

IRMAK MERTENS

How Layers of Meaning  
Affect Museum Translation:  
Semiotic-Translational Perspectives





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Affect Museum Translation:  
Semiotic-Translational Perspectives



UNIVERSITY OF TARTU  
Press

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The council of the Institute of Philosophy and Semiotics of the University of Tartu has, on September 16, 2024, accepted this dissertation for the defense for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (in Semiotics and Culture Studies)

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The thesis is defended before the joint committee at the KU Leuven, Campus Carolus, Hendrik Conscienceplein 8–2000 Antwerpen, on November 13, 2024, at 13.00.

ISSN 1406-6033 (print)  
ISBN 978-9916-27-754-6 (print)  
ISSN 2806-2582 (pdf)  
ISBN 978-9916-27-755-3 (pdf)

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University of Tartu Press  
[www.tyk.ee](http://www.tyk.ee)

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## ORIGINAL LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

The following parts of the dissertation are based on publications that I (co)authored:

- I. *Chapter 5* is based on **Mertens, Irmak; van Doorslaer, Luc. 2024.** Museum translation: A combined translation studies and semiotics perspective. In the edited volume *Bridging Cultures and Communities through Translation Studies Research*, edited by Eva Verebová, Lenka Žitňanská, Andrej Birčák, Emília Perez. Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra Press (Accepted for publication)
- II. *Chapter 6* is based on **Mertens, Irmak; Decroupet, Sophie. 2024.** Conceptualizing museum translation: Cultural translation, interlingual processes and other perspectives. In the Special Issue *Museums as Spaces of Cultural Translation and Transfer*, edited by Sophie Decroupet and Irmak Mertens. *Babel* 70(4). John Benjamins Publishing (Published)
- III. *Chapter 7* is based on **van Doorslaer, Luc; Mertens, Irmak. forthcoming<sup>1</sup>.** Translation as metonymic cultural transmission: The case of the Istanbul Archaeology Museums. In the edited volume *Translating Modernity: (Trans)formations of a Concept*, edited by Salah Basalamah. Palgrave Macmillan (Accepted for publication).
- IV. *Chapter 8* is based on **Mertens, Irmak. forthcoming.** “Poetically well built museums”: Transmedial storytelling and world-building in *The Museum of Innocence*. In the edited volume *Constructing the World Transmedially*, edited by Elin Sütiste and Vasso Giannakopoulou. Palgrave Macmillan (Under review).

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<sup>1</sup> Irmak Mertens is the lead author of this publication.

## On the use of GenAI

The present doctoral dissertation, composed of a framing section of four chapters (1–4), four research articles (5–8), and a conclusion, has been written through the help of QuillBot Premium, a paraphrasing tool accessible via [www.quillbot.com](http://www.quillbot.com).

This tool has been used for: adjusting grammar, adjusting an academic tone of the paragraphs, language correction, and the use of synonyms. The totality of the text(s) that were inserted to this tool has been written by Irmak Mertens herself and are her original work. Therefore, the tool was used for the sole purpose of paraphrasing the entire dissertation.

The reference lists were created through ChatGPT, accessible via <https://chatgpt.com>. The details of the references (e.g., name of the author(s) and publication, year of publication, etc.) were found and inserted to ChatGPT by Irmak Mertens herself. This tool has been used for unifying the references and converting multiple systems into a single referencing system.

## 1. A PRELUDE

In “A Modest Manifesto for Museums”, Orhan Pamuk argues that “[i]f objects are not uprooted from their environs and their streets, but are situated with care and ingenuity in their natural homes, they will already portray their own stories”<sup>2</sup>. In other words, he claims that objects have the potential to refer to themselves and speak for themselves in their own contexts. This argument has two repercussions: the first one makes us question the necessity of museums, in the sense that if we were to agree with Pamuk – who is ironically a curator himself apart from being a novelist—then we inevitably wonder why the mediation of museums is so indispensable for us to discover the stories objects tell us. Namely, objects are elemental to create collections which later compose museum exhibitions, and the existence of museums is contingent upon their presence. Nevertheless, the prevalence of museums worldwide suggests that objects are also similarly dependent on museums to be seen and rediscovered. After all, museums are present in nearly every city worldwide, and their functions can be viewed from a variety of angles: recreation areas, meeting points, touristic places, an addition to the urban landscape, a physical manifestation of a certain ideology, a building where artistic imagination runs wild, a formal space where visitors learn about art, history, science, and so on. In such popular spaces, objects collected and exhibited under particular subject matters according to the specialisation of the museum are brought to the attention of the visitors, accompanied by a variety of other elements that contribute to the overall experience of a museum exhibition, such as the information provided about the objects, the instruments of optimisation, such as technological devices, and mood creators, such as light and colour choices. This brings us to the second repercussion, in connection with the first one: asserting that objects possess the capacity to tell their own stories, yet exhibiting them in museums to enable others to do so serves as a reminder that museums are not the natural home of objects. In other words, each object that we encounter in the museum space has already been subjected to a filter.

This filter can be composed of several layers, such as the process by which specialists like art historians or ethnographers gather the necessary information and objects to be displayed, the process by which curators select a theme for an exhibition and determine the best way to present their collection, or the process by which translators determine how to overcome the interlingual translation of realia or sensitive topics such as ethnographic representation or traumatic past events.

Nevertheless, these filters, which not only convey meaning but also generate new meanings through their interference, are not constructed and further developed with complete freedom.

The museum itself is the initial constraint on this freedom, as it is a finite physical space. Consequently, in order to accommodate this space, anything that

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.masumiyetmuzesi.org/en/mani-festo>

pertains to the domain of human culture and thought, scientific advancements, or the natural world must undergo a physical reduction. This reduction could involve simplifying explanations, reducing the length of the information provided on the exhibition, or limiting the number of displays. Virtual museums certainly have the potential to challenge this situation; however, the digital realm is not immune to such constraints either. The quality of the visuals, the amount of information presented, the way visitors can interact with the museum, staff, and other visitors, and the incorporation of multisensory experiences such as olfactory cues are all examples of these constraints that cannot be included in virtual museums. Ultimately, there is presently no technology that can accurately replicate the complete human experience, which encompasses all of our senses and our understanding of space and time, which is facilitated by processes that are free of any constraints or limitations. Consequently, any medium selected to represent the physical museum will be subject to its own limitations as well.

Another constraint would be financial, as museums, like any other institutions or enterprises, do not operate on an unlimited budget. Financial limitations may manifest in display methods, such as the utilisation of less sophisticated display panels or in the reduction of the number of display languages available, etc. Further more, personal and/or societal biases, stereotypes, and ideologies are another form of constraint. Museums are not neutral or objective spaces, as evidenced by the articles included in this thesis. It is acknowledged that each component of the museum is subject to a degree of partiality. The significance of comprehending that it is impossible to visit an exhibition and absorb all of the information presented as non-negotiable static facts is particularly evident when discussing sensitive topics such as inclusion, giving voice to marginalised groups, and ethnographic representation. The articles extensively address the potential of museums to be spaces of artistic expression, socialisation, and education; however, they can also function as channels of propaganda, reflections of extremist ideologies, and ignorance.

