

Found in Translation: Panait Musoiu and the First Translation of Walden in Romania

Iuliu Ratiu

*T*he *Thoreau Society Bulletin* of Spring 1990 (No. 191) contains three of only a handful of references to texts by and about Thoreau translated into or written in Romanian, made in a periodical dedicated to a predominantly American audience. Among other noteworthy entries, in “Additions to the Thoreau Bibliography,” Walter Harding records three titles published in Romanian: an essay about *Walden*, and two translations of the book. The *Bulletin* also features “A Pronunciation Guide to the Name Thoreau” by James Dawson, a piece by Harding dispelling the rumor that Thoreau was the inventor of raisin bread, an abstract of a 1989 MLA lecture about Thoreau’s scientific credentials by Lawrence Buell, as well as the usual notes and queries about all-things Thoreau. In line with the informative nature of the *Bulletin*, I propose here my own inquiry into the translation of *Walden* into Romanian. While perhaps not as inviting as a note on gourmet bread, nor as interesting as an analysis of Thoreau’s scientific work, this paper will introduce readers to the circulation of literature in translation. A paper about *Walden* in translation may well provide a fresh perspective for the study of Thoreau and an appreciation of the complexities of the global flow of literary texts, people, and ideas in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

Romanian Additions to the Thoreau Bibliography

Written with inevitable typos (tacitly corrected here to reflect current Romanian spelling conventions) inherent in transmission and transcription errors in the pre-digital era, the three entries in the *Bulletin* are: (1) Balotă, N. “Walden” in *Universul Prozei*, București: Editura Eminescu, 1976; (2) *Walden*. Trans. into Romanian by Ștefan Avădanei & Al. Pascu. Forward by M. Grădinaru. Biographical notes by Don Eulert. Iași: Junimea, 1973; and (3) *Walden sau Vieața-n Pădure*. Trans. into Romanian by P. Mușoiu from the French of M. Fabulet. With an introduction by Karl Federn, with Emerson’s essay on Thoreau, and notes by Francis H. Allen: București: Biblioteca Revistei Ideei, 1936.¹

Three pages long, Balota’s text about Thoreau is the second part of a longer essay consisting of the author’s reading notes on novels by Herman Melville, John Steinbeck, and Saul Bellow. Simply titled “Walden,” the section is a conventional piece, possibly of French inspiration, in which Thoreau is seen as a hermit in the tradition of St. Augustine, Petrarch, and Rousseau. The few quotations from *Walden* that Balota includes in the essay appear to be translations he made while following an undocumented French translation of the book (most likely, a variant of Fabulet’s edition of 1922), even though in 1976 there were already available the two Romanian translations mentioned in the *Thoreau Society Bulletin*.

Of the two additional entries mentioned in the *Bulletin*, the one from 1973 is the first translation of *Walden* from English into Romanian by Ștefan Avădanei and Alexandru Pascu. Thoreau’s text is accompanied by an informed foreword written by M. Grădinaru and a biographical sketch by Don Eulert. While the English edition on which the translation was based is at present unknown, evidence suggests that Eulert, an American Fulbright lecturer, may have brought it over to Romania or that, at least, it was he who championed the translation. If the source of the translation by Avădanei and Pascu remains somewhat shrouded in mystery, the source of the 1936 translation is well documented because it is French: the translation of Louis Fabulet cited above published by the prestigious *La Nouvelle Revue Française* in 1922. In addition to the information provided in the *Bulletin*

entry, namely the introduction by Federn and the printing of Emerson's eulogy, "Thoreau," this first Romanian edition also has a preface by Maurice Muret, together with a foreword by the translator, Panait Musoiu. Although he writes that he was able to compare the French translation against an original English version, Musoiu does not provide details of the edition he used. Furthermore, he adds that he not only used the notes of the French edition, which are mostly Francis H. Allen's notes translated into French, but he also claims to have supplemented those notes, which does not appear to be the case after close inspection.²

As an interesting aside, it is worth mentioning that Fabulet corresponded with Allen both in English and French when the former was working on his translation and expressed difficulty understanding Thoreau's "Yankee vernacular." In fact, Allen tells the anecdote of the difficulties Fabulet encountered with the translation at the first annual meeting of the Thoreau Society in July 1941, and he documents "two amusing cases of his misapprehension:"

