

Gaëtan Regniers

Viral Translations Retranslation and Periodicals

2/2024

DOI: 10.70596/cts183

Herausgegeben am / Éditée au
/ Edited at: Institute of Applied
Linguistics and Translatology
(IALT), Leipzig University
ISSN: 2617-3441

Abstract

Re-translations within periodicals have hitherto received limited scholarly attention. This paper seeks to address this gap by examining whether Stemmatology provides a pertinent methodological framework for elucidating the intricate dynamics of rapidly succeeding retranslations. Through a case study focusing on translations of Leo Tolstoy's story "God Sees the Truth, But Waits" ("Bog pravdu vidit da ne skoro skažet") in Dutch newspapers throughout the nineteenth century, we investigate the feasibility of employing Stemmatology in mapping these retranslations. Our analysis demonstrates that juxtaposing variation against chronological sequence enhances comprehension of the underlying dynamics, and that the proposed model aligns with certain established aspects of retranslation.

Keywords: retranslation, periodicals, 19th century, The Netherlands, Tolstoy

Zum Zitieren des Artikels / Pour citer l'article / To cite the article:

Regniers, Gaëtan (2025): Viral Translations. Retranslation and Periodicals, *Chronotopos* 6 (2), 137–158. DOI:10.70596/cts183



Gaëtan C. Regniers

From Text to Tree

A Stemmatological Approach to Retranslation

Abstract

This paper investigates fiction retranslations in 19th-century Dutch newspapers. Drawing on a dataset of over 2,300 translations of Russian literature published between 1835 and 1970, it identifies 41% as retranslations. These retranslations frequently appeared in different newspapers within days or weeks after the initial publication. Conventional models of retranslation, which focus on sequential temporal progression, fail to explain this rapid spread. To address this gap, the paper employs Stemmatology, a genealogical method originally designed for reconstructing manuscript traditions, to trace kinship relationships among retranslations. Using Leo Tolstoy's story "God Sees the Truth, But Waits" as a case study, it evaluates the method's suitability for analysing retranslations in periodicals. The findings reveal key patterns and provoke broader questions about translation practices within the press.

Introduction

This paper examines retranslations of fiction in 19th century newspapers and proposes a methodology to better understand this phenomenon. The dataset¹ used in this paper comprises over 2,300 translations of Russian literature published in Dutch newspapers (1835-1970), 41% of the corpus qualifies as retranslations, in Deane-Cox's (2014: 1) sense as "multiples of one [text] which relate not only to the source text but also to each other." In this case: a translation of a source text of Russian origin that has previously been published as a translation in a Dutch newspaper. In most cases, but not always, these are publications in different newspapers, usually with a limited time difference of a few days or weeks. It seems as if these works of fiction are going viral, to use a modern metaphor. The multiplicity of translations on the one hand and the limited time lapse between them on the other is at odds with the classical paradigm of a retranslation that over time succeeds an older translation (see the discussion in VAN POUCKE 2017: 110-111).

Identifying patterns is the biggest challenge with the translations studied here because a linear relationship between source text and target text(s) cannot be easily determined. To understand the kinship relationships, I turn to Stemmatology. This genealogical method was originally designed to classify and reconstruct manuscripts. The use of phylogenetic trees to trace textual transmission was previously proposed in relation to

¹ The dataset *Russian Literature in Dutch Newsprint* (RLDN) is a bibliographic collection of translations published in the 19th and 20th centuries. The data are part of an ongoing project and are therefore not yet available via open access.

the reuse of content by newspapers (SMITH & CORDELL & DILLON 2013: 92). I explore whether this method can be instrumental in organising the many retranslations as they appear in periodicals and how we might use this approach to understand the relationships between these translations. Based on this analysis, can we explain the proliferation of retranslations? What does this reveal about the broader status of fiction translations in periodicals? And, more generally, what potential value might Stemmatology offer to research in (re)translation studies?

The structure of this paper is as follows: first, Section 1 situates translations of fiction within the context of newspapers. Section 2 introduces the Lachmann method and critically reviews its compatibility with applications in translation studies. Section 3 presents Leo Tolstoy's story "Bog pravdu vidit, da ne skoro skazhet" ("God Sees the Truth, But Waits"), which is then used in Section 4 to analyse as a case study of retranslations in newspapers. Finally, the conclusion in Section 5 evaluates the analytical capacity of the proposed methodology and identifies challenges for future research.

Translations in Newspapers

Between approximately 1850 and 1950, fiction in the form of serials became a regular feature in periodicals, beginning in France and later spreading to other countries, including the Netherlands. The motivations behind publishing serialised fiction were twofold. For periodicals, it served as an effective way to retain readership; for the public, which was expanding due to rising literacy rates, feuilletons offered an affordable and accessible means to enjoy fiction at a time when books were often still costly and thus exclusive (MIGOZZI 2007: 84; THIESSE 1984: 17-35).

In Dutch newspapers specifically, translated fiction occupied a significant position (KOSTER 2021: 374). The role of translation in periodicals has long remained underexplored in scholarly research (VAN DOORSLAER 2010). Recently, however, scholarship on this topic has been expanding (GUZMÁN 2019; O'CONNOR 2019; FÓLICA & ROIG-SANZ & CARISTIA 2020; REGNIERS 2021). Despite the evident significance of translation in periodicals, the phenomenon of retranslation in this context has yet to be explored.

Stemmatology

In Search of the Lost Text

Faced with the fact that no autographs have survived from Greek and Roman classical authors and that we have only later, incomplete and/or mutually divergent manuscripts, philologists in the 18th and 19th centuries developed a methodology to reconstruct the original text of these manuscripts. They started working with the text witnesses, the manuscripts produced over time by scribes that together form a collection of copies and thus bear witness to the original text. Stemmatology is based on the assumption "that each scribe consciously or unconsciously deviates" from the text he is copying (MAAS 1958: 3). This implies that each copy is unique, and furthermore that the text

drifts further and further away from the original through repeated copying and transmission of deviation. The idea is that texts that have “common errors” share a “parent text”. On the basis of these common errors, various text traditions can be traced. In Stemmatology (also known as Textual Criticism or the Lachmann method, after the influential scholar Karl Lachmann, 1793-1851), the ultimate aim is to design a family tree of manuscripts (“*stemma*”), and to climb as far up the family tree as possible to approximate the original. The focus on variation also means ignoring what the different texts have in common, as this is irrelevant for determining the genealogy of the text. This is what Chiesa calls the “purity of the lineage”:

it was ‘pure’ in the parent, and progressively degenerated and polluted in the descendants. Every deviation is a hereditary taint, transmitted by the first carriers to their own children, and so on to all their descendants; by detecting the taint and its carriers, we can isolate a specific branch of the lineage. (CHIESA 2020: 79)

Classically, stemmatological research goes through three phases. First, collecting all text witnesses to make a collation (“*recensio*”) of them. Comparing the variants is part of the second stage (“*examinatio*”), including interpreting the differences that make up the variation. Crucial are “monogenetic errors”: variation that occurs in two or more texts and that are virtually impossible to have come about independently of each other. Broadly speaking, four types of variation are distinguished: addition, omission, transposition and substitution. Addition and omission are about adding or removing information from the copied text, transposition involves moving parts in the structure of the text and substitution involves replacing information with other information. Specific forms of noise underlie variation. For example, omission can result from haplography, the writing of a segment of text once which appears twice (or more times) in the source-text. The opposite, writing words twice instead of once when copying, is called dittography. The actual causes of the emergence of variants are sought in a number of technical aspects peculiar to copying. For example, anticipation is the result of a copyist who reads ahead in the exemplar of the text (and therefore omits a section of the exemplar in the copy text), or arrhythmia (a skip in the reading activity of the eyes which in turn can produce haplography -an omission- if the eyes skip ahead in the exemplar. This may give the impression that variation is a blind or unconscious process, but there are also conscious interventions to make the text more readable or comprehensible. In practice, it is difficult to distinguish between a conscious intervention and an unconscious “slip of the pen.”

