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The travellee-translator and cultural memory: Thomas Nugent's *Travels through Germany* (1768) and its German editions

Alison E. Martin

Anglistik (British Studies), Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germersheim, Germany

ABSTRACT

Taking as its focus three different German editions of Thomas Nugent's *Travels through Germany* (1768), this article investigates how translation and re-translation enable travelogues to be circulated internationally at specific historical moments and thus intervene in debates around national images, (self-)representations and stereotypes. More specifically, it examines how the act of (re)translation can also be understood as a form of travellee response undertaken with a particular socio-political agenda in mind. By focusing on the figure of the travellee-translator as a transcultural mediator, editor, and commentator, this article explores how the temporal gaps between different translations highlight various aspects of the tension between individual and collective memory. It also explores how (re)translation can be used over time as a compelling way for the travellee culture to renegotiate the relationship between cultural memory, identity and place.

KEYWORDS

Travellee; travellee-translator; Anglo-German cultural exchange; retranslation; cultural memory

Introduction

By the end of the eighteenth century, accounts of travel between the German states and Britain had increased markedly at a time when the genre of travel writing was itself rapidly gaining in popularity. These narratives not only contained information about routes taken, sights worth seeing and the customs of the foreign country in question. They were also an example of how the international circulation of national images, representations and stereotypes was sustained through travel writing. While works such as Johann Wilhelm von Archenholtz's *England und Italien* [*England and Italy*] (1785) and Friedrich August Gebhard Wendeborn's *Der Zustand des Staats, der Religion, der Gelehrsamkeit und der Kunst in Grosbritannien gegen das Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* [*The Condition of the State, Religion, Learning and Art in Great Britain towards the End of the Eighteenth Century*] (1785–1788) drew the fascination of Anglophile German readers for the insights they gave into political, educational and cultural life in England (Mauer 1987), extracts from these accounts were also translated into English for consumption by the

CONTACT Alison E. Martin amarti01@uni-mainz.de Anglistik (British Studies), Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Fachbereich 06: Translations-, Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft, An der Hochschule 2, D-76726 Germersheim, Germany

very society on which these travellers had reported. These travelogues were, therefore, reorientated in translation towards the culture which had originally formed the focus of the traveller's gaze, that is, towards what Mary Louise Pratt has termed the "travellee" culture (Pratt 1992). Travel narratives in translation, such as Archenholtz's *A Picture of England* (1789) and Wendeborn's *A View of England towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century* (1791), clearly complicated processes of stereotyping and othering in ways only beginning to be addressed (Banerjee 2018; Bracewell 2015, 2019). The genre of travel writing thus gives us particularly valuable insights into the "subtle mechanisms and pervasive presence of image building through translation" (Flynn, Leerssen, and van Doorslaer 2016, 8), in a period which cultivated emerging senses of nationality within Europe.

Readers from the travellee culture were clearly fascinated to find themselves the object of analysis. The "double vision" that the translation of such accounts provided, by enabling readers to view the familiar through the gaze of the foreign traveller, also highlighted the epistemological anxieties underpinning the genre of travel writing. Converting the travel experience into knowledge was fraught with difficulty, even when intelligent, first-hand observation informed the assessments that foreign travellers made. Confronted by portrayals that were uninformed, partial, or even downright insulting, travellee readers articulated their resistance through counter-narratives formulated in critical reviews of the source text (the text in its original language) or the target text (the translation), and through paratextual comment appended to the translations themselves. These travellee polemics highlighted the centrality of credibility, authority and perspective in the formation of ideas about a given nation (Bracewell 2019). Above all, they demonstrated that what constituted national character was not a fixed anthropological reality, but a discursive construct. This gives new prominence to the "intercultural circuits of communication, influence and interaction" that caused texts and ideas to flow in a particular direction, and reveal the cultural gradients and hierarchies that determined which texts were selected for translation and transnational circulation (Bracewell 2015, 216). In the West, differences between societies were more marginal than between the European and extra-European subjects envisaged in Pratt's asymmetries of power (Pratt 1992). Nevertheless, travellee responses indicate just how carefully commonality and difference were teased out in the texts that disseminated, reinforced, or countered issues of national identity.

Research on travel writing in translation has tended to focus on translations published within a couple of years of the original appearing. Less well addressed – indeed almost totally neglected – has been the question of why translations and retranslations of travelogues are produced by the travellee culture several generations after the travel event. Recent studies on retranslation (see particularly Berk Albachten and Tahir Gürçağlar 2019) have made important inroads in expanding the conceptual framework around this subject to include issues of ideology and censorship, paratextual repackaging and methodologies for capturing and building bibliographies of retranslations. The attention they draw to issues of perception and reception regarding retranslations of fictional prose has highlighted the importance of shifting cultural and aesthetic target contexts and changes in readers' habitus over time. Almost without exception, these case studies examining the phenomenon of retranslation focus on fictional writing rather than nonfictional prose in translation, such as travel writing. This may be due to the inherent ephemerality of the genre: individual experiences of the foreign capture fleeting moments, and the landscapes and cityscapes captured in travel narratives are dynamic, organic entities

which make travelogues swiftly seem dated. In short, the genre of travel writing appears not to be a medium that invites retranslation. Yet, as this article shows, travel narratives are a particularly pertinent form of narrative to revisit at times when issues of identity, image, and (self-)representation are being politicised.

