Joining the dots in translation history: the first Brecht poetry anthologies in Greece

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Abstract

The important questions any project on translation history may ask can be distilled into three basic queries: Where can change be observed? Which intermediaries are involved? What materials are relevant? This article focuses on an important transitional moment, the move from preventive censorship to ostensible freedom of expression in Greece in 1970, and on the publication of two anthologies of Brecht's poetry, the least studied genre of his oeuvre. A critical, mixed approach of combining mediated sources (interviews, memoirs) with less mediated sources (archives, texts) in a context of low documentation culture challenges established views: quantities in the flows of cultural products are impervious to flat interpretations and translations can indeed be more political than original writing. The paratextual framing, linguistic presentation, selection and ordering of a corpus of 86 poems shows precisely that. The two anthologies under consideration constituted a whole that was greater than its parts, and were prepared by intermediaries with an emerging habitus of cultural ambassadorship.

Key words: anthology, censorship, Greek, ideology, poetry, translation history

1. History: a Rosetta Stone question

An increase of translation activity may often be associated with significant shifts in a given cultural space. According to a translation history project that started in the 1990s and whose aim is to chart translation flows in Greece (19th century onwards), one of the major 20th century milestones is the period following 1968, when evidence of increased translation activity may be observed (Kasines 1998). The project is still in process and has not provided answers as to what this growth meant or whether/how it was affected by censorship. After all, Greece was under military rule from 1967-1974. Before I attempt to provide any answers, I need to address some 'epistemological affinities' and basic questions that translation history researchers often consider.

Both historiography and translation history try to answer questions about which ideas, topics, events and social formations are relevant. They also address the issue of which methodologies can be used in the quest for trajectories of visible and invisible actors of history and/or of objects that may reveal linkages.

In history, there has been a gradual shift of focus on what lies *between* national histories. Historians tended to focus on a seemingly objective, scientific documentation of facts that allowed them to study specific grand narratives and actors of history within national frameworks (Tyrell 2009:494). The study of social movements in the 1970s (in sociology/anthropology) and especially postcolonial studies in the 1990s gave history a 'transnational' momentum. Postcolonial studies in particular problematized the concepts of locality, gender and race and globalisation shifted attention to the transfer of information, capital and individuals (Tyrell 2009: 494; Saunier 2013: 29, 30). Historians started to conduct research without any *a priori*

assumptions. Less studied, 'small' countries/areas, cultures of travel and migration and transfers across and between territorial boundaries quickly became the norm (Saunier 2013: 118-124). Printed, visual and audio materials and transfer maps obtained through archival searches, interviews, network analysis or the collation of secondary sources helped reconstruct a more pluralistic picture of historical context, one where the local can be found in the global and vice versa. Also, (self-)reflexivity took centre stage; a historian reconstructing the context of, say, specific individuals, areas or social movements engages with a not-that-objective joining of the dots.

In translation, contextualising the classics of various periods and prescribing what translation is or what it should do gave way to more descriptive explorations from the 1980s onwards. Polysystem/descriptive approaches in translation dismissed *a priori* assumptions and focused on target culture circumstances. Close readings of translations or statements about translation helped uncover norms and previously unappreciated genres became legitimate objects of study. Not unlike history, translation received a comparative boost from a cultural and postcolonial turn in the 1990s. Such approaches focused on the role of power and the interconnections of literary translation with other discourses (including historiography, education, theology, philosophy etc.). Contextualising translations now meant paying attention to agency from a concrete institutional perspective and bearing in mind hybridity models that challenge limited conceptualisations of identity, such as that of the/a 'nation'. At the same time, methods from history were imported in translation research. Pym convincingly argued that translators, training institutions, institutions of power, commercially connected anthologies/imitations/adaptations, periodicals and paratexts are all sources of invaluable information. By establishing frequencies, consulting lists and drawing maps of transfer, translation can be seen as it truly is, a response to change of space (1998: 150).

The debate on new directions in translation history has only intensified in the last decade. If we were to distil the single main issue that emerged, this may concern the way of reconciling the *general* with the *specific* and, in my opinion, three basic questions derive from this:

- Where can change/newness be observed?

Translation may be associated with the forging of cultural, ideological, political, scientific and technological traditions (O'Sullivan 2012: 131). This is usually a two-way process, because translated texts are facilitated by certain events, individuals, or institutions of power and vice versa. A historian of translation may start with a bias towards the part, translated texts, or the whole, wider systems in society, a preference with interesting methodological implications. For instance, Rundle (2011) aimed for a more nuanced understanding of Italian fascism by focusing less on the impact or function of individual translated texts and more on the belated reaction of the regime towards the symbolic meaning of translation as cultural contagion and failure. Similarly, Footitt (2012) explored the ultimate geographic change, conflict, through the lens of concrete, everyday operation processes, networks and associations of war where language and translation played a key role. In general, mundane, non-canonical, previously invisible aspects of (professional) identity, creative expression and personal realisation are gaining ground.

- Which intermediaries should be the focus?

Translation is primarily an act of mediation, so many translation studies scholars have advocated a shift of emphasis from texts to actual behaviour and networks. Meylaerts (2006), for instance, shows that the translations, correspondence with editors/fellow translators and personal archives of Belgium's most influential interbellum translator indicate a gradual shift to a total rejection of Francophone hegemony and thus explain why he stopped translating from Flemish into French at the peak of his career. Pym, on the other hand, conducted network analysis involving the *petites revue* periodicals in France and Germany and showed that literary relations between France and Germany at the end of the 19th century ranged from exchange to opposition; his analysis also showed that such relations unravelled over a period of 20 years and that in moments of tension they were sustained by intermediaries/translators from a wider intercultural space (Belgium, Holland, Alsace and Switzerland) (2007: 756). In the two studies above, periodization, and the orientation of cultural flows requires a critical, *post hoc* assessment of intra/inter-cultural discourses and networks.

- Which inter-related (translation) materials are relevant?

The idea that each context is unique is an inescapable cliché. Tracking flows may require different types of sources and formats, possibly going away from key authors and canonical genres. For example, Gómez Castro (2013) focuses on anthologies in the context of the later Franco Period (1970s). She suggests that anthologies of translated science-fiction and horror stories offered a cheap entertainment outlet for audiences and a creative springboard to translators who also wrote original works themselves. Also, official archives show that although these anthologies were not perceived to be a threat to the regime, cuts of swearing and sexual scenes were made (2013: 223, 225). Opening up the methodological scope, Munday (2014) has discussed the inter-relation and usefulness of mediated sources of historical information (autobiographies, memoirs and interviews) and of the less mediated kind (archives, manuscripts and letters).

A researcher aiming at 'joining the dots' may privilege a specific combination of genres, formats and sources, and may focus on certain intermediaries who happen to participate in distinct flows of cultural capital. This may be done in the knowledge that there are advantages and limitations in reconstructing the whole from the parts. I will address these questions with respect to the translation increase reported indirectly in Kasines (1998) and then focus even more on two poetry anthologies, works that help showcase the role of translation in moments of socio-cultural change.