Reflection: Stemmatology and Translations in Print Media

Several caveats should be noted. Stemmatology was originally developed for analysing handwritten texts, and it is uncertain whether it can be effectively applied to mechanically produced texts. Although printed texts can exist in multiple copies, the typesetting process itself involved manual intervention. And what of translations? While translations are present within traditional stemmatological research (see MACÉ 2020: 151-

152), they are not the primary focus of research. In Stemmatology, the original or primal text is central, and the various text witnesses primarily serve as tools for reconstructing this original. Retranslations, therefore, do not naturally fit within this framework as objects of study in their own right.

A more fundamental issue is that Stemmatology's emphasis on reconstructing an original positions alternative versions as obstacles or deviations from this primary text. This view conflicts with the paradigm of Descriptive Translation Studies, which begins its analysis with the translation and the receiving culture, "and only then works its way in gradual and clearly defined steps towards the source-text" (TOURY 1980: 82). Thus, in the case study that follows, I will focus on the alternative versions of the target texts, exploring the different interpretations they offer of the source text. Here, the variations introduced in the transmission of texts are not mere "noise," but valuable tools for examining how texts were handled, adapted, and reinterpreted.

The term "errors" is particularly problematic in this context because it usually implies a fault or deviation in a negative sense. In many cases, however, these variations reflect intentional choices or specific interpretations. West (1973: 32) uses the term "secondary reading" instead of "error," but this too has normative implications. Likewise, "innovation" (CONTI 2020: 243) suggests a deliberate act of creativity, which may also be subjective. For clarity, I use the terms "variation" to align with the stemmatological notion of a "common error".

Case Study: "Bog pravdu vidit, da ne skoro skazhet" by Lev Tolstoi

In 1872, Lev Tolstoi (1828–1910) was invited to contribute to the journal *Beseda* (*Conversation*), for which he wrote "Bog pravdu vidit, da ne skoro skazhet" ("God Sees the Truth but Waits") (TOLSTOI 1957: 655). This story echoes an episode from "War and Peace"² and belongs to the category of "narodnye rasskazy", folk tales Tolstoi crafted for a broad audience, written in accessible language with a moral message.

The Story

The protagonist, a cheerful merchant named Ivan Dmitrievich Aksënov, is wrongfully arrested on his way to a fair in Nizhnii Novgorod. After spending the night at an inn where a fellow merchant is robbed and murdered, the police discover a bloodstained knife in Aksënov's luggage. Although he pleads his innocence, Aksënov is sentenced to 26 years of forced labour in Siberia, leaving behind his wife and young children.

During his years in prison, Aksënov wrestles with despair and hopelessness but gradually finds solace in his faith, convinced that God knows the truth and will ultimately vindicate him. Aksënov becomes a model prisoner – deeply religious, obedient, and well-regarded by both the warden and his fellow inmates. He acquires a copy of the *Lives of the Saints* to deepen his religious devotion.

² In this novel the character Platon Karataev shares a similar tale with Pierre Bezukhov while they are both held captive by the French (MEDZHIBOVSKAYA 2008: 149-150; MCLEAN 2004: 87-88).

Years into his sentence, Aksënov encounters Makar Semyonovich, a career criminal from his hometown who initially mocks him. Aksënov later discovers Makar attempting to dig an escape tunnel. When questioned by the warden, Aksënov chooses to remain silent about Makar's plan. Moved by Aksënov's gesture, Makar eventually confesses to the murder at the inn and begs for Aksënov's pardon. By the time the order for Aksënov's release reaches Siberia, he has already passed away.

The story's title reflects Aksënov's enduring faith in divine justice: "God sees the truth, but does not reveal it easily." While the plot may resemble a whodunit³, "Bog pravdu vidit, da ne skoro skazhet" is primarily a moral tale about forgiveness, faith, and the notion of divine truth.⁴

Translations in Dutch Newspapers

<i>N°</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>
1	30-3-1884	De onschuldig veroordeelde	Algemeen Handelsblad
2	14-5-1884	De Onschuldig Veroordeelde	Soerabaijasch Handelsblad
3	18-10-1885	De onschuldig veroordeelde	Delftsche Courant
4	14-11-1885	De onschuldig veroordeelde	Schiedamsche Courant
5	18-11-1885	De Onschuldig Veroordeelde	Vlaardingsche Courant
6	7-9-1887	Een ware geschiedenis	Soerabaijasch Handelsblad
7	26-6-1890	Onschuldig veroordeeld	De Zuid-Willemsvaart
8	31-12-1890	Onschuldig veroordeeld: een ware gebeurtenis	Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad
9	24-8-1891	Onschuldig veroordeeld: een ware gebeurtenis	Sumatra-Courant
10	6-12-1898	Een ware Geschiedenis	De Sociaaldemokraat
11	10-9-1900	Een banneling	De Avondpost
12	13-9-1900	Een banneling	Vlissingse Courant
13	9-10-1900	Een banneling	Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad
14	28-11-1900	Een banneling	De Sumatra Post
15	6-9-1903	Een banneling	Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant
16	9-9-1903	De schuldige	Venloosche Courant
17	26-9-1903	Een banneling	De Morgenpost
18	3-10-1903	Een banneling	Nieuwsblad van Friesland

³ Stephen King based his novella "Rita Hayworth and Shawshank Redemption" (1982) on the plot of Tolstoi's story, which was later adapted into the 1994 feature film.

⁴ In 1881, after deciding to stop "indulging" in novel writing and dismissing most of his own works, Tolstoi made an exception for "Bog pravdu vidit." He wrote, "I consign my own artistic productions to the category of bad art, excepting the story God Sees the Truth" (TOLSTOI 1951: 157).

19	7-10-1903	Een banneling	De Locomotief
20	23-10-1903	Een banneling	De Sumatra Post
21	8-11-1903	Een banneling	Schager Courant
22	30-7-1904	Een banneling	De Preanger-Bode
23	3-3-1906	God ziet de waarheid maar wacht	Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad
24	4-8-1916	Ware geschiedenis	Leeuwarder Courant
25	21-3-1925	Een ware geschiedenis	De Tribune

Table1: Chronological overview of the translations of “Bog pravdu vidit” in Dutch newspapers

At least 25 publications

“Bog pravdu vidit, da ne skoro skazhet” flourished in Dutch newspapers, appearing on their pages at least 25 times between 1884 and 1925.⁵ As with copied manuscripts, the exact number of retranslations remains unknown. Unlike books, contributions published in newspapers and magazines are generally excluded from bibliographies, making it difficult to track their full extent. The 25 translations referenced here come from the *Russian Literature in Dutch Newsprint* database, compiled from newspapers digitised in the Delpher database (Royal Dutch Library). Although Delpher contains over 2 million newspaper editions, it does not represent the complete archive of Dutch newspapers, so these 25 instances may underestimate the actual total.