He asked me what the "rider" was that was not used for the well-sweep, and, after explaining that it was the rail of a stake-and-rider fence, I bethought me that he might not know just what a well-sweep was and I added some sort of a definition of that word. [...] At the beginning of Chapter VIII Thoreau says that in the forenoon he usually bathed in the pond, "swimming across one of its coves for a stint." The word "stint" had been unfamiliar to M. Fabulet, but he had evidently found in a dictionary that it was used, especially in England, for a small sandpiper, and had translated "for a stint" by "en chasse d'une bécassine," that is, "in pursuit of a snipe." (Any stint is really a much smaller bird than a snipe, but M. Fabulet was no ornithologist.) That sentence, as well as the one about the well-sweep, came out fairly well in the printed book.

From their correspondence, which lasted until Fabulet's death in 1933, as well as from the "kindness he showed to one of [his] daughters who was spending

a year in Paris, [Allen judged] that [Fabulet] had a quiet, sincere, and attractive personality.”³

Although he had contacts both in France and the U.S. at the time he worked on his translation, Musoiu does not appear to have sought help from either American or French scholars to clarify “misapprehensions” regarding his understanding of *Walden* in French or in English. In contrast to the direct contact between the American editor and the French translator, namely between Allen and Fabulet, the interaction between the Romanian translator and the English original is mediated *via* a French translation. This mediation, then, refers both to the difficulties of having access to works of literature in the language in which they were originally written and to the importance of the circulation of works in translation. For instance, living in a small country located in the Balkans, Eastern or Central Europe, depending on various vantage points, Musoiu spoke and wrote in Romanian, a Romance language related to French, Italian, and Spanish, and he lived in a culture profoundly influenced by France and the availability of French translations of major works of world literature. In a sense, Musoiu’s French exposure more than compensated for the fact that he did not have easy access to English language instruction, nor did he have direct contact with books printed in English.

Similarly, many decades later, Walter Harding faced new difficulties with respect to both translation and circulation when he added the Romanian texts to the Thoreau bibliography. Lacking facility in Romanian and without direct access to the texts they were indexing, Harding and his informants did their best to keep readers of the *Bulletin* informed with regard to the publication record of Thoreau’s writings behind the Iron Curtain. While arguably the Romanian *Walden* is *found* in the French translation, its annotation and addition to the Thoreau bibliography seems to be *lost* in translation. To return briefly to the three entries from the *Bulletin* noted above, Balota’s essay, originally published in a leading literary magazine in 1974, was also referenced in the Winter 1977 *Bulletin* (No.138), while Avadanei and Paseu’s [sic] translation was also mentioned in the Winter 1988 *Bulletin* (No. 182), where notice is also taken of another translation of *Walden* into Romanian by Franz Meyer, which was published in 1976 by the *Kriterion*

Publishing House.⁴ Although the *Bulletin* states that the 1976 translation is in Romanian, in fact it is in German, and the only addition to the Thoreau bibliography is the Afterword, written in German by the German ethnic Romanian born Rolf Frieder Marmont. Otherwise, this is simply a German translation published in Romania, whose source is an edition published in 1964 by the Kiepenheuer Verlag, a publishing house in Weimar, East Germany, the former German Democratic Republic. In its turn, the 1964 German translation is merely another issue of an edition that first came out in 1922 and was published by D. Hendel in Berlin, according to Harding's *A Centennial Check-list of the Editions of Henry David Thoreau's "Walden."*⁵ This is another example of the difficulties of adding to the Thoreau bibliography translations and criticism published in communist countries during the Cold War.

In the context of 1970s Romania, the fact that two translations of the same book were published three years apart for two different audiences reveals Romanians' increased interest in American literature in the decades after the end of World War II, especially once the brutal Stalinist influence began to fade away in the Eastern Bloc. For a brief period of time, following the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, which the dictator Nicolae Ceausescu opposed, Romania became an unlikely and, I should add, minor broker of the strained relations between the West and the East. In 1969, Romania's new geopolitical status also received a boost from Richard Nixon, the first sitting American president to visit Bucharest, which he included on a world diplomatic tour when his own administration was escalating the war in Vietnam.