2. Flows in the early 1970s: intermediaries recovering the voice of free speech

The Greek dictatorship (1967-1974) was the last chapter is a prolonged power struggle after WWII and the Greek Civil War, during which the left-wing citizens and politicians were blithely disenfranchised, with the exception of a brief window in the mid-1960s. A group of military men responded to this respite from right-wing grip on power with what Bourdieu would call a *defensive discourse of orthodoxy*, or the right-thinking, right-wing thought that was supposed to restore silent assent to the status quo (1995: 73). On the surface, the regime had ideological leanings, such as anti-communism, militarism, mild forms of racialism, ultranationalism and a universal pretension of protecting the common good, but in reality they adopted a backward-

looking vision of maintaining the economic status quo and post-WWII asymmetries between social classes (Gregoriades 1975: 347-348). A complex alliance of forces, the Greek Junta continued to evolve, mixing the terror/threat of violence with promises and token steps towards democratisation, thus intentionally confusing critics within Greece and abroad (ibid.).

Culturally, the Junta implemented its conservatism by reinstalling the *katharevousa*, or purist variety of Greek as the language of administration and education, alienating the majority of Greeks who embraced the living language, or *dhemotike*. Other interventions included subsidising (and thus controlling) radio, TV channels and theatre companies as well as establishing the National Awards for literature, theatre, and the fine arts (Anonymous 1974: 41). Cultural products were expected to align with the simplified mythology and aesthetic standards of the regime: mawkish sentimentalism, bravery, family values, Greek ancestry and unity.

Controlling the flows of cultural capital also translated into censorship. Unfortunately, documents of the period that could have shown how censorship operated have been destroyed.[1] The Hellenic Parliament Library holds some indirect evidence of the workings of censorship mechanisms. For example, issues of the *Official Gazette* (e.g. 19.06.1967, 30.04.1968, 25.07.1969) show that censorship committees initially consisted of lawyers, philologists, authors, employees of the Ministry of Press, composers, policemen and military men (the latter gradually substituted all other categories). Also, films and plays were deemed to be more dangerous, thus receiving more attention; they had to be compatible with the "religious beliefs, the customs of the Greek people, their cultural and spiritual standards [and] public order and national security standards" (*Official Gazette* 04.05.1968, my translation). Books were also subjected to pre-publication censorship, which was officially lifted on 15 November 1969. However, the regime proceeded to blur the boundaries between censorship and self-censorship by reserving the right to circulate various indexes of banned books, to conduct interrogations and to impose hefty fines/prison sentences in cases where dissident literature was spotted. The semblance of freedom was just that, a façade.

2.1 Translation catalogues

In this climate of uncertainty, cultural producers and intermediaries of translation were caught between competing *habituses*, or internalisations of societal structures that create dispositions; when faced with new situations, opportunities and constraints, cultural producers and translators may act in temperamental ways, but always having their dispositions as a reference point that shapes representations, attitudes and actions (Bourdieu 1999: 53). Obviously, there was a vital need to earn a decent living after the economic pressure that censorship had created. At the same time, however, there were concerns about the autonomy of the publishing field.

Interviews with publishers who became active precisely in that transitional period reveal interesting patterns. For example, Stochastes Publications (active in Athens from 1969) and Mpoukoumanes Publications (active in Salonica from 1969) confirm that there were three courses of action available to publishers (testimonies by Axelos 31.05.02 and Mpoukoumanes 15.09.03 respectively). Some saw no point in endorsing the Junta's rule. The regime targeted such publishers because of their left-wing beliefs and because of what they chose to air in the public domain. Many bookshops closed down. Second, some publishers aligned with an

'enlightened right' or 'centre left' and chose to wait; a relatively safe option for them were the classics of literature, various re-editions of books that had been in circulation before the coup and, of course, translations. A third course of action was to exhaust all the legal avenues and, where necessary, to move to less legal methods, which included changing the covers of books, selling banned books covertly and launching translations of politicised material. Translations offered a convenient bridge to modern European thought, given the political isolation of Greece, general limitations of travel and censorial restrictions. As Axelos noted, "publishers could not articulate the 'Greek message' of the times, so translations served this purpose; they helped shape people's views" (my translation). Mpoukoumanes also noted that the purpose of books was to "educate the youth, show them what was going on in the world and cause them to discuss important issues among themselves and with bookshop owners" (my translation). Both Axelos and Mpoukoumanes underlined the importance of books with a political content by referring to Marcuse and Fromm and of politicised literature by referring to Brecht and Kafka.

The two publishers describe a time when new voices appeared in the publishing field. Intermediaries of translation embraced New Left ideas and created a support network for other left-wing intellectuals around them. Elsewhere, I have argued that there are direct links between the translation activity of this group and the cultural germination stage of the Greek student movement in 1972-73. Students generally tended to consume cultural products that helped them express their identity, mainly New Left ideals and models of peaceful protest advocated by civil rights movements abroad (Asimakoulas 2009: 238). In this paper I would like to focus on a change preceding this, the transition from censorship to ostensible freedom of expression.

The above may suggest that some flows had more throughput than others. And there were interesting flows to be observed starting from 1970. *Chroniko*, a journal with the ambitious mission of documenting cultural production may provide clues. Unsurprisingly, Chroniko commenced publication in 1970, with many publishers among its contributors. In an article commenting on book production and reception from the second half of 1969 until the summer of 1970, Kontogiannes observed two trends: first, all book prices remained low; second, there was an increased interest in *serious books*, or works addressing important social issues and bringing the reader closer to modern thought (1970: 28-29). Examples cover philosophy, literary theory, art, sociology and politics. Such areas, which had been previously preferred by niche readerships, now started to break usual print-run ceilings. Most of them are reported to be translations, including literary translations (Beckett, Brecht, Camus, Faulkner, Ionesco, Pinter, Proust) as well as essays and works on cinema (Bergman, Martin) (ibid.). Kontogiannes cites a National Statistics Department survey on readership preferences to explain the new trend:

Type of book preferred	***Percentage***
Politics/economics	80%
Detective novels	37%
Science	34%
Philosophy	15%
(Other) popular books	5%
School books	5%

Table 1: Greek readership reading habits (1970)

The examination of trends with serious books started to transform into a type of cultural ambassadorship. Intermediaries in the publishing field were not simply transmitters of messages, but also individuals who felt empowered to negotiate on behalf of interest groups, the increasingly politicised readerships, and fellow-publishers in general. Serious books were pitched against *light literature*, or non-politicised literature. Its entertaining function was perceived as a disorienting distraction from crucial issues; at the same time, quality in light literature publications was poor and the fees paid to translators very low (Kontogiannes 1971: 118; Angelou 1972: 31). There are also mentions of a more specific interest group with a growing interest in serious books, a group whom publishers felt they had to protect against the flows of light literature: young people (ibid.).

Translation lists may be examined to see how the 'serious-light' debate was expressed in publication numbers. I consulted the catalogues of the National Library in Greece, the annual bibliographic bulletin from *Chroniko*, the *Index Translationum* and the Soteropoulou's (1997) bibliography of political texts. Each of these resources has strengths and weaknesses.