Discussion

It is beyond the scope of this paper to analyse all 25 translations in detail. However, the use of 8 different titles alone highlights the substantial variation among them. Some patterns can be identified; for example, certain clusters of texts appear in close succession, sharing the same title and suggesting uniformity. These sequences resemble waves radiating from an initial point, with identifiable clusters occurring in 1884-1885 (translations 1-5), 1890-1891 (translations 7-9), 1900 (translations 11-14), and 1903-1904 (translations 15, 17-22).

We focus here on two specific clusters within this retranslation history: translations 1 to 5 are the “alpha” translations, using Greek letters as in Stemmatology to distinguish text traditions. Translations 11 to 14 are the “bèta” translations (within text traditions inverted commas are used to distinguish variants). Both waves were selected because they represent two distinct text traditions that can be clearly identified and, more pragmatically, contain a manageable number of translations for analysis.

Parameters

All 25 translations were compared using 17 predefined parameters, with a focus on peritextual information, transliteration of proper names, and narrative elements. The

⁵ In comparison, 11 translations of the story were published in book form in French, German, and English prior to 1900 (MOTYLËVA 1961: 473-477).

significance of peritextual data in translated literature has been well established (cfr BATCHELOR 2018). The handling of proper names is also informative, particularly at a time when Russian names were not widely recognised in the Netherlands; this often indicates the intermediary translation used (BOULOGNE 2008). The narrative components were chosen based on in-depth analyses of “Bog pravdu vidit” by Jahn (1975 & 2004), McLean (2004), and Tussing Orwin (2007).

Alpha

Russia-Firenze-Amsterdam

In late February 1884, a French translation of “Bog pravdu vidit” appeared in the *Revue Internationale*, a new magazine published in Florence with European aspirations. The translation, titled “Un cas”, was completed by Olga Smirnoff⁶. The first Dutch translation followed in March 1884 under the title “De onschuldig veroordeelde” (“The Innocent Convict”) in the national newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad*, using “Un cas” as its source text.

This transmission route was facilitated by the fact that the *Revue Internationale* had a Dutch distributor⁷. Additionally, the *Algemeen Handelsblad* had previously acknowledged the magazine's arrival in the Dutch market and regularly reported on its contents. Further evidence for this connection can be seen in a number of textual similarities between the two translations. The table below compares specific elements from each translation, referred to as α° (*Revue Internationale*) and $\alpha 1$ (*Algemeen Handelsblad*).

<i>TXT</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>Place</i>
Tolstoi 1872	<i>Bog pravdu vidit (...)</i> God sees the Truth (...)	Aksënov	Nizhnii Novgorod
α°	Un Cas. Nouvelle russe. A Case. Russian Novella.	Akssénoff	Nijni
$\alpha 1$	De onschuldig veroordeelde The Innocent Convict	Aksenoff	Nynni

Table 2: comparison Tolstoi (1872), *Revue Internationale* (1884) and *Algemeen Handelsblad* (1884).

⁶ Olga Nikolaevna Smirnova (1834–1893) spent most of her life based in France. She first became acquainted with Tolstoi in 1857. Regarding his folk tales, she expressed a desire to introduce these works to a French audience, stating, “It seems interesting to introduce France to these short stories. (...) The language is folksy without becoming trivial” (SMIRNOFF 1885: 487; see also REGNIERS 2019). For more on Smirnova and the *Revue Internationale*, see Aloe 2000.

⁷ Newspaper records also document the publication of Tolstoi’s story in the *Revue Internationale*. See *Het Vaderland*, 5 March 1884, 2.

The evocative statement “God sees the truth, but waits”⁸ becomes the rather mundane title “A Case” in the French translation. To compensate for the Russian title’s loss, Smirnoff adds an equivalent phrase as an epigraph: “Le bon Dieu sait la vérité, mais il ne la révèle pas vite (proverbe)” – “The good Lord knows the truth, but he doesn’t reveal it quickly (proverb).”

The subtitle “Russian Novella” is omitted, and while “A Case” hints at an atmosphere of mystery, “The Innocent Convict” in the Dutch version removes much of the suspense central to Tolstoi’s story. The Dutch translator replaces Smirnoff’s epigraph with the proverb “He who does good to his enemy heaps coals of fire on his head,” an antiquated phrase suggesting kindness in response to wrongdoing. This expression originates from the Old Testament book of Proverbs⁹.

As expected, the main character’s name shows the influence of the source text, with “Aksenoff” appearing as a Dutchified version of the French transliteration “Akssénoff”. The change from “Nijni” to “Nynni” is an example of itacism – a merger in pronunciation of vowel sounds that remain distinct in spelling. The doubled “n” in “Nynni” is a case of dittography, where a letter or part of a word is written twice.

Given these similarities, Smirnoff’s translation is the “progenitor” of what I refer to as the alpha translations. Further analysis, based on three specific parameters, confirms that subsequent translations exhibit a high degree of similarity to $\alpha 1$ and can therefore be classified as part of the same lineage.

<i>TXT</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Date(s)</i>
$\alpha 1$	Algemeen Handelsblad	30-3-1884
$\alpha 2$	Soerabaijasch Handelsblad	14-5-1884
$\alpha 3$	Delftsche Courant	18-10-1885
$\alpha 4$	Schiedamsche Courant	14-11-1885
$\alpha 5$	Vlaardingsche Courant	18-11-1885

Table 3: α -translations

One Translation Becomes Five

Within two months of the first Dutch translation’s publication, a version appeared in the *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*, a newspaper based on Java in the former Dutch East Indies (present-day Indonesia). The following year, another translation was published in the *Delftsche Courant*, which explicitly cited the *Algemeen Handelsblad* as its source (referred to as “H.”). Further translations also appeared in the *Schiedamsche Courant* and *Vlaardingsche Courant*.

⁸ A popular saying in Russian, see Jahn 1975: 265-266.

⁹ “If your enemy is hungry, give him food to eat; if he is thirsty, give him water to drink. In doing this, you will heap burning coals on his head, and the Lord will reward you” (PROVERBS 25: 21-22).

In the table below, the translations from the *Algemeen Handelsblad* (α_1), *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad* (α_2), *Delftsche Courant* (α_3), *Schiedamsche Courant* (α_4), and *Vlaarding-sche Courant* (α_5) are listed chronologically, alongside the source text (ST) and the French intermediary translation (α°).