The 1970s was a good decade for Romanian-American diplomatic relations. After Nixon's visit to Romania, President Gerald Ford visited Ceausescu in 1975, while the Romanian dictator visited the U.S. on three different occasions in 1970, 1973, and 1978 – the last a coveted state visit at the invitation of President Jimmy Carter.⁶ These unprecedented relations also fostered renewed cultural, scientific, and educational exchanges. On the Romanian side, this led to studies that mostly skewed facts to mirror the ideological bias of official state propaganda. Even so, using the bicentenary

of the American Revolution to reflect on the new-found geopolitical independence of the country, some Romanian researchers took or found themselves at liberty to write about ideas or translate texts that were previously almost unheard of, including *The Anthology of American Poetry*, edited by Ion Caraion and published in 1979.

The ripple effect of these political events soon led to a short-lived period of liberalization, which in turn allowed for limited cultural and literary breakthroughs such as the translation of *Walden*. What is interesting here, then, is to see how Thoreau's *Walden* fared on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Thoreau's ideas were arguably recovered during the pacifist and civil disobedience movements of the twentieth century and, most importantly, during the U.S. Civil Rights era of the 1950s and 1960s and the anti-Vietnam War protests in the late-1960s and 1970s. In this context, *Walden* traveled across the Berlin Wall into the Soviet Bloc as an unlikely messenger from the free world.

Indeed, this is not only an example of cultural import, but also a manifestation of how literary texts travel both in space and in time. After almost two decades of dogmatic literary production and translation filtered through the lens of Soviet cultural and ideological influence, the Romanian cultural scene was opening up to sources from the West. Both the 1973 and the 1976 translations of *Walden*, I would argue, are a consequence of both the political realignment and the so-called *détente* between the U.S. and the former USSR. What is significant about these events is not the fact that an American Fulbright lecturer is teaching at a Romanian university, but that he presumably encouraged the publication of a new translation of Thoreau's masterwork. Similarly, closer to Romania but not in Romanian, the 1976 Kriterion edition comes from East Germany and, even though the source edition came out in 1964 at a publishing house in Weimar, it had actually been first published in Berlin in 1922. If Musoiu's 1936 translation was mainly the enterprise of a single person, the translations from the 1970s were the result of collective efforts put forth by publishers, translators, lecturers, and cultural operatives who seized the opportunity to publish *Walden* in a rare moment when Romanian-American relations were the best they could possibly be at the peak of the Cold War.

Panait Musoiu and American literature in Romanian Translation from French Sources

Historically, depending upon the three different provinces that make up today's Romania, news and information about the New World, the early British colonies, and the U.S. were mediated through other languages and various means of communication, ranging from world atlases in Latin, to Revolutionary pamphlets by Thomas Paine in French, and to news dispatches in German and travel books in Hungarian. In the first half of the nineteenth century, selected works in English, including those of British writers such as Shakespeare, Daniel Defoe, Sir Walter Scott, and Charles Dickens, and American writers such as Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, Washington Irving, and James Fenimore Cooper were available in private and academic libraries and in French or German translations or were published in periodicals and in book form translated into Romanian from mostly French or German sources. For instance, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* was published in 1835 in V. Draghici's translation from English, while excerpts from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and *The Merchant of Venice*, translated from German by G. Baritiu, were published in 1840.⁷

On the American side, two successive Romanian translations from French of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were published in 1853 and 1854, while Irving's short stories appeared in periodicals in the second half of the nineteenth century closely following a German translation.⁸ The two translations of Stowe's novel are relevant because they reveal the interest of Romanian editors, translators, and readers in emancipating Gypsy serfs as well as their awareness of social problems that literature could address. The translations, one by Theodor Codrescu following the French version of Léon Pilatte, and the other one by Dimitrie Pop from an unnamed translation, were heavily advertised and had a great impact by raising public outrage at the institution of American slavery. Codrescu's translation was prefaced with an overview of the history of slavery from antiquity to present day by Mihail Kogalniceanu, in which he appealed for the abolition of Gypsy serfdom, the last remnant of servitude in "Christian Europe." In fact, the call for social justice was so strong that *copycat* novels began to appear such as V.