Moreover, museums not only bring together individuals from all demographics, but the development of museums necessitates the collaboration of professionals from a variety of backgrounds, such as educators, artists, politicians, state agents, and architects. Academic research is also inextricably linked to the creation of museums. Consequently, the examination of museums from an academic perspective must also be the outcome of multidisciplinary work. All of this leads us to the starting point of this thesis, which is to look into museums as spaces of interconnected layers of meaning that compel the marriage of multiple perspectives. The primary concentration will be on two disciplines, namely translation studies and semiotics, as the current study is the outcome of a joint PhD in both. Nevertheless, the following articles will demonstrate that various other domains, including museology, ethnography, history, and media studies, are employed to discuss how different layers create museum exhibitions. Consequently, one of the two initial tendencies that is a shared characteristic of all articles is the presentation of a multifaceted and multidisciplinary perspective. The second tendency corresponds with the layers of meaning that were previously

mentioned, which is referred to as “translation”. Namely, the present study conceptualises translation from the viewpoint of the semiotics of culture, transcending the boundaries of interlingual translation. This claim does not imply that translation studies (TS) has not already broadened the scope of translation, as seen by the various “turns” in the discipline, such as the “cultural turn” or the “multimodal turn” (Bassnett, Lefevere 1990; Venuti 1995; Thibault 2000; Kress, van Leeuwen, 2001) as well as other notable works that tackled various topics such as audiovisual translation, contemporary art, ethics, transmediation, and so on (Petrilli, Ponzio 2003; Ledbetter 2017; Marais 2018; Tyulenev 2018; Dore 2019; Koskinen, Pokorn, 2020, Vidal Claramonte, 2022). Translation can be approached by various disciplines, including communication, media studies, sociology, etc. If a TS scholar focuses on a specific aspect of translation, such as transmediality, and aims to incorporate an interdisciplinary approach into their work, it is inevitable that multiple definitions of translation (both narrow and broad) would be relevant. As a result, translation is frequently seen as a phenomenon that goes beyond interlingual translation in TS. Some notable studies in the field, such as those conducted by Marais and Petrilli, employ a semiotic approach to conceptualise translation. Therefore, it is not uncharacteristic to encounter the use of semiotics in TS. However, these studies often have a wide-ranging viewpoint that encompasses biosemiotics, making it unworkable and impracticable to use such viewpoints in museum translation (Marais 2023; Petrilli, Ponzio 2013). Alternatively, several studies present frameworks that are applicable for museum translation, and some even make use of semiotics (Neather 2009; Tumarkin 2020; Liao 2022; Neather 2022; Liao 2023). However, these studies tend not to utilise a semiotic conceptualisation of translation, which can be argued to have its core in *self-description*, which is not necessarily bound to language. In TS, it is customary, even in the present decade, for researchers to provide a rationale for adopting a broader approach to translation rather than focusing on interlingual translation. However, in semiotics, one could argue that such justification is not obligatory. To my knowledge, there are no doctoral dissertations that combine TS and semiotics in the context of museum translation while also incorporating numerous viewpoints from disciplines such as cultural anthropology, ethnography, history, museum studies, and media studies. This thesis attempts to emphasise the importance of gaining a deeper understanding of museums in the contemporary world, as they have significant influence over culture, identity, and politics. Additionally, it seeks to contribute to TS by enhancing our understanding of how to conceptualise museums using the semiotics of culture and translation perspectives. By doing so, this dissertation addresses a gap in the existing literature. Thus, the comprehensive conceptualisation and the necessity of examining museum translation beyond the confines of verbal texts are elucidated, discussed, and substantiated in both the background section and the articles. To sum up, looking at museum translation as an all-encompassing and multifaceted phenomenon is crucial if we want to establish inclusive, accessible, and educative environments that foster critical discourse and expression with tolerance; it is imperative that we develop the capacity to identify a process that is the outcome of a series of decisions,

selections, and deliberations that reflect the artistic, didactic, and political inclinations of the individuals and institutions involved in the creation of a museum. Recognising this enables us to cultivate a critical perspective, which can have a trifold effect: assisting visitors in critically evaluating museum exhibitions and in being conscious of their rights regarding matters of representation and inclusion; educating curators and their teams (including professional or non-professional translators) on the sensitivities they may emphasise or create that can result in individual or societal disintegrations; and highlighting the challenges that museum staff faces as a result of certain obstacles they must endure. Additionally, this can help academics better understand the needs of visitors and curators alike and create applicable theories and methods in their areas of expertise.

The following section, “Research Aim, Research Questions, Introduction of the Articles”, will focus on the main aim of this thesis and explain through which questions this aim was achieved. Additionally, it will present an overview of the articles included in order to explain why they were chosen as a bundle, and their similarities and differences will be highlighted. Following that, in the section “Translation in the Context of Museums”, the primary emphasis will be on the manner in which translation studies and semiotics approach the issue of translation. Subsequently, detailed explanations of the concepts of the semiosphere and total translation will be provided, which are frequently discussed in the articles. Since translation is employed as an extensive concept in all four articles, this section can be regarded as an introduction to all of them. Lastly, the section “The Interplay of Ethnography and Cultural Translation in the Context of Museums” addresses the three main issues crucial to investigate for museum translation: ethnographic writing, exploring the notion of texts, and cultural translation. This background information is effective in elucidating the reasons why the articles in this thesis expand upon these topics but opt to conceptualise museum translation separately.

## 2. RESEARCH AIM, RESEARCH QUESTIONS, INTRODUCTION OF THE ARTICLES

The aim of the present thesis is to establish a semiotic-translational perspective on museum translation. This will be achieved by conceptualising translation as a multidisciplinary phenomenon and by offering an in-depth viewpoint that can be both theorised and applied in practical contexts. Therefore, the research questions related to this aim are twofold: how can the limits of museum translation be described, theorised, and defined by translation studies, semiotics, and other related disciplines, such as anthropology? Consequently, what are some practical implementations of a broader concept of museum translation, as viewed from a holistic perspective? Therefore, it can be asserted that the initial two articles correspond to the first research question, whereas the subsequent two articles correspond to the second research question.

Nevertheless, each article is distinct in terms of its sub-research aims and sub-questions, yet they can be united under the main research aim and the two main research questions that were previously mentioned.

The first article, “Museum Translation: A Combined Translation Studies and Semiotics Perspective”, has the aim of examining the interconnectedness between translation studies and semiotics in the context of museum translation and investigating how new meanings can be generated in museums through translation and semiotisation, with an emphasis on the holistic nature of museums. It achieves this aim with the following two questions: i) What role does semiotics play in a possible conceptualisation of translation? ii) How can one establish an understanding of translation that is not solely derived from linguistic phenomena? The article notes that museum translation has been the object of investigation within a diverse range of subjects, such as interlingual translation, intersemiotic translation, metonymy, and visitor experience. It investigates the holistic characteristic of museums in relation to the concepts of the sign, text, and meaning by examining museum translation through the semiotics of culture, apart from a translation studies perspective. Moreover, it posits that translation in the context of museums is achieved through the semiotisation of museum exhibitions, the generation of new meanings, and the concept of the semiosphere. It explores the potential role of semiotics in the conceptualisation of translation that is not exclusively derived from linguistic phenomena, which is hence not under the category of interlingual translation. Subsequently, it is contended that each sign in the museum functions in a network of meanings that is interdependent and cannot be analysed in isolation. Consequently, it demonstrates how the biases and prejudices of agents, such as curators, as well as the artistic, didactic, and ideological intentions, can be translated into the museum space, thereby generating secondary meanings encircling artefacts and exhibitions through semiotisation.

The second article, “Conceptualizing Museum Translation: Cultural Translation, Interlingual Processes and Other Perspectives”, aims to contribute to the ongoing development of the concept of museum translation and its position in

translation studies, and to conceptualise museum translation starting from a broad perspective and continuing with specialised perspectives. It asks the research questions: i) How can one tackle museums as spaces of cultural translation and transfer? ii) What are some possible conceptualisations of museum translation from a multidisciplinary perspective? This article belongs to the special issue “Museums as Spaces of Cultural Translation and Transfer”. It serves as an introductory article to set the tone of the issue by offering various perspectives on the conceptualisation of translation in multiple contexts, including interlingual translation, generational translation, and visitor experience. Therefore, it takes into account both narrow and broad definitions of translation while highlighting how disciplines other than translation studies and semiotics tackle museum translation. The article suggests that researchers should define their focus and research aims before confining the concept of museum translation.

Consequently, both articles share a number of similarities, such as emphasising the necessity of a collaboration between translation studies and semiotics, the utilisation of the concept of the semiosphere, and their assertion that broader perspectives are required to comprehend and analyse translation in the context of museums. However, the main distinction between these two articles is that the former is more geared toward researchers in semiotics due to the concepts it employs, whereas the latter is more focused on translation studies since it starts with an overview of museum translation from a TS perspective and develops from that point on. Furthermore, the second article emphasises the interlingual aspects of translation in contrast to the first, which prioritises the development of a holistic approach that is not based on verbal aspects of museum translation. Consequently, the first article serves as an introduction to moving beyond the conventional perspectives of examining translation, specifically concentrating on museum translation, while the second article explores the manner in which various disciplines—specifically TS—approach museum translation, thereby illustrating the variety of definitions and applications that researchers implement.