TXT	Author's name	Epigraph	Duration of Aksënov's prison-time	Vari- ant
ST	L. N. Tolstoi	No epigraph	Na katorge, Aksënov zhil 26 let Aksënov lived 26 years in forced labour	
α°	Léon Tolstoi	Epigraph	26 ans aux travaux forcés 26 years in forced labour	α
α_1	Leon Tolstoi	Epigraph	28 jaar dwangarbeider 28 years in forced labour	α
α_2	Leon Tolstoi	Epigraph	28 jaar dwangarbeider 28 years in forced labour	α
α_3	Legn Tolstoi	Epigraph	28 jaren lang dwangarbeider 28 years long in forced labour	α'
α_4	Legn Tolstoi	Epigraph	28 jaren lang dwangarbeider 28 years long in forced labour	α'
α_5	Legn Tolstoi	No epigraph	28 jaren lang dwangarbeider 28 years long in forced labour	α''

Table 4: comparison translations α -wave, 1884-1885.

Comparing the five translations in the alpha wave reveals that the author's name is incorrectly rendered as 'Legn Tolstoi' in α_3 , likely due to a reading or typesetting error. This same variant appears in α_4 and α_5 , making it a monogenetic error—an error that different editors are unlikely to have made independently, indicating a connection between these texts. Furthermore, the fact that none of the newspapers corrected the mistake suggests that Tolstoi's name was not yet widely recognised.

The epigraph added in α_1 is carried over in subsequent versions, except in α_5 , which makes this translation unique. Another notable difference is the change from "26 years" to "28 years." This may have been a misprint or a misreading. The figure "28 years" is repeated in α_2 through α_5 . In α_3 , α_4 , and α_5 , the plural form of the noun ("years") is used, and an adjective ("long") is added to emphasise the length of Aksënov's imprisonment, adding a distinct nuance to these versions.

From the texts, it becomes clear that α_1 and α_2 are direct copies of α , while α_3 and α_4 diverge slightly from these (forming a new subgroup, α'). α_5 shows further deviation from α_1 and can be considered a separate branch, α'' .

Transmission Chain

Having identified the variants, we can now reconstruct the transmission chain that led to them (see Table 14). The translation first appeared in the national newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* and was subsequently picked up by the *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*

in the Dutch East Indies. In 1885, the *Delftsche Courant* also referenced the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, initiating a second line of retransmission.

Delft, a provincial city between The Hague and Rotterdam, had a regional newspaper which then passed the translation on to the nearby towns of Schiedam and Vlaardingen, where it appeared in the *Schiedamsche Courant* and the *Vlaardingsche Courant*, respectively. Both the geographical and chronological spread suggest that within twenty months, the story travelled from the capital both to overseas territories and, separately, to provincial and local towns within the Netherlands.

Bèta

German-language Origins

The four Dutch translations from 1900 (see Table 6) are based on the German-language edition “Ein Verbannter” (“An Exile”), which was published as a book in 1889 and circulated in periodicals around the turn of the century. The text also appeared in the Swiss monthly *Am häuslichen Herd: schweizerische illustrierte Monatschrift* (1898–1899). We refer to this translation as β° .

The transliteration of names is consistent with the German edition, using “Akszjonow” and “Makar Ssemjonow” (compared to “Aksenoff” and “Macaire Séménovitch” in the α translations). Additionally, there are content variations that can be traced back to the German translation.

<i>TXT</i>	
Tolstoi 1872	Smolodu Aksënov mnogo pil, i kogda napivalsia – buianil From a young age Aksenov drank a lot, and when he got drunk he became rowdy
German β°	Als junger Mann trank er viel und suchte Händel, wenn er angetrunken war As a young man, he drank a lot and when he was drunk he made trouble
Dutch 1890	Als jongmensch dronk hij nog al een stevigen borrel en trachtte als hij dronken was zaken te doen As a young man, he used to drink heavily and tried to do business when drunk
$\alpha 1$ (1884)	In zijne jongelingsjaren had hij veel gedronken en werd dan zeer luidruchtig In his young age he had drunk a lot and then [when he was drunk] became very loud

Table 5: description

In the 1890 Dutch translation, the young Aksënov is portrayed as a drinker who tries to conduct business while intoxicated. Although he was indeed a merchant, this interpretation stems from a mistranslation based on the German version. The German equivalent of the Russian word “buianil” is “Händel suchen”, meaning “looking for trouble”. However, the Dutch translator misread “Händel” (meaning “trouble” or “quarrel” in German) as the visually similar “Handel” (meaning “trade” or “business”

in Dutch). While “Handel” has the same meaning in both German and Dutch, the Dutch translator opted for the synonym “business”. This error, in which the translator failed to recognise an idiomatic expression, is a classic example of a “false friend”, where a literal translation into Dutch was mistakenly chosen.

Revised Version of the Story

Wilhelm Goldschmidt¹⁰ was the translator of β° , a translation based on the 1886 redaction of the source text. It was not uncommon for Tolstoi to revise his works, and in this case, the changes reflect the author’s evolving beliefs. From 1881 onwards, Tolstoi adopted a philosophy combining pacifism and Christian anarchism (see MEDZHIBOVSKAYA 2008). Tolstoi’s secretary and chief disciple, Vladimir Chertkov, advocated for adaptations to “Bog pravdu vidit” to align the text with Tolstoi’s new philosophical outlook. These revisions aimed to ensure that the version published by Tolstoi’s Posrednik press in a low-cost, popular edition reflected his changed views (JAHN 2004: 85-86).

The 1886 version differs from the 1872 version in twenty-two instances. Most of these are minor syntactical revisions¹¹, but a more significant change is that, in the later version, Aksënov reads the Gospel (“Evangelië”) in prison rather than saints’ lives (“Chet’i-Minei”). The key change involves Aksënov’s interrogation by the prison governor about the tunnel that has been discovered. In the 1872 version, Aksënov responds, “I didn’t see it and I don’t know.” Chertkov found this reply disturbing, commenting that “Aksënov is resorting to a deliberate lie to protect his comrade. Moreover, this very act seems like the most significant moment of his life. But it would remain so even if he were freed from deceit” (TOLSTOI 1935: 141). Chertkov suggested that Aksënov should deny digging the tunnel and remain silent about whether he knew who did. Tolstoi agreed in a letter, adding, “(...) do it yourself. If I were to do it, I would rewrite everything, and I need the time for other things” (TOLSTOI 1935: 139). With Tolstoi’s approval, Chertkov revised the sentence to read, “Ne mogu skazat’, vashe blagorodie. Mne Bog ne velit skazat’. Ia ne skazhu. Chto khotite so mnoi delaite - vlast’ vasha” (TOLSTOI 1957: 334), which translates as, “I cannot say it, your honour. God does not allow me to say it, and I will not say it. Do with me what you wish; the power is yours.”

New Translations

In 1900, four Dutch newspapers published Tolstoi’s story. Like “Ein Verbannter” (β°), each version carries the title “The Exile” (“De banneling” in Dutch).

¹⁰ Wilhelm Goldschmidt (1841–after 1922) began publishing *Novi russkii bazar*, a Russian edition of the Berlin fashion magazine *Der Bazar*, in 1865. Later, he also published the German-language *St Petersburg Herold* and ran a bookshop in St Petersburg. After returning to Germany in 1888, he translated works by Dostoevskii, Tolstoi, and others (Wer ist’s 1922: 502).

¹¹ For a complete overview, see Tolstoi 1957: 331–334.