A. Urechia's *Coliba Mariuca* (*Mariuca's Cabin*), published in 1855, which told the story of a female Gypsy slave. Just as Stowe's novel helped sway popular sentiment in favor of abolitionism, the two Romanian translations played an important role in the emancipation of Gypsies, which took place in 1855 and 1856 in the two Romanian principalities.⁹

Following the Revolutions of 1848, the impact of which throughout Europe was largely reported in the U.S., Romanian intellectuals found the ideology of liberation, self-determination, and emancipation appealing; a few decades later, Thoreau translator Musoiu embraced the ideology as a social rather than a nationalistic conviction. Furthermore, for reasons following from the intricacies of local history, this ideology also fared well in translation, especially from French sources, and brought with it profound social and cultural transformations: "The flourishing of translation activity during the nineteenth century had an enduring influence on Romanian cultural life and helped to bring Romania closer to the rest of Europe. The influence of French culture could be seen in the overall process of modernization which began to take place."¹⁰ The influence of French culture explains in part Romania's transition into a modern country and, as shown before, made available to Romanian audiences works of literature in translation, including *Walden*, albeit much later, due in part to the late translation of the book into French compared to its rendering in other languages.¹¹

Born in 1864, two years after Thoreau died, Musoiu was a product of his age: a journalist, translator, editor, and promoter of popular and philosophical treatises ranging from Plato and Plutarch to John Stuart Mill and Thomas Carlyle, together with works by socialists and anarchists, such as Mikhail Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin, or Paul Lafargue. In the 1880s, Musoiu embraced revolutionary trends such as socialism, communism, workers' and women's movements, and anarchism. In 1889, he helped form the publishing house Biblioteca Revista Ideei, and over the years he edited, translated, and often wrote prefaces to more than a hundred books, including Thoreau's *Walden*. The same year, he visited Paris for four months and attended the Freethinkers' Congress and visited the Universal Exhibition. In 1892, using a French source, he translated *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels,

and soon after its first publication in Romania, Musoiu sent Engels a copy of the translation, asking him to write a preface for the second edition. After a year of silence, Engels wrote back; he declined the invitation, explaining he was too busy editing Marx's oeuvre, and he scolded Musoiu for using a French translation instead of a German one as his source. This anecdote underscores Musoiu's easy access to French translations, which he prized as sources, as opposed to translations in German or English, languages he probably did not know well.¹²

In fall 1892, he audited classes at the Université Libre de Bruxelles, wrote socialist pamphlets, and traveled to Anvers and Bruges where he visited cultural institutions and presumably stayed at homeless shelters in an effort to document the life of the less privileged, among whom he counted himself. He returned home in 1893 by way of Switzerland, Italy, Germany, and Hungary. Although his visits to other countries were brief, they had a lasting impact on Musoiu; for instance, he interacted with Elisée Reclus, a member of the International Workingmen's Association, the so-called First International, and possibly with other now forgotten members of the Second International and its various factions. Most important, though, Musoiu brought back knowledge and connections, not to mention many books that he then translated and edited almost single-handedly. Musoiu also edited the magazine *Revista Ideei* (1900-1916), where he published anarchist and revolutionary literature, together with various educational pamphlets, including translations of American writers such as Irving, Edgar Allan Poe, and Nathaniel Hawthorne. He died in November 1944, several months before the end of World War II.

One of the challenges I encountered while doing research for this project was to find out how and when Musoiu became acquainted with Thoreau's work. By his own admission, Musoiu came into general contact with Thoreau's work through his association with members of literary and anarchist circles; in fact, he encountered Thoreau more formally in a literary essay written by Karl Federn that appeared in the anarchist magazine "Freiheit," which was published by John (Johann) Most in New York. Although I have not located the issue of "Freiheit" with Federn's text, Federn's work was

(probably) originally printed in *Essays zur Amerikanischen Litteratur*, a collection published by Otto Hendel Publishing House in 1899 in Halle, Germany.¹³ Interestingly enough, when it was subsequently translated into Romanian by Grigore Goilav and published in Musoiu's magazine *Revista Ideei* in 1908, the essay had the book as its source and not the anarchist magazine. According to my research, the translation of Federn's essay is the first text about Thoreau's work published in Romanian, and he was so impressed by it that he immediately sought not only to read Thoreau but also to make his work known to a large audience: "This essay left me with the burning desire to know more about an author whose work would undoubtedly be of great interest. It was my intention to share this work with everybody in order to have more common ground and to strengthen our thinkers' ranks."¹⁴ To Musoiu, then, Federn's essay represents the first documented moment of (mediated) contact with Thoreau's work. It seems that the time of contact may be anywhere between 1899 (the year the essay was written and published in German) and 1908 (the year its translation was published in Romanian).