The second set of articles consider how the broad and multidisciplinary conceptualisations of translation in the context of museums can serve as practical tools for the analysis of museums in order to gain precise insights into two distinct topics: national image building and transmediality. Therefore, the third article, “Translation as Metonymic Cultural Transmission: The Case of the Istanbul Archaeology Museums”, looks at how the concepts of self and other are translated into the museum space through the use of metonymy and investigates how cultural and political shifts, such as modernisation or Westernisation, impact translation in museums. It answers the research questions: i) What are some practical applications of non-verbal translation in museums? ii) How can different religious, ethnic and national identities be translated through auto- and hetero-images within a museological context? As the title suggests, it delves into the case of the Istanbul Archaeology Museums, previously known as the Imperial Museum. By looking at several factors, such as the clash between Eastern vs. Western, modernisation vs. Westernisation, archaic views on heritage sites and ancient objects vs. the foundation and institutionalisation of archaeology, this

article first explains how certain societal, legal and political changes towards modernisation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire found its reflections in museology. Secondly, it discusses how modernisation was employed in museums through metonymic translation as a tool for uniting the nations within the empire. The main argument argues that changing views on the antiquities resulted from modernisation movements, and consequently, antiquity translations in museum exhibitions are metonymical. In other words, the empire's strict distinctions of the self (i.e., Turkic, Islamic) and the other (i.e., from different ethnic, national, and religious backgrounds) were smoothed out through the metonymic representations of these identities in museum exhibitions, which remarked a symbolic equality, an unprecedented situation in the empire's centuries-long history.

Finally, the fourth article, ““Poetically Well Built Museums”: Transmedial Storytelling and World-Building in The Museum of Innocence”, approaches museum translation from a different angle, namely from the viewpoint of media studies. Its research aim is to demonstrate how transmediation can enable a museum to build its own reality through intersemiotic translation and transcreation, as well as to outline the role of transmedia storytelling and world-building practices in museums. The museum in question is The Museum of Innocence, which is also available through the format of a novel, making the last case study unique. This article asks the following questions: i) How can world-building expand in different directions and platforms? ii) Through which ways does a novel-museum pair cross various semiotic systems? iii) What roles can intersemiotic translation and transcreation play in transmedia storytelling? As the research questions indicate, this article tackles many concepts, including transmediality, intersemiotic translation, transcreation, world-building, and storytelling, which are all illustrated through examples from the Museum of Innocence as a novel-museum pair. One of the main arguments is based on the discussion questioning whether museums in their totality can be regarded as media, in opposition to the research on media *in museums*. By challenging the traditional source text-target text unidirectionality, it offers a novel perspective by introducing a complex diagram of the transmediation of fictitious source media, arguing that the source-target relationship can be bidirectional and non-chronological. The second argument, on the other hand, suggests that intersemiotic translation from a novel to a museum—and from a museum to a novel—can operate through transcreation, and the results of transcreation can manifest itself as transmedia storytelling and world-building.

The disparity between this second set of articles is more apparent due to the distinct disciplines from which they benefit. The third article establishes its foundation on museology and political history while simultaneously maintaining its primary focus on translation studies. It also examines modernity from a sociological perspective. The fourth article, on the other hand, addresses media studies, comparative literature, and the semiotics of translation from a contemporary perspective. The third article's case study is based on historical exhibitions, which is comparable to this distinction. Conversely, the fourth article focuses on a contemporary museum and a novel. In this regard, it could be posited that the

main convergence between these articles is their ability to conceptualise museum translation in a comprehensive manner by incorporating preexisting theories into practical case studies. In this sense, it could be argued that these articles are more complementary than overlapping. Consequently, rather than reiterating the same arguments, they examine museum translation from a variety of standpoints, including historical and contemporary, Semiotics-oriented and translation studies-oriented, museological and literary, etc., views. This situation serves as evidence that museum translation has the potential to develop into a sub-discipline as a result of its extensive conceptualisation, its theoretical and practical nature, and its ability to collaborate with a variety of disciplines. It is hoped that this thesis will contribute to this development and serve as an example of the extensive discussion that museum translation may stimulate in both translation studies and semiotics, all the while providing novel insights.

### 3. TRANSLATION IN THE CONTEXT OF MUSEUMS

#### 3.1. Is Translation only Interlingual?

According to Luc van Doorslaer, disciplines other than translation studies (TS) primarily view translation as a process that is normative and language-based (2018: 228). In the *Handbook of Translation Studies Volume V* (2021: 4), the author highlights that outside the field of TS, the commonly held understanding of translation is “equivalence-based interlingual transfer” (ibid.). The author further argues that adhering to this perception undermines the relevance of TS, as it reinforces the notion that TS is an obsolete discipline. Nevertheless, he claims that in addition to the external impression of TS, there are also traditional scholars (such as Brian Mossop) within the field who consider the expansion of the discipline as a decline in precision, resulting in several conflicting perspectives.

Due to these conflicting perspectives, he explores alternative labels for translation (ibid.: 5). Discovering alternatives, however, is not entirely new, as certain alternative concepts such as localisation, transediting, transcreation, and adaptation are already acknowledged terms in the field of TS, and some have even been developed enough to form their own area of study, such as adaptation studies (ibid.). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the era of digitalisation and transmediality inevitably expands the notion of text and translation. With the integration of Artificial Intelligence into our daily lives, the issue of how to conceive translation is becoming increasingly important. Overall, van Doorslaer succinctly states that any disagreement or discussion on the definition of the term “translation” is necessarily connected to the ongoing debate about the subject and extent of TS (ibid.: 7).

Hence, it is imperative for researchers to establish their stances, define precise research objectives and questions, and acquire a comprehensive understanding of how other fields included in their research describe and conceptualise translation. For instance, all subsequent papers in this chapter focus on museums and translational practices within the museum space, and they employ semiotics to get a deeper understanding of translational phenomena. Each article in this context explores how translation might be understood through a Semiotic lens, going beyond the boundaries of interlingual translation and encompassing visual, tactile, auditory, and other sensory experiences that have numerous layers of meanings for both curators and visitors. However, the exploration of interlingual practices in museums is not completely out of the question either. To exemplify, Anneleen Spiessens and Luc van Doorslaer focus on addressing the interlingual, intersemiotic, and cultural aspects of translation in their examination of “sensitive translation” in relation to ethnographic representations in the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Belgium (Spiessens, Doorslaer 2024). Therefore, the relevance of the interlingual aspect of translation in exploring museum exhibitions becomes noticeable as it involves addressing linguistic representations through translation. Alternatively, translation can be viewed as a “visitor experience” in Robert

Neather's work. From this perspective, the importance of interlingual translation is overshadowed by intertextuality and the visitor's positionality. Neather examines the Museum of Chinese in America as a case study to investigate how visitors perceive a diasporic exhibition in relation to their cultural and ethnic identities (cf. Neather 2024).

Therefore, to reiterate, one's object and the scope of their research are related to how they define the term 'translation', and the need for conceptualising translation in the context of museums continues to emerge. Consequently, the cruciality of defining how a researcher regards and makes use of this term as a concept is paramount for any academic work in TS and other disciplines such as semiotics, anthropology, museums studies, etc. Following this argument, posing the questions "How can the limits of museum translation be described, theorised, and defined by translation studies, semiotics, and other related disciplines, such as museology?" and "What are some practical implementations of a broader concept of museum translation, as viewed from a holistic perspective?" are efficient onsets in order to conceptualise museum translation. It is evident that museums are home to translational activities, even only when it is seen through the scope of interlingual translation. In fact, one of the easiest ways to imagine translation in the context of museums is in the form of interlingually translated verbal texts, multilingual audio guides, and museum tours in various languages—and as they become increasingly more in-demand—mobile applications (i.e., Estonia's Numu Smart Museum App). In terms of interlingual translation, focusing on the intercultural interactions between speakers of different languages in the physical museum environment is among the research possibilities as well, particularly considering visitors' expectations and needs. An exemplary case of the needs of the visitors in a multilingual setting is demonstrated by Terje Loogus and Jaanika Anderson, who examine the University of Tartu Museum in Estonia as a prime example. They analyse the various strategies for museum communication, particularly how these strategies vary when targeting Estonian-speaking visitors versus speakers of other languages (cf. Loogus, Anderson 2024).