<i>TXT</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Date(s)</i>
β 1	De Avondpost	10-9-1900
β 2	Vlissingsche courant	13-9-1900; 14-9-1900; 15-9-1900
β 3	Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad	9-10-1900
β 4	De Sumatra Post	28-11-1900; 29-11-1900

Table 6: β-translations

To highlight the differences from both Tolstoi’s 1872 original and the α translations, some of the changes are listed below:

<i>TXT</i>	<i>Features Aksënov</i>	<i>Time in prison</i>	<i>Book he reads</i>
Tolstoi 1872	rusyi, kudriavyi blond, curly hair	26 let 26 years	Chet’i-Minei The Life of Saints
α°	blond, frisé blond, curly hair	26 ans 26 years	vie des saints The Life of Saints
α1	blonden krullenkop blond, curly hair	28 jaar 28 years	Leven der heiligen The Life of Saints
β°	braungelockte brown hair	26 Jahre 26 years	Evangelium gospel
β1-4	bruingelokte brown hair	27 jaar 27 years	bijbel bible

Table 7: comparison β-translations to α and Tolstoi 1872

For reasons unknown, the main character’s hair colour changes. The word “bruingelokte” (used in versions β1-4) is a Germanism, derived from the German “braungelockte”. Additionally, the Dutch translations vary in their depiction of the character’s length of imprisonment, suggesting once more that errors or inconsistencies easily slip in when translating numerical details.

A more notable change, however, is the adaptation of the saints’ lives to align with the Gospels. According to Jahn (2004: 85-86), this was an intentional choice in the 1886 redaction, intended to reflect Aksënov’s transformation into a Christ-like figure during his time in prison, as saints are often portrayed as imitating Christ. The Dutch translations use the broader term “Bible” instead of specifically referencing the Gospels. In the Dutch context the Bible is commonly viewed as an inseparable whole. This choice thus reflects a strategy to domesticate the text.

Variance

A close examination of the β-translations reveals 22 variations, which can be grouped into five categories: (1) accents, punctuation, and capitalisation, (2) spelling, (3) articles, (4) possessive pronouns, and (5) semantic variation. Examples of each category are provided below.

(1) Stress, Punctuation, Capitalisation

<i>TXT</i>	<i>Example 1</i>	<i>Example 2</i>	<i>Example 3</i>
β1-2	z ^ó o ontsteld is hij he is so upset	(...) liet men haar bij hem. (...) they let her come to him.	dat H ij mij genadig zij that He may have mercy on me
β3	zoo ontsteld is hij he is so upset	(...) liet men haar bij hem. (...) they let her come to him.	dat hij mij genadig zij that he may have mercy on me
β4	zoo ontsteld is hij he is so upset	(...) liet men haar bij hem! (...) they let her come to him!	dat hij mij genadig zij that he may have mercy on me

Table 8: comparison β1-4

The difference between "z^óo" and "zoo" (example 1) is simply a matter of emphasis, as is the use of an exclamation mark (example 2). Capitalising pronouns referring to a supreme being (example 3) introduces a subtle shift in meaning: in versions δ1 and δ2, "He" refers specifically to God, while in δ3 and δ4, "he" refers to an unnamed person.

(2) spelling

<i>TXT</i>	<i>Example 4</i>	<i>Example 5</i>
β1-2	Heb je 't niet gedaan Didn't you do it	zenden aan den czaar send the czar
β3-4	Heb je het niet gedaan Didn't you do it	zenden aan den czar send the czar

Table 9: comparison β1-4

These differences are, for the most part, barely perceptible. The elliptical and colloquial form "'t" is a shortened version of the definite article "het" ("it") "czar" may represent a case of haplography for "czaar".

(3) alternative renderings of articles

<i>TXT</i>	<i>Example 6</i>	<i>Example 7</i>
β1-2	de jonge koopman	hij klaagde zichzelf als den moordenaar aan
β3-4	een jong koopman	hij klaagde zichzelf als moordenaar aan

Table 10: comparison β1-4

In Example 6, the choice between the definite and indefinite article ('de' versus 'een'; 'the' versus 'a') reflects a subtle difference in whether the person is already known to the narrator. In Russian, articles do not exist, so this distinction must be added in translation. In Example 7, yet another interpretation arises depending on whether Makar sees himself specifically as the merchant's murderer or more generally as a murderer.

(4) Possessive Pronouns

<i>TXT</i>	<i>Example 8</i>	<i>Example 9</i>	<i>Example 10</i>
β1-2	Op zijne beurt In turn	Mijne eigen zaken My own business	Toen zij haren man zag When she saw her husband

β3-4	Op zijn beurt In turn	Mijn eigen zaken My own business	Toen zij haar man zag When she saw her husband
------	--------------------------	-------------------------------------	---

Table 11: comparison β1-4

The inflection of possessive pronouns followed the standard spelling conventions of the time (WESTERMANN 1931: 38-39). However, β3-4 consistently diverges from this norm, adapting the text throughout. Whether this choice was progressive is difficult to determine, though it aligns with the simplification of spelling formally introduced in 1934.

(5) Semantic differences

TXT	Example 11	Ex. 12	Ex. 13	Ex. 14
β1-2	Een met bloed bevekt mes A bloodstained knife	8000 roebels 8000 rubles	En bad veel And prayed a lot	Ben ik hierheen gekomen, broeder I came here, brother
β3	Een mes , een met bloed bevekt mes A knife, a bloodstained knife	8000 roebels 8000 rubles	En had veel verdriet And was very sad	Ben ik hierheen gezonden broeder I was sent here brother
β4	Een mes , een met bloed bevekt mes A knife, a bloodstained knife	5000 roebels 5000 rubles	En had veel verdriet And was very sad	Ben ik hier heen gezonden broeder I was sent here brother

Table 12: comparison β1-4

The phrase “a knife, a bloodstained knife” is a rhetorical repetition and might also be due to dittography. The reduction of 8,000 roubles to 5,000 roubles offers further evidence of the careless handling of figures in the translation. The substitution of “had a lot of grief” with “prayed a lot” represents a meaningful shift. Together with the use of ‘he’ instead of ‘Him’ for the supreme being, this suggests that β3 & β4, both colonial newspapers, are opting for a less explicitly religious interpretation of the text.

TXT	Newspaper	Variant
β1	<i>De Avondpost</i>	β
β2	<i>Vlissingsche courant</i>	β
β3	<i>Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad</i>	β'
β4	<i>De Sumatra Post</i>	β''

Table 13: variants of β-translations

Transmission Chain

The tables above show a significant number of differences between β1–2 and β3–4, suggesting that while both sets descend from a similar translation (β°), they have developed distinct characteristics. For this reason, we refer to them as β (β1 and β2) and β' (β3 and β4).

Examining the differences within the β translations, β_2 differs from β_1 in only one instance (a punctuation variation) and can be considered an almost exact copy. In the β' group, β_4 differs from β_3 in four instances, with variations that are independent of the earlier β translations. This indicates that either β_1 or β_2 may have served as the source for β_3 .

Given that De Avondpost (β_1) was a national newspaper, while the Vlissingsche Courant was a local paper, it is most likely that β_1 was the source for β_3 . Since β_4 shares most of its variations with β_3 but also has a few unique ones, only β_3 could have served as the source for β_4 .