Rather than establishing a timeframe of writing, publishing, and translating a work of Thoreauvian criticism, my interest here is to trace the circulation of important works of world literature. A text written in Vienna and published in Halle in 1899, reprinted in New York at a yet unknown date, and translated into Romanian in 1908 about the life and work of a nineteenth-century American writer is a good example of that. However, pending the discovery of further evidence, I want to hypothesize that Musoiu first heard about Thoreau's work in the 1890s, from Elisée Reclus, whom he befriended in Brussels, and that he first read passages from *Walden* in or about 1903 and 1904, when the first unfinished French translation of *Walden* was published in *La Renaissance Latine*.¹⁵ If that were the case, it means that Musoiu heard about Thoreau more than a decade before he first read his work. Even though I do not yet have reliable textual evidence to prove this, I can substantiate my claim by pointing out that about this time Thoreau began to be appropriated by various members of socialist and anarchist circles. According to Daniel Vollaro, Henry S. Salt first mentioned Thoreau's anarchist doctrines and views in *The Life of Henry David Thoreau* published in 1890, while Emma

Goldman calls Thoreau "the greatest American Anarchist" in an essay published in 1905. Vollaro adds that "American anarchists were not merely appropriating Thoreau for their purposes; they were also building a counter tradition around his legacy. At a time when most critics and writers depicted Thoreau as a nature writer, anarchists were among the first to recognize the political potential of his polemical writing."¹⁶ Given the reception of Thoreau both as a nature writer and as an anarchist, this is further proof that Musoiu became interested in Thoreau both via literary and anarchist circles.

Regardless of how and when he first found and read Thoreau's work, the fact is that Musoiu translated *Walden* even if another two decades passed from the publication of Federn's essay in 1908 until he started working on the translation itself. While it is similarly difficult to know the exact circumstances in which Musoiu was able to obtain Fabulet's translation from 1922, it is possible to reconstruct the timeline of the translation itself. In a passage appended to the table of contents of *Walden*, Musoiu gives the exact dates when he translated and revised the book, together with the locations and the names of his family, friends, and benefactors who hosted him during this time. Thus, the translation took three years to complete, from October 1928 to October 1931; the revision, which included comparing the Romanian translation against Fabulet's French version and presumably a yet unknown English edition edited by Francis H. Allen, took another two years, from March 1932 to July 1934; finally, the printing took approximately six months, from August 1935 to March 1936.

As early as 20 January 1929, installments from the translation started to be published in a literary weekly magazine, but the publication inexplicably stopped after only 10 issues on 24 March the same year. Interested readers would have to wait another seven years for the full translation to come out in book form. And when it did, readers were given an interesting artifact: the Romanian translation of Thoreau's *Walden* from the French translation of Louis Fabulet. Amended, the entry from the *Thoreau Society Bulletin* of Spring 1990 (No. 191) would read as follows: *Walden sau Vieata-n Padure*. Trans. into Romanian by Panait Musoiu from the French of Louis Fabulet. With a preface by P. Musoiu, a foreword by Maurice Muret (translated into

Romanian from French by P. Musoiu), an introduction by Karl Federn (translated into Romanian from German by Grigore Goilav), with Emerson's essay on Thoreau (translated into Romanian from Bulgarian by Stanciu Stefanof), and notes by Francis H. Allen. All in all, no less than five different languages and at least five different publications!