A particularly interesting case is presented by the Anglo-Irish writer Thomas Nugent (c. 1700–1772), who, by mid-century, had already become a respected European traveller for his multi-volume work *The Grand Tour: Containing an Exact Description of Most of the Cities, Towns and Remarkable Places of Europe* (1749). Himself a translator from the French of works of history, he decided in the 1760s to write a history of the Vandals, a Germanic tribe believed to have originated in Scandinavia, and therefore embarked on a voyage to the German states to access authentic source material. This took him through northern towns from the port city of Hamburg through Lübeck to the region of Mecklenburg, which he surmised to be where the Vandals had originally settled. This article takes as its case study the three German editions of his two-volume *Travels through Germany. Containing Observations on Customs, Manners, Religion, Government, Commerce, Arts, and Antiquities. With a Particular Account of the Courts of Mecklenburg* (1768), a travelogue with an epistolary format that charted his four-month journey in 1766 along the German coast, during which he visited the north-eastern Hanseatic cities of Wismar and Rostock in the Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and the inland town of Strelitz, ducal seat of the House of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Nugent travelled during the reign of George III and his account highlighted the cultural affinities between Britain and Germany forged through the Anglo-Hanoverian personal union. His journey, undertaken partly to gather more accurate information for his study of Germanic tribes, *The History of Vandalia* (1766–1773), investigated legal, religious, and educational institutions in the north German cities, and discussed the history, topography, and agriculture of Mecklenburg. The *London Magazine*, which published an extract on the court at Strelitz (Nugent's Reception at Strelitz 1768), considered the work "well worth the perusal of the public" as Nugent had been received by the region's "greatest people", giving him "frequent opportunities of knowing everything relative to their genius, character, and government" (An Impartial Review 1768, 160).

A German version of the *Travels* first appeared in the early 1780s, translated by the Rostock professor Franz Christian Lorenz Karsten as *Reisen durch Deutschland und vorzüglich durch Meklenburg* (sic) [*Travels through Germany and in Particular through Mecklenburg*] (1781–1782). Karsten's heavily annotated translation corrected, modernised and brought Nugent's account into dialogue with contemporary German treatises from economics and regional history. A century and a half later, Heinrich Stoll's considerably abridged version, *Die unterhaltsame Reise des Herrn Dr. Nugent durch Mecklenburg* [*The Entertaining Voyage of Dr. Nugent through Mecklenburg*] (1936), appeared with a more "popular" audience in mind and with a publisher who specialised in *Heimatliteratur* – regional literature with a focus on the customs, traditions and mores of predominantly rural, provincial communities. The third edition – Sabine Bock's annotated *Reisen durch Deutschland und vorzüglich durch Mecklenburg* [*Travels through Germany and in Particular through Mecklenburg*] (1998) – revived Karsten's economic and social commentary from the 1780s, but complemented it with references to the region's architectural heritage. These included a discussion of the Neustrelitz Palace, heavily damaged in 1945 and never reconstructed under the East German government.

Common to these three very different German editions of Nugent's *Travels* was their treatment of his account as an historical artefact, in which translation, memory and identity were brought into dialogue. For Karsten, the by then slightly dated narrative was a record of Nugent's encounters with leading figures from the region made within living memory. For Stoll, Nugent's fascination for the natural beauty of Mecklenburg and the liveliness of its culture revived an era of cordial Anglo-German relations: ironically, this edition appeared the same year that Germany reoccupied the Rhineland, kindling fear, and intense political debate in Britain about German rearmament (Gannon 1971, 98–100). For Bock, Nugent's eye-witness account of the rich architectural tradition of the region, as he had encountered it in the late Enlightenment, was an explicit reminder of buildings subsequently lost to modernisation, and an implicit call to preserve architectural heritage in post-reunification Germany. Comparison of Nugent's account across these three editions highlights different dimensions of cultural memory, particularly "collective memory" (Halbwachs 2011), which indicate how activities of remembering vary across different social groups. These translations can also be understood as "collective" in another way. The narrative accrues meaning over time, through the palimpsestic layering of the different editions upon each other, which causes them to enter into dialogue with preceding translations through their paratextual additions (for more on paratext and the travellee see Tarkka, in this issue).

This article takes the instance of Nugent's *Travels* in its different German editions to ask three questions about the processes underpinning travellee-translation. Firstly, which themes in a travel account make it of interest to the travellee culture at specific historical moments across different centuries, resulting in the retranslations or revised editions that we encounter here? Furthermore, which strategies do these translator-editors use to position themselves as mediating individuals between the source and the target text? How do these engage critically with travellers' assertions, yet not devalue the very work they are translating? Finally, what do the revised translations of an account that enter the travellee culture tell us about its significance for ongoing negotiations of the relationship between memory, identity and place? This article therefore does not aim to scrutinise whether the versions by Stoll and Bock are true retranslations of Nugent's source text, or, rather, revisions and adaptations of the previous version penned by Karsten. Instead, it focuses on examining the role that memory plays in translation, before exploring how travel writing, when translated into the travellee culture, intervenes in discussions within that particular nation about its own identity politics and cultural objectives. Taking in turn these three versions of Nugent's *Travels*, this article explores how re-mediation has kept his account alive in German memory across three centuries, albeit with rather different motivations.