Nevertheless, translation in the context of museums bears the potential for non-verbal implications as well, the extent of which could surpass intersemiotic translation or transmediality, which are explored and discussed in the articles following this frame chapter. Namely, museum translation could potentially signify being able to collect and display in an asymmetrical power dynamic between the museum and the visitor or—if it is applicable, for instance, in an ethnographic museum—a source culture and the museum. If we suggest that translation is employed by museums as a means to effectively portray diverse cultures and facilitate the construction of knowledge, then it can also be expected that museums have the power to communicate their own interpretations of historical events (e.g., in archaeological museums), current societal conditions (e.g., in contemporary art museums), and future possibilities (e.g., in scientific museums) through their many exhibits and displays. Museums exercise their influential role in determining the content and manner in which messages regarding their collections are disseminated. In this manner, museums create environments that

facilitate the interpretation and understanding of culture, history, and science for their visitors, while also holding the power to shape these understandings. Museum representations, being authored by the institution and consumed by visitors, afford the museum the agency to purposefully adopt an obscure approach, contingent upon the curators' goals and/or biases, as well as the affiliations of the organisations involved, which may occasionally encompass governmental entities. Regardless of the scenario, it is important to acknowledge that museums and the objects inside their collections lack neutrality and objectivity due to the many layers of translation that come into play before the exhibitions are prepared to be visited. The simultaneous and combined display of artefacts and the associated information can only be perceived based on the mode of representation chosen by the specific museum in question, as each museum has its own perspectives, goals and ambitions.

Hence, it is imperative to recognise that examining museum translation does not adhere to a universal, "one size fits all" solution. Researchers must analyse each case individually, taking into account its specific setting as well as their own research perspective. Namely, depending on the research's orientation, the centralisation or marginalisation of interlingual translation, or even its complete omission, could be considered as possible choices. Nevertheless, as this chapter has significance for establishing the foundation of the subsequent articles, it is imperative to elucidate the approach taken in the discipline of semiotics when dealing with commonly employed terms mentioned in these articles, such as the "semiosphere". To accomplish this, it is necessary to thoroughly explore the semiotics of culture and analyse the connection between specific influential texts and their treatment of the concept of translation. This investigation will ultimately demonstrate the viewpoint of semiotics in regard to culture and translation, and it will provide a basis for understanding the concept of the semiosphere, which is used in the following articles multiple times as a starting point in the conceptualisation of museum translation.

### **3.2. Semiotics of Culture and Translation: Why Museum Translation Cannot be Limited to "Translation Proper"**

In 1973, Juri Lotman, Vjacheslav Ivanov, Aleksandr Pjatgorskij, Vladimir Toporov and Boris Uspensky—namely the Tartu-Moscow School of semiotics (TMS)—published *Theses on the semiotic study of cultures (as applied to Slavic texts)*. The main focus of TMS was "culture as a mechanism of information creation, storage, and transmission" (Sütiste, Salupere 2021: 62). The semiotics of culture examines how various sign systems operate in correlation with each other. Although these signs systems, which are linked to human activities, may seem in isolation (e.g., photography, literature and dance are different media of artistic expression. Therefore, they may seem like isolated units of a culture), they

“function only in unity”, as interdependent mechanisms (Lotman et al. 1973: 53). TMS describes culture in two manners: an “inner” and an “outer” point of view. The first description regards culture as a delineated concept that stands in opposition to “non-culture”, and positions it in a sphere where the opposition is not needed for the “inner” culture to exist. TMS exemplifies the first approach as “enlightenment and ignorance” or “belonging to a certain ethnic group or not belonging to it” and so on (Lotman et al. 1973: 54). The “outer” point of view, however, has a more dynamic nature. From this perspective, culture is not an enclosed space where all the “non-culture” stands in a black hole of nothingness; instead, it moves towards culture and becomes a part of it. The members of the TMS explain this transformational flow from one sphere into another as such:

By virtue of the fact that culture lives not only by the opposition of the outer and the inner spheres but also by moving from one sphere to the other, it does not only struggle against the outer “chaos” but has need of it as well; it does not only destroy it but continually creates it (1973: 54).

As an opposition to the cultural elements that are in organisation, the extra-cultural elements that are in non-organisation can mirror their counterparts. The authors provide an illustration of how a certain culture links height with benevolent deities, thereby inferring that a god residing under the surface must be malicious, as per the beliefs of that society. This mirror effect has a significant impact on culture: as it extends to incorporate elements that are not part of the culture and transforms disorganisation into organisation, it simultaneously stimulates the growth of its counterpart (Lotman et al. 1973: 55). Therefore, this opposition is considered as the “minimal unit of the mechanism of culture on any given level” (Lotman et al. 1973: 56).

The information flow from the extra-cultural sphere to the cultural sphere can trigger cultural development, sometimes in the form of influences. An intriguing characteristic of such influences is that during times when over-exposure of the outer sphere occurs, culture absorbs the extra-cultural elements with the least decodable properties. In other words, culture, when exposed to the non-culture, chooses its most “exotic”, most “foreign” aspects:

The extensive encroachment upon twentieth-century European culture of infantile art, of archaic and medieval art or of the art of Far Eastern or African peoples, is bound up with the fact that these texts are torn out of their characteristic historical (or psychological) context. They are seen through the eyes of the “adult” or European. In order to play an active role, they must be perceived as “strange” (Lotman et al. 1973: 56).

If culture can generate texts and at the same time receive texts from non-culture, what is the relation between the concepts of culture and text? Drawing upon his definition of the term ‘language’, which is “any communicative system working through the combination of sensory signs”, Henrik Gottlieb suggests that any intention of communication that is conveyed by the combinations of sensory

signs is, in fact, a text (Gottlieb 2017: 52). According to him, the act of communication is not bound to being verbal; on the contrary, he indicates that non-verbal communication can also create texts (Gottlieb 2017: 46). Nonetheless, this point of view is not novel for the discipline of semiotics. In fact, the semiotics of culture regards the concept of text as the most basic unit and as the primary element of culture (Lotman et al. 1973: 58). In contrast to many other fields, it does not solely focus on written verbal products that include a clear beginning and conclusion, and an inherent organisational structure that conveys meaning. Peeter Torop suggests that “[t]ext is what we understand in culture and it is through the text that we understand something of culture” and adds that the material of a text presents itself within the textual space, and the structure of this material constitutes the structure of the text as well (Torop 2004: 59). Undoubtedly, there exist multiple perspectives that delineate the notion of text. First of all, one can consider verbal texts, where the linguistic properties are accompanied by stylistic elements as well as a “compositional or narrative aspect” (ibid.). However, this understanding of a text is most applicable where the text itself is discrete, meaning that its signs can be distinguished one by one. When it comes to non-verbal texts, however, discreteness yields to continuity; the meaning of the text is derived from its entirety and wholeness rather than from individual and divisible signs (ibid.). Text can be seen as a system that creates meaning through communication. In this scenario, the text can refer to either the mechanism itself or the output generated by the mechanism. All in all, the thresholds of this notion exhibit significant variation. By referring to Lotman’s earlier definitions, Torop explains that

Lotman consciously replaced the notion of reception with the term of communication, and thus insisted upon the dialogic activity of text. At the meeting of a text with the addressee there can appear several communicative levels, simultaneously or separately: text as a message means communication between the addressee and the addressant, text as a bearer of the collective cultural memory means communication between the cultural tradition and the audience, text as a mediator influencing the shaping of personality means communication of the reader with him/herself, text as an independent intellectual conglomerate and an autonomous dialogue partner means communication of the reader with the text, and text as a full-value partner in a communication act means communication between the text and cultural context (Torop 2004: 60).