Conclusion

My interest here has been to present both an overview of the limited presence of Thoreau in Romania and to determine how and when Panait Musoiu, an indefatigable cultural figure in the first half of twentieth-century Romania, became interested in *Walden*. I also showed some of the difficulties readers and translators from small countries had in accessing works of world literature. I traced out the French roots of the first Romanian translation of *Walden* published in the 1930s, and I provided new information about two translations of *Walden* published in the 1970s, one in Romanian and the other one in German. Sean Cotter, a critic, translator of Romanian literature and professor of translation studies, writes that "Translation is a central concern for the 'minor' countries of Eastern Europe" and suggests that the "study of translation demonstrates the extent to which a minor national imagination is, by necessity, an international imagination."¹⁷ Out of the many translations made in Romania, Thoreau's *Walden* presumably stands out precisely because the three translations presented here successively tried through French, English, and German to give Romanian shape to a major cultural artifact and, in doing so, to show that Romanian culture belonged to an international imagination.

In another essay analyzing the translation by Lucian Blaga of a poem by Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Romanian both from the English original and a German translation, Cotter contends that the translator's choice "encompasses an interaction of cultures within his Romanian text;" he also adds that "Blaga's text argues for the possibility of a viable Romanian culture, even under the strong influence of the Soviet. Romanian culture has not 'capitulated' and will not disappear; rather, it will distinguish itself in its absorption and reformation of cultural forces stronger than itself."¹⁸ In this

sense, the publication of *Walden* during the 1970s in the Eastern Bloc should also be seen as a form of resistance. Ironically, like Blaga's translation from English and German, the two editions of *Walden* are two translations one from English to Romanian and the other one from English to German. Symbolically, although not overtly political, Thoreau's book is called to represent the new geostrategic independence that Romania recently acquired at the height of the Cold War.

An analysis of the circulation of *Walden* from English to French and from French to Romanian in the first half of the twentieth century reveals how literature in translation and, more specifically, translation after another translation, helps disseminate ideas and authors to audiences for whom they were not initially envisioned. By the same token, as the two editions from the 1970s show, books themselves in translation might serve purposes for which they were not initially intended. In this respect, *Walden* becomes an unlikely example of how the same book ended up serving a similar purpose on both sides of the Iron Curtain, namely that of a symbol of democracy. Walter Harding argues that Europeans, who relate better to "Civil Disobedience" – as opposed to the Japanese Thoreauvians who consider *Walden* their bible – appreciate Thoreau "as a political activist who fought against slavery in America and who offers a highly workable methodology for today's battle against the forces of tyranny and dictatorship." Harding immediately qualifies this claim by adding between parentheses: "(Interestingly, many Europeans were astonished that the American State Department would sponsor a lecture tour devoted to such an outspoken rebel against all authority and the fact that it was done, I believe, gave them a new insight into the democratic ideology.)"¹⁹ Harding published these ideas in the forward to *Thoreau Abroad, Twelve Bibliographical Essays*, edited by Eugene F. Timpe in 1971, the same year another type of lecturer vetted by the U.S. government on a Fulbright visiting scholarship, Don Eulert, spent in Romania, where he reportedly initiated a new translation of *Walden* set to appear in 1973. Granted, Harding was mostly referring to "Civil Disobedience," an essay that would be published in Romanian translation only in 1994, but his view of Thoreau offering a methodology for battle against dictatorship applies to

Walden as well. Even though the activist aspect is not clearly stated in the three translations of *Walden* analyzed here, it is still covertly implied in Musoiu's anarchist inclination, in Eulert's American brazenness as a free man teaching in a communist country, and in the subversive nature of the German edition published by Kriterion. My intervention, then, writing about all these translations was meant to present the Romanian additions to the Thoreau bibliography and to provide new insight into Thoreau's reception abroad.

Bucharest, Romania

Notes

I did most of the research for this project as a research fellow at the New Europe College, Institute for Advanced Study in Bucharest, Romania, between October 2015 and July 2016, and a summary of my work there is published in the college's yearbook. I am grateful to my hosts at the NEC, as well as to the fellows from my cohort who made my stay there a fruitful one. I also want to thank Ron Bosco who fostered my interest in Thoreau ever since I took his graduate seminar in American Literature at SUNY Albany ten years ago, and I want to express my heartfelt gratitude to my wife Silvina, who is my strongest supporter and my toughest critic.

