).

Figure 19 Film Still - Nazi's gloved hands from Un sac de billes 2017. Dir. Christian Duguay.

This camera movement is accompanied by silence and the Nazis leave the Barber shop without uttering a word. Silence, here, becomes an admission not only of fear but of guilt and of racial segregation. A comparable effect can be read in the 2011/12 *bande dessinée* version and the way that it employs silent panels. The first panel recreating this scene is static and speechless. It shows all of the heads of the people within the barber shop turned toward the two officers. The two Nazi officers are dressed in black, and framed behind, but between, the two Jewish barbers their clients are dressed in white (see figure 20). The panel, thereby, effectively captures the atmosphere of us versus them, of good versus evil, of segregation and of fear.

Figure 20 Silent panels in Un sac de billes, Adapt. Bailly and Kris (Joffo 2011, p.8)

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As Earle observes, the removal of these reading skills or, in the case of the film, these first-level auditory skills, has a destabilizing effect on the reader [or viewer] (Earle 2017). "This omission in itself can make the experience of reading the comic mimic the traumatic experience and the reader being to all intents and purposes diagetically stranded" (Earle 2017, p.52). Silence expressed through the visual constructs an unnerving experience; one which is not attained by the 1973 version of the text. Visual modes of representation, therefore, create a different and more intimate encounter with the language of silence than permitted by the narrative.

The next section analyses silences in Joffo's *Un sac de billes* with a view to Jean Boase-Beier's understanding of silence and "stylistic silences". Silence(s), for Jean Boase-Beier, serves as: […]an overall term for something that is reflected in Holocaust poetry, wherever it was written, by whomever it was written, and under whatever circumstances" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.33). Stylistic silence, she argues, is present in the poem's "iconicity" and "[…] in the style of poetry, through its textual gaps, hiatuses and ambiguities, all of which […] resemble the events they are describing" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.33). Silence for Boase-Beier, then, is a concept which shares obvious affinities with the substitute vocabularies that have been examined in this thesis. In this section I propose that it is possible to read silence as implicitly signalled in some of the literary idioms that will be discussed in this section (repetition, metaphor and ellipses). They operate as "stylistic silences", offering textual spaces that need to be filled by the reader. I thereby show how examining the textual effects of substitute vocabularies can enrich our understanding of the role that silence plays in Holocaust narratives.

In the case of *Un sac de billes* a discerning reader might be drawn to Joffo's compulsion to return to the image of eyes. This recurrence is signalled in the following examples:

> … ils semblaient vouloir essayer de trouver un secret qui se trouvait entre mes yeux.[198] (Joffo 1973, p.179)

> … elle répondit à toutes les questions comme si elle les avait vues dans mes yeux.[199] (Joffo 1973, p.281)

> Il y avait beaucoup de choses dans ses yeux.[200] (Joffo 1973, p.62)

[198] [They looked as if they wanted to try and find a secret that was being held between my eyes.]
[199] […she responded to all of the questions, as if she had seen them in my eyes.]
[200] [There were so many things in his eyes.]

> Sur des miradors des officiers à face de vautours surveillant avec leurs jumelles dont les verres masquaient leurs yeux féroces.[201] (Joffo 1973, p.93)

> Il avait des yeux clairs et bons.[202] (Joffo 1973, p.123)

This recurring theme seems to contain an underlying, metaphorical value and is a theme which is also prevalent in Maurel's *Un camp très ordinaire*. The image of eyes also reoccurs at several points during her narrative, such as:

> Décharnée, la peau brunâtre, les yeux fous, la tête enturbannée de chiffons sales…[203] (Maurel 1957, p.20)

> D'ailleurs, cette femme avait des yeux de folle.[204] (Maurel 1957, p.21)

> Je cherchais des yeux Michelle – elle me regardait sans pouvoir ne sourire ni parler.[205] (Maurel 1957, p.84)

The act of seeing in relation to Holocaust memories comes with a strong association with the act of bearing witness. As Caruth suggests:

> The repetitions of the traumatic event – which remain unavailable to consciousness but intrude repeatedly on sight – thus suggest a larger relation to the event that extends beyond what can simply be seen or what can be known and is inextricably tied up with the belatedness and incomprehensibility that remain at the heart of this repetitive seeing. (Caruth 1996, p.92)

Joffo is using such images as evidence that he was there and to accentuate the authenticity of his account. An alternative reading suggests that, for Joffo, the eyes became an indicator of

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[201] [Up on the watchtowers vulture-faced officers watching through their binoculars whose lenses masked their ferocious eyes.]
[202] [He had bright and clear eyes.]
[203] [Untidy, brownish skin, crazy eyes, a turbaned head of filthy rags...]
[204] [Moreover, this woman had crazy eyes.]
[205] [I was looking for Michelle's eyes – she was looking at me without smiling or speaking.]

truth in a world of uncertainty where he too would be forced to deceive people in order to survive. The fact that Joffo was living in a world where nothing was ever as it seemed is embodied, moreover, in the contradictory phrase: "Il y a un rayon de soleil froid" (Joffo 1973, p.74). Reiter writes extensively on the metaphor of sun and light in Holocaust narratives noting that: "Contemplation of nature, which was beyond the oppressor's control, was a typical reaction that led to romantic ideas about a man's connection to the universe" (Reiter 2005, p.105) [206]. Joffo's use of pathetic fallacy, however, seems to indicate the opposite. It attests to his lack of control and resounds more with Boase-Beier's observations that pathetic fallacy is employed "where nature appears to echo human concerns" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.68). For Joffo, eyes became truth, revealing secrets, and people's true intentions. They are the evidence that there was still some good in an evil world. Eyes, in this sense, symbolise Joffo's hope and are another thematic example of how what was once hidden or concealed within a plethora of words, becomes sharper when translated into the language of the visual. The leitmotif of eyes, for example, is explored in the 2011/2012 *bande dessinée* version of *Un sac de billes* and in the 2017 film version (see figures 21-24). The close-up images of the eye encourage a close emotional encounter between the characters and the audience, thus showing how the language of the visual makes these silent sub-themes more prominent.

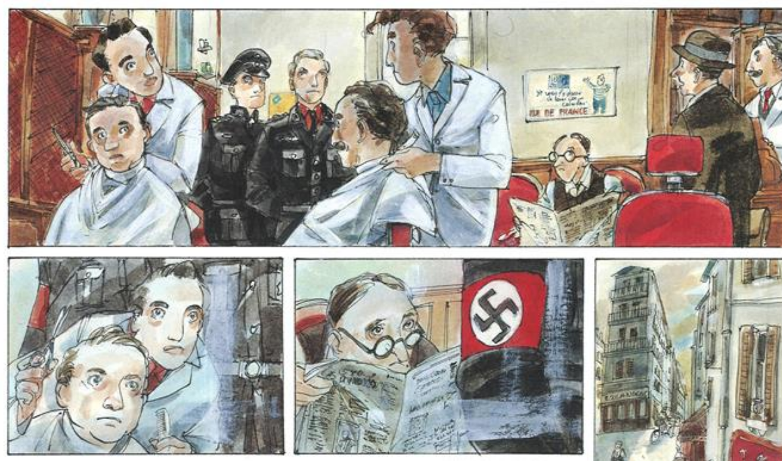

Figure 21 Panels - Eyes in Un sac de billes, Adapt. Bailly and Kris (Joffo 2011, p.8)

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[206] "…we find that the experience of sun and light gives rise to one of the most extensive groups of metaphors in the concentration camp testimony" (Reiter, 2005, p.119).

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Figure 22 Panels -Eyes (2) in Un sac de billes, Adapt. Bailly and Kris (Joffo 2012, p.46)

Figure 23 Film Still - Eyes (3) from Un sac de billes, 2017. Dir Christian Duguay

Figure 24 Film Still - Eyes (4) from Un sac de billes, 2017. Dir. Christian Duguay.

A second recurrent focus is on metaphors of darkness. In the 1973 written account of his narrative, Joffo repeats words that link to darkness, like "ombre". At the beginning of the 1973 narrative, Joffo is in his family home and he notices that the lamps in his bedroom were creating shadows: "La lampe faisait des ombres"[207] (Joffo 1973, p.18). Joffo takes an everyday object which ordinarily would give light to darkness and focusses on its shadow; this illustrates his despairing mindset and is an ominous predictor of the days that ensue. A few pages later, the narrative implies how this anguish increases. Moments after he leaves his house to begin his escape to the free zone, Joffo describes himself as being in total darkness: "Nous sommes dans le noir"[208] (Joffo 1973, p.20). The imagery linked to shadows and darkness pervades Joffo's narrative, emerging almost as a counter-narrative to the repeated theme of eyes: "Dans l'ombre derrière, il y a un remous et deux visages sont apparus, pas souriants ceux-là"[209] (Joffo 1973, p.23); "Ses doigts jouaient dans l'ombre avec les franges de mon dessus-de-lit"[210] (Joffo 1973, p.32) and "Dans la nuit sans lumière, dans les rues désertes

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[207] [The lamps were creating shadows.]
[208] [We are in darkness.]
[209] [In the shadow behind, there is a swirl and two faces appeared, they weren't smiling.]
[210] [His fingers were playing in the shadows with the fringes of my bedspread.]

à l'heure où le couvre-feu allait bientôt sonner, nous disparûmes dans les ténèbres"[211] (Joffo 1973, p.35). In contrast to the leitmotif of the eyes which are symbolic of truth, of goodness and of hope, the shadows and darkness function as a metaphor, a substitute vocabulary, for a silent world of uncertainty, persecution and despair.