The Greek National Library catalogue (http://www.nlg.gr/) lists books by language. Both original Greek works and translations into Greek are retrieved when making a query. What is worse, multiple copies are listed separately, thus inflating the absolute number of publications and some titles have ranges instead of precise dates. The hard copies of the import catalogues on which the electronic corpus is based may offer partial explanations. Import catalogues include all the books, in the order in which they were submitted to the library by publishers (granted that every publisher duly submitted accurate data). Each entry contains a hand-written record of book details (publisher, translator, number of pages, size classification), usually with a short description of the subject matter and genre and (usually) a date. The overall lack of consistency in layout, ordering of information and amount of detail reflects personal cataloguing techniques of different employees, increasing the margin for error. For the years 1970-1974, *Chroniko* also offers its own lists of translated/original titles. The books are separated into topic-based categories, such as 'poetry', 'fiction', 'studies' (including such diverse subject areas as literary theory and archaeological surveys), 'social sciences', 'theatre', 'philosophy', 'children's literature', 'miscellaneous'. The *Index Translationum*, on the other hand, only contains translations, but has no entry for Greece for the years 1967, 1968 and 1972, perhaps the result of under-staffing or of the political situation. There are thematic categories for the translations, including *inter alia* 'general', 'philosophy', 'social sciences', 'history' and 'literature'. Entries are listed in alphabetic order by author name, with information about the translated book (translator, publisher, number of pages) and finally the title of the source text. Finally, Soteropolou (1997) compiled a bibliographic record by comparing lists from the National Library catalogues, the Tsirka Library, the Hellenic Historical Archive, a number of private libraries, and *Chroniko*. Soteropoulou's list comprises translated and original political books.

From the above lists I extracted and collated only the translations. I also devised four subject areas that may relate to current debates at the time: 'detective and spy novels' (clearly marked as such in the import catalogues), which may qualify as light literature; 'other literature' which includes everything else (as it would be difficult to disentangle genres here); 'intralingual

translation from Ancient Greek', which is routinely highbrow (or used in secondary education); and 'political content', following Soteropoulou's lists. These areas can be represented in the following chart:

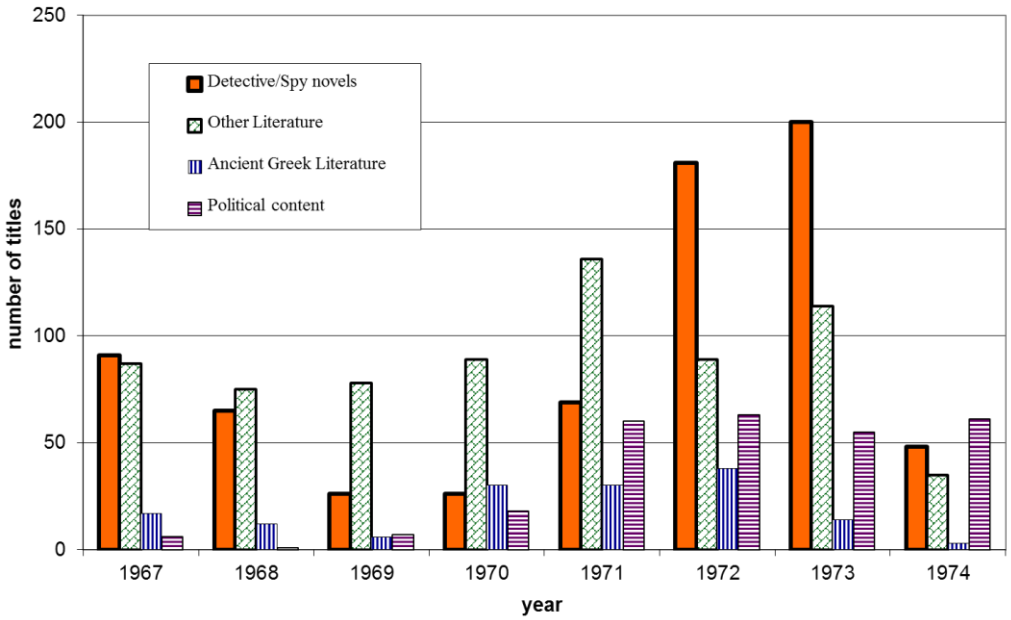

Figure 1: Translation trends (1967-1974)

The chart shows how the end of censorship became a pivotal point. If publishers found the presence of escapist literature disconcerting in 1970, then the boom following this year must have entrenched them in their views even further. On the other hand, books with a political content and ancient Greek literature was also on the rise, as was the remainder of literary translations (the sharp drop for all categories at the end overlaps with the introduction of martial law and the dramatic fall of the dictatorship, the threat of a Greco-Turkish war after interference in Cyprus).

During the transition to free speech and more politicised publications, Brecht's name becomes rather visible. *Chroniko* contributors mention Brecht as an exemplar of serious literature (Kontogiannes 1970; Frankopoulos 1971). According to the National Library Catalogue, Brecht also appears to be the fifth most translated author in 1970 (after Tolstoy, Charteris, Benzoni and Christie). In general, 1970 was the year of peak production since the first translation of Brecht's works appeared in 1956. Data from a relevant bibliographic study confirms this:

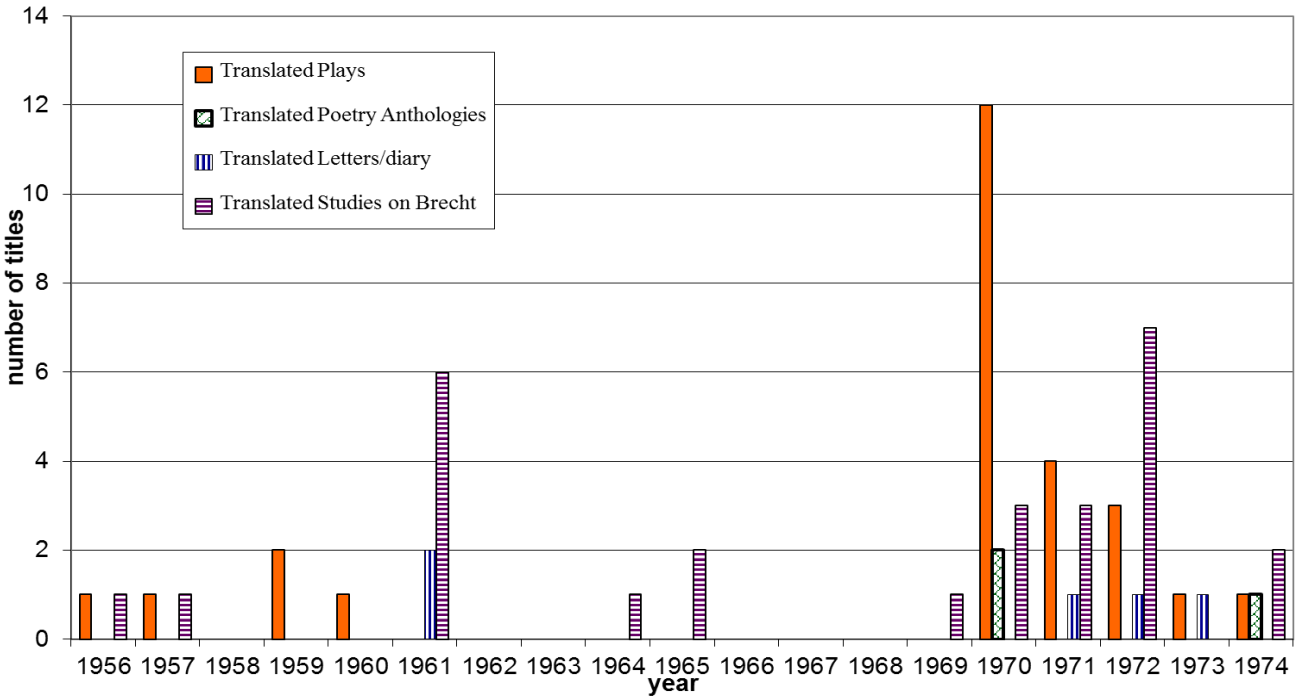

Figure 2: Brecht translations 1956-1974 (data retrieved from Mygdales 1977)

Among this surge of Brecht publications were two poetry collections in 1970. There are specific content/genre-specific reasons why they should be studied more closely as important milestones, which I will comment on in the section 3. At this point, I would like to briefly present the interesting trajectories of the intermediaries that made the two anthologies possible as can be seen in biographies, memoirs and interviews of those involved.

2.2 Agents of translation

The founder of *Keimena* that brought out Brecht's poetry anthologies in 1970 was Filippos Vlachos. Vlachos was born in Corfu but moved to Athens to pursue an acting career in his mid-30s. A 'broad-minded' communist, he was harassed by the authorities as early as 1949 when his private collection of books was confiscated and he was imprisoned when the colonels seized power in 1967 (Papageorgiou and Mitsotake 2002: 62, 145). Immediately after his release he turned into a self-styled typographer and set up *Keimena* in 1969 with the express purpose of bringing out new, high-quality literary and political works (rather than reprints of older works) that would be suitable statements against the dictatorship (ibid.). Among the contributions of *Keimena* there are the works of the most representative poets, novelists and thinkers of that generation. The first translation published by Keimena was a collection of Brecht's poems entitled *Poiemata* (Poems); the book was published in February 1970 (less than three months after the end of censorship) and sold 2,000 copies in ten days. The same happened in May with a

reprint of *Poiemata* and again in November 1970 when a second volume *Poiemata 2* (Poems 2), was launched (3,000 copies in both cases) (ibid.: 67-69).

The translator for these collections (hereafter referred to as PM and PM2) was Petros Markaris. Today Markaris is a very successful crime novel author and has in the past worked as a screenplay author (collaborating with Theo Aggelopoulos). He has recently translated *Faust* and received the prestigious Goethe Medal. The frequent change of professions notwithstanding, Markaris refers to translation as a 'guiding principle' in his memoir. Translation allowed him to earn a living at an early age, to keep in touch with theatre business and to hone his linguistic skills (2008: 161). His personal trajectory matches this affinity to translation. Markaris was born in 1937 in Istanbul and moved to Greece in the 1960s, thus experiencing the limitations of nationalism and the failure of minoritarian integration both in Turkey and in Greece. This only strengthened his resolve to adopt a cosmopolitan outlook (Markaris 2008: 30-35). Also, he grew up in a trilingual environment: he used Greek at home, Turkish in public and German for his secondary education (he later went to Vienna to study economics).

Markaris took special interest in Brecht after his first exposure to an epic theatre production in Germany in 1957 (personal testimony, 28 September 2002). Subsequently, he combined all forms of mediation available to an intermediary of translation, achieving various 'firsts'. He was the first to accurately translate Brecht's *Verfremdungseffekt* into Greek in various ways: a) linguistically; Markaris' term *paraksenisma* was closer to Brecht's technique than the already existing distantiation/*apostasiopoiese*, a French *faux amis* (Markaris 2008: 135); b) theatrically, as he translated the playscript for the first hugely popular stage productions of Brecht's plays (in 1971-2), stagings that were received by student theatre-goers as expressions of the revolutionary thrust of the May 1968 era (Markaris 2008 127-148; Van Steen 2015: 258); c) conceptually, because he even wrote epic theatre plays of his own, plays that melded the foreign, Brechtian *V-effect* and instruction, with the local, folk Eastern Mediterranean features; Markaris worked closely with the director and actors for his first Brechtian play, *The Story of Ali Retzo* (1971-72), a play that introduced collaborative staging methods and invited active thinking among avant-gardist and wide audiences alike (Van Steen 2015: 256, 270).

Reflecting on the contribution of Brecht's work in Greece, Markaris admits that he was not pleased with the great majority of translations before and after his own contribution for various reasons (personal testimony, 28 September 2002). As he notes, there were translations that did not do justice to the original because they were done through a pivot language rather than from the German. Similarly, there was enthusiasm about the potential political relevance of Brecht's work, which often resulted in amateurism and sloganeering. And finally, more profit-driven approaches focused on how translations/books sold rather than on quality. His approach consisted of relaying content and retaining the breadth of nuances without overstating any ST feature. Although Markaris openly acknowledges the reasons why publications and specifically Brecht may serve as surrogate political expression in times of oppression (Markaris 2008: 137), he privately seems to distance himself from flagrant political use of literature. As he argues, in such cases a translation "becomes propaganda, which is not art and this does a disservice to, if not damage to the [translated] author" (personal testimony, 28 September 2002, my translation). Similarly, he underplays the threat the regime posed to free speech after 1969, saying that the junta was disorganised and interfering in cultural matters was not a priority (ibid.). He also

reports that although his anthology of poems and other Brecht translations were included in lists of banned books after 1970, there was no direct consequence.[2]

Markaris suggests that a faithful transfer should suffice for Brecht's work to fulfil a political function. Yet there may be specific selection and translation strategies that have facilitated what he has collectively identified as a body of work that served as a manifesto of resistance (2008: 136, 152). The (para)textual specifics of *Poiemata* (PM) and *Poiemata 2* (PM2) may shed light on this.

3. Brecht's Poetry Anthologies

Anthologies after the lifting of censorship had a prominent political function. Kedros Publications launched *Eighteen Texts* (July 1970), *New Texts I* and *II* (February 1971), both of which sold about 12,000 copies, when selling above 2,000 was considered a success (personal testimony, Demi Karagouni, 22.02.02). Literary critics consider the poems, short stories and essays of these anthologies containing mainly original Greek texts to be milestones of resistance. They were platforms of experimenting with the act of gesturing, or negotiating the boundaries between voice and silence thematically and aesthetically (see Papanikolaou 2002). However, I would like to argue that this trend of oppositional anthologising started somewhat earlier, with Brecht's poetry collections.