A text is not limited by natural human language. Instead, any carrier of meaning can be considered as a text, as long as it “[...] possess a certain integral meaning and fulfil a common function” (Lotman et al. 1973: 58). For TMS, natural language is seen as a primary modelling system, hence, any random utterance expressed through natural language is not considered as a text. In order to attain the level of a text, a meaning-carrier must be linked to a secondary modelling system, that is to say, the constructs that are based on natural language, such as literature or theatre. The inextricable relation between text and culture is summarised by the members of the TMS:

From the semiotic point of view culture may be regarded as a hierarchy of particular semiotic systems, as the sum of the texts and the set of functions correlated with them, or as a certain mechanism which generates these texts. If we regard the collective as a more complexly organized individual, culture may be understood by analogy with the individual mechanism of memory as a certain collective mechanism for the storage and processing of information (1973: 68).

Seeing culture as a sphere that is comprised of texts as well as the generator of texts, positioning it in contrast with non-culture, attributing a mechanism of memory and an organisational level within it, and claiming a dialogue with its counterpart already pave the way to Lotman's concept of the semiosphere. Before entering into a detailed description of the semiosphere, it is important to briefly outline how scholars other than Lotman, who are part of the TMS, understood the notion of translation, which shares several similarities with the semiosphere.

Elin Sütiste and Silvi Salupere discuss the subject of translation from a semiotic standpoint, which is interconnected with concepts such as culture and meaning. They elucidate that the members of the TMS have implicit and explicit references to the relationship between the semiotics of culture and translation (2021: 60–61). Hence, we can contend that the relationship between TS and semiotics has existed for several decades, and the basic concept of translation holds a key place in both fields. Sütiste and Salupere provide a comprehensive analysis of the perspectives of key scholars, especially Vyacheslav Ivanov, Isaak Revzin, and Vladimir Toporov, on the concept of translation. In this overview, we will provide the information following the arrangement established by Sütiste and Salupere in their chapter "Translation Seen Through the Prism of the Tartu-Moscow School of Semiotics". Additionally, we will make use of the English translations given by Sütiste and Salupere from the original Russian texts.

The authors highlight the shared viewpoints of Jakobson and Ivanov, proposing that Ivanov believed that all aspects of language can be translated. Ivanov acknowledged the three types of translation: interlingual (between different languages), intralingual (within the same language), and intersemiotic (between different sign systems). According to Ivanov, the transfer of meaning from one sign to another can occur either within the same language, such as in the case of synonymy, or through translation between different languages or sign systems (Sütiste & Salupere 2021: 66). However, Ivanov discusses the problem of untranslatability in artistic and poetic texts, asserting that certain types of texts can only be approached by creative transposition (*ibid.*). Furthermore, he differentiates between a poetic text and a poetic model, with the latter being the inherent characteristic of poetic structure and the former representing the transferable content of the poetic text (2021: 68).

Isaac Revzin carries this distinction one step further and distinguishes meaning as "periphrastic" and "categorical". According to him, periphrastic meaning is what can be retold from one text into another (2021: 70). For instance, Edgar Allan Poe's famous *Raven* can be explained line by line to a person who does not speak

English, such as “a raven made some noises and the poet thought it was someone knocking the door of his room”. Nevertheless, it is explicit that the periphrastic meaning is not sufficient on its own to make an artistic text; it needs a “categorical meaning”, which is likened to the “poetic model” of Ivanov. Sütiste and Salupere formulate that for both Revzin and Ivanov, meaning and translation have an intricate relationship (2021: 82–83). Revzin’s take on translation is perhaps best explained in the below paragraph, translated by Sütiste and Salupere:

Translation is here interesting as a mechanism that reveals the artistic model of the work, which [...] should not be sought for in the text, but in what is preserved in translation, that is, in what is common to the text of the original work and its translation [...] or, even better, in what connects different good translations of the work (in contemporary science, this essence, which remains unchanged under different transformations, is usually called an *invariant*) (2021: 72).

One source text can be translated in many different ways, and its translations are bound to be heterogeneous. However, what remains the same in every translation is called an invariant (2021: 81). Vladimir Toporov, similarly, emphasised the importance of translating not only the language of a text but also the system of a text: for instance, when translating a French poem into prose in Russian, the translator should pay attention to language, system of the text genres, and carrying the integral meaning of the translated system (2021: 73).

The aforementioned perspectives may be connected to the notion that when engaging with culture and its products, the “categorical meaning” or the inherent “invariant” within certain texts runs the risk of being lost in translation. Therefore, it is crucial to approach the texts in culture in a holistic manner, recognising that individual components can contribute to the creation of a whole, but paradoxically, once dissected, the reassembly of these components does not recreate the same whole. We can contend that museums can be likened to those texts if we now restrict our purview to museum translation. There is considerably more to a museum than its objects and their display cases, which are accompanied by verbal, visual, and auditory information when considering its constitutive elements. The museum space is a composite of these elements, as well as the manner in which the clusters are arranged in relation to one another, the manner in which visitors are directed to follow specific paths (or, conversely, are deliberately allowed to choose which way to go in what order), the manner in which a specific ambience is established through the use of decor, light, and colours, the manner in which the curators address the issue of representation, the manner in which certain languages are accommodated in the museum space and others are not, and, most importantly, the intentions behind all of these decisions. In this manner, it is possible to argue that all of these components are interconnected and contribute to the museum’s overall structure. However, attempting to analyse and investigate these components in isolation without comprehending their interrelations will yield limited and potentially misleading results. From this stand-

point, the term “translation” assumes a broad definition, as our research direction examines museum translation in a manner that surpasses interlingual translation.

This situation begs the question: will we ever be able to define it assertively? Torop may already have provided the answer:

*The starting question to define translation is the question about the border between translation and non-translation. As a possible answer to this question: translation is everything called translation, the notion of the boundary and bordering has to be specified. The result will be differentiating between two more boundaries. The first one is the boundary between a translation and the original, and the second one is the boundary between a translation and the recipient culture (2000a: 599).*

Simply put, it may be more effective to define and delimit boundaries when discussing the conceptualisation of translation rather than attempting to reach a consensus on its definition. Torop’s abovementioned quote follows that the notion of the border is of paramount importance for semiotics in relation to translation. The topological, framing, and linear borders are the three kinds of boundaries that he identifies (2000: 606). The first type preserves the invariance of texts and is a translation mechanism. Signs that are subject to intersemiotic translation, or namely a transmutation, are found within this boundary. Secondly, the framing boundary is related to the dominant of a text. To elaborate, determining the dominant is bound to certain parameters such as politics, ideology, or the culture of another nation, etc. Thus, the determination of a text’s dominant is contingent upon the perspective and is influenced by cultural factors (ibid.). Any metatext also belongs in this boundary. Thirdly, the linear boundary distinguishes the divergent features of oppositions of a text, e.g., mental, linguistic, or ideological (ibid.). According to Torop, translation cannot endure without the explicitness of the boundaries of the text (2000: 607).

Overall, it is evident that the first concerns brought up by the study of the semiotics of culture have a distinctive focus on the topic of translation, especially when it comes to conceptualising it. However, its association with TS remains prominent as it addresses comparable subjects. As Sütiste and Torop argue, semiotics is a metadiscipline, and TS can utilise semiotics, namely the semiotics of translation, for methodological synthesis (2007: 192).

### 3.2.1. Semiosphere

The concept of semiosphere is a particularly noteworthy and practical topic in semiotics that TS can utilise frequently. This concept views signs in culture as a holistic system where interconnected signs work together to generate meaning. However, what does this concept actually encompass? In his seminal article “On the Semiosphere”, Lotman begins by referring to the concept of *biosphere*, first introduced by Vladimir Vernadsky (cf. Vernadsky 1998 [1926]). He explains that Vernadsky perceived the *biosphere* as “living matter” and “the totality of living

organisms”, which Lotman defines as a “cosmic mechanism, which occupies a specific structural place in planetary unity (2005 [1984]: 206–207). The *noosphere*, also introduced by Vernadsky, is a developmental stage within the biosphere, which starts “with human rational activity”, and Lotman presents his concept of semiosphere in parallel with the former two: “If the noosphere represents the three-dimensional material space that covers a part of our planet, then the space of the semiosphere carries an abstract character” (ibid.). Lotman emphasises the significance of the semiosphere as a unified and total concept rather than as an amalgamation of isolated signs. Hence, it is crucial to bear in mind that this notion is considered a system of systems. From this perspective, it can be claimed the *Theses* proposed by the members of the TMS, including Lotman, clearly laid the foundation for the development of the semiosphere. The *Theses* viewed sign systems based on human activities as a unified whole, even though they could be perceived individually. It emphasised the interdependence of these sign systems with each other. Therefore, the parallels between the concept of the semiosphere and how the TMS members regarded culture are manifestly obvious. Lotman formulates that:

Just as, by sticking together individual steaks, we don’t obtain a calf, but by cutting up a calf, we may obtain steaks,—in summarizing separate semiotic acts, we don’t obtain a semiotic universe. On the contrary, only the existence of such a universe—the semiosphere—makes the specific signatory act real (2005 [1984]: 208).