¹ Walter Harding, "Additions to the Thoreau Bibliography," *The Thoreau Society Bulletin*, No. 191, 3. Consulting the list of informants Harding credits at the end of the bibliography does not help in finding out who might have sent him the three Romanian entries. For an updated Thoreau bibliography in Romanian, visit my page: <http://thoreauintranslation.tumblr.com/post/150270298824/romanian-additions-to-the-thoreau-bibliography>. For the remainder of the text, when using Romanian names, I will use standard English spelling and write, for instance, "Balota" instead of "Balotă" and "Musoiu" instead of "Mușoiu."

² Musoiu started translating *Walden* in October 1928 and published a few excerpts in a literary magazine between January and March 1929, together with an introduction and with Federn's and Muret's texts. Seven years later, in 1936, when the translation is published in its entirety in book form, Musoiu reprints the introductory note with a few stylistic changes

and with two additional passages, one about an unknown edition of *Walden* annotated by Francis H. Allen, which he acquired in the meantime, and another passage about Emerson's "Thoreau," which he found in a yet unknown Bulgarian translation, which in turn is translated after a Russian edition. The omission of Allen's and Emerson's names in the magazine introduction suggests that Musoiu did not have access to an English version when he began the translation, nor did he intend to use Emerson's biographical sketch. For information regarding the initial publication of Federn's and Muret's essays, see notes 13 and 15 below.

³ Francis H. Allen, "The French Translation of *Walden*," 1.

⁴ As a publishing house, *Kriterion* specialized mostly in books written or translated into what were called at that time national minority languages, such as Hungarian, German, Serbian, Yiddish, Romani, and a few others. *Kriterion* also published Romanian translations of works by national writers of different ethnic origins in order to promote intercultural dialogue.

⁵ Walter Harding, *A Centennial Check-list*, xix. Instead of D. Hendel, the name of the publishing house might possibly be O. Hendel, as in Otto Hendel Verlag. Previously based in Halle, Germany, Otto Hendel also published in 1899 Karl Federn's collection of essays about American literature, including his text about Thoreau. See note 13 below.

⁶ As Ceausescu assumed an international role, life for the vast majority of Romanians actually deteriorated. Human rights violations during the 1980s led to strained relations with the West and finally to régime change in December 1989.

⁷ For more on American Romanian literary relations, see Ioan Comsa's "Romania si Statele Unite: Trei Secole de Cunoastere Reciproca, Itinerar Bibliografic," *Secolul 20*, 53-84; for a good survey of world literature in Romanian translation, see János Kohn's "Romanian Tradition" in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 533-41.

⁸ Paul Cernovodeanu and Ileana Verzea, "A Romanian Image of American Literature in the XIXth Century," 194.

⁹ Raluca Tomi, "Miscarea Abolitionista din Principate," 58.

¹⁰ János Kohn, "Romanian Tradition," 537.

¹¹ According to Harding's *A Centennial Check-list*, by 1922 there were already three different translations in German, one in Japanese, one in Dutch, and one in Russian.

¹² A. Galateanu and N. Gogoneata, *Panait Musoiu, Evocari*, 36. As he did not wholeheartedly adhere to the dogma of proto-Marxism during the late 1890s, Musoiu was marginalized, his translation of the manifesto was called into question, and he was blamed for lacking ideological purity because, among other things, his translation used a French intermediary. I would suggest that his penchant for anarchism is a consequence of his ideological blind spot and it is within the broad spectrum from communism to anarchism that Musoiu's view of the world should be assessed. In fact, this is what the only two monographs dedicated to his work do: published in 1970, Galateanu and Gogoneata's *Evocari* is an effort to recover Musoiu in communist Romania, whereas Martin Veith's 2013 monograph, *Ein Pionier des rumänischen Anarchismus*, written in German, proposes to recover him from an international anarchist perspective. Needless to say, I used both books for Musoiu's short biographical sketch presented here.

¹³ Karl Federn, "Henry David Thoreau," *Essays zur Amerikanischen Litteratur*, 141-59.

¹⁴ Henry D. Thoreau, *Walden sau Vieata-n Padure*, 3. (Translation mine.) In *A Centennial Check-list*, Harding mentions an abridged edition of *Walden* published in 1904 by the British Labour Party, whose local groups were known as "Walden Clubs" (xvi). Musoiu might have also intended to use *Walden* as a recruitment tool.