3.1 Poiemata *and* Poiemata 2

PM and PM2 are free-standing books on Brecht's poetry, another 'first' for Greek publications and for Markaris. Prior to *Poems/Poems2* (PM/PM2), Brecht's translated poems and songs from his plays were interspersed in newspapers, general studies on poetry and literary journals – usually in small clusters of three to five poems. The need to give Brecht's poetry its own space is spelled out in paratexts. PM features an introduction by Markaris, where he underscores an issue that may be valid even today, the lack of familiarity with Brecht's poetry as opposed to his plays. He comments: "… it is worth getting to know this type of poetry, not just because of its undisputed quality –he belonged to the most important poets of his generation– but because it will help the understanding of the phenomenon that is called Bertolt Brecht" (Brecht 1970a: 7, my translation). Markaris then presents the structure of the book, which is divided into three parts: early poetry (primarily the *Leserbuch* collection); poems that were not published in collections; and the *Buckower Elegien*. Markaris admits that many of Brecht's best poems have not been included in PM, possibly whetting his reader's appetite for more and foreshadowing the publication of the PM2. He then continues to briefly offer factual information about the three thematic areas, drawing parallels with Brecht's theatrical oeuvre, such as the links between the *Leserbuch* collection and the play *Im Dickicht der Städte* ('In the Jungle of the Cities'). Markaris seems to assume an ambassadorship role here, the role of the mediator between interested audiences and a less-known tradition with its own internal structure.[3]

PM2 does not have an introduction, but ten short end notes by the translator echo the ambassadorship dimension in PM. In these notes Markaris includes factual information about when the respective poems were produced, or even what they mean. For example, the first note

indicates that *Vom armen B.B.* ('Of poor B.B.') marks Brecht's move to urban centres as well as a his social critique of urbanisation; the seventh highlights the brevity of Brecht's poems produced during his stay in Finland; the last identifies *Große Zeit vertan* ('Great times, wasted') as a poem from the *Buckower Elegien* and makes a cross-reference to PM.

Markaris' comments become even clearer when his selections are examined more closely. The staggering quantity (over 2,300 poems), diversification and non-linearity of Brecht's production may defy categorisation, but for the purposes of this paper I combine Kuhn's (2001) and Sacks' (2001) periodisation. It can be broadly summarised as follows:

- Period 1 (1913-1924): early poetry. Brecht explores various forms, including singable poems and poems with balladesque personas; he sets the foundations for a stylised presentation of 'self' as a publically constructed persona;
- Period 2 (1924-1933): transitional period. Brecht provocatively documents social attitudes and especially the anonymity, exploitation and opportunities characterising urban centres; he gradually embraces Marxist ideology;
- Period 3 (1933-1941): exile in Europe. Brecht tries to translate a clear political agenda (activism against Nazism) into poetic technique. Tensions between aesthetic pleasure and directness evoke a sense of dialogue within an envisaged anti-fascist community;
- Period 4 (1941-1947): exile in the USA. Brecht is socially and politically isolated. He expresses an ironic, bitter rejection of capitalism, exploring rhymed and unrhymed forms, songs and montage;
- Period 5 (1947-1956): return to Europe. Brecht becomes the 'state poet' of GDR but soon becomes disillusioned with socialism (especially after the USSR quashed the worker's uprising in GDR in 1953). His poetry/style oscillates between the monumental and the lapidary/cryptic.

Brecht's Greek anthologies complement each other in terms of this periodization. PM focuses more on the last period, whilst PM2 is based on a clear preference for the two exile periods, as can be seen in the table below:

Period	***Poems***	***Poems 2***	**Combined**
1	2	4	6
2	12	0	12
3	5	19	24
4	8	5	13
5	21	10	31
Total of poems translated:	48	38	86

Table 2: number of poems in Brecht (1970a/b)

Both poetry collections sold thousands of copies at a time when oppositional voices were multiplying. There is no direct evidence of what readers thought exactly, but indirect clues to a perceived topicality of the poems in PM/PM2 may be found in what was included.

PM starts with poems of Brecht's earlier periods (1-2) that set the tone for a series of ironies and dispositions permeating the entire anthology. *Ich sage ja nichts gegen Alexander* ('I'm not saying anything against Alexander'), for instance, addresses the fallibility of great men; poems 1-10 from *Aus einem Lesebuch für Städtebewohner* ('From a reader for city dwellers') employ everyday, dialogic language and a garden-path structure in order to illustrate the dialectic relation between personal experiences or illusions and a more communal stance of discernment, between societal demands and social change (Vaßen 2001: 186, 189). The anthology continues with ideologically loaded poems from Brecht's exile (periods 3-4) that reject capitalism (e.g. *Hollywood*) or discuss social change (e.g. *Was an dir ein Berg war* – 'What was a mountain to you'). It then concludes with a solid representation of the *Buckower Elegien* that Brecht wrote in the GDR. Thematically, the poems comply with one of the main strands in Brecht's poetry, namely, taking possession of history, both in terms of memory and interpretation as well as in terms of much-needed action that helps shape the future (Speirs 2000: 198). Although the *Buckower Elegien* specifically referred to East Germany, they can be open-ended enough to invite a recontextualised reading under Greek realities. The overall gesture, is one of invitation to critical thinking.

PM2 again starts with a handful of more personal, reflective poems from the *Hauspostille*, or 'Home Breviary' collection (period 1); for example, *Vom armen B.B.* ('Of poor B.B.') explores the irreconcilable tension between comfort and compromise caused by a move to the city. The anthology's political thrust may be seen in selections from the *Svendborg* collection (period 3), which, for instance, deconstruct Nazi ideology (e.g. *Auf einem Meilenstein der Autostraßen*; 'On a milestone of a motorway') or elaborate a general, quasi-mythic state of exile. Speaking about and above specific, personal circumstances, Brecht transformed exile into a far-reaching metaphor, one that allowed him to avoid monologic expression and to construct a dialogic persona (Knopf: 2001: 11; Kuhn 2000: 54, 61). For Greeks, this was the time that many politicians and cultural producers experienced forced exile (e.g. Ritsos wrote politically engaged poetry in exile from 1967 to 1971 and his works remained banned until 1972). Brecht's tendency to identify himself with a line of poets extending from Euripides to Heine and who are threatened by tyrants and modern day police could have reinforced this bridging effect (as in *Die Auswanderung der Dichter*; 'The emigration of poets'). PM2 also contains a small selection of poems from period 4, where earlier incongruities between nature and city are revisited (*Kalifornischer Herbst*, 'Californian Autumn') as are the musings on capitalism (*Zeitunglesen beim Theekochen* 'Reading the paper while brewing tea'). Ten poems from period 5 are also included, especially poems that discuss basic principles of building an ideal society, such as collective wisdom (*Große Zeit vertan*, "Great times, wasted") or justice (*Das Brot des Volkes* 'The bread of the people').