Cultural memory, translation, and the travellee

In her seminal work on translation and memory, Bella Brodzki has shown that translation is always a process of textual revival. Translation, she argues, enables the source text "to live beyond itself, to exceed its own limitations" (Brodzki 2007, 2). As a form of textual displacement across languages, cultures and times, it allows texts to acquire a new significance, through contextualisation in a different setting from that which characterised its emergence in the source culture. A translation is therefore always a vehicle of historical

consciousness, a "scene of inheritance" (111), which normally also acts as a creative impetus in the target culture, precisely because translations carry within them ideas, forms, or content that are unfamiliar. Just as memory is created "in tandem with forgetting" (Brownlie 2016, 11), so only a select corpus of texts can be translated into a given language and the rest are left untranslated, essentially forgotten. Translation therefore belongs among the frameworks set up by cultures as a "contract between the living, the dead, and the not yet living", through which information deposited in the past can communicate with the present (Assmann 2008, 97). Cultural memory supports collective memory by "archiving" those works selected to be secured for prosperity, because they fulfil one of two main functions: canonicity or general historical relevance. While Nugent's travelogue scarcely counts among the canon of "sacred texts, artistic masterpieces, or historic key events in a timeless framework" that Assmann notes are selected for sanctification (101), it clearly constituted a work that was considered sufficiently interesting or important from a historical perspective not to vanish into oblivion.

Translation therefore sustains currents of innovation, through which one culture has the power to shape another. Nevertheless, rewritings of a text through translation can also be produced "under ideological constraints, depending on whether rewriters find themselves in agreement with the dominant ideology of their time or not" (Lefevere 1992, 7). This throws into sharper relief the role of translators, editors and adaptors. They are mediators within a series of different frameworks, driven by their own interest in the source text and their personal cultural agenda, the need to work within the constraints set by the publisher (time constraints, length, audience), and the political context within which they are working. Translation is a process of rewriting, and translators, as Mona Baker has observed, "are embedded in the narratives that circulate in the context in which they produce a translation" and contribute to the process of transformation through their translation choices (Baker 2014, 159). These translations are also inscribed in the larger narratives and referential frameworks within which these translators individually operate. New constellations of intertextualities thus emerge, causing the work in translation to be interwoven into new and different networks of knowledge relevant to that particular historical moment.

Retranslations, which are almost without exception target-culture driven, are a particularly sensitive barometer of changing ideologies in that culture. As Isabelle Desmidt neatly puts it, "retranslations are exponents of the historical relativity of translation" (Desmidt 2009, 669). The historical moment at which they appear is rarely arbitrary. Indeed, as Lawrence Venuti argues, translations are "profoundly linked to their historical moment because they always reflect the cultural formation where they are produced" (Venuti 2004, 34). This holds particularly true for retranslations (or revised editions of existing translations), precisely because they need to be recast so that their innovative potential in the new historical setting can be clearly recognised. For Venuti, when it comes to retranslations "the translator's agency is distinguished by a significant increase in self-consciousness that seeks to take into account the manifold conditions and consequences of translating" (29). Genre plays a significant role in determining how translators and adaptors can articulate their intentions. In the case of non-fictional travel writing, it is primarily through paratext that critical distance can be voiced vis-à-vis the content of the account. Footnoting, which emerged in the Enlightenment as a key mode of critical intervention "swarming with constructive and combative activity" (Grafton 1997, 9), enables

modernisations to be introduced which give the text a current relevance, and connections to be made with other works in a nation's textual memory.

Translation and improvement: Karsten's *Reisen durch Deutschland* (1781–1782)

Nugent's *Travels* almost did not make it into the "archive" of those works considered significant enough to be put into German. Karsten's translation appeared a good decade after the original English had been issued in London, spurred on by the appearance of a Dutch translation, the *Brieven over Duitschland* [*Letters on Germany*] (1769). An in-depth review by the *Nieuwe vaderlandsche letter-oefeningen of tijdschrift van kunsten en wetenschappen* [*New Patriotic Literary Exercises, or Journal of the Arts and Sciences*] affirmed that the work would interest a wide audience because of its appeal to high- and low-brow culture (Brieven over Duitsland 1770, 225–226). This echoed Nugent's own assertion that the activities of the farmer, gardener, and artisan were "just as instructive and interesting a subject, as plays, operas, and other fashionable entertainments" (Nugent 1768). Although Nugent was aware that the genre of travel writing carried such appeal – he had published his own Grand Tour narrative in 1749 – he had primarily achieved prominence as a translator from the French of seminal Enlightenment texts. These included Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* (1748), or *The Spirit of Laws* (1752), Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Émile ou* l'éducation (1762), published as *Emilius, or an Essay on Education* (1763), the Abbé Dubos' *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et la peinture* (1719), translated as the *Critical Reflections on Poetry and Painting* (1748), and the *Principes du droit naturel* (1748) or *Principles of Natural Law* (1748) by the Swiss jurist Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui. During his lifetime, Nugent's acclaimed *New Pocket Dictionary of the French and English Languages* (1767) ran to at least twenty-eight editions, and his translation of Benvenuto Cellini's autobiography (2 vols, 1771) from the Italian attracted considerable attention (Baigent 2008). Although not without its errors, his *Spirit of Laws* has remained the standard English text with which scholars have worked for over two centuries (Stewart 2018).