Family Tree (“Stemma”) of Translations

When we combine all the information about the two waves of translation into a single stemma, we obtain a family tree that displays variations across different levels: the source texts (Tolstoi 1872 and 1886), intermediate translations (α° being a French translation and β° being a German one), and the Dutch translations (α_1-5 and β_1-4). The arrows indicate direct kinship relationships, while the curved lines suggest a possible, though not definitive, lineage.

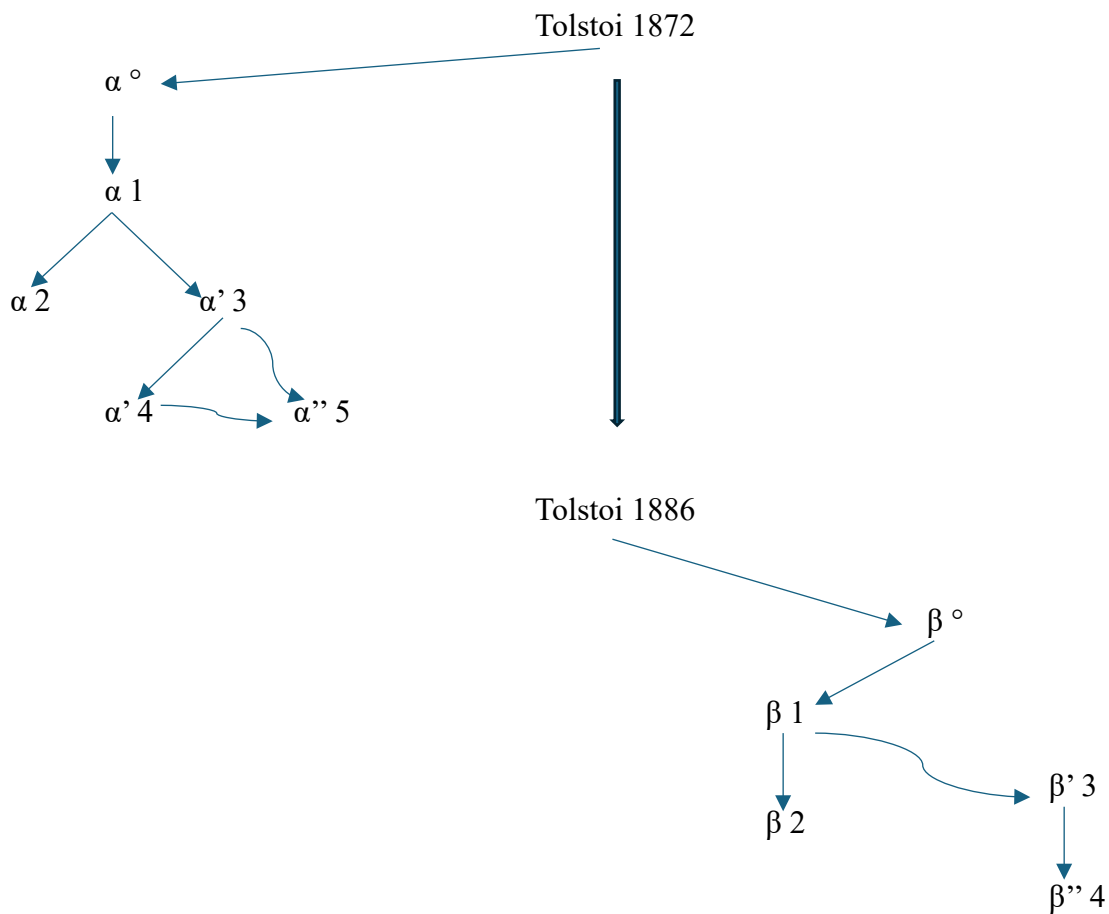


Table 14: Stemma of the retranslations of “Bog pravdu vidit”

Conclusions

Given the limitations of this case study—centred on a single story within a specific target culture and restricted to a narrow temporal and spatial context—we conclude with some preliminary observations. I begin by summarising key insights into the phenomenon of literary retranslations in print media. This is followed by a discussion of the distinctive characteristics of translations within this medium and an analysis of the motives behind retranslation. I then explore the potential contributions of Stemmatology to this field of study and conclude by outlining possible directions for future research.

Retranslation in Periodicals

In recent years, research on retranslation has gradually expanded to include a broader range of literary texts and genres (PEETERS & VAN POUCKE 2023: 15, 19). However, print media outside the traditional book format have largely been overlooked in this context. The numerous retranslations of Russian stories and novels found in Dutch newspapers suggest that periodicals deserve closer attention. These examples may reasonably be considered representative of broader patterns observable in periodicals.

It is also important to consider the source text, as much of 19th-century fiction originally appeared in periodicals. This is true for Tolstoi's story as well. Newspapers, in particular, frequently sourced translations from other media outlets, indicating a dynamic network through which translations circulated widely.

A distinctive feature of newspaper translations is the anonymity of their translators. Unlike most other periodicals, newspapers were typically collaborative efforts, which helps explain why individual authors and translators are rarely credited.

Another notable characteristic of newspaper translations is the precision with which they can be situated in time and place. The location of publication is usually known, and publication dates can often be pinpointed to the exact day. This enables researchers to establish a fixed chronology. Furthermore, it is possible to estimate the readership of specific newspapers, offering insights into the market that are rarely achievable for book-form publications.

Time and Space

When examining specific features of newspaper retranslations, the factors of time and space are particularly significant. For instance, the speed at which translations of “Bog pravdu vidit” spread is striking. While the transition from the French intermediary translation to the first Dutch translation (α^0 to α_1) took approximately five weeks, the spread between Dutch newspapers was considerably faster, as evidenced by the mere three days between β_1 and β_2 . In contrast, the dissemination to overseas territories took significantly longer due to the physical distance the newspapers had to cover.

Space is another important parameter, though it cannot be considered independently of time. Retranslations appear to spread in a wave-like motion, with a clear orientation from the centre to the periphery. The periphery refers not only to geographically remote colonial areas in Asia but also to regional and local newspapers. Nationally circulated newspapers often had their content adopted by smaller regional publications. The α -wave

suggests a chain of “borrowing,” where regional newspapers derived material from national outlets, which, in turn, became the source for local newspapers. Although retranslations followed one another relatively quickly, each newspaper appears to have catered to its own audience and distribution network.

Retranslation and its Motives

The nine Dutch translations under discussion appear to stem from two distinct lineages: a French translation (α) and a German translation (β). As defined by Aleveto do Amaral (2019), intermediate translations such as these are also recognised as part of the multilingual framework of retranslation. In this corpus, $\alpha 1$ and $\beta 1$ are the only interlingual translations into Dutch, as they are direct translations of the French and German versions, respectively. Subsequent translations in these chains – such as $\alpha 3$, which is a translation of $\alpha 1$ and later becomes the source text for $\alpha 4$ – represent a continuous sequence of translations.