3.2 Patterns in the corpus of poems

Translations of poems in the two collections may not be readily comparable, because each text has its own unique features. However, there are some patterns that can be observed across the corpus of translations. In the main, the anthologies contain poems with no rhyme and regular rhythm, echoing Brecht's theorisation in essays such as "Über reimlose Lyrik mit unregelmäßigen Phythmen" ('On Unrhymed Poetry with Irregular Rhythm') or "Lyrik und Logik" ('Poetry and Logic'); in these essays published in the late 1930s Brecht states that direct language and irregular patterns avoid the pitfall of presenting poetry as a self-referential, ephemeral entity and manages to turn it into a tool of uncovering the realities of life under a dictatorship (Neureuter 2001: 213, 214). Arguably, the translator seems to amplify this feature. He dispensed with rhyme in seven out of the ten poems that feature clear end-rhyme patterns in the original. The exceptions where he chose to insert end rhyme where there was no rhyme in the original concern randomly selected lines in four poems. This is usually a compensation technique for loss in rhythmic patterns elsewhere in the poem. This is the case in *Schlechte Zeit für Lyrik*, 'Bad Time for Poetry' which dismisses traditional lyrical features in a hard-edged reality yet beautifully employs iambs and dactyls; the Greek translation features two rhyming lines in the last stanza to deliver the opposition between beauty and (Hitler's) terror.

Rhythmic patterns are generally kept or compensated for where they can be found in the STs. Solutions depend on the translator's creativity and the constraints posed by Greek. Markaris shows a preference for recreating line-internal rhyme and, occasionally, at rearranging rhythm to cater for the internal economy of individual poems. For example, *Alljährlich im September, wenn die Schulzeit beginnt* ('Every year in September when the school term begins') shows how middle-class women send their children to school and naively complain about the expenses associated with education, instead of scrutinising the knowledge/ideology their children are exposed to. The German text features alliterations in the beginning of the poem ("**Stehen** in den Vor**städten** die Weiber in den Papier**geschäften**") and repetition in the final lines ("... Wissen so teur ist... Wie schlecht das Wissen ist" 'knowledge is expensive... how bad knowledge is'). The Greek text recreates these effects but has the additional feature of a clearly formed trochee in line one (**ka**the **hro**no **ton** Se**pte**mvri **san** a-**ni**goun **ta** sho**lja –** 'Every year in September when schools open'); this creates associations to a schoolchildren's poem, innocence and proximity to the institution of the school. Later, the well-formed initial line clashes with formal unravelling, and therefore the logical unravelling of naive attitudes.

On a lexical level, the translator exhibits an unmistaken tendency towards maintaining Brecht's accessible language and to use contractions at every opportunity. The latter preference occasionally serves rhythm, at the same time bestowing a level of spokenness to the text. In 23 poems there is even a tendency to use lexical items that are more accessible than in the original. Common spoken register features include: contractions/coalescences ("τόκοψα"[το έκοψα]-aufgehört), colloquial verbs ("έμπα-gehe, συχωρνάμε-verzeihen, διαβαίνω-fahren, ξηγάνε-es steht"), informal participles and adjectives ("πλερώνοντας-gegen zwei Mark, λεύτεροι-frei, ολάκαιρο-ganzen, φχαριστημένος-zufrieden"), informal demonstrative/personal pronouns ("τούτο-diese, ελόγου μου-ich"), and informal adverbs ("αντάμα-zusammen, μονάχα-nur"). There are also words that the translator favours repeatedly in many poems, such as the colloquial adverb *παρευτύς* to render expressions that indicate speed (e.g. "sogleich, schnell"; 'quickly') and the noun *πολιτεία* (for "Stadt") which commonly denotes a city but also the people, the

institutions and the way a state is governed. Other choices are more idiosyncratic; for example, the noun *πουλητές*[non-standard for: *πωλητές*] ("Verkäufer") is a coined term, probably conveying a dismissive attitude towards the 'sellers' of capitalism.

Although words are chosen carefully in order to convey the image of each poem in the vast majority of the poems, renditions in 11 poems can be seen to skew the ST message. This is occasionally caused by domestications, e.g. Greek *ρακί* (for "Schnapps" and "Branntwein"). In other cases there are over-interpretations (the 'illness' of a great politician is rendered as 'death', possibly because the unnamed powerful politician in that case is Roosevelt and he had already died at the time of translation). Such solutions may not be entirely apt, but they do not compromise the interpretation of the poems. However, there are exceptions. In PM2, an explanatory stanza in *Über die Gewalt* ('On violence') was omitted. This renders the Greek text a circumspect, generic dismissal of oppression and flouts Brecht's principle of avoiding equivocal metaphors in political poetry. Also, a short poem entitled *Die Maske des Bösen* ('The Mask of Evil') uses a single word placed in the middle of a 2-1-2 line pattern as a linchpin to bring meaning forward. The lyric persona observes the contortions on a Japanese mask, implying that evil as a social convention goes against human nature and that it requires a lot effort to be/look evil; the participle *mitfühlend* ('feeling/apprehending') in the third line conveys this realisation. Markaris uses *συμπάθεια* ('liking') and segments lines differently so that the poem is 'normalised' to a six-liner, thus distorting the image of the poem.

The latter example links to a textual pattern. Markaris sometimes segments lines differently which results in his translations having more lines. In seventeen poems, there is a gain of up to four lines. It is not obvious why this is the case, but a pattern of line number normalisation transpires (e.g. *Wahrnehmung* 'Observation' has an even number of lines in Greek); segmentation may also allow the translations to create parallelism (e.g. the last lines in *Der Einarmige im Gehölz* 'The one-armed man in the undergrowth'); the usual implication, however, is that segmentation allows translations to feature even more striking enjambments. *Zeitunglesen beim Theekochen* ('Reading the newspaper while brewing tea'), for instance, gains four lines in the translation, making the poem even more 'irregular', to recall Brecht's critical approach.

In order to better illustrate selection and translation strategies, I will discuss two elegies and sections from one of the most politicised poems in PM and PM2 respectively. In his elegies, Brecht used various devices to prompt reader response: simple, shortened, demystified language, switches from one mood to another, paralepsis (false omission or emphasising something by giving less information on it than is the norm) and masqueraded rhetorical questions which are open enough to allow various if not clashing answers (Ockenden 2002: 182-185). *Der Radwechsel* ('The Wheel Change', BFA12/p.310; PM: 61) and *Der Blumengarten* ('The flower garden' BFA12/p.307; PM: 62), which indirectly attack a reactionary GDR, exhibit some of these features. They also open the Buckow section of PM.

Example 1:
ST:

Radwechsel

Ich sitze am Straßenhang.
Der Fahrer wechselt das Rad.
Ich bin nicht gern, wo ich herkomme.
Ich bin nicht gern, wo ich hinfahre.
Warum sehe ich den Radwechsel
Mit Ungeduld?