The reasons behind the delay in translating the *Travels* into German were probably twofold: the Stettin-based publisher Nicolai was aware of the account's shortcomings, and required a translator with the linguistic expertise, intellectual authority and local knowledge to iron these out. Karsten's foreword applauded Nugent for his focus on a German region often overlooked, and highlighted the value of translation for the travellee culture: "es ist bekannt, daß wir oft fremde Welttheile besser kennen als unser eigenes Vaterland" [it is known that we are often more familiar with foreign parts of the world than with our own home country] (Nugent 1781–1782, vol. 1, ii). Nugent's narrative was too valuable to consign to oblivion, but it needed to be tailored to a 1781 readership, its excess information pruned, and its effusiveness toned down (Nugent 1781–1782, vol. 1, iii–iv). Since the errors in the *History of Vandalia* were common knowledge to a German public, Karsten also stressed how his local knowledge had been invaluable in correcting some of Nugent's more wayward assertions. Essentially, though, Nugent's reflections on the political and economic situation in Mecklenburg, particularly in the second half, would give patriotic readers ample food for thought: "ein Patriot findet reichen Stoff zu weiterm Nachdenken" (Nugent 1781–1782, vol. 1, v).

The extensive annotations – 213 footnotes for the 298-page first volume and 136 footnotes for the 379-page second volume – pursued various strategies regarding the thematic relevance of the source text, Karsten's self-presentation as the authoritative travellee-translator, and the contribution that the *Travels* could make to regional historical memory. Despite assertions to the contrary, Karsten did little to modify Nugent's ardent Germanophilia, as articulated in assertions that "German women make the best wives in the world" (Nugent 1768, vol. 1, 214) – "die besten Eheweiber auf Erden" (Nugent 1781–1782, vol. 1, 199) – or indeed that civility "distinguishes the Germans above all other nations in Europe" (Nugent 1768, vol. 1, 270), "womit sich die Deutschen vor allen Nazionen Europas auszeichnen" (Nugent 1781–1782, vol. 1, 216). However, his footnotes did correct the false assumptions that Nugent had made, provide additions to his historical observations, and above all supplement the work with reflections on how the region could be improved regarding its agriculture, its universities, and its hierarchies of power.

Above all Karsten presented himself as a meticulous annotator, whose footnotes embodied processes of thematic selection and modification that implicitly articulated his intentions as a translator. His expertise ranged well beyond his specialism in agriculture, to British literature and culture. He made the *Reisen durch Deutschland und vorzüglich durch Meklenburg* more accessible to a general readership by translating Latin passages and English poetry into German in the main text, and giving the original in a footnote. It was above all in paratextual references such as these where dialogue between traveller and annotator-translator occurred. Karsten took great pains to explain why Nugent's explanation of the etymology of "Mecklenburg" as from the dated verb "to trade", "mechlin", was wrong – an assertion rehearsed from previous mistaken accounts – and that other suggestions that it derived from "Makler", a "broker" who brings a transaction to completion, were more plausible (Nugent 1781–1782, vol. 1, 149). Similarly, Karsten was critical of Nugent's argument that Mecklenburg should consider buying back the port of Wismar from the Swedes. For Nugent, this would improve job prospects for the inhabitants, since prominent positions were currently held by foreigners, and commerce with the hinterland would flourish if the port were back in German hands (Nugent 1768, vol. 1, 156). Karsten's phlegmatic response was that while Wismar was not the port it had once been, the Swedish Crown was keenly aware of its significance, particularly for the trade in grain, and that the lack of Swedish investment in Wismar had more to do with political machinations in Stockholm (Nugent 1781–1782, vol. 1, 137). Annotation thus enabled the view of the passing traveller to be complemented by the insider knowledge of the travellee-translator, thus offering the reader of the translation a more multifaceted and comprehensive version of the account under scrutiny.

The contribution that the *Travels* could make to the archived cultural memory of the Mecklenburg region can be seen most clearly in the modernisations added to the translation. Nugent's narrative read as a *Who's Who* of the region, based on the families visited during his travels in the 1760s. Karsten's annotations frequently served to indicate that these individuals had died or progressed in their careers to other parts of the region. Far-reaching changes had also taken place with implications for the architectural heritage of the region, not least the decline of its stately homes and estates. One such example was the Renaissance palace at Güstrow, the contents of which had been dispersed to nearby

cities following the death of Duchess Magdalena Sybilla, which marked the end of the Güstrow lineage. Nugent's original comment "it is pity this fine palace is naked", became "[n]ur ist es ein Jammer, daß dieser vortrefliche Pallast izt wie ein naktes Gerippe da steht" [but it is a pity that this fine palace now stands like a naked carcass], thereby emphasising how the removal of furniture had stripped the house back to its bare bones (Nugent 1768, vol. 1, 272; 1781–1782, vol. 1, 218). Karsten similarly deplored how collections of artworks from houses such as these were being broken up and sold for trifling amounts. This indicated a failure to appreciate that the value of such collections lay in the constellation of objects as a group, and as the articulation of the personality and taste of their collector (Nugent 1781–1782, 196; 241). Such footnoted observations were not just a record of fact: they were a rallying cry to appreciate the value of historical artefacts.