A third metaphor pointing to stylistic silence is the title Joffo gives to his autobiography: *Un sac de billes*. The story begins with Joseph and his brother playing marbles in the streets of Paris: "La bille roule entre mes doigts au fond de ma poche […] Je l'aime bien, il est bon d'avoir la terre dans sa poche, les montagnes, les mers, tout ça bien enfoui"[212] (Joffo 1973, p.9). When persecution falls on Paris, the marbles come to represent much more than a child's game. In a pivotal moment Joseph exchanges his yellow star for a bag of marbles:

> Mon étoile. Pour un sac de billes.
> Ce fût ma première affaire.[213] (Joffo 1973, p.41)

These phrases are laced with irony. We later realise that this phrase marks the end of Joffo's life as a child. A few pages later, Joffo explains: "Je ne savais pas encore que je ne reverrais plus ce paysage si familier. Je ne savais pas que d'ici quelques heures, je ne serais plus un enfant."[214] (Joffo 1973, p.45). The metaphorical value which Joffo gives to the title of his book alludes to a psychological silence that cannot be expressed in words, that of loss. This confirms Köller's observation that metaphors enable us to "speak analogically about matters that are in principle beyond all possible sensory or empirical experience" (Köller 1975, p.259). This symbolic and conventional sign, the bag of marbles, takes on a particularly emblematic value in the 2017 film. In the moments before Joseph and his brother leave their home in Paris we see Dorian Le Clech, the actor who plays Joseph Joffo, hesitating over whether to bring his bag of marbles with him (see figure 25).

---

[211] [In the night without light, in the deserted streets at the time when the curfew was about to strike, we disappeared into the darkness.]

[212] [The marble rolls around between my fingers in the depths of my pocket [...] I like it a lot, it's good to have the earth in your pocket, mountains, seas, buried deep.]

[213] [My star, for a bag of marbles. It was my first business venture.]

[214] [I still didn't know that I would never see that all too familiar scenery never again. I didn't know that in just a few hours, I would cease to be a child.]

Figure 25 Film Still - A bag of marbles from Un sac de billes, 2017

He decides to leave them on the table, visually marking Joffo's statement: "C'en était fait de l'enfance" (Joffo 1973, p.54), the end of his childhood. The two brothers leave their home and enter into darkness, the unknown. Joffo's 1973 narrative implies that when Joffo's childhood ends, so too do his games of marbles. The very last page of the 1989 *bande dessinée*, contains a panel illustrating the two young boys playing in the street with their marbles (see figure 26). This is an image that does not directly correspond to Joffo's memories of childhood and evidences the types of transformations that can happen when translators do not engage with stylistic silences. Joffo, however, made his feelings clear in an interview with Anspach, "on m'a volé mon enfance" [My childhood was stolen from me] (Anspach, 2011). By referring to the marbles the adaptor (1989) returns Joffo's childhood to him.

[This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons]

Figure 26 Panel - Playing marbles in Un sac de billes, Adapt. Alain Boutain and Marc Malès (Joffo 1989, p.46)

Multimodal adaptations and translations bring these subliminal and silent aspects of memory and uncertainty of interpretation to the fore. This is apparent in the 2011/12 *bande dessinée* version of the narrative which embodies Joffo's passage from a normal, fearless existence through to more sombre times. The illustrator, Vincent Bailly, uses the colour palette of the *bande dessinée* to represent this transformation. The narrative begins with yellow-brown tones to depict the warmth and security offered by family life. There are no silent panels when Joffo is surrounded by those that he loves (see figures 27 and 28).

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Figure 27 Panels - Warm colour palette/Home in Un sac de billes, Adapt. Bailly and Kris (Joffo 2011, p.12)

Figure 28 Panels - Warm colour palette (2)/Home in Un sac de billes, Adapt. Bailly and Kris (Joffo 2012, p.23)

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However, when the Joffo brothers leave the family home, the *bande dessinée* switches to cold, blue tones which come to represent the unspeakable fear and uncertainty that characterises the brothers' experiences (see figure 29). This colour palette highlights the tension as the two brothers cross through a wood with a passeur and attempt the final and most dangerous part of the journey into the free zone (see figure 30). The colour blue and an increased number of silent panels dominate the scenery from the moment the two brothers leave their home in Paris until their arrival in the town of Dax where they are taken out of the darkness into scenes bathed in white and light, no doubt reflective of renewed hope and of having survived (see figure 31).

Figure 29 Panels - Cool colour palette/Unknown in Un sac de billes, Adapt. Bailly and Kris (Joffo 2011, p.25)

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Figure 30 Panels - Cool colour palette (2)/Fear in Un sac de billes, Adapt. Bailly and Kris (Joffo 2011, p.43)

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Figure 31 Panels – White/Yellow colour Palette/New hope in Un sac de billes, Adapt. Vincent Bailly and Kris (Joffo 2012, p.3)

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Having considered metaphors of silence, this section now progresses to think about the other elements of Joffo's experience that stylistic silences allow him to explore. His use of ellipses in *Un sac de billes* is one form of stylistic silence. Ellipses are employed by some Holocaust victims to contextualise the tension that exists as they navigate between the words that must be used and the vastness of the event that demands silence. "Tiens, cela me rappelle quelque chose, il n'y a pas si longtemps…"[215] (Joffo 1973, p.33). This was also explored in chapter two. The gaps that ellipses forge bring the central dilemma of testifying to the forefront: these stories must be told and yet they cannot be. It is these stylistic silences that trace "the limits of the linguistic and the limits of the rhetorical" (Eaglestone 2004, p.88). The function of Joffo's use of ellipses in his written narrative is most apparent in phrases where he reminisces over his loss of childhood:

> […] je me rends compte aux poignets de mes chemises et au bas de mon pantalon que j'ai grandi.
> Grandi, durci, changé…[216] (Joffo 1973, p.327)

> […] l'enfant que j'étais il y a dix-huit mois, ce garçon perdu dans le métro […] il s'est effrité chaque jour de notre fuite…[217] (Joffo 1973, p.327)

This loss as ellipses in *Un sac de billes* is therefore both figurative and literal. At the end of Joffo's 1973 narrative, he speaks of a silence around all of those who, like his father, would never live to tell another story: "J'ai vu aussi que papa n'était plus là, j'ai compris qu'il n'y serait jamais plus… C'en était fini des belles histoires contées le soir à la lueur verte de l'abat-jour"[218] (Joffo 1973, p.378). Here, the profound sense of absence that Joffo feels is located in the presence of ellipses, in his inability to speak. At the end of the 1973 narrative, Joseph Joffo describes the moment that he finally arrives home at the end of the war to be met by the

[215] [Well, it reminds me of something not that long ago…]
[216] [I can tell I have grown looking at the cuffs of my shirt and the bottom of my trousers. Grown, toughened up, changed…]
[217] [The child that I was eighteen months ago, the boy lost on the metro [...] he has faded away every day of our escape...]
[218] [I also saw that Papa was gone, I realised he would never be there again... Over were the beautiful stories told in the evening in the green light of the lampshade.]

cruelty of his father's absence. This too is signalled through silence: "Henri me regarde, je vois ses lèvres s'agiter, Albert, maman se tournent vers la rue, ils disent des mots que je ne puis entendre à travers la vitre"[219] (Joffo 1973, p.378). Joffo remembers that he was unable to hear his mother's words through the glass. In the very last scene of the 2017 film, the actor who plays Joseph mouths the words, "…et Papa?"[220] The film's refusal to make Joseph's utterances audible deprive the viewer of one of their primary senses, that of hearing, pushing them beyond the realm of normal experience and allowing them to experience loss. This absence of words mimics the lines from the final pages of the narrative and signal Joffo's absent father and the unutterability of the trauma linked to this great loss. In the opening scenes of this 2017 film, the camera films the family home from the outside, using a window to frame the family, pillow-fighting in an upstairs bedroom (see figure 32). Structuring the shot in this way visually constructs the sense of togetherness and unity shared by the family who had no idea of the fate that awaited them.

Figure 32 Film Still - Family Unity from Un Sac de billes, 2017. Dir. Christian Duguay.

[219] [Henri looks at me, I see his lips tremble. Albert, Maman turn towards the street, they say words that I cannot hear through the glass.]
[220] […and Papa?]

Figure 33 Film Still - Disruption of family life from Un Sac de billes, 2017. Dir. Christian Duguay.

It is significant that in the absence of Joffo's father at the end of the 2017 film, the now incomplete family come together in the streets outside the family home, visually representing the disruption of family life (see figure 33). The 2011/2012 adaptation of Joffo's narrative into *bande dessinée* format similarly represents this sense of loss by having the family reunite on the streets outside their home and by making every panel of the final three pages of the *bande dessinée* a silent panel (see figure 34).

Figure 34 Final pages - Un sac de billes, Adapt. Vincent Bailly and Kris (Joffo 2012, p.60-63)

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By contrast, these critical elements of loss and fear are not a feature of the 1989 *bande dessinée* version of *Un sac de billes* whose final page records: "Mon père avait fini dans un camp de mort"[221], accompanied by an illustration of Auschwitz-Birkenau (Joffo 1989, p.47) (see figure 35). In contrast to the words in the narrative, the absence of words in the film and the silent panels that fill the final pages of the 2012 *bande dessinée* versions of Joffo's narrative, the final page of the 1989 *bande dessinée* has many speech bubbles and returns to the previously mentioned image of the marbles. By reintroducing the marbles, the adaptor paradoxically contributes to the process of loss described by Joffo and perpetuates the image of Auschwitz as the metonym of the Holocaust.