How, then, should we classify these retranslations $\alpha 1$ –5 and $\beta 2$ –4? According to the typology suggested by Peeters (2024: 13), each of the Dutch retranslations here is at least a revision, if not a near-copy, as less than 20% of the text has been altered. However, the degree of change does not necessarily equate to the significance of those changes. This taxonomy does not account for the potential impact of minor alterations, particularly when these are perpetuated in later versions. A more pragmatic classification might differentiate between changes to punctuation and spelling, on the one hand, and significant variations in content, on the other. Yet this distinction, too, can be subjective. For instance, the choice not to capitalise references to the divine might seem a minor typographic decision but carries considerable significance in a 19th-century context.

The eagerness of newspapers to print and adapt pre-existing Dutch translations of fiction may have been driven by various motives. One reason might have been the desire to introduce their readership to a compelling story. Titles like “Onschuldig Veroordeeld” (“Innocently Convicted”) suggest an appeal in line with the news-oriented narratives of the time. However, such reception-based arguments remain speculative. More tangible evidence supports the view that colonial, regional, and local papers often lacked the resources to commission their own translations. Consequently, they may have relied on the selections of more authoritative newspapers, finding it more cost-effective to adopt and revise an existing translation. Moreover, by sourcing material from a newspaper whose style they sought to emulate, they were able to enhance their cultural capital. These practices align with what Pym (1998: 79) describes as passive retranslation, where the frequency of retranslation reflects an ongoing demand for the text.

It is also plausible that editors revised existing translations before publication to update or adapt the text for their readers (Gambier 1994: 416; Deane-Cox 2014: 12), or to conform with the newspaper’s in-house style guide—what Ladmiral (2011: 43) refers to as “banal editorial reasons.” Each new translation, therefore, effectively rewrites the Dutch text. This iterative process of copying and editing introduces discrepancies, which are subsequently adopted in later versions. As a result, each retranslation moves further

away from the original source text. In this sense, the text is never static but continually evolves, ensuring its ongoing vitality.

The Added Value of Stemmatology

The analysis of the target texts reveals that the age of printed texts does not preclude variation. Indeed, none of the retranslations discussed here is an exact copy of any other. The large number of published translations of “Bog pravdu vidit” in Dutch newspapers prompted the use of stemmatology – a method designed to identify patterns in variation. By applying the genealogical method, the translations were systematically arranged. This approach highlighted the chronology and shared variations among the texts, making their relationships visible and providing insights into the practice of (re)translating in newspapers. Stemmatology, with its focus on variation, offers a means to recognise patterns and explain differences, particularly when they stem from reading and copying errors.

Whether Stemmatology is broadly applicable to (re)translation studies is a more complex question. However, there are specific situations where it can add significant value, concerning both the source and target texts. In cases involving an unstable source text – Tolstói’s story being a prime example – Stemmatology can help identify the precise source text (or combination of sources) used in translations. Similarly, for target texts that may have been produced via intermediate translations, Stemmatology proves effective in tracing their origins and the texts that influenced them. As the case study demonstrates, Stemmatology’s focus on identifying common variations is critical for detecting intertextual influences, regardless of their form. This makes Stemmatology particularly well-suited for reception-historical research into the antecedents of a specific translation. An additional advantage is the method’s ability to incorporate (even provisionally unknown) texts into the genealogy, thanks to its reliance on formal logic.

Furthermore, Stemmatology offers valuable tools for translation studies focused on variation. While retranslations are an obvious application, the method’s scope extends beyond this to include revised translations, reissues, and other forms of textual variation. For mapping variation in retranslations, Stemmatology is particularly effective because it links variations to the textual lineage, offering a clearer picture of the relationships between texts. One of its key advantages is the ability to compare an entire corpus of texts simultaneously. However, for researchers relying on manual close reading – as was the case in this study – it is essential to carefully select predictors of variation. This highlights the importance of meticulously recording even seemingly minor textual differences, as these can yield significant insights into the texts’ relationships and histories.

Further Research

The complex landscape of translated fiction in periodicals, with its numerous retranslations, becomes more comprehensible when visualised through a stemma. A stemma not only aids in mapping the relationships between translations but also helps identify recurring patterns, such as centre-periphery sequences or the specific attitudes towards translation adopted by national, overseas, and regional periodicals.

Future research should investigate whether the wave-like pattern of translation diffusion observed here is a dominant phenomenon. It would also be valuable to determine whether this pattern consistently forms a "waterfall" system, as seen in the case study, or if alternative dynamics exist – for instance, the presence of “super diffusers,” newspapers that trigger multiple retranslations across various publications in a single instance. A more historicised approach could provide greater context for the adoption and adaptation of translations, shedding light on how the practice evolved over time.

Another important avenue of research is the extent to which the medium of the newspaper shaped the way fiction was translated. Additionally, the role of technological advancements in printing and publishing in facilitating the rapid spread of translations warrants further exploration. While answering these qualitative questions poses significant challenges, empirical research could offer valuable insights and contribute to a deeper understanding of these phenomena.

References

Primary sources

- (1884): Revue Internationale, *Het Vaderland*, 5-3-1884: 2.
- (1884): Een nieuw tijdschrift, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 18-1-1884: 2.
- (1884): Kunst en letteren, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2-4-1884: 6.
- SMIRNOFF, Olga (1885): Etudes et souvenirs, *La Nouvelle Revue* 7/37: 5-28; 467-489.
- TOLSTOI, Léon (transl. O. SMIRNOFF) (1884a): Un cas, *Revue Internationale* 1/5: 705-714.
- TOLSTOI, Leon (1884): De onschuldig veroordeelde, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 30-3-1884: 7.
- TOLSTOI, Leon (1884): De Onschuldig Veroordeelde, *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*, 14-5-1884: 5.
- TOLSTOI, Legn (1885): De onschuldig veroordeelde, *Delftsche Courant*, 18-10-1885: 5-7.
- TOLSTOI, Legn (1885): De onschuldig veroordeelde, *Schiedamsche Courant*, 14-11-1885: 1; 16-11-1885: 1.
- TOLSTOI, Legn (1885): De onschuldig veroordeelde, *Vlaardingsche Courant*, 18-11-1885: 1; 21-11-1885: 1.
- TOLSTOI, Leo N. (1889): *Volkserzählungen des Grafen Leo N. Tolstoi*. Leipzig: Reclam.
- TOLSTOI, Leo (1898-1899): Ein Verbannter, *Am häuslichen Herd: schweizerische illustrierte Monatsschrift*: 55-64.
- TOLSTOY, Leo (1900): Een banneling, *De Avondpost*, 10-9-1900: 14.
- TOLSTOY, Leo (1900): Een banneling, *Vlissingsche Courant*, 13-9-1900: 1; 14-9-1900: 1; 15-9-1900: 1.
- TOLSTOY, Leo (1900): Een banneling, *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 9-10-1900: 13.