Other footnotes to the German translation discussed how Mecklenburg urgently needed to embrace change. Here Karsten's agricultural expertise came into play. Nugent had observed that many of the farmers in Mecklenburg "blindly follow the examples of others, and abide by old customs, which are often pernicious", adding that "it is not till after repeated damages and losses, that any of them are brought to learn a true method of farming" (Nugent 1768, vol. 2, 43). These, and subsequent passages in a similar tone, were used by Karsten to affirm in extensive footnotes that this was indeed a serious problem in the region. It would be a gift to the people of Mecklenburg if an expert on agricultural improvement like Arthur Young – whose works presented English agriculture as particularly advanced – could travel through and comment on the region's shortcomings, Karsten noted, adding that part of the problem lay with the acquisition of estates by those greedy for the title of "Seigneur", who knew nothing of husbandry (Nugent 1781–1782, vol. 2, 22–23). Gentlemen went into agriculture only because they had failed in their studies, and although they spoke the language of cultural improvement, they frittered away their time hunting rather than trying to make their farm a profitable enterprise (Nugent 1781–1782, vol. 2, 23). Although Karsten conceded that the region's farmers were resistant to the changes proposed in theoretical work on agriculture, he stressed that they had inherited workable practices from their forefathers which they were unlikely to forfeit to the ideas of "Bücherökonomen", economists whose experience derived from book learning (Nugent 1781–1782, vol. 2, 25–26). The tension between empirical knowledge and logical reasoning could therefore be resolved only by figures with local knowledge and agricultural expertise who respected the value of tradition but embodied the broader Enlightenment ideal of improvement.

As Nugent's near-contemporary, Karsten was able to cast him as a candid foreigner whose authority was based upon extensive and first-hand knowledge of the culture about which he wrote. The *Travels* were of interest to the travellee culture because it captured life a decade-and-a-half earlier and thus enabled readers to gain a sense of the broader changes that had taken place in their own lifetimes. This relatively brief temporal distance was used by Karsten as a productive way to gauge the rate at which various developments were taking place and to reflect – using the seemingly objective perspective of the foreign outsider as his starting point – on the repercussions of such changes for the region at large.

Escapist nostalgia? Stoll's *Unterhaltsame Reise* (1936)

The theologian Heinrich Stoll's abridgement and retitling of Karsten's translation as *Die unterhaltsame Reise des Herrn Dr. Nugent durch Mecklenburg* [*The Entertaining Voyage of Dr. Nugent through Mecklenburg*] explicitly shifted the focus of the text from improvement to pleasure. The cover engraving of an eighteenth-century coach and horses hurtling up a country lane was by the artist Rudolf Gahlbeck, who specialised in regional landscape depictions. This image captured well the energy and enthusiasm of Nugent's original account. The dust jacket advertised the work as a charming account of a culture and society under threat from a foreign power, which could be recommended to lovers of "unsere schöne und reiche Heimat" [our beautiful and rich homeland] (Stoll 1936). This concept of "Heimat", now deemed politically dubious for its association with far-right identity politics, has been read by Stoll's critics as a term tactically romanticised to reduce the *Travels* to an account of the minutiae of provincial life in the region. For some, this has done both Nugent and European travel literature a great disservice (Neumann 1991, 188). A cursory reading of *Die unterhaltsame Reise* as an exclusivist, nativist account of a besieged region and its people is easily made, particularly given the political climate in which it appeared. However, this is harder to reconcile with Heinrich Stoll's biography. By 1934 he had been dismissed from his position as "Vikar" for preaching a version of the parable of the Good Samaritan in which Arian Germans pass by on the other side and a Jew comes to the sufferer's aid (Engel 2013, 229). In 1935 he had been expelled from the church and by 1936 forbidden to publish or speak in public. His edition of Nugent's travelogue appeared shortly before he left Germany to work abroad as a journalist (Sator and Schregel 2010, 1147). Equally intriguing in this context is the review by Walter Bauer, also forbidden from publishing his own creative writing, who penned a critique of the *Die unterhaltsame Reise* for the monthly magazine *Die Literatur* [*Literature*] in 1936. Bauer's reading of historical travelogues like Nugent's as a journey towards harmony with oneself, "unterwegs nach dem Einklang mit sich selbst", in which we encounter people who breathed a desire to be good people, "das Verlangen von Menschen, rechte Menschen zu sein", suggests more than escapism (Bauer 1936–1937, 511).

This complicates our reading of Stoll's version of Nugent's *Travels* in various ways. The dust jacket delivered the message required for the work to gain approval, but how did Stoll's strategies of selection reposition the contents? Was this a safe withdrawal into nostalgia, in which the travellee culture was merely entertained with glimpses of an idyllic past? Or could Nugent's *Travels* enable readers to transcend the local circumstances of life in interwar Germany and appreciate the difference between contemporary and past society? Stoll's preface stressed the temporal significance of his edition, published at a time "in der der historische Sinn stärker ist als früher, in der weitere Kreise unseres Volkes sich mit der Vergangenheit beschäftigen" [in which the sense of history is stronger than in earlier days, in which larger groups in our society are concerned with the past] (Nugent 1936, 5). Here, the past is explicitly represented as finished business, as stable and fixed. Indeed, Stoll stressed that he had curbed the urge to correct mistakes in the text, and added in bold type that this edition in its new form should reflect "nur den Blickwinkel der alten Zeit […], nicht die Erkenntnisse unserer Tage" [merely the perspective of the bygone era, not the insights of our current age] (Nugent 1936, 9).