[This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons]

Figure 35 Final page - Un sac de billes, Adapt. Alain Boutain and Marc Malès (Joffo 1989, p.46)

[221] [My father ended up in a death camp.]

This section has shown that Joffo uses a number of substitute vocabularies such as repetition, metaphors and ellipses to represent silence as a way of making sense of his past loss. Reiter writes that metaphors "facilitate the naming, and therefore the mental grasping, of reality. In the act of rendering something in language by means of metaphor, however, the individual also acquires additional knowledge about reality" (Reiter 2005, p.98). Joffo uses silence for two main reasons. Firstly, it is a form of self-censoring, a decision taken to expose or not expose certain aspects of his memory. Secondly, silence is used when Joffo needs to find a way to complement or corroborate aspects of his life story. He uses silence to represent extreme emotions and concepts that are difficult to define, like truth, goodness and security on the one hand and, on the other, fear, the unknown, suffering, absence and loss.

In cinematic representations, silence can be present in the framing of a shot, in symbolism, facial expressions, close-ups, in the absence of words, but also in the lighting. Similarly, the *bande dessinée* has its own conventions to represent silence, including its colour palette, the framing of characters within a given panel, and the interaction between the panels themselves. This section has demonstrated how the processes of translation into the language of the visual allow what was once silent to emerge and that these processes can make the language of silence more immediate. Thus, it can be said that silence is made to speak more audibly through multimodal adaptations or translations. However, the 1989 *bande dessinée* narrative also suggests that if a translator is not attentive or sensitive to a text's silences, then they transmit only inessential content, and these silences that once spoke for the unspeakable risk replacement by inaccuracies. Given the nature of memory and trauma, what is unsaid may be more important than what is said and so these silences can no longer be deemed secondary speech, because silence too is a "moment in language" (Kane 1984, p.17).

Multilingualism in *Un sac de billes*

This final section expands discussions raised on the multilingual nature of Holocaust narratives and its translation. Like the texts analysed in previous chapters, Joffo's *Un sac de billes* is a narrative which is made up of a number of different languages. This section aims to consider the function and relevance of Joffo's use of other languages, namely German and Yiddish, as substitute vocabularies through which he relays his memories of the Holocaust.

This third and final section considers how multilingualism is transformed in translation. It is the translator of the German text who is brought into focus here as the professional challenged by the target language of translation being homogenous with the embedded foreign language of the source text (Grutman 2006).

This study corroborates the challenges, discussed in previous chapters, faced by translators tasked with translating vocabulary from their own language into that same language. At the beginning of the 1973 narrative, Joffo recalls that a sign was placed in the family barber's shop window to indicate that the family business was Jewish. He writes: "Masqué par nos deux corps il y avait un petit avis placardé sur la vitre, fond jaune et lettres noires: Yiddish Gescheft"[222] (Joffo 1973, p.15). Like the German words in Maurel's published narrative, words written in foreign languages are placed away from the body of French text in *Un sac de billes*, allowing their unfamiliarity to be foregrounded. The visual placement of the Yiddish language, "Yiddish Gescheft", moreover, gives weight to Joffo's perception of the sign which identified his family as outsiders in Nazi-occupied France. His use of Yiddish in this instance seems to be a marker of difference, a memory of having been labelled Jewish despite not really knowing what it meant to be a Jew. Yet, in the latter part of his narrative Joffo recalls that "La pancarte 'magasin juif' a disparu…"[223] (Joffo 1973, p.364), a revision that makes this memory particularly interesting for analysis. Joffo acknowledges, as earlier stated, that memories are unstable and his revising of "Yiddish Gescheft" (in Yiddish) with "Magasin Juif" (in French) later in his narrative adds weight to earlier examples showing how fallible memory can be. More significantly, neither of Joffo's memories here appear to correspond to historical facts. Photographs and copies of signs housed at the *Mémorial de la Shoah* show that during the Nazi occupation neither Yiddish nor French signs were ordinarily placed in the windows of Jewish-run businesses. In fact, the signs were written in the language of the German occupier, "Jüdisches Geschäft", although commonly with an accompanying translation in French, "Entreprise Juif" (see figures 36 and 37).

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[222] [Hidden by our two bodies there was a small notice on the window, yellow background and black letters: Yiddish Gescheft.]
[223] [The sign 'magasin juif' had disappeared.]

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Figure 36 Shop Sign - Jüdisches Geschäft (Le grenier de Sarah, 2018a)

[This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons]

Figure 37 Shop sign - Jüdisches Geschäft (2) (Le grenier de Sarah, 2018b)

Joffo's memories of the sign in his family barber shop window do not correspond with historical fact.[224] The French (1973) narrative, the French *bande dessinée* (2011) (see figure 38) and the German (2017) translation sustain Joffo's historically inaccurate recollection of the shop sign: "Yiddish Gescheft".[225]

Figure 38 Panel - Yiddish Gescheft - Un sac de billes, Adapt. Vincent Bailly and Kris (Joffo 2011, p.7)

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By contrast, the English 1975 translation, the English graphic novel (2013), the 1989 and the 2011/12 *bande dessinée* adaptations, and the French 2017 film, portray the shop sign in German (see figures 39 to 41). The English narrative (1975), like the English 2013 graphic novel adaptation, records Joffo's memories of the "Jüdisches Geschäft" (Joffo 1973, p.9) with an accompanying footnote that reads: "Jewish shop." In fact, all of the images included in the English 2013 graphic novel are a perfect replica of the French 2011/12 *bande dessinée*, with the exception of this one sign (figure 38) which is reproduced in the English graphic novel in German (Joffo 2013, p.7) (see figure 39):

Figure 39 Panel Jüdisches Geschäft - Un sac de billes, Adapt. Vincent Bailly and Kris. Trans Gauvin (Joffo 2013, p.7)

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[224] Comparatively, it might also be argued that historical fact does not correspond with Joffo's memory
[225] The German translation weaves the Yiddish words seamlessly into the narrative; unlike the French which separates "Yiddish Gescheft" from the body of the text, rendering it more foreign.

[This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons]

Figure 40: Jüdisches Geschäft - Un sac de billes, Adapt. Alain Boutain and Marc Malès (Joffo 1989, p.3)

Figure 41 Film Still Jüdisches Geschäft in Un sac de billes, 2017. Dir. Christian Duguay.

Similar revisions can be observed in a further example. Like Micheline Maurel, Joffo also writes a number of particuarly poignant words and phrases in German. Like Berr, who was not a native speaker of English, and who made errors in transcribing the language into her diary, and like Maurel who also included some incorrectly transcribed German words and phrases in her narrative, Joffo's *Un sac de billes* also contains gramatically-flawed and incorrect German. In his narrative (1973) Joffo depicts a scene in which he and his brother were forced to undergo checks in order to prove that they were Catholics, not Jews (a facet of the new identity that the two brothers were forced to assume in order to avoid deportation). Joffo describes the doctor's examination in which the two brothers are assessed for evidence of circumcision. Joffo writes: "Il pose une question brève. Dans la réponse que lui fait le médecin, je ne retiens qu'une phrase, mais elle vaut le coup, elle nous a sauvé la vie "Das ist chirurgical gemacht"[226] (Joffo 1973, p.26). Despite being grammatically incorrect, the German translation (2017) maintains the atypical Frenchified-German sentence: "Er stellt nur eine kurze Frage. Von der Antwort, die der Arzt ihm gibt, verstehe ich nur einen Satz, aber der ist es. Das ist chirugical gemacht" [He asks just a brief question. From the answer the doctor gave him, I only understand a sentence; that's it. This is done *chirugical*.] (Joffo 1996, p.213). This strategy is echoed in both *bande dessinée* versions of the narrative (1989 and 2011/12) with the former also providing a footnote for its reader: "Cela a été fait à des fins médicales"[227] (Joffo 1989, p.36). However, as in the earlier example, both English versions of the narrative (the graphic novel and narrative translation) modify the sentence, replacing it with grammatically correct German[228] and accompanying translator's footnotes.[229] These particular examples illustrate how translation has the capacity to rectify the lacunae and misconceptions of memory, and for accurate historical knowledge of the past to be transmitted to future generations. It is another illustration of how translations can be accurate and yet not necessarily remain true to a victim's expression of their own experiences.[230]

[226] [He posed a brief question. I remember just one sentence of the doctor's response, but it's the part that counts, it has saved our lives: "Das ist chirurgical gemacht.]
[227] [This has been done for medical reasons.]
[228] "Das ist chirurgisch gemacht worden" (Joffo 1975, p.200) [This has been done surgically.]
[229] Footnote reads: "This was performed for surgical reasons" (Joffo 1975, p.109).
[230] One might also argue against revisions like these that prioritise historical fact over the victim's unique and individual memory.