TT:

Αλλαγή Τροχού
Κάθομαι στην άκρη του δρόμου.
Ο οδηγός αλλάζει τον τροχό.
Δε μουδωσε χαρά ο τόπος που έμενα.
Δε μου δίνει χαρά ο τόπος που πάω.
Τότε γιατί κοιτάω την αλλαγή του τροχού
Μ' αδημονία;

Gloss:

Change of wheel
I sit at the edge of the street.
The driver is changing the wheel.
Did not give me[contraction] joy the place I stayed.
Does not give me joy the place I go.
Then why do I look at the change of wheel
With[contraction] impatience?

The lyric persona negates commitment to an origin/destination and expresses their belief in movement. The ST features echoes of dactyls and trochees in lines 1 and 2 respectively, parallelism in lines 3 and 4, and approximate rhyme in lines 1 and 4. These characteristics bind together the part of the poem dedicated to self-observation. Lines 5 and 6, on the other hand, launch a generalising rhetorical question inviting readers to affirm their belief in historical change. The TT does not employ discernible rhythm to block off observation and generalisation. Yet the Greek text accentuates the 'image' of internal dialogue and invites readerly response. Matter-of-fact diction and contractions are used; tenses are spelled out, so a past simple in line 3 details facts leading to a stylised impasse/conclusion, as opposed to a ST present tense imparting a confessional tone; the addition of discourse deixis ('then') in the rhetorical question accentuates the two competing frames in the poem: denying place – accepting movement.

Example 2:

ST:

Der Blumengarten
Am See, tief zwischen Tann und Silberpappel
Beschirmt von Mauer, und Gesträuch ein Garten
So weise angelegt mit monatlichen Blumen
Daß er vom März bis zum Oktober blüht.

Hier, in der Früh, nicht allzu häufig, sitz ich
Und wünsche mir, auch ich mög allezeit
In den verschiedenen Wettern, guten, schlechten
Dies oder jenes Angenehme zeigen.

TT:

Ο Κήπος
Στη λίμνη, βαθιά μέσα σ' έλατα και λεύκες
Κλεισμένος με τοίχο και θάμνους, ένας κήπος
Τόσο περίτεχνα φυτεμένος με λουλούδια εποχικά
Που ανθίζει από το Μάρτη ως τον Οχτώβρη.

Εδώ κάθομαι τα πρωινά, όχι πολύ συχνά
Κ' εύχομαι να μπορούσα και γω αδιάκοπα
Στους διάφορους καιρούς, στους καλούς, στους κακούς
Τούτο η κείνο το ευχάριστο να δείχνω.

Gloss:

Garden
At the lake, deep in[contraction] firs and poplars
Enclosed with a wall and bushes a garden
So artfully planted with flowers of-the-season
That blossoms from March till October[colloquial].

Here I sit in the mornings, not that often
And[contraction] wish I[contraction] could also without-pause
In different times, good, bad
This or that[contraction] pleasant to show.

The ST uses clear iambic cadences in pentameter and hexameter as well as diction that undermines the beautiful image of the flower garden. The garden is an overwrought, over-controlled show piece ("weise angelegt", 'wisely laid out') displaying beauty at specific times, something that does not suffice for the lyric persona, who wishes to always ("allezeit") comment on pleasant ("Angenehme") things (Ockenden 2002: 200; Joost 2001: 446). The underlying opposition between the two stanzas is that between a (GDR) canon of expression in art and

politics and a private code of the lyric persona, who wishes to express ideas under different conditions of communication. The Greek text does not feature regular rhythm, but marks the change of mood by introducing rhyme across and within stanzas; the temporal reference "of-the-season" in line 3, matches with "often" and "without-pause" in lines 5 and 6 in the second stanza respectively. There is also line-internal rhyme in lines 5 and 8 ('mornings'-'often', 'that'-'show').

As was mentioned above, poems in the first anthology were presented in chronological order. This is not the case in PM2, which features no section divisions, and whose poems are arranged more loosely. Perhaps Markaris assumed that some his readers may have already assimilated the timeline of his introduction in PM and could now combine it with clues in the endnotes. PM2 ends with a Svendborg poem, *An die Nachgeborenen* ("To those born later" BFA12/p.85, PM2/pp.63-65). The poem consists of the three sections initially written individually and then brought together for a *Malik* publication of Svendborg Poems (this first edition was destroyed during the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Nazis) (Schoeps 2001:275). Therefore, it has traditionally featured as the last poem of the collection and as such had a special weight, as a poem that should be remembered best (ibid.). PM mimicks this latency effect. There may be an additional reason, which may become apparent if the thematic of the poem is examined.

Example 3a

ST:

An die Nachgeborenen
I
[...]
Was sind das für Zeiten, wo
Ein Gespräch über Bäume fast ein Verbrechen ist
Weil es ein Schweigen über so viele Untaten einschließt!
Der dort ruhig über die Straße geht
Ist wohl nicht mehr erreichbar für seine Freunde
Die in Not sind?

TT:

Στους Απογόνους
1.
[...]
Τί χρόνια είν' ετούτα οπού 'ναι σχεδόν
Έγκλημα το να μιλάς για δέντρα,
Τί κρύβει μια σιωπή για μύρια κακουργήματα!
Αυτόν εκεί που ήσυχος το δρόμο διαβαίνει
Δεν τον προφταίνουν οι φίλοι του

Που κινδυνεύουν;

Gloss:

To the descendants
1.
What years are these[colloquial.] where it's[contraction] almost
Crime [for you] to talk about trees,
What a silence hides about thousands[colloquial] of enormities!
Him that quietly the street crosses[colloquial]
His friends do not reach[colloquial]
[his friends] Who are in danger?

The first section of the poem is a lament of the distortion of values, the crippling of human relations and the inability for moral uplift in the dark times of Nazi oppression and exile. Lines 1-3 in the second stanza of the poem cited above start with an elegiac regret in the ST: 'What times are they, when/A discussion about trees is almost a crime/Because a silence about so many horrors it entails!". Lexically, the Greek translation successfully conveys the conversational tone and employs an exaggeration ('thousands'). From a line segmentation point of view, the translation features more striking, irregular enjambments throughout the stanza. The transition from the second to the third line even creates ambiguity. Stating that is a "Crime [for you] to talk about trees/What a silence hides about thousands of enormities!" without the connective 'because' may elicit two interpretations: a) 'you' are gagged: you cannot talk about a neutral subject *nor* point out that silence conceals crimes around you; b) you cannot talk about a neutral subject *and* doing so may imply silence about crimes. It may be an exaggeration to state that the first interpretation recalls the censorial ban until 1970, but at any case, aesthetic decisions, acquiescence and fear of violence may have been very topical.

Example 3b

ST:

II
[...]
Die Straßen führten in den Sumpf zu meiner Zeit.
Die Sprache verriet mich dem Schlächter.
Ich vermochte nur wenig. Aber die Herrschenden
Saßen ohne mich sicherer, das hoffte ich.
So verging meine Zeit
Die auf Erden mir gegeben war.

TT:

2.
[...]
Στα χρόνια μου οι δρόμοι έβγαζαν στους βάλτους.
Η γλώσσα με πρόδινε στον μακελλάρη.
Λιγοστές είταν οι δυνατότητές μου. Μα οι δυνάστες
Θα πάταγαν πιό στέρεα δίχως εμένα, αυτό έλπιζα.
Έτσι πέρασαν τα χρόνια
Που μου δόθηκαν πάνω στη γη.