The semiosphere possesses several distinguishing attributes, with the presence of a boundary playing a critically significant role. The boundary possesses a bilingual characteristic as it serves to demarcate the semiosphere from the “extra-semiotic space”. This implies that the boundary interacts with and is connected to both spaces, hence belonging to each on opposite sides. What Lotman calls “non- or extra-semiotic space” (2005 [1984]: 208) bears a striking resemblance to the chaos, the non-organisation, and the non-culture that had been mentioned earlier in *Theses*. Thus, it is evident that what is referred to as culture and organisation by the TMS members bears a resemblance to the semiosphere in the case at hand. The boundary might be conceptualised as an abstract division that separates the two opposing facets. Since there are no intervening elements between the semiosphere and the extra-semiotic space, both sections share the same boundary. Lotman explains that:

[j]ust as in mathematics the border represents a multiplicity of points, belonging simultaneously to both the internal and external space, the semiotic border is represented by the sum of bilingual translatable “filters”, passing through which the text is translated into another language (or languages), situated outside the given semiosphere (2005 [1984]: 209)

Lotman argues that the arrangement of the internal space, known as the semiosphere, and the external space, which opposes it, are not fixed or static. Due to its centralised position, the boundary is bilingual and allows texts from the extra-

semiotic space to pass through and reach the layers of the semiosphere. It is important to note that Lotman's interpretation of a text extends beyond written and verbal texts. Lotman and his colleagues from the TMS view the concept of a text as the most basic unit of culture. Therefore, any element of a cultural product can be classified as a text as long as it conveys meaning, serves a shared purpose, and possesses an integral significance. The act of passing through this filter-like boundary implies the process of translation: the bilingual nature of the boundary converts the new information into the language of the "interior", which is the language of the semiosphere. In other words, a non-text that exists within the extra-semiotic space is invisible to the semiosphere. It can only be recognised as a new text, new information, or newly generated meaning once it is translated or "semiotised" by this bilingual border (2005 [1984]: 209).

The boundary between the semiosphere and the extra-semiotic space also denotes the division between the self and the other. The boundary is considered one of the primary attributes of the semiosphere, as it not only facilitates the formation of identities but also imbues these identities with significance by establishing a contrast between the self and the other (Torop 2005: 164). To elaborate on the above, it is essential to possess the ability to describe one's own identity to oneself in order to fully comprehend the concept of the self. However, in a universe where only the self exists—or where the self is synonymous with the universe—there is no external entity—the other—to comprehend the nature of the self. Torop asserts that the construction of one's own identity is achieved by drawing upon the identity of the other in opposition to the self. This process of separation and creation relies on dialogue, which Lotman also regarded as "the elementary mechanism of translation" (Torop 2005: 164). Lotman himself explains that:

[...] the process of mutual acquaintance and inclusion into a specific general cultural world causes not only the rapprochement of separate cultures, but also their specialization—after entering a specific general culture, a given culture begins to cultivate its own originality in a more acute fashion. In its turn, the other culture also considers it as "special", "unique". The isolated culture "to itself" is always "natural" and "usual". Only by taking part in a much greater whole, does it recognise the external point of view as specific to itself (2005 [1984]: 225).

It may be beneficial to provide an alternative example to comprehend the manner in which opposition can construct identities. The process of recognising one's own identity and, hence, distinguishing oneself from others might be compared to Jacques Lacan's *mirror stage*. For instance, a human infant lacks the cognitive capacity to see itself as a distinct entity independent from its surroundings. The infant is intrinsically connected to the mother, acknowledging its own existence as an integral component of the mother's being (Erkan 2019: 1436). Upon perceiving its own reflection in the mirror, the infant comprehends that the image it sees is a representation of itself. There are two consequences of this acknowledgement: firstly, the infant begins to perceive itself as distinct from its surroundings, and secondly, it establishes its identity through its own reflection or

symbol, indicating that our initial self-awareness arises from observing another “I”. The mirror stage is a theoretical concept that seeks to elucidate the process by which an individual develops the fundamental awareness of their own autonomy and distinctiveness by coming into the—literal and metaphorical—realisation of their own existence through another. (Baştürk 2016: 6). To summarise, Lotman did not develop the semiosphere and its features of boundary and dialogism to explain human development. However, Lacan’s mirror stage and the recognition of the “otherness” of the “other” through dialogue share similarities with the abstract nature of the semiosphere. These concepts can be used as an example to enhance our understanding of the semiosphere. It can be inferred that the exchange of ideas between oneself and others is crucial for the process of translation to take place.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the “other” is only perceived when it passes through the boundary. As a result, not only the recognition of the other, but also the understanding of one’s own identity is bound to translation. Once the boundary is crossed, or in other words, once it is translated, the other is let into the system, regardless of how unfamiliar it may appear from an internal perspective. To illustrate this process, one can consider an isolated society that has never had any form of interaction with other civilisations. Consequently, they cannot fathom the existence of other civilisations. The members of this group would not attribute any importance to “the others” and would not acknowledge their existence. Only after an interaction would the traits of the newcomers be recognised and discerned, even if they appear to be mutually unintelligible and unfamiliar. In essence, this is translation. Lotman explains the function of the boundary that divides the self from the other as such:

At the level of the semiosphere it represents the division of self from other, the filtration of external communications and the translation thereof into its own language, as well as the transformation of external non-communication into communications, i.e. the semiotization of incoming materials and the transformation of the latter into information (2005 [1984]: 210).

The transition from a state of “non-organisation” to “organisation” does not guarantee that the other will quickly integrate into the self. The new information may be deleted from memory over time, it may re-enter over the boundary, it may manage to stay within the semiosphere and move towards the centre, establishing a core position, or it may remain near the outer edges having a place in the periphery. Lotman exemplifies it as such:

All great empires, bordered by nomads, whether “steppe” or “barbarians”, settled on their borders members of those same tribes of nomads or “barbarians”, hiring them to protect the borders. These settlers formed a zone of cultural bilingualism, ensuring semiotic contacts between two worlds. Areas of multiple cultural meanings carry out the very same function on the boundaries of the semiosphere: town, trade route and other areas forming a kind of creolisation of semiotic structures (2005 [1984]: 211).

Lotman's example illustrates that what comes from the "non-organisation", the "non-culture", or the "extra-semiotic space" does not represent a state of emptiness without meaning. As life—and therefore culture—is not situated within a void of nothingness, the extra-semiotic space that is divided by a bilingual border cannot be comprised of nothingness either. Lotman argues that what we refer to as the non- or extra-semiotic space can be considered as the semiosphere of some others. Specifically, the perception of what is inside or outside is contingent upon the observer's position (2005 [1984]: 213).