In a different example, Joffo uses German when he recalls his frightening memories of an event where he and his brother, both paperless, are caught up in an identity inspection on a stationed train at Dax. Nazi officers board the train and begin shouting out the German words: "Halt!" "Papiers." The words are spread over two pages in the 1973 narrative and occupy a visual space in the book with each new shouted order on a new line:

> -Halt!
> -Halt. (Joffo 1973, p.66)
>
> -Papiers…
> -Papiers…
> -Papiers… (Joffo 1973, p.68)

The formal presentation of the narrative mimics the symptoms of traumatic rupture and Joffo's experience of a language that was markedly other and intrusive. Multilingualism in Joffo might, then, also be read as an estrangement technique which resounds with Rosen's comments that: "[…] others opted for an adopted tongue, either to establish a buffer between the war's devastating events and their recollection of them, or to recruit a specific tongue to better probe the Holocaust's overwhelming legacy – or both" (Rosen 2013, p.10). Moreover, the use of the ellipses following the word "Papiers…" slows down the speech act, creating a dramatic space of tension, but crucially also marks a void, a symbol of the obvious contention between the request of the German soldiers and the inability of the two paperless, young boys to meet their demands. The potential of multimodal narratives to magnify these equivocal utterances made by Joffo is again evident here. Through the use of a bold typeface and, in the case of the 1989 edition, the addition of extra vowels ("Halt" becomes "Haaalt!") the adaptors of the narrative into *bande dessinée* (1989 and 2011) are able not only to mimic, but to amplify the violence and intimidation attached to Joffo's use of the German language (see figures 42 and 43). By isolating German words within single panels, furthermore, the adaptors of the narrative into *bande dessinée* imitate Joffo's representation of German as a foreign tongue

that invades and occupies the space. It is a language entirely separate from Joffo's realm of understanding.

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Figure 42 Multilingualism in Un sac de billes, Adapt. Alain Boutain and Marc Malès (Joffo 1989, p.12)

Figure 43 Multilingualism in Un sac de billes, Adapt. Vincent Bailly and Kris (2011, p.30)

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Those translating *Un sac de billes* into English (1975) and German (2017), however, employ distinct strategies. For example, instead of simply transcribing the German term "Halt!" into the English narrative without change, the English translator of the narrative, Martin Sokolinsky, chooses to include a different German term "Halte!" in his translation (Joffo 1975, p.46). While the term "Halte" does exist in the German language, it would require a pronoun, e.g. "Halte du", or a preposition like "Halte an", for it to take on the meaning: "Stop!" However, as an isolated term, "Halte" makes little sense in German. Given that it has not been possible to establish correspondence with the translator, it is only possible to hypothesise around his decisions. The word "halt" can be found in English too and with similar connotations to the German "Halt". Hence, it is possible that by adding the -e to the term, the English translator had hoped to restore to the English the multilingual texturing of Joffo's narrative which might otherwise have been lost had he simply reproduced it. This line of thinking would seem to coincide with Sokolinsky's commitment to drawing attention to the use of foreign languages in general in his translation. Where foreign languages are used in Joffo's *Un sac de billes*, the English 1975 translation uses italic font which renders a number of these expressions foreign to the English-speaking reader. However, in one example, Sokolinsky's commitment to recreating the multilingual nature of Joffo's narrative seems to collapse. Instead of retaining the German word "Papiers…", Sokolinsky's replaces it with the English word "Papers…"

> Halte! (Joffo 1975, p.46)
>
> Papers...
> Papers...
> Papers. (Joffo 1975, p.47)

As with the translation of Micheline Maurel's *Un camp très ordinaire*, Sokolinsky's translation of multilingualism is inconsistent. This is an approach mirrored in the translations of the 2013 *bande dessinée* into English. This is not surprising given that Edward Gauvin consulted Sokolinsky's translation prior to adapting *Un sac de billes.* In a brief exchange he

wrote: "As I recall I did consult Martin Sokolinsky's existing translation of the prose memoir, as the textual precedent (which seems to happen a lot in comics, as adaptations are popular in the medium)" (Gauvin 2016).[231] Gauvin's translation does however depart from the English translation vis-à-vis its translation of multilingualism. For example, his graphic novel translation retains the German term "Halt!", and without revisions or footnotes. Gauvin, thus, assumes the English-speaking readership's familiarity with the Nazi orders. However, he also translates the term "Papiers", a term which arguably would not pose any linguistic challenges to the English reader had it not been translated. Gauvin recalls that:

> We (my editor and I) consulted the previous translation as 'authoritative' in terms of period research. But for individual German words, I probably went with some (likely cinema-informed) gut sense of what Americans would or wouldn't be used to hearing that would give a hint of international period feel. For instance, I wanted 'Papieren', but my editor nixed it. (Gauvin 2019)

Gauvin, thereby, alludes to the influential role that editors play in translation processes. The translator of the German, *Ein Sack voll Murmeln* (2017), faced with the task of translating German into German, takes a similar approach to David Bellos, as discussed in the previous chapter. He does not acknowledge that the terms "Halt" and "Papier" were originally written in German in *Un sac de billes.*

> Halt!' (Joffo 2017, p.56)

> Papiere...
> Papiere...
> Papiere… (Joffo 2017, p.56)

However, unlike David Bellos who made use of a translator's note to indicate the specificities of Berr's *Journal* to a potential readership, the translator of Joffo's *Ein Sack voll Murmelm* does not point to the existence of these features in the French source text. Given the

[231] Two conversations were held with Gauvin: one in 2016, and one in 2019.

ideological and violence-laden signification of the language of the perpetrator in Holocaust narratives the German terms, hence, lose their pejorative form. Yet, in other instances, the German 2017 translation does employ italics to mark Joffo's use of German: "Und andere Worte hörte ich: *Ausweis, Kommandantur, Demarkationslinie…*"[232] (Joffo 2017, p.39). To this, it might be added that the language spoken in today's German bears no resemblance, ideologically speaking, to that spoken by the Nazis in those occupied zones during the war. Translating Nazi German, or the language of persecution more generally with its ideological and political force, is problematic. This is, of course, most evident when translating into German. In *Un sac de billes* (1973), to cite another example, Joffo remembers being barraged with insults because of his Jewish identity. A range of derogatory terms were invented inside France by non-Jews to refer to Jews who were deemed second-class citizens, illustrating that the language that emerged out of the Holocaust constitutes a language in its own right. Among these terms are those employed by Joffo "youpin" and "youd". The German translator, in particular, seems to struggle with finding a sufficient number of referents to replace these multiple insults in the German language:

> T'es un *youpin,* toi? (Joffo 1973, p.33)
> Bist du etwa *Jude?* (Joffo 2017, p.30)
> Hey, you a *kike*? (Joffo 1975, p.23)
>
> C'est les *youpins* qui font qu'il y a la guerre. (Joffo 1973, p.33)
> *Die Juden* sind schuld am Krieg. (Joffo 2017, p.30)
> It's on account of *the kikes* that we're in the war. (Joffo, 1974, p.21)
>
> Parfaitement, faut les virer, *les youds*. (Joffo 1973, p.34)
> *Die Juden* müssen weg!' (Joffo 2017, p.31)
> That's right. Got to throw all the damned *yids* out. (Joffo 1975, p.21)

It seems unlikely, however, that the inability to reproduce the multiplicity of terms is owing to a semantic gap in German. During the war years a number of insults directed at the Jews

[232] [And other words I heard: ID card, Kommandantur, demarcation line…]

were fabricated in the German language. One reading of the translator's effacement of the multiplicity of terms linking to the indictment of the Jews, then, might be that anti-Semitic language is now so taboo in post-Nazi Germany that the translator is reduced to silence. These inadequacies in translation emerge in contrast to the English language which, although not fully able to deal with these variations, has at its disposal a wider of range of terms despite its marginal status in relation to the events. The capacity of the English language to deal with the multiplicity of terms used to refer to the Jews of France by the Nazis, then, speak to Walter Benjamin's *Fortleben* because through translation Joffo's experiences can be articulated in another language, in another context.

To conclude this final section, Joseph Joffo employs Yiddish and German - and like Maurel, a kind of dialect of French that rose out of the Nazi occupation in France - as a multilingual strategy in his narrative. The function of multiple languages in Joffo's *Un sac de billes* is varied. He uses Yiddish to explore his own identity, but also to position himself not in opposition to but certainly in a space of non-understanding vis-à-vis his status as a Jew and the persecution he endured because of this status. Like Micheline Maurel, Joffo employs German as a language to mark the other, the language of the persecutor. It is an unspeakable language of violence for which there is no adequate translation into French nor any other language that is not the German language of the Nazis. However, like Maurel who acknowledges the German words that gave her hope, "Die Liebe besiegt alles" (Maurel 1957, p.31), and Berr who found her refuge in English, it isn't French that ultimately saves him, but words from another language, German: "Das ist chirugical gemacht" (Joffo 1996, p.213). These examples attest to translation's inherent ability to enable survival. The physical placement of the foreign words on the pages of Joffo's 1973 written narrative, moreover, is indicative of the broader function of multilingualism in Joffo's childhood recollections. Not only does Joffo employ multiple languages but he also uses visual positioning to emphasise their function as languages that belong to another space of non-understanding. The graphic novel is able to emphasise this gap more fully, evidencing the medium's ability to emphasise what words on a page can merely hint at.

We have seen here that the translation of multilingualism across a range of linguistic and multimodal representations has, through processes of correction, the potential to expose certain historical realities. This was demonstrated in the way that English versions of Joffo's narrative exploit multilingualism, seeking to correct Joffo's factually incorrect memories of Yiddish and his use of German. However, by correcting or improving upon *Un sac de billes*, the translators fail to fully engage with the survivor's voice, prioritising historicity over individual and personal memories. Moreover, what comes through strongly are the inconsistencies that emerge across the spectrum of translations of Joffo's narrative. In contrast to Elisabeth Edl's and David Bellos' firm understanding of what multilingualism did or did not mean for Hélène Berr, the inconsistencies outlined here suggest that the function of multilingualism in *Un sac de billes* has not been fully considered. This section has also shown, however, that translators cannot be fully held to account for these transformations; editors play defining roles in the translation and transmission of testimony. Finally, this section has foregrounded how each of the languages' historical relationship to the Holocaust dictates, firstly, the availability and adequacy of terms to describe events and also the cultural context in which the translator is acting. This is evident in whether or not he or she perceives that an audience will understand a German term or expression, for example, or whether or not he or she might be offended by a German term which insults the Jews. These decisions are very much defining factors in the way that translators choose to translate multilingualism.