Stoll's abridgement meant that the first three letters pertaining to the Hamburg to Lübeck leg of the journey disappeared, as did lines in Latin or pieces of poetry with which the text was interspersed. His edition therefore made of the *Travels* a more linear and readable account, akin to the immediate impressions that the traveller might gather "in the field". Information on distances and mileages disappeared from this version, as did discussions of the etymology of placenames, and lengthy discussions of historical dates and events, particularly those from centuries before the period of travel. Other changes included a modernisation of the language of the text, which replaced older, French-influenced, terms with words more familiar to an interwar German reader. Stoll therefore used the term "Erwerbung" [acquirement] where Karsten had taken "Acquisition", "Einladung" [invitation] for "invitiert", "Unterhaltung" [conversation] for "Diskurs", and "ermüdend" [tiring] for "fatigant" (Nugent 1936, 18; 21; 35; 146 and 192). These changes therefore also altered the character of the text, distancing it from the language of the period which Karsten had used in his near-contemporary translation of the *Travels*. Whether Stoll did this for reasons of accessibility, or to align his text with the nationalist language of that period is hard to define. Certainly, it chimes with the folkish, *Heimat* feel of *Die unterhaltsame Reise*, as conveyed by the textual and visual elements of the book wrapper and the publisher with which it appeared.

The strategy of selection adopted by Stoll gives us a clearer sense of the main messages that he felt Nugent's account should convey. The interwar edition retained Nugent's paean to the German housewife, but also the fascination shown by educated Germans of the late Enlightenment towards British culture, notably through visits to the pleasure gardens at Vauxhall in London, admired as the most beautiful public place in Europe (Nugent 1936, 171). The close ties between Britain and Germany in the period – encapsulated by the birth of Charlotte, the princess royal, in the September while Nugent was in Mecklenburg – emphasised the close cultural and political bonds between traveller and travellee. Indeed, the edition by Stoll also reproduces Nugent's conversation at table between George II and the Duke of Newcastle, in which the King avers that his subjects in Hanover have the same right to protect their freedom and property as the people of England (Nugent 1936, 121). Given Stoll's biography, it is not surprising that his edition retains those passages which recognise the importance of religion and respect a range of different confessions. Thus, the description of Duke Frederick II of Mecklenburg, known as Frederick the Pious, a devout Lutheran "religious without fanaticism, gracious without meanness; frugal without parsimony" presents him both to an Enlightenment and an interwar German public as an exemplary ruler, worthy of such status (Nugent 1768, vol. 2, 297).

Nugent's account in Stoll's translation was undoubtedly valuable for the historical perspective it could give to a reading of the development of the Hanseatic cities. The emphasis placed on the geographical range of the *Travels* emphasises a supra-regional understanding of community at a time when politically charged discussions were taking place about boundaries and borders. Perhaps the broader sweep of Nugent's account also appealed as a contrast to the atomised, city-focused approach ushered in by the Baedeker-style guidebooks most easily accessible in the period. Above all, though, to the travellee culture absorbed in reading Stoll's translation as an economic depression overshadowed Europe, the spontaneity of travel that Nugent exemplified would have been a welcome respite from the increasing sense of restriction at that time.

Restorative measures: Bock's *Reisen durch Deutschland* (1998)

The 1998 edition of Nugent's *Travels* by Sabine Bock, a professor of architectural history and preservation of historical monuments, gives Stoll's account short shrift as an extremely reductive, inauthentic representation of the eighteenth-century original. Bock's interest in Nugent's account derives primarily from the insights he gave into architectural phenomena and in collections of art as he experienced them first-hand in his travels through the northern German states in the 1760s.

Where Stoll's version had abridged the travelogue, Bock's version expands it beyond the footnotes by Karsten to make of this an even more detailed and extensive study of Mecklenburg. It presents us with the perspective of the Enlightenment traveller Nugent, and his travellee-translator Karsten, overlain with a late-twentieth-century commentary. In this edition, Karsten's numbered footnotes are relegated to the end of the work, and the main text now abounds with Bock's asterisked annotations. These comprise cross-references to around a hundred different works, predominantly representing a corpus of specialist works on art and architectural history, monuments and their historical preservation, regional history and heritage, church history and restoration. A twenty-two-page index of names and places facilitates navigation around this edition of Nugent's *Travels* in German translation, which reframes it for a scholarly audience in the travellee culture. This is reinforced by the cover illustration, which reproduces a finely drawn engraving of an eighteenth-century scene with architectural details of ornamental facades and half-timbered structures. The account has therefore been removed from the niche of popular entertainment, where Stoll's edition had lodged it, to one of more academic discussions of history and heritage, as visualised by the image on the cover that places buildings centre stage. Given Bock's emphasis on architectural history, it is unsurprising that the comprehensive nature of this new edition also extends to its visual material: it contains the view of Hamburg and the map of Mecklenburg originally in the English edition but not reproduced in Karsten's translation, together with the four new views of Ludwigslust, the residential palace of the Dukes of Mecklenburg, which were added to the eighteenth-century German edition.