Gloss:

In my years streets ended[colloquial] in swamps.
Language betrayed me to the slayer[colloquial].
Few were my possibilities. But the oppressors
Would stand more firmly without me, that I hoped.
That is how the years passed
That were given to me on earth.

The second part of the poem is more autobiographic as the lyric persona addresses the achievements and limitations of his generation. This is in line not only with poems from the exile period (e.g. PM2's *Warun soll mein Name Genannt werden?* 'Why should my name be mentioned?') but also with the early period poems included in the beginning of PM (*Der Nachgeborene*) and PM2 (*Vom armen B.B.*). It seems that a series of questions about the lyric persona's bearing in art and society come full circle. When speaking about his past, the poetic persona of *An die Nachgeborenen*, who represents the older generation, describes his buffer role. In an understatement, he admits that he may have not had the capacity required for a convincing full resistance, but that he remained a constant nuisance to those he opposed. The Greek translation emphasises this mythology of opposition by using informal diction – 'butcher' (*Schlächter*) is replaced with a colloquial version of 'slayer' – and by being more explicit with regard to the political 'other' the poet fought against – 'those who rule' (*Herrschenden*) was rendered as 'oppressors/bullies'. In this way, the soul-baring aspect of the poem becomes even more salient. Interestingly, no attempt is made to recreate the historical weight and sombreness of the last two lines, which contain an allusion to Luther's Bible (Schoeps 2001: 28). Grand style is generally ironed out and every stanza in the translation is strewn with colloquial terms.

Example 3c

ST:

III
[...]
Ihr aber, wenn es so weit sein wird
Daß der Mensch dem Menschen ein Helfer ist

Gedenkt unsrer
Mit Nachsicht.

TT:

3.
[...]
Εσείς όμως όταν φτάσετε στο σημείο
Που ο άνθρωπος συμπαραστάτης γίνεται τ' ανθρώπου
Να μας θυμάστε
Μ' επιείκεια.

Gloss:

You however when [you] reach the point
Where man a supporter becomes of[contraction] man
Remember us
With clemency.

The third part of the poem addresses generations that come later, after the 'deluge' ("aus der Flut"), that is, the brutality of Nazism. The lyric persona envisages a time when those who survived the deluge will need to look back on the older generation with clemency because the latter have engaged as much as they could in the fight against oppression and lost part of their humanity in the process. The last stanza in 3c shows that this future is a utopia where alienation and violence will cease to exist. Although ostensibly addressing an indeterminate posterity, the poem in fact addresses and creates a contemporary audience, simultaneously placing them in the group of the 'Nachgeborenen' ('those born later') and allowing them to read their present situation in the poem (Leeder 2000: 214). The political force of the poem lies in this cross-generational dialogue and in the deferred utopia that Brecht searched for throughout his life, as well as in other poems, some of which are included in PM and PM2.[4] Contemporary readers can immediately recognise the curtailment of humanity they experience in their everyday lives, in their own societies.

By placing *An die Nachgeborenen* at the very end of PM2, Markaris lends the two anthologies a great degree of coherence. The past, present and future tenses (sections I, II and III respectively) of this particular poem sum up most if not all the poems in the two anthologies and become a political gesture. They convey the message that the struggle for a democratic rebuilding of society is ongoing. A Greek 'posterity' can also be envisaged here, one that needs a vision of regeneration different from the vision of salvation and traditional values that the Junta promoted.

4. Conclusion

If history is the making or unmaking of linkages, then the individual circumstances and complex social/professional roles of intermediaries of translation place the latter directly at the centre of

cultural encounters. This paper constitutes a pertinent exercise in 'joining the dots' in a specific Greek context where interesting discoveries and context-specific limitations may come to the fore.

Thus, the paper examines a moment of change, the time when preventive censorship was lifted in Greece in 1970. The lack of documentation culture and of reliable translation catalogues pose difficulties in uncovering the quantity of translation done during that period. Yet, even if this were to be measured exactly, quantities would not be enough. There is a need to also ascertain which flows these translations belong to and what 'message' they convey (see the 'serious-light' literature debate and cited interviews). The views and trajectories of selected intermediaries were included and combined with a close reading of specific texts, in a historical-cum-semiotic approach. As the selected texts were poetry anthologies, the paratextual framing, linguistic presentation, selection and ordering of poems become a sign of their times; on the one hand, the anthologies set a precedent in disseminating work that had not been presented in a systematic way, aiming for the further canonisation of the poet; on the other, they contained gestures of political commentary, which predate a similar function of non-translated anthologies on which cultural theorists commonly focus.

The article sheds light on a very specific cultural encounter, that of the reception of Brecht's poetry, which is under-researched in comparison to his plays. Therefore, it could serve as a starting point for similar projects in other parts of Europe, or beyond. Perhaps one limitation that the project's focus may throw up is that the reception at hand is one-way and is limited to a prescribed cultural space. As Bandia notes, hybridity and broader, transnational frameworks (e.g. Lusophony or Francophony) may be more relevant than specific official languages, canonical genres, nations and their traditions in a postcolonial, globalised world (Bandia 2006: 53). Although I was not able to branch out to such a transnational framework given the language and cultural space I examine, there are ways of unlocking the transnational potential of the project. For instance, what was translated out of Greek pre/post-1970 may be even more interesting in terms of linkages. Also, the examination of concrete practices among culturally mobile intermediaries may uncover highly interesting aspects of overt political activism. There are indications that translators of Brecht's works or of radical activist material (see Asimakoulas 2009) may have lived in Germany and other European countries at the time. Their personal archives, drafts and memoirs may provide rich seams to mine. As with Kasines' project that served as a preamble to this paper, discovery procedures are ongoing (and subject to the vicissitudes of research funding). Yet every translation history project, be it 'traditional' or more transnational in nature, has the capacity to be customized in order to yield answers as to which invisible narratives of cultural production are awaiting discovery and which linkages between the specific and the general may serve as starting points.

Notes:

1. Personal communication with the former Ministries of Press and the Media/Public Administration and Decentralisation.
2. Markaris admitted that he too was harassed by the authorities when for a brief period he had to report to the police station every three days and confirm his identity details.

3. There may be subtler manifestations of Vlachos' cultural ambassadorship too: each of the three parts in PM is presented in a minimalist style, with blank pages followed by headings in a fonts reminiscent of ancient Greek script; this is perhaps a signifier of the work's importance as a classic. PM2 also follows an austere plain presentation and the fact that the translation is done directly from the German is highlighted in both volumes, possibly as a reminder of quality.
4. Poems from period 5, such as *Ich benötige keinen Grabstein* ('I need no gravestone'), *Beim Lesen des Horaz* ('Reading Horace') in PM and *Addresse des sterbenden Dicthers an die Jugend* ('The dying poet's address to young people') and *Ein neues Haus* 'A new house' in PM2 are good examples.

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