Chapter Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has shown how the language of the visual, literary idioms or "stylistic silences" (like repetition, metaphor and ellipses) and multilingualism perform as substitute vocabularies to provide Joffo with an extended vocabulary through which to work through his memories, and express the unspeakable. Benjamin comments that in "all language and linguistic creations, there remains in addition to what can be conveyed, something that cannot be communicated; depending on the context in which it appears, it is something that symbolises or something symbolised". (Benjamin 1973/2010, p.81). Substitute vocabularies and silence in Joffo's narratives highlight the limits of linguistic expression and the barriers between languages that impede human understanding. Substitute vocabularies allow Joffo to represent a kindness not akin to anything that anyone who has not faced persecution should

ever experience; the priest who saved the brothers' lives and the honesty silently contained in the eyes of loved people. Metaphors represent silence as part of a code of meaning that allows the surfacing of the unspoken. This chapter has shown, moreover, that multilingualism, as a substitute vocabulary, became a way of expressing the inexpressible for Joffo: his lack of understanding of his status as a Jew in Nazi-occupied France and the violent and untranslatable undertones that the German language held for him.

This chapter has shown that the formal features of the visual provide new possibilities for narrating Holocaust memories and for depicting loss which exceeds imagination. Multimodal forms have a more expansive set of conventions to represent silence. The immediacy of the language of the visual seems to allow silence to speak differently. For Joffo, then, re-narrating his story through the language of the visual is less "[…] a means of creating distance between the witness and the traumatic event" (Kershaw 2018, p.249), but rather a means for bringing him and his audience closer to his memory of it. The language of the visual is remarkably agile in allowing intangible psychological aspects of memory to be represented. Comparatively, if a translator or his/her editors refuse or is unable to engage with a text's silences, silence remains imprisoned within the narrative or even replaced by inaccuracies. Therefore, silence in the Holocaust narrative must be sought and translated.[233] Joffo's processes of revising his memories remind us of George Steiner's proposition that, through translation, the original might declare itself more fully. This is especially true of translations employing the language of the visual. The chapter has shown how translation has the potential to transmit a more accurate knowledge of the past. "It forces us back to the original which it in turn illuminates; its own opaqueness induces the original to declare itself more fully" (Steiner 1975/1998, p.338). Silence, then, becomes a way of complementing or corroborating aspects of Joffo's experiences and offering discussions into the nature of memory and the unspeakable of the Holocaust.

[233] As Cabrero (2013, p.140) advocates: "[…] if one wants to translate something – translating it well in the sense of a good utopianism – he has to translate silence; because silence speaks and does it using no words. This hidden and inner speech that one can find in every text and in every language must be conveyed in the act of translation" (Cabrero 2013, p.140).

Un sac de billes is a case study which illustrates the complexity and non-linear dynamics of translation. Joffo's approach and his concern with accuracy and detail, evidenced by his direct involvement in retranslations of *Un sac de billes,* urge us to rethink fidelity from the perspective of Holocaust narratives where it becomes an ethical obligation to bear witness and to allow these stories to live on. As with the existence of the manuscript preceding Hélène Berr's narrative, the existence of a source text or original in the case of *Un sac de billes* is complicated not only by Joffo's active participation in the multiple versions of his narrative but by the fact that he received the help of a professional writer to ensure his work could be published. This and the fallible nature of memory minimise the gap between translation and original, urging a re-examination of how authenticity and equivalence are viewed in translated Holocaust testimonies. In the way of Adaptation Studies, the examples laid out in this chapter suggest that Translation Studies scholars, specifically those working with Holocaust testimony, might usefully consider how multiple versions of memory can coexist alongside one another.

Chapter 4. **Thesis Conclusions**

This thesis will conclude by summarising how its approach to the study of Holocaust narratives has given rise to important observations which build on existing scholarship and open up new ideas and discussions in the field of the Holocaust and Translation Studies. This final chapter will reflect on how an analysis of the three case study narratives examined in this project informs and responds to the three research questions set out in the opening chapter of this thesis:

1. How do writers bridge the gap between experience and representation of the Holocaust?
2. Which substitute vocabularies are used to represent their experiences?
3. What role has translation played in the construction and transmission of Holocaust memoirs from French to English and German?

This conclusion begins by summarising the major findings pertaining to the research questions above. It will then progress to look in detail at the substitute vocabularies employed in these Holocaust narratives and at how multilingualism, poetry, literature and song, and literary idioms are translated by and into new languages, as well as at the role of paratexts in shaping the form and reception of such testimony. Concluding in this comparative fashion reinforces the linkages between the three case study texts; the way that they speak to one another and the strategies employed by survivors to work through and narrate internalised and difficult experiences that challenge verbal expression. This conclusion also demonstrates how different approaches to translating these substitute vocabularies are suggestive of distinct national cultures of translation that reveal distinct cultures of memory and legacy pertaining to the Holocaust in the UK and Germany. In a final section, this conclusion will return to Benjamin's image of a fragmented vessel as a concept that reveals how two historically distinct approaches to translating memories[234] can be brought into conversation through the concept of *Fortleben*.

[234] I.e. A context-bound, pragmatic view of translation reinforced by scholars like Peter Davies (2018) versus the broader ethically orientated approach suggested by victims narrating their experiences of the Holocaust and scholars like Sharon Deane-Cox (2013, 2014, 2017) or Jean Boase-Beier (2015, 2017).

Summary of Findings

From the outset, this project has required an acute sense of self-awareness and self-reflexivity towards my work and the memories of the victims whose texts would become objects of enquiry. Existing approaches to scholarship on translation centred around the Holocaust narrative have traditionally employed texts for analysis based on their fame or reputation. From the beginning, this project has sought to address a range of experiences and to give precedence to voices that have been often marginalised in the study of the Holocaust in translation. As a project, it has striven to be transparent and, ultimately, responsible for the choices made. It is critical that scholars seek to remediate lesser-known voices to prevent them from being forgotten and disappearing from the memory canon (Brownlie 2016, p.17). Lesser known voices like Maurel's and like Berr's allow us not only to corroborate existing theories in the study of the Holocaust in translation but also to generate and explore new avenues of research.

Throughout this thesis, it has been argued that a contextual approach to translation is needed to understand how writers bridge the gap between experience and representation of the Holocaust. My research has acknowledged the influences, constraints and obligations that translators have to a range of different parties, as well as the achievements of translators in allowing narratives to be communicated. Despite the fact that much has been written about the inadequacy of language and questions of authenticity, studies that engage with the figure of the translator as a critical intermediary have, unto now, not attracted the attention of scholars, readers and writers who rely on their translations for their work. This project has gained critical insights into processes of translation by engaging with translators like Elisabeth Edl and David Bellos, and with a number of other interlocutors who have also been instrumental in the transmission of Holocaust narratives in translation: Mariette Job, Edward Gauvin and Vincent Bailly. This cross-language, cross-media work moves away from a descriptive approach, toward a more comparative approach to the way that the Holocaust is viewed in translation. Future studies in this field could benefit from a more sustained and deliberate engagement with translators and an examination of the role that other figures

involved play in bringing Holocaust memories to light, for example editors, publishers, and booksellers.

The indeterminate nature of memory as well as the inadequacy of a vocabulary through which to narrate events makes the idea of an "original" Holocaust narrative difficult to define.[235] Translation is clearly complex and non-linear. This is corroborated by the existence of manuscripts and the idea that some textual practice precedes the publication from which translators translate. In this study, it has been shown that the manuscript has been subject to revisions or omissions by the author or to further revisions and omissions by the various agents involved in the processes of publishing and translation. This was most clearly illustrated in chapter three. The French published copy elides the physical pain of Berr's emotional and physical suffering in a number of ways. It elucidates the initials of people recorded in Berr's manuscript through descriptions in closed parenthesis; describes the role that these people played in Berr's life and also provides descriptions of historical events through footnotes. It was suggested moreover that Mariette Job, Berr's niece and the diary's "gatekeeper", has been unreceptive to making changes to editions of the published copy allowing incorrect presentations of Berr's memory to prevail. To complicate this issue further, Holocaust survivors like Joseph Joffo often participate in rewritings, or self-translations, of their stories. Joffo understood that images can do what words cannot, and this study has alluded to the fact that the multimodal versions of Joffo's narrative in fact tell of events, emotions, and memories, that the written language and its interlingual translations have not always fully captured. Thus, in the way of Adaptation Studies, Translation Studies can usefully consider whether it is, indeed, possible for "multiple versions of a story [to] in fact exist laterally, not vertically" (Hutcheon 2006, p.169), thereby deconstructing the idea that that which precedes is necessarily a more authentic rendering of a victim's memory or an "original".