As Bock emphasises, the historical importance of Nugent's *Travels* began well before the twentieth century. Based on her historiographical expertise, she highlights how the work has been used as an important source on historical situations and events for at least the past century. She cites its contribution to central works such as Friedrich Schlie's *Die Kunst- und Geschichts-Denkmäler des Großherzogtums Mecklenburg-Schwerin* [*The Art and Historical Monuments of the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin*] (1896), and the four-volume account by Georg Krüger of the art and historical monuments of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, which appeared in the late 1920s and early 1930s (Bock 1998, 523). Regional histories and travel guides to the region from the interwar period also repeatedly turned to Nugent's work for its detailed description of the palace at Neustrelitz, while more recent attention has focused on his depiction of Ludwigslust (Bock 1998, 523). Nugent's travelogue has therefore been embedded within German memory culture since the 1890s, and remains a significant work because of the different audiences for which it carried appeal.

The spatial separation of the two footnote apparatuses suggests that Bock largely did not seek to enter into direct dialogue with Karsten. Occasionally, she would confirm an

assumption he had made – for instance, that the railings of the gothic *Marienkirche* [Church of St. Mary] in Wismar referred to by Nugent and travellers before him were not round the spire, but the font (Nugent 1998, 88). By way of an extension to Karsten's note, she filled readers in on the remaining two hundred years of history, adding that the railings had been removed during the Second World War before the bombing of the building, and were now in another of Wismar's churches. At other junctures she disagreed with Karsten – particularly over thorny issues of place-name etymology – although her assertions also frequently remained within the realm of the hypothetical. Elsewhere she sidestepped Karsten's translation altogether and referred directly to the English original in the subject of her footnote. The edifice that Nugent had described as a "castle" in Wismar could only be its princely court, she surmised, which was not built in the seventeenth century, as Nugent had presumed, but a century earlier, in a Renaissance style (Nugent 1998, 89). Further sources indicated by Bock gave her readers information on uses of the building through the GDR period and beyond, thus tracing its "life" to the present day.

For Bock, Nugent's account was important in its contribution to accounts of a region's architectural legacy. While, as we have seen, some footnotes generally added information about various phases of restoration and the architects responsible, others used Nugent's criticisms of town planning in his day as a springboard into a discussion of the improvements introduced since. For instance, Nugent had declared the Stock Exchange in Hamburg and its surrounding buildings to be distinctly unimpressive. Bock's footnoted comment is not without humour – "Nugents Wunsch ging nach dem großen Stadtbrand von 1842 in Erfüllung" [Nugent's wish was fulfilled after the great fire of 1842] (Nugent 1998, 33) – as a result of which a new stock exchange was built, which acquired a Neo-renaissance exterior at the start of the twentieth century, and was rebuilt again after damage in the Second World War. Bock's expertise therefore adds a new temporal dimension to the account, condensing into a mere handful of lines a century and more of architectural history. She also illustrates how street names in Hamburg – notably "Sternschanze", named after the star-shaped fortifications in one quarter of the city (Nugent 1998, 21) – combine the history, geography, and culture dominant at a specific period, in ways which merge the past topography of a city with the ordinary background to human life.

The pace of architectural change is a key theme running through Bock's annotations. The damage wrought by half a century of misguided decision-making sets the context of Nugent's architectural description within a broader historical perspective. This brief, densely formulated sentence by Bock neatly encapsulates how Hamburg's district of old warehouses swiftly disappeared from the cityscape: "Die Stadtsanierungen in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus, die Zerstörungen des Zweiten Weltkrieges und die Zeit des rigorosen Wiederaufbaus taten das ihrige" [The urban redevelopment under National Socialism, the destruction caused by the Second World War and the period of energetic post-war reconstruction all had their part to play] (Nugent 1998, 25). This not only sensitises readers to the deeper temporal dimension of Nugent's account as a snapshot of life two-and-a-half centuries ago, but also emphasises the importance and uniqueness of his eye-witness remarks in the context of Germany's architectural legacy. Other observations by Bock on post-war cultural policy in the former GDR highlighted a profound and troubling lapse of memory with regard to architectural heritage in this period. Commenting on the historic centre of Rostock, she notes:

> Der Wiederaufbau der Nachkriegszeit orientierte sich kaum am historischen Vorbild. Im Rahmen der sozialistischen Rekonstruktion der Innenstadt gingen in den 1970er, 1980er Jahren weitere, bis dahin unzerstörte Stadtbereiche wie die nördliche Altstadt, verloren. (Nugent 1998, 118)
>
> [Post-war reconstruction was scarcely ever based on a historical model. During the socialist reconstruction of the city centre in the 1970s and 1980s, other previously undestroyed areas of the city, such as the northern part of the old town, were lost.]

Here she emphasises how, in just a few decades, the cityscape described with such care by Nugent had completely disappeared, and parts even erased that had not suffered the damages of war. Brief pointers to the emergence of a cultural infrastructure to safeguard heritage – notably the listing of the medieval old town of Lübeck as a UNESCO World Heritage Site (Nugent 1998, 200) – show how global institutional measures now ensure that built heritage is preserved, and also indicate how historic towns are gaining a new importance within the cultural economy.