As previously stated, the semiosphere and its boundary are not static and fixed. Nevertheless, what does that claim entail? First of all, the semiosphere is comprised of multiple layers that extend from the core to the periphery. Within these layers, numerous structures, namely texts, are prevalent. However, the positions of these structures are neither standardised nor consistent, indicating a lack of uniformity in their meaning, which suggests an irregularity; in other words, heterogeneity. These structures have the ability to ascend or descend, resulting in the levels converging and intermingling with one another. At this juncture, Lotman provides his famous example to render these abstract ideas more tangible, and this particular example is also used in the subsequent articles of this thesis:

Irregularity on one structural level increases the fusion of levels. In the reality of the semiosphere, the hierarchy of languages and texts, as a rule, is disturbed: and these elements collide as though they coexisted on the same level. Texts appear to be immersed in languages which do not correspond to them, and codes for deciphering them maybe completely absent. Imagine a room in a museum, where exhibits from different eras are laid out in different windows, with texts in known and unknown languages, and instructions for deciphering them, together with explanatory texts for the exhibitions created by guides who map the necessary routes and rules of behaviour for visitors. If we place into that room still more visitors, with their own semiotic worlds, then we will begin to obtain something resembling a picture of the semiosphere (Lotman 2005 [1984]: 213–214).

In addition to this analogy he uses, Lotman states that the semiosphere can be comprised of groups of semiospheres, or alternatively, it can be seen as the totality of the dialogic relations of these groups:

Since all levels of the semiosphere—from human personality to the individual text to the global semiotic unity—are a seemingly inter-connected group of semiospheres, each of them is simultaneously both participant in the dialogue (as part of the semiosphere) and the space of dialogue (the semiosphere as a whole) (2005 [1984]: 225).

To summarise, the notion of interconnectedness within the semiosphere, which is compared to a museum by Lotman, suggests an organic unity that cannot be investigated by examining isolated signs. In other words, the semiosphere consists of interconnected spheres that interact with one another, highlighting the overall holistic nature of the semiosphere and, thus, museum translation. This can

also be regarded as a compelling illustration of the contributions semiotics can make to TS. In TS, one could argue that the understanding of translation begins with language, and even when this understanding is relatively extensive, it is derived from language as the fundamental basis from which the expansion originates. However, the previous paragraphs have demonstrated that dialogue, characterised by the opposition between the self and the other, is the central mechanism in the concept of translation from a semiotic perspective. Translation begins with self-description which is realised by acknowledging the other. Thus, even though it can have a significant impact, language may not always be the initial point of translation from a semiotic standpoint. This claim can also be taken as a rationale for how semiotics can enhance TS's comprehension of translation, offer novel perspectives, and present a wider framework within which to operate. It also provides a justification for why the articles included in the present thesis do not exclusively concentrate on language.

### 3.2.2. Total Translation

Peeter Torop, a contemporary scholar from the TMS school, holds unique perspectives on the notions of text, culture, and translation. He has subsequently developed the concept of total translation. While it was John Cunnison Catford who first established this concept (cf. Catford 1965), Torop offered his distinct take. To elaborate, Torop did not perceive “total translation” as a type of translation alongside “partial translation”, “full translation”, or “total and restricted translation”; instead, he saw total translation as “antecedent and subsequent to any strategy” (Lange 2021: 214).

According to Torop, text is not an isolated concept, but rather an interconnected component that is linked to other texts. As a result, it serves as a foundation for communication, forming the basis for translation. Furthermore, he perceives the notion of text as “an abstract mental unit in the memory of a group or an individual” (Lange 2021: 211). In addition, according to Torop, culture and translation are intertwined with each other. To elaborate, when a new text enters the culture, it is through translation, which is a view on par with that of Torop's. Moreover, the “translational capacity” of a given culture determines its level of specificity; namely, only with the introduction of new texts does the culture renew itself and self-communicate its distinguished sides from the new texts (Lange 2021: 214). That the self can only be realised with the presence of the other is also presiding in Lotman's semiosphere, which was mentioned earlier. Cultural specificities are, in this case, what stand against the homogenisation of cultures, and they are realised thanks to translation. Let us bring forth a paragraph from the Russian language monograph *Total Translation*, which is translated by Lange:

Ideally, one of the missions of translation is to stand against the cultural neutralization and levelling override that stems, on the one hand, from the indifference of many (mostly multinational) societies towards the cultural ‘specifics’ of a person

or a text, and on the other hand from the attempt to determine one's national identity and cultural roots. Even in democratic countries we can speak about totalitarian rather than total translation, i.e. about translation that have re-ideologized (in the broadest sense of the word) and 'rewritten' their source (Lange 2021: 215 quoting Torop 1995: 68<sup>3</sup>).

For Torop and many other cultural semioticians, culture accommodates primary and secondary modelling systems, the former of which stands for natural human languages, and the latter of which signifies a higher-level system that is based on a natural language or utilises natural language for its description and explanation, such as literature, law, ethics, etc. (Lange 2021: 212 quoting Torop 2011: 1992). Texts, when considered as the products of these systems, can be multiplied by translation, and Torop suggests that the translation of one text into another is communication in culture (Torop 2000b: 72). The totality of culture—which is not only a text but also is comprised of texts—is the ground for this communication or specifically this dialogue. The existence of communication enables translation and cultural process, and that “with its beginning and its end” is “total translation” itself (Lange 2021: 214). Thus, culture, in this sense, has the function of a mediator between the encoder and the decoder of a text (Lange 2021: 207). Torop's statement above makes it clear that translation does not include finding exact equivalents, and as a result, translation cannot lead to a homogenised culture, which is static with no novelties. Instead, translation aids with self-description. Put simply, cultural specificities are observed as a result of cultural innovation, specifically through the introduction of new texts across boundaries. Therefore, translating the other allows us to understand the uniqueness of our own self, which is a view that aligns with Lotman's concept of the semiosphere. Lange comments on Torop's total translation as such:

Although translation can become a culture and is a way that newness enters the world, it is not there to level out cultural differences. Instead, it is there to cherish the plurality of cultures, and of authors and texts. It not only guarantees cultural innovation but also enables the culture to perceive its own specificity. Translation, if total, has its beginning and its end, and reflects the receiving culture's ability to respect differences, including its own; it is about becoming but it is also about staying; it is not only newness, it is also consistency (2021: 216).

Torop views translation as more than just the transfer of activities. He sees it as a means of communicating culture, ideology, economy, politics, and other aspects. Therefore, translation is not simply seen as an act or a product of transferring equivalents (Lange 2021: 220). As Torop formulates, “our reading of a translation starts long before we actually get hold of it” (ibid.: 208), which can be regarded as a statement that describes how cultural background and prejudices can influence both the interpretation and understanding of a text. Considering this viewpoint, as the author of a source text is also a member of a cultural domain,

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<sup>3</sup> The paragraph is a translation by Lange, from the original Russian language monograph.

the process of encoding plays a role in how texts are created, modified, read, and responded to. If we argue that culture creates a basis to construct and shape identities (Leete, Torop 2020: 114), then it is also inevitable that culture is a vital element in translation, not only in its reception but also in its construction. Museums are great terrains to observe how multiple cultures come into contact with one another and how cultural backgrounds shape translation through the contact between the self and the other. Witnessing different identities, whether in the form of an artefact, a written text in an unknown language, or a person from an unfamiliar background, are all within the domain of museum translation.

Synthesising and establishing a comprehensive definition of translation as well as the perspectives of TMS, Lotman's concept of semiosphere, and Torop's approach to total translation, it can be argued once again that the definition of translation does not necessarily need to emerge solely from interlingual transfer and expand starting from language. In that sense, translation can be characterised as a process that generates new meanings through encounters with the "non-organisational", "non-cultural", or "extra-semiotic". To reiterate, the use of suffixes such as "non-" and "extra-" in these terms does not imply the inferiority of cultures of the other. Rather, it highlights the aspects of those cultural domains that initially appear to be mutually exclusive from our own and are so viewed as "non-self". Nevertheless, the mere ability to discern these discrepancies serves as evidence that we *translate*. Therefore, we can reemphasise that the contemporary semiotic understanding of translation does not necessarily place language as the starting point of translation, and the thresholds of the concept of translation are seemingly broad.