This project has shown that the ambiguity of identifying an original text has implications on the frequently discussed concepts of equivalence or fidelity to the "source text" in translation

[235] For the unproblematic employment of the term 'original' see, for example, Boase-Beier (2017): "If translation is seen as a re-telling that adds weight and authenticity to an original, the idea of transparency is called into question in a very fundamental way." (Boase-Beier et al 2017, p.3).

and the literary devices or substitute vocabularies that can be deployed. Victims of the Holocaust recognise the inadequacy of language, yet nonetheless narrate their experiences, thus, confirming that the first ethical concern of representing such memories lies not so much in faithfully representing them but in their very communication. What all of the texts analysed in this thesis have in common is an attempt, through translation, to give life to some sense and to lay the basis for a meaningful, future existence. Angela Kershaw wrote in relation to Holocaust narratives that, "the dissolution of 'equivalence' and of the 'invariant' can look like a dangerous undermining of authenticity" (Kershaw 2014, p.185). This project has proposed that translations of Holocaust memories can be both a true representation of a victim's experiences, yet an inaccurate representation of the victim's narrative expression of those experiences, or an inaccurate representation of the narrative expression of those experiences, yet equally serve the communicative intentions of the author through a range of literary devices and substitute vocabularies. This is because the nature of memory is constantly evolving as is the nature of translation. We can cite for example the sewing machine or violin revisions in *Un sac de billes,* or the corrections made to Berr's English-language citations, Maurel's use of German and to Joffo's use of Yiddish. These are all examples that prove that translations can be at once authentic and yet not equivalent. This is not to suggest, however, that there is not something to be faithful to. In fact, survivors of the Holocaust suggest the opposite. Joffo actively engages in the re-writing of his published memories. This was corroborated in the introduction to this thesis by Alexander (2007) who draws attention to the license that Primo Levi exercises when translating fiction compared to the fidelity that he demands of translators who translate his own testimonial writing (Alexander 2007, p.62). Peter Davies is particularly critical of studies that foreground notions of fidelity suggesting that they "inevitably – and perhaps deliberately ignore certain fundamental issues connected with translation as a professional activity" (Davies 2017, p.27). This thesis however is suggesting that a victim's use of language must continue to influence the study and practice of translation.

Another area in which this project takes forward existing scholarship is in its understanding of translation and its role in the construction and transmission of French narratives into English and German. The nature of memory and questions relating to the representability or

perceived irrepresentability of traumatic events means that speaking of translation in relation to Holocaust narratives demands an extended definition of translation. This is one that moves beyond translation as a binary when words in texts are transferred between one language and another. This research project has shown through concrete examples that where there are attempts to remember or to memorialise, translation is happening. From the moment the victim speaks, translation is present: in the paratextual apparatus of a testimony's pages, in a space beyond words, in the movement between languages and through a narrative's visual and digital representations, in its republications and in the reader or translator's interpretation of a text. This broader understanding of translation has allowed textual and visual approaches to be brought together, as well as the centrality of the paratext in each case study. These are facets of testimony which have, traditionally, been neglected or side-lined in studies on Holocaust narratives.

In *Narrating the Holocaust* (2005), Andrea Reiter acknowledges that scholars have to endeavour to analyse the ways in which "the terrifying and the unutterable are narrated" (Reiter 2005, p.86). This thesis is a response to Reiter's exhortation that the forms used to convey content in Holocaust narratives be critically examined. The three victims whose works have been foregrounded in this study demonstrate a hyperawareness of the limits of memory and their inability to narrate events to their full effect. Brenner writes that: "The insistence on their vocation as artists is reflected in the search for adequate language and literary forms to represent their experiences" (Brenner 1997, p.132). However, victims' searches for adequate vocabulary seem less a quest for recognition as artists than a demonstration of their commitment to narrate their experiences in the most honest way they can. Victims write in order to survive and in order to be survived, not because they seek recognition. Berr illustrates this point when, on October 10th 1943, she writes: "L'idée qu'on puisse écrire pour les autres, pour recevoir les éloges des autres, me fait horreur"[236] (Berr 2008a, p.185). Writers in the face of trauma are perpetually generating new languages or new vocabularies to narrate their experiences and to fill in the gaps in their memory of events. This project has explored how victims mobilise these new vocabularies, or substitute vocabularies, to meet the challenges of representation. The four substitute vocabularies analysed in this thesis illustrate how

[236] [The idea that you can write for others, to receive praise from others, horrifies me.]

translation makes the representation of the Holocaust possible. In order to communicate their experiences, victims find new ways of encoding the extremity of the Holocaust in language. This project proposes that these vocabularies communicate aspects of memory that ordinarily resist representation. The section to follow provides a summary of how the substitute vocabularies examined in this thesis, alongside paratexts, function in the transmission of Holocaust memory. It will suggest how literary idioms, multilingualism, poetry, literature and song, and the language of the visual communicate, or miss the opportunity to communicate, existing and new forms of knowledge in acts of translation.

Substitute Vocabularies

Literary Idioms

This project has considered how literary idioms, as represented through tense-shifts, brevity, repeated themes, ellipses, initials, allegory and metaphor, function as substitute vocabularies. These are used to facilitate knowledge and descriptions of the ineffable. Writers who narrate Holocaust memories often employ a poetics of brevity; short sentences are used in both *Un camp très ordinaire* and in *Journal* but to different effect. In *Un camp très ordinaire,* brevity marks and mimics the monotony of everyday life in the camps and is used to narrate particularly traumatic and disturbing events. The latter is true also of Berr's *Journal.* However, Berr's use of brevity is also a clear indicator of her status as diarist and the situation in which she is writing. Another prominent feature of Holocaust narratives explored in this thesis is the shifting play of tenses. This was a characteristic of Maurel's narrative and features in Joffo's *Un sac de billes*.[237] Tense shifts show that Holocaust narratives defy chronology because traumatic memory, once accessed, resists closure. All three narratives also share a fascination with repeated themes. Berman writes that: "The literary work contains a hidden dimension, an 'underlying' text, where certain signifiers correspond and link up, forming all sorts of networks beneath the 'surface' of the text itself" (Berman 2004, p.284). Maurel's use of the oxymoronic title, *Futur souvenir*, to open and close her narrative echoes, in its reference to the past and the future, the survivor's compulsion to remember and forever being a prisoner to one's memories. In her narrative, furthermore, the image of the phantom resounds. In Joffo's

[237] Although this characteristic of Joffo's *Un sac de billes* was not explored in this thesis.

narrative, descriptions that relate to darkness and shadows are most prevalent and in Berr's narrative it is the leitmotif of "les folles." These images all pertain to loss. In Berr's narrative, the loss is one of mental capacity and the phantoms in *Un camp très ordinaire,* much like the shadows in Joffo's narrative might be read as representative of absence and the loss of lives. The corresponding images of darkness in *Un sac de billes* are demonstrative of fear and uncertainty. The repeated themes of "les yeux" and "l'ombre" in Joffo's narrative speaks for an anxiety about bearing witness and is a phenomenon that can be observed in other Holocaust testimonies such as Anna Langfus' *Le sel et le soufre* (Munyard 2015, p.95). This idea of loss is reinforced in the narratives' continued use of ellipses. This thesis proposes that these markers are employed by victims to make known the tension that exists between the words that must be used in order to narrate and the vastness of an event that often demands silence. The positioning of ellipses in Holocaust memory gives voice to knowledge of losses that victims are unable to speak about. This was evident in Joffo's use of the metaphor, *Un sac de billes*, which stands in for his loss of childhood. Finally, this project has exposed the existence of a prophetic language used by victims, such as Maurel's references to ovens and cooking in a camp context.[238] These metaphors speak for what the author is unwilling or unable to speak about and even for what he/she does not yet know.

This thesis has provided evidence that the victim's literary idioms are often not considered in processes of translation. This is particularly true of the case studies that have been presented of translations undertaken from French into English. Translators have been shown to exercise great liberty in ironing out the work of victims to create seamless narratives. Translators rationalise brief and incomplete sentences by introducing connective words like "and"' and "then", into a victim's narrative, thus failing to represent monotony, the situation in which the victim is writing, or the gravity of trauma contained in the events that they are too difficult to narrate. Shifts in tenses may, similarly, be neglected in translation, thereby converting testimony into a chronological narrative that has no continuation into the present. Repeated themes are sometimes ignored and the networks of signification that are illustrative of the cyclical nature of trauma are dismantled. Moreover, this research has evidenced how the

[238] In Maurel's narrative: "On nous avait enfournées dans une immense salle" (Maurel 1957, p.18) and: "Nous échangions des recettes de confitures, de gâteaux, de petit fours…"(Maurel 1957, p.135). See thesis page 52, para 1.

metaphors and allegories that become imbued with meaning are deconstructed and that readers are presented with alternative narratives. From the examples given and analysed in this thesis, it can be hypothesised that the German translators of Holocaust narratives studied are more sensitive to the victims' voices than the English translators. The German translators have been shown to be more effective at negotiating the trauma and historical situations that lie silently behind or between the words and the structure of such narratives. They preserve the immediacy of the victim's voice.

This thesis confirms the importance of being sensitive to literary idioms in understanding Holocaust representation. Such research supports Deane-Cox's assertion that: "[…] if the form and content of words have been simultaneously charged with the task of communication by the original witness, then the secondary witness [i.e. the translator] is compelled to uphold and preserve these referential and aesthetic decisions" (Deane-Cox 2017, p.12). Literary idioms have cognitive effects on the reader; they add emotional power and resonance to texts and, thereby, they will expand in significance as an important and necessary consideration in future studies on the transmission of Holocaust memory through literature.