For Bock, then, Nugent was more than simply a foreign observer of the cityscapes of northern Germany. His detailed descriptions of architecture, coupled with his personal reflections on town planning and the changes he witnessed, make of him an individual sensitised to the historical significance of the towns he visited. Of the three translations investigated here, Bock's is the one with the longest time lapse between source and target text. It is precisely this temporal gap that Bock uses to bind Nugent's findings into her own call for the value of the built heritage to be recognised, and in turn to encourage its protection and conservation within structures for heritage-led regeneration.

Conclusions

The continuing appeal of Nugent's account of travel to Germany in the travellee culture primarily derived from the wide-ranging themes it addressed, which were delivered with a relatively high level of detail and accuracy by an eye-witness traveller considered to embody integrity. In terms of content, then, the agricultural and economic issues on which Nugent focused were of interest to Karsten, while Nugent's depiction of the cityscapes of eighteenth-century northern Germany was eagerly incorporated by Bock into a paratextual discussion of architectural and heritage policy over the past three hundred years. For Stoll, it was Nugent's interest in the lives of those whom he had encountered that enabled the travelogue to transport the reader back to the social, cultural and political world of the late Enlightenment. The geographical range of the original account also proved a justification for ongoing interest by travellee readers. Nugent had himself observed that this was a unique selling point of his travelogue when it appeared in 1768, Mecklenburg "being in a nook of Germany, and no thoroughfare to any of the great electorates, is the reason why it has hitherto escaped the notice of most travellers" (Nugent 1768, vol. 2, 1). The epistolary format enabled Stoll to truncate it swiftly to focus solely on one region, heightening its appeal for a provincial public looking to the past to provide solace for the present. For Bock, Nugent's trajectory through what was later to become a divided Germany enabled a comparative approach to highlight differences and commonalities in heritage culture policy in the post-war years.

In none of the three editions was the travellee-translator or travellee-editor a wholly invisible figure. The most elusive mediator is Stoll, whose edition was most obviously a product embedded in a particular historical moment, bound by political and cultural constraints. Both Karsten and Bock were particularly self-conscious travellee-commentators on Nugent's *Travels*, but, working two centuries apart, applied different practices of othering to their texts. For Karsten, the "unfamiliar" was embodied as much in the foreign perspective provided by Nugent, as in the errors that crept into his account due to his false assumptions. For Bock, the "unfamiliar" was the past landscape which readers could now reconstruct only in their imaginations, since a journey undertaken today in Nugent's footsteps would, in many instances, bear little resemblance to the built environment he had witnessed. Although Stoll deliberately stressed the account's temporal distance from his interwar readers, he also sensed that the universal qualities of affective appeal that typified Nugent's narrative would create bonds between traveller and travellee. *Die unterhaltsame Reise* used the emotionally visceral qualities of personal memory to link individual and collective experience in ways which reduced the complexities generated by historical distance, provided orientation in this otherwise unfamiliar world, and created a sense of congruity.

The tension between individual and collective memory is approached rather differently in these three German versions of Nugent's *Travels*. The challenge faced by Karsten was to turn an autobiographical account, now a little dated, into a narrative with wider significance for readers thinking about the immediate future of their region. The sound basis that his translation provided for the subsequent editions by Bock and Stoll is testament to his ability to show, through his footnotes, how individual observations carried relevance for broader developments, both in Germany and across Europe in the late Enlightenment. Where Karsten's edition was dynamic and forward-looking in its discussion of two decades of change, Stoll's edition presents us with an inert past. Readers are invited to immerse themselves in a space seemingly disconnected from the contemporary circumstances of its publication. Only in very subtle ways could this account be understood as a critical reflection on Stoll's political situation. Yet the very figure of Nugent – himself the embodiment of the humanist, democratic and internationalist drives of the European Enlightenment – exudes a willingness to embrace difference and a generosity of spirit very different from the context in which this edition would have been read. For Bock, Nugent's *Reise durch Deutschland*, supplemented by the footnotes appended to Karsten's own annotated translation, activated memories of past landscapes and urban environments in ways which contributed to the framing of heritage as a site of cooperation, contestation and negotiation. These translations therefore all bear the hallmark of the travellee-translator and as such add a different dimension to the tension between individual and collective memory already embodied in Nugent's account, with its idiosyncratic account of one Briton's impressions of Germany set within the broader corpus of British travel writing on the German states. The individual memory that the travellee-translators project onto Nugent's account is, for Karsten, that of lived memory, for Stoll, an arguably nostalgic take on his own *Heimat*, and for Bock an historically-informed understanding of how these cityscapes must have looked. All, then, find Nugent's *Travels* a particularly compelling text, precisely because it operates as a canvas onto which to project their own particular cultural-political agenda.

These three translations also highlight the different historical trajectories that one particular narrative can take. While Karsten's text most clearly adheres to the notion that travel writing is linear, progressive and forward-looking, this does not necessarily hold true for the editions by Stoll and Bock. In the former, Nugent's account represents the opportunity to return to past locales as spaces that offer an alternative to the present. For Bock, travel writing bears witness to war and to architectural neglect. The historical cityscapes now destroyed – but still standing in Nugent's narrative or reconstructed through Bock's annotations – thus trace a path taking us back rather than forward, looping us into the past and leaving us to wonder what future urban policy may hold. In its interweaving of local encounters, regional settings and international exchanges, Nugent's *Travels* therefore serves as an intriguing example of an account valued by the travellee culture precisely because it can be mobilised through translation to engage critically with policies and practices in subsequent ages.

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