¹⁵ In a letter to an unknown person from 1891, Reclus mentions Thoreau and *Walden*. Ronald Creagh found the letter in the manuscript collection of The New York Public Library and communicated its content to Bertrand Guest, who used it in his doctoral dissertation. Translations of Reclus' work appear in Musoiu's magazine as early as 1895 and an epitaph is published in 1907. Selections from *Walden*, translated into French by Winnaretta Singer and with an introduction by Maurice Muret, appeared in two consecutive numbers of the short-lived magazine *La Renaissance Latine*: No. 4 (1903), 573-98 and No. 1 (1904), 133-46. The manuscript collection of the Romanian National Library in

Bucharest holds Muret's preface and Singer's first installment, both copied by hand by Musoiu, together with the loose printed pages of the second installment of the translation of *Walden*. Unfortunately, I was not able to date the exact time of Musoiu's transcription of both texts, nor could I establish the circumstances in which he obtained them.

¹⁶ Daniel Vollaro, "When Anarchists Speak of Thoreau," 4.

¹⁷ Sean Cotter, "Romania as Europe's Translator," 80-81.

¹⁸ *Idem*, "Rainer Maria Rilke in Lucian Blaga's Translation from English," 106, 109.

¹⁹ Walter Harding, "Foreword," 7-8.

Bibliography

- Allen, Francis H. "The French Translation of *Walden*." *The Thoreau Society Bulletin*, No. 38 (Winter 1952), 1.
- Cernovodeanu, Paul and Ileana Verzea. "A Romanian Imagine of American Literature in the XIXth Century." *Synthesis*, No. 4 (1977), 192-210.
- Comsa, Ioan. "Romania si Statele Unite: Trei Secole de Cunoastere Reciproca, Itinerar Bibliografic." *Secolul 20, Revista de Literatura Universala*, No. 185 (1976), 53-84.
- Cotter, Sean. "Rainer Maria Rilke in Lucian Blaga's Translation from English." In Brian Nelson and Brigid Maher, eds. *Advances in Translation Studies: Perspectives on Literature and Translation: Creation, Circulation, Reception*. Florence, KY: Routledge, 2013. 105-116.
- . "Romania as Europe's Translator: Translation in Constantin Noica's National Imagination." In Brian James Baer, ed. *Contexts, Subtexts and Pretexts: Literary Translation in Eastern Europe and Russia*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2011. 79-95.
- Galateanu, A. and N. Gogoneață. *Evocari, Panait Musoiu*. Bucuresti: Editura Politica, 1970.
- Harding, Walter. "Additions to the Thoreau Bibliography." *The Thoreau Society Bulletin*, No.138 (Winter 1977), 3-4.
- . "Additions to the Thoreau Bibliography." *The Thoreau Society Bulletin*, No. 182 (Winter 1988), 2-4.

- . “Additions to the Thoreau Bibliography.” *The Thoreau Society Bulletin*, No. 191 (Spring 1990), 2-4.
- . *A Centennial Check-list of the Editions of Henry David Thoreau's “Walden.”* Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1954.
- . “Foreword.” In Eugene F. Timpe, ed. *Thoreau Abroad, Twelve Bibliographical Essays*. Hamden, CT: The Shoe String Press, 1971. 3-9.
- Kohn, János. “Romanian Tradition.” In Mona Baker, ed. *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. London: Routledge, 2001. 533-541.
- Thoreau, Henry David. *Walden sau Vieata-n Padure*. Tr. into Romanian, Panait Muşoiu. Prefatory texts by Panait Musoiu, Maurice Muret, Karl Federn, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Bucureşti: Biblioteca Revistei Ideei, 1936.
- . *Walden*. Tr. into Romanian, Stefan Avadanei and Al. Pascu. Forward, M. Grădinaru. Biographical notes, Don Eulert. Iaşi: Junimea, 1973.
- Tomi, Raluca. “Miscare Abolitionista din Principate si Impactul Ei asupra Legislatiei de Dezrobire (1849-1856).” *Revista Istorică*, Vol. XXI, Nos. 1-2 (2010), 57-71.
- Vollaro, Daniel. “When Anarchists Speak of Thoreau.” *The Thoreau Society Bulletin*, No. 293 (Spring 2016), 4-5.