Multilingualism

This thesis has acknowledged the significance of multilingualism as a substitute vocabulary across a series of case study narratives. It has considered how multilingualism has been understood and handled in translation as a carrier of knowledge. The case studies included in this thesis have corroborated the highly multilingual contexts for Holocaust memories that has been described by other scholars. In all three case study narratives, multilingualism is mobilised by victims as a way of expressing experiences that are very difficult to convey. By writing in other languages than their first language, or mother tongue, the thesis has proposed that writers aim to cast their readers into foreign territory and into a space which communicates something of the writer's own disorientation when faced with the Holocaust as experience and/or legacy. For Maurel and Joffo, the use of German within their predominantly French narratives signals the language of the oppressor and expresses the intrusive and violent language of the Nazis. It has been suggested that Joseph Joffo uses the Yiddish language as a way of exploring his own identity as a Jewish child who had to erase his family roots for a

time. While the German language is positioned as a language of destruction in Holocaust narratives, for Maurel and Joffo, German is also a language that enabled survival; it enabled them to communicate with their oppressor. English, on the other hand, was the language of intellectual survival for Berr, as seen in her love of British culture. Critically, the examples cited in chapters two and four suggest that these multilingual interjections in Holocaust narratives are frequently framed or differentiated from the main body of the text, a practice that allows their 'otherness' to be foregrounded visually for the reader.

This study has brought into focus the challenges that the plurality of languages within Holocaust narratives poses to translators, particularly when the languages to be translated correspond to the language into which the text is to be translated. In their introduction to *Translating Holocaust Lives*, Boase-Beier et al (2017) suggest that unifying such languages in a target language can lead to the loss of poetic language and difference (Boase-Beier, Davies, Hammel and Winters, 2017, p.16). This thesis corroborates this view. The study has identified an inconsistent approach to translating multilingualism across all three case studies. This clarificatory strategy employed by several of the translators studied in this project not only disrupts the narrative's flow but it also implies that such words have an adequate translation. This is an idea which is refuted in the analysis of the three works studied here. The thesis has shown how multilingualism has been transcribed homophonically or that it may be subject to correction. The latter is a strategy that is often employed but it makes an ethically problematic suggestion; that Holocaust narratives might somehow be improved upon. This is an approach that defends a view of translation as a predominantly creative act and one which prioritises the reader in the exchange. In very few cases are the expressions recorded in foreign languages retained or signalled to the reader as historically, linguistically or situationally relevant. One clear exception to this is Elisabeth Edl's translation of Berr's *Journal* which effectively mirrors Berr's use of English. The inconsistent approaches to translating multilingualism may indicate two things: that translating multilingualism when the target language corresponds with the source language is a creative challenge and/or that translators and editors are, generally speaking, not yet fully focused on its relevance.

In respect to multilingualism, this thesis makes the following suggestions: firstly, that the extent to which a translation's multilingual layering is able to reflect that of the source text is determined by the prevailing attitudes or habits of the potential audience (Grutman 2006, p.23), and their tolerance for the inclusion of phrases in a foreign language within a narrative. Secondly, that the translator's understanding and perception of the victim's use of multilingualism plays a key role. Thirdly, that each language's historical relationship to the Holocaust dictates the availability and adequacy of terms to describe events. This is also a defining factor in the way that translators translate multilingualism.

Poetry, Literature and Song

Other substitute vocabularies explored through this project are those of poetry, literature and, to a lesser extent, song. This thesis has added another dimension to Jean Boase-Beier's work by considering the function of poetry as a substitute vocabulary within Holocaust narratives and by reflecting on how translators respond to the task of preserving the new forms of knowledge that poetry presents in translation. The thesis has suggested that, by giving victims something tangible in the face of so much loss, these artistic outputs may allow victims to gain control in the face of overwhelming terror and that these represented a way of resisting. This thesis corroborates Boase-Beier's understanding of poetry as a vehicle for describing states of mind that are not easy to contemplate: "terror, grief, sadness, regret" (Boase-Beier 2015, p.123). The examples presented in this thesis indicate that poetry, literature, and song are used when victims are trying to communicate particularly difficult emotions. When their own words are not enough, victims substitute their own voices with the words of others in their attempts to find adequate forms of expression. Poetry, literature and song open new avenues of communication for victims of the Holocaust. Many victims, including Berr, have hinted at poetry's innate capacity to draw closest to the truth: "…rien n'est exagéré lorsque Shelley dit que la poésie est la suprême des choses. De tout ce qui existe, elle est le plus près de la vérité, et de l'âme"[239] (Berr 2008, p.253). As Heiser puts it: "In times of suffering, poetry is like a song that liberates and penetrates right to the very bottom of the truth…" (Lacombe cited in Heiser 2014, p.1). Charles Williams in his study *Poetry and Consciousness,*

[239] [It is no exaggeration when Shelley says that poetry is the most supreme of things. Of all that exists, it is closest to the truth and the soul.]

furthermore, points out that "poetry attaches itself to consciousness in a way no other language experience does" (Williams 1998, p.255). This is evidenced, for example, by a tense-shift in Maurel's narrative as she describes a fellow deportee singing: "Je la revois toujours chantant ces derniers vers, balançant un peu sa tête ou les cheveux noirs repoussaient drus et serres" (Maurel 1957, p.108). She switches to the present when she speaks about songs and poetry, highlighting the proximity of the memory that it invokes.

As with the translation of multilingualism, however, the translation strategies employed in carrying across these elements of the victim's narrative can lead to misapprehensions about how these facets of language embody individual experiences. Translators adapt a multifaceted approach and draw on different strategies. These, in line with approaches taken to the translation of multilingualism, can be grouped into the following approaches: 1) clarification, where the translator includes both the original song, poetry, or lines of literature in the text alongside a translation; 2) leaving the foreign lines of text within the narrative with no explanation; or 3) omission. The German translation of *Un camp très ordinaire* and the English translation of *Journal* also illustrate how translators draw on standardised poems, songs, or works of literature from their own languages, from the work of others, to assist them in transposing more well-known artistic creations. This is, perhaps, a way to elevate the status of their translations and present them as prestigious literary contributions. Poetry, literature and song, as substitute vocabularies, are techniques which allow victims to give form and meaning to the horrors that they face. It is through these forms, this thesis posits, that victims are able to bring forth some of the deepest expressions of their experience and hence new forms of knowledge for its reader. Those who translate Holocaust memories, then, might reflect further on how to replicate these experiences in translation.

The Language of the Visual

In its analysis of Joffo's multimedial approach to the representation and re-memorialisation of his experiences of the Holocaust, this thesis has begun to outline the important role of the visual as a mediating force in Holocaust and Translation Studies. It has shown how the language of the visual provides a valuable output through which victims are able to explore their memories and their own relation to them. In chapter four, I suggested that the text-image

forms give victims a different set of vocabularies through which the unspeakable can speak. Through representing colours and speech and silence through framing or panels, or through the interaction of these and related elements, text-image combinations open up new ways for victims to bear witness. Visual modes of representation employ a different set of semiotic devices that allow different aspects of the survivor's experience to be explored, spoken about and foregrounded. This thesis has demonstrated how the processes of translation into the language of the visual allow what was perhaps silent to emerge and that such processes provide a richer, more plural reading of the work. It allows that which is ambiguous or hidden within Holocaust narratives to become more immediate, thus allowing for a more intimate encounter with silence. In this respect, this thesis suggests that silence is made to speak more audibly through text-visual adaptations or translations. Moreover, the language of the visual is perhaps more able to represent the traumatic experience and thus allow victims' voices to reverberate in different forms through the narrative. The recent graphic adaptation of Anne Frank's *Diary* (2018) reminds us of the increasingly significant role that text-image representations of the Holocaust are playing in the survival of texts as we pass into a generation without survivors.[240] Visual Holocaust narratives, in their many manifestations, represent translation endeavours that would be a fruitful area for further work.

Paratexts

Across the first two chapters, the thesis has explored how paratexts, including titles, images, prefaces, footnotes, translator's notes and accreditations, have been used to promote and frame victims' voices. This project has evidenced how paratexts have been used both to emphasise historical aspects of testimony and to downplay them. In the presentation of contrasting examples of the front covers of Micheline Maurel's testimony, the first chapter demonstrated how paratexts can precipitate a shift in genre. In an extreme form, we saw how English-language Holocaust narratives have been sensationalised and fetishized, historically. The paperback editions of *The Slave* (1958a) and *Ravensbrück* (1959) both promoted Micheline Maurel's narrative as a sexualised fictionalisation about the enslavement and rape of a young woman[241]. These are not testimonies but fetishized war narratives geared toward a

[240] See also 2019 Italian graphic adaptation of Primo Levi's *If this is a man*, and *the Truce*: 174517. Deportato. Adapted by Franco Portinari; Giovanna Carbone. Molfetta: Edizioni La meridiana.
[241] N.B. *Ravensbrück* also exists in a hardback edition without a sensationalised cover.

predominantly male readership. Through its paratext, on the other hand, the German translation of Maurel's narrative emphasised the testimonial and historical aspects of *Un camp très ordinaire*: the simplicity of its cover-design and the addition of the subtitle *Bericht aus einem Frauenlager*[242] elevates the narrative's status as a valid and authentic document. The historicization of German translations of Holocaust narratives is an emerging pattern that can be traced through different examples, both in and beyond this project. In chapter three, for example, the title of Berr's *Journal* was similarly transformed in German through the addition of a subtitle: *Hélène Berr: Pariser Tagebuch: 1942-1944.*

Furthermore, this study has shown how footnotes, prefaces, the translator's note and their positioning are also indicators of how a narrative is to be read and received. Translator Elisabeth Edl's decision to provide an afterword as opposed to an introductory translator's note, and an endnote as opposed to footnotes, demonstrates her prioritisation of the victim's voice. By contrast, through footnotes and prefaces, Berr's narratives in French and English are set up as creative, literary or translational endeavours. This thesis has proven that paratexts are not secondary to translation but are an integral part of it. Perhaps more than the translation of text, it is the paratextual apparatus of testimony that reflects the social, political and historical climate in which translations are being produced. The paratext, thus, needs to take greater prominence in future studies that consider translated Holocaust memories.