- TOLSTOY, Leo (1900): Een banneling, *De Sumatra Post*, 28-11-1900: 1, 29-11-1900: 1.
- TOLSTOY, Leo (1904): *What is Art?* (trans. Aylmer Maude). New York: Funk & Wagnalls.
- TOLSTOI, Lev N. (1935): *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii. Tom 85*. Moskva: Chudožestvennaja literatura.
- TOLSTOI, Lev N. (1937): *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii. Tom 47*. Moskva: Khudozhestvennaia literatura.
- TOLSTOI, Lev N. (1951): *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii. Tom 30*. Moskva: Khudozhestvennaia literatura.
- TOLSTOI, Lev N. (1957): *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii. Tom 21*. Moskva: Khudozhestvennaia literatura.
- (1922): *Wer ist's? Zeitgenossenlexikon VIII. Ausgabe*. Leipzig: A. H. Ludwig Degener.
- WESTERMANN, C. J. J. (1931): *De spelling van De Vries en Te Winkel : wijziging op enkele punten, voorstel tot een regeling in zake taalgeslacht en woordverbuiging*. Groningen: Wolters.

Secondary sources

- ALEVATO DO AMARAL, Vitor (2019): Broadening the Notion of Retranslation. *Cadernos de Tradução* 39/1: 239-259. <https://doi.org/10.5007/2175-7968.2019v39n1p239>.
- ALOE, Stefano (2000): *Angelo De Gubernatis e il mondo slavo. Gli esordi della slavistica italiana nei libri, nelle riviste e nell'epistolario di un pioniere (1865-1913)*. Pisa: Tipografia Editrice Pisana.
- BATCHELOR, Kathryn (2018): *Translation and Paratexts*. London: Routledge.
- BOULOGNE, Pieter (2008): "The Early Dutch Construction of F. M. Dostoevskij: From Translational Data to Polysystemic Working Hypotheses". In: BOULOGNE, P. (ed.): *Translation and Its Others. Selected Papers of the CETRA Research Seminar in Translation Studies 2007*.
- CHIESA, Paolo (2020): "Principles and practice". In: ROELLI, Ph. (ed.): *Handbook of Stemmatology. History, Methodology, Digital Approaches*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 74-87.
- CONTI, Aidan (2020): "A typology of variation and error". In: ROELLI, Ph. (ed.): *Handbook of Stemmatology. History, Methodology, Digital Approaches*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 242-253.
- DEANE-COX, Sharon (2014): *Retranslation. Translation, Literature and Reinterpretation*. London: Bloomsbury.
- FÓLICA, Laura & ROIG-SANZ, Diana & CARISTIA, Stefania (2020): *Literary Translation in Periodicals*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- GUZMÁN, María Constanza (2019): "Introduction", *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 14/2: 169-173.

- JAHN, Gary R. (1975): "A Structural Analysis of Leo Tolstoy's 'God Sees the Truth, but Waits'", *Studies in Short Fiction* 3, 261-269.
- JAHN, Gary R. (2004): "Was the Master Well Served?: Further Comment on 'God Sees the Truth, but Waits'", *Tolstoy Studies Journal* XVI: 81-86.
- LADMIRAL, Jean-René (2011): "Nous autres traductions, nous savons maintenant que nous sommes mortelles...". In: MONTI, E. & SCHNYDER, P. (eds.) : *Autour de la retraduction. Perspectives littéraires européennes*. Paris: Orizons, 29-48.
- MAAS, Paul (1958): *Textual Criticism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MACÉ, Caroline (2020): "Indirect tradition". In: ROELLI, Ph. (ed.): *Handbook of Stemmatology. History, Methodology, Digital Approaches*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 148-159.
- KOSTER, Cees (2021): "1800-1900, democratisering en emancipatie". In: SCHOENAERS, D. & HERMANS, T. & LEMANS, I. e.a.: *Vertalen in de Nederlanden. Een cultuurgeschiedenis*. Amsterdam: Boom, 336-433.
- MCLEAN, Hugh (2004): "Could the Master Err? A Note on 'God Sees the Truth but Waits'", *Tolstoy Studies Journal* XVI: 77-81.
- MEDZHIBOVSKAYA, Inessa (2008): *Tolstoy and the Religious Culture of His Time: A Biography of a Long Conversation, 1845-1887*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- MIGGOZI, Jacques (2007): "La révolution Française du roman-feuilleton (1836-1848)". In: CACHIN, M.-F. & COOPER-RICHET, D. & MOLLIER, J.-Y. e.a. (eds.): *Au bonheur du feuilleton*. Paris: Creaphis, 81-94.
- MOTYLËVA, Tamara L. (1961): *Khudozhestvennyye proizvedenie L.N. Tolstogo v perevodakh na inostrannyye iazyki*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo vsesoiuznoi knizhnoi palaty.
- O'CONNOR, Anne (2019): "Translation in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals: Materialities and Modalities of Communication", *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 14/2: 243-64. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tis.00040.oco>.
- PEETERS, Kris & VAN POUCKE, Piet (2023): "Retranslation, Thirty-Odd Years after Berman", *Parallèles* 35/1: 3-27. <https://doi.org/10.17462/para.2023.01.01>.
- PEETERS, Kris (2024): *Retranslation as re-accentuation. Towards a new paradigm for the poetics of retranslation*. (forthcoming)
- PYM, Anthony (1998): *A Method for Translation History*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- REGNIERS, Gaëtan (2019): "'God ziet de waarheid'. Tolstojs Nederlandstalige debuut", *Tijdschrift voor Slavische literatuur* 82: 15-19.
- REGNIERS, Gaëtan (2021): "War, Peace and Franco-Russian Relations: French Translations of Tolstoy's 'Sebastopol Sketches' in Periodicals (1855-1885)", *World Literature Studies* 13/3: 56-67. <https://doi.org/10.31577/WLS.2021.13.3.6>.

SMITH, David A. & CORDELL, Ryan & MADDOCK DILLON, Elizabeth (2013): “Infectious Texts: Modeling Text Reuse in Nineteenth-Century Newspapers”, *2013 IEEE International Conference on Big Data*, 86-94.

TERMORSHUIZEN, Gerard (2001): *Journalisten en heethoofden. Een geschiedenis van de Indisch-Nederlandse dagbladpers 1744-1905*. Amsterdam/Leiden: Nijgh & van Ditmar/KITLV.

THIESSE, Anne-Marie (1984): *Le Roman du quotidien. Lecteurs et lectures populaires à la Belle Epoque*. Paris: Le Chemin vert.

TOURY, Gideon (1980) *In Search of a Theory of Translation*. Tel Aviv: Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics.

TROVATO, Paolo (2014): *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Lachmann’s method. A Non-Standard Handbook of Genealogical Textual Criticism in the Age of Post-Structuralism, Cladistics, and Copy-Text*. Padova: Libreria Universitaria.

TUSSING ORWIN, Donna (2018): “What Is the Good According to Tolstoy, and How Good Can I Be?” In: CICOVACKI, P. & NADA GREK, H. (eds.): *Tolstoy and Spirituality*. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 37-52. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781618118837-006>.

VAN DOORSLAER, Luc (2011): “The Relative Neglect of Newspapers in Translation Studies Research”. In: CHALVIN, A. & LANGE, A. & MONTICELLI, D. (eds.): *Between Cultures and Texts: Itineraries in Translation History*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 45-54.

VAN POUCKE, Piet (2017): “Aging as a Motive for Literary Retranslation : A Survey of Case Studies on Retranslation”, *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 12 (1), 91-115. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tis.12.1.05van>.

WEST, Martin L. (1973): *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts*. Stuttgart: Teubner.