Just like translators in face of an untranslatable term or turn of phrase, Holocaust victims have found means to bring their stories out of the darkness, to speak the unspeakable. Historically, writing on the Holocaust has centred around victims' frustration at being unable to put into words the reality of their experiences. This project has focused on representation through translation. Where victims believe in the possibility of its translation into new languages, the Holocaust is represented. In "Art and Trauma", Laub and Podell propose the notion of "art trauma", and argue that through its "indirect and dialogic nature," it can "come close to representing the emptiness at the core of trauma while still offering the survivor the possibility of repossession and restoration" (Laub and Podell 1995, p.993). This choice to narrate is inextricably linked to the victim's belief that art is a viable form in which to represent their

[242] [Account from a woman's camp.]

experiences. Throughout this project, the thesis has been drawn to the analogous status of translation and memory and George Steiner's understanding of translation as transformative and illuminative; a process that allows for the revision and redefinition of old vocabulary (Steiner 1975, p.338). Steiner's view is commensurate with the nature of memory. Antoine Berman wrote that translation:

> […] is about lies and truth, betrayal and fidelity; about mimesis, doubleness, illusion, secondarity; about the life of meaning and the life of the letter; thinking about it is to be caught up in an inebriating reflexive whirlwind where the word 'translation' endlessly metaphorizes itself. (Berman cited in Nouss 2001, p.283)

This definition could similarly be attached to memory. Adorno revised his famous statement "To write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric" (Adorno 2003, p.30) to say that art after Auschwitz is as necessary as it is impossible.[243] In both memory and translation, there exists a paradoxical acknowledgement that the acts are both impossible and yet necessary. It is difficult to disagree with Translation Studies scholar Anne Malena who hypothesized that: "Perhaps translation is one of the most effective ways to underline this ever-moving meshing of history and memory, this dynamic weaving of lived experience and history, and to unveil the stitches that holds it together ever so loosely" (Malena 2016, p.1). Translation makes visible the inconsistencies and contradictions that are inherent in the challenge of representing the Holocaust. Perhaps this is why, as the vehicle that dramatizes the gap between the tragic events associated with memories of the Holocaust and their representation, translation takes on a critical role as the most adequate way of representing the Holocaust.

Translating Substitute Vocabularies in Holocaust Narratives: Conclusion

Substitute vocabularies, like literary idioms, multilingualism, poetry and literature and the language of the visual offer a basis of comparison, demonstrating an attempt on the part of victims to narrate their experiences. The symbolic use of language and their affective content should be considered productive of meaning and therefore relevant in and to translation.

[243] "[…] suffering […] also demands the continued existence of the very art it forbids" (Adorno 1973, p.252).

Victims' use of substitute vocabularies draws attention to a narrow dividing line between authentic statements about Holocaust experiences and what might traditionally have been viewed as a literary or clichéd use of language. These literary facets of language might be instrumentalised by Holocaust deniers who point to discrepancies in testimony and translations to discredit victims. As Rosen observes: "…the spurious notion that the Holocaust may always already have been contaminated by fiction is a principal plank of Holocaust denial" (Mehlman in Rosen 2013, p.174). The victims' use of substitute vocabularies seems to highlight the blurring of the lines between factual accounts and fiction. This raises interesting questions around narratives previously labelled fictionalised Holocaust narratives. Might these be deemed translations rather than fictionalisations? Anna Langfus wrote that: "plus une réalité est horrible, plus une situation est anormale, plus la distance doit être grande qui permet de la comprendre dans sa vérité"[244] (Langfus 1993, p.46). Fiction for her, like poetry for Berr, comes closest to the truth of the Holocaust. George Steiner argues that: "The original text gains from the orders of diverse relationship and distance established between itself and the translations" (Steiner 2004, p.196). It might, then, also be argued that translation creates a necessary distance that allows for a greater understanding of experience.

One of the aims of the project was to consider whether knowledge of the Holocaust could be freed up in translation, drawing on George Steiner's understanding of translation as not only transformative, but illuminative (Steiner 1975, p.338). It aimed to consider the types of knowledge that were made available about the Holocaust through substitute vocabularies. What is gestured to through the combined languages of literary idioms, multilingualism, poetry, literature and song and the language of the visual are the extreme experiences of being human. Such literary devices embody emotions at the limits of linguistic expression – the pain, the grief, the violence, the fear, "the incommunicable" (Greenspan 2014, p.235), loss – of family, of friends, of childhood, of identity, "the irretrievable" (Greenspan 2014, p.241) and censored aspects of the experience, "the unsaid" (Greenspan 2014, p.230). Victims do not only rationalise their experiences through their way of speaking; they live them out and their recurrent use of literary idioms becomes an embodiment of these experiences. Peter Davies

[244] [The more horrible the reality, the more abnormal a situation, the greater the distance needed in order to allow its truth to be fully understood.]

is unconvinced by studies which claim to find evidence of trauma in a text. He writes, in relation to Elie Wiesel, that:

> In such critical statements it is often hard to tell whether the style or narrative structure is considered to be a deliberate strategy, designed to convey a view of the Holocaust through literary technique, or should rather be seen as a largely involuntary product of the inability to master trauma. Even if a text could really be read in such a directly psychological manner, the complex processes of mediation, editing and translation that Wiesel's text has undergone mean that it is not possible to read this text in that way. (Davies 2018, p.69)

The issue here is perhaps a terminological one, with literary technique being linked to deliberate and involuntary invocations of trauma. The employment of a substitute vocabulary might be deliberate or involuntary (Eaglestone 2004). However, its communicative function is evident. This study has brought two distinct approaches to the study of Holocaust narratives in translation into a dialogue. These illustrate the dilemma and the great divide that exists between norm-bound pragmatism and the broader ethical questions and approaches posed by victims narrating their experiences of the Holocaust. In line with Deane-Cox's view, this thesis has championed the translator who occupies an ethical position in relation to the survivor. It posits that translators have a duty to "place value on the voice of the victim above all other possible factors" (Davies 2017, p.24). Listening to the victim's voice involves engaging not just with what is said but also treating the text as a living dialogue with which we are to enter into conversation. Only by listening and by seeking to access what lies both within and beyond words and by understanding that a work contains an "inner faithfulness" (Levi 1986/2017, p.156) or a "soul" (Berr 2008a, p.213), can translators hope to work towards a full realization of the poetic significance of a victim's utterances. This lies, as Benjamin argues, "not in the intended object, but rather precisely in the way the intended object is bound up with the mode of intention in a particular word" (Benjamin 1923/2004, p.160). To bring forth the translation's way of saying is to liberate different types of knowledge that allow the language of the Holocaust to rise toward the lived experience of the event.

The Fragmented Vessel

This project set out to consider which forms of knowledge are constructed and transmitted in translation. It has shown that translation has the potential to elicit what "might otherwise remain recessed, or unarticulated, enabling the source text to live beyond itself, to exceed its own limitations" (Brodzki 2007, p.2). This project has shown that translations that are inclined towards their reader, such as those advocated by Davies (2018), translations that allow texts and inferences that exist outside of the narrative to impact on the translation output, can allow historical knowledge contained within the narrative to be exposed. Such articulations would not be possible if every translator were, following Boase-Beier (2015) and Deane-Cox (2013, 2017), to place the victim's voice before all other factors. No single translation, not even the victim's own recollections of his or her own memories, can be regarded as a fully accurate representation. This evokes Benjamin's understanding of translation as illustrated through the image of the broken vessel:

> Fragments of a vessel which are to be glued together must match one another in the smallest details, although they need not be like one another. In the same way a translation, instead of resembling the meaning of the original, must lovingly and in detail incorporate the original's mode of signification, thus making both the original and the translation recognizable as fragments of a greater language, just as fragments are part of a vessel (Benjamin 1923/2004, p. 81).

Translation is like memory, a cyclical process of carrying forward but also carrying back. In his presentation of a backward and forward motion, George Steiner's (1975) comment speaks to *Fortleben*: "To trans/late is to carry over from what has been silent to what is vocal, from the distant to the near. But also, to carry back" (Steiner 1975/1998, p.35). Translations and memories, like Benjamin's fragments of a vessel, need to be fitted together in order that they correspond with each other because translations and memories are never complete and always contain gaps. Memories across multiple versions can be at once authentic and yet not necessarily remain true to a victim's narrative expression of their own experiences. They function together as fragments of a greater language which have the potential to be truly authentic. To borrow Steiner's metaphor, a translation is a "mirror which not only reflects but

also generates light" (Steiner 1975/1998, p.317). Studies of the translation of Holocaust literature need not always be staged "in terms of an opposition between authenticity and falsification" (Davies 2018, p.5). There is another way to understand the different types of knowledge that arise as a result of translation which is not contradictory, but complementary. Each new translation, each new revision, is its own container of remembrances and amnesias, inscriptions and elisions. Therefore, Holocaust narratives and their translations must be read positively alongside one another in order that they can complement one another in accessing different aspects of the victim's experience and in conveying different forms of knowledge; translation defies and defines darkness, giving light to what might otherwise be obscured while simultaneously creating its own shadows for future generations of readers to explore.

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