Moreover, within the scope of museums, the concept of translation becomes even broader, as the fundamental notion of a museum is intricately tied to the process of new meaning generation. Specifically, the practice of integrating diverse textual forms within the boundaries of an artistic, educational, and political space centred around a particular theme while employing elements that enhance experience and perception (including colour, light, architectural features, grouping techniques, etc.), gives rise to additional layers of meaning beyond those initially attributed to the exhibited objects, especially in the context of ideology, multicultural communication, ethnographic representation, etc. Moreover, it should be noted that the notion of meaning within culture is not a static or permanent one either. Even the initial meanings attributed to the artefacts housed within a museum are susceptible to continual transformation, influenced by factors such as the visitor's background and the intentions of the museum as an institution. These intentions encompass various individuals involved in the museum's operations, including the curator, translator, architect, and others. Hence, the act of comprehending and producing significance within the museum environment might be considered as a translation, even in the absence of explicit interlingual translation activities. The scope of the aforementioned phenomenon of "new meaning generation" extends beyond the interpretations one derives from an exhibition in a museum, as the process of translation (seen as a semiotic concept) involves a dual experience prior to encountering the display. From the

perspective of the curator, the initial stage involves the collection and subsequent selection of items that are intended for exhibition. Conversely, from the standpoint of the visitor, the process begins with visiting the premises of a museum. When considering museums as venues that incorporate several modes of communication, one might argue that the factors influencing the interpretations derived from a museum exhibition extend beyond the organisation and presentation of verbal and non-verbal texts in a manner consistent with museological practices. Furthermore, it is imperative to consider the intentions of both the curator and the architect who works with the curator, as these intentions may be influenced by personal, cultural, or institutional biases. In this regard, research on museum translation should prioritise focusing on the generation of new meanings, which are both influenced by and influential to cultural, artistic, social, and political phenomena associated with museums. For instance, in his 2008 article “Translating Tea: On the Semiotics of Interlingual Practice in the Hong Kong Museum of Tea Ware”, Robert Neather notes that the lengths of Chinese source texts and English target texts vary in comparison—especially when combined with pictorial material (Neather 2008: 229). By comparing how one verbal text has been interlingually translated into another, Neather does not attempt to draw the readers’ attention to grammatical, syntactic, or semantic differences between two languages; instead, he emphasises the cultural backgrounds of the visitors and the specific intention of the curator(s) to mediate the historical artefacts in order to cater to the needs of various groups and to create a certain image of Chinese tea ware culture. Consequently, it can be anticipated that the primary emphasis of museum translation would be on the exploration of additional layers of meaning that are unveiled through an extensive and broad approach to translation. In this scenario, it is reasonable to redirect the emphasis of museum translation away from language-based topics or even typologies.

In conclusion, it can be argued that unless the researcher possesses a specific interest in the text transfer between different languages, it is not essential to position museum translation as a primary focus of academic inquiry aimed at uncovering the reasons and methods behind the translation of verbal texts. In contrast, the focus of museum translation should be directed towards the symbolic significance conveyed by a broader understanding of translations in the museum space, encompassing the aforementioned cultural, artistic, social, and political aspects. The above-mentioned argument suggests that the definition of translation does not necessarily have to originate from interlingual translation and can instead be expanded from other perspectives. Consequently, it is also possible to reevaluate the existing terms employed in the study of translational activities within museums. The following sections provide an overview of several viewpoints that have been employed thus far in the study of museum translation. Subsequently, this study highlights a research gap in the domain of museum translation. This gap arises from the tendency to treat the various components of a museum as isolated cases in the context of translation. Consequently, the articles included in this thesis offer more than a multidimensional conceptualisation of

museum translation that promotes interdisciplinarity; they elucidate the underlying sources of inspiration that compose its structure.

When developing such a comprehensive and multidimensional perspective, it is essential to take into account specific points of discussion that are relevant to translation in the context of museums. One prominent field that has been studying this subject is ethnography, particularly the practice of ethnographic writing as it pertains to museums. Furthermore, the subject of cultural translation significantly influences the conception of museum translation as well. The subsequent section and its sub-sections are dedicated to providing a comprehensive summary of these conversations, introducing influential works in the field, and showcasing notable studies that have already gained recognition in academia.

## 4. THE INTERPLAY OF ETHNOGRAPHY AND CULTURAL TRANSLATION IN THE CONTEXT OF MUSEUMS

### 4.1. Ethnographic Writing

Ethnographic writing is a crucial activity in the area of anthropology, as it yields vital sources for exhibitions in many museums. Undoubtedly, ethnographic writing that entails observing the culture of the other requires the use of translation practices. Antonio Lavieri explains that the relationship with anthropology and translation practices “directly concern the regime of truth and the handling of evidence in ethnographic writing” (Lavieri 2021: 14). He adds that the recent literature on this matter tends to emphasise the multidimensional side of translation (ibid.). Thus, a fundamental point to consider is whether it is feasible to depict the “other” in museums, or if it is impracticable to find a middle ground between the individuals from the source culture, curators, and the visitors. Our initial investigation will focus on the importance of ethnographic writing and the processes it encompasses, as we seek to uncover potential solutions to these problems.

As previously said, ethnographic writing in museums often coalesces with translational activities. Hence, it is crucial to comprehend the role of translation in ethnography. Let us start with an excerpt by Marzia Varutti, who suggests that translation is realised through three steps:

In museums, the visitor is actually faced with a three-fold process of translation. The first involves the literal translation of ethnographic data. The second entails the translation of an idea or a storyline through objects, texts, and images in the space of the exhibition. [...] The third process of translation—proper to ethnographic museums—necessitates the translation of a culture to, and in the terms of, another. Thus displays do not merely involve retrieval of the object’s meaning but also engender the production of new meanings. It does not seem trivial to emphasize this point, as relatively few museums publicly acknowledge their interpretative agency and related margins of misinterpretation (2014: 104).

Moreover, Kate Sturge alludes to a three-fold process as well, however, her version starts with tackling the concepts of the source and target, without being mutually exclusive to Varutti’s point of view. According to Sturge, TS can be applied to ethnography, as ethnography is “a kind of translation” itself, or even the concept of culture can be conceived as “translation” (Sturge 2007: 5). Therefore, we might consider the translation activities found in ethnographic representations as the process of translating one culture into another. Thus, it is conceivable to contemplate the translation in the context of museums—whether in the narrow or broad sense—by viewing them as a source text (ST) transformed into a target text (TT): the ST symbolising the ideas and artefacts from the displayed culture or community, and the TT representing the museum exhibition. However,

Sturge highlights a significant distinction in museum translation when it comes to this dichotomy, namely that the STs are produced by the “translators” themselves. Does this imply that every verbal or visual text we encounter at an exhibition is fictional, given that they are intentionally crafted for the museum? Sturge explains that:

the ‘cultural translation’ *constructs* its source text as well as transferring it into a different language in the manner of the traditional translator, and secondly, the production of ‘cultural translations’ is not the individual business of the ethnographer but a process strongly constrained by the context of institutional power (2007: 6).

In order to translate one culture into another for museum display, the translator, who may be a professional translator, ethnographer, anthropologist, or a member of the curatorial team, must first gather the necessary information about the source culture. They then determine which part, community, historical period, or artistic movement, and so on, of the given culture will be represented in the exhibition. Finally, they construct a ST that will be “translated” to fit the target audience, exhibition theme, museum’s translation policy, and any restrictions imposed by institutions such as the museum or government authorities. It is important to note that the action of “gathering necessary information” is ambiguous and lacks clear criteria. That is where biases and prejudices can come into play in museums, or even used as tools to impose a certain worldview on the visitors.

According to Clifford Geertz, ethnographic writing possesses an artificial quality because the writer lacks the firsthand experience of a local. Therefore, any writings of this sort are interpretations:

In short, anthropological writings are themselves interpretations; and second and third order ones to boot. (By definition, only a “native” makes first order ones: it’s his culture.) They are, thus, fictions; fictions, in the sense that they are “something made,” “something fashioned”—the original meaning of *fictio*—not that they are false, unfactual, or merely “as if” thought experiments (1973: 15).

It might be argued that although Geertz did not explicitly mention museums and exhibitions, there are potential links between his perspective and Sturge’s contention that the ethnographer initially constructs a ST and then translates it. As evident from the statement by Geertz mentioned above, despite the anthropologist fully immersing themselves in the culture they are studying, whatever written text they produce will inevitably be considered a made-up construction. These writings serve as the foundation for the final texts that visitors can view and read in the exhibitions. Therefore, it can be argued that the original recording of the ethnographer, which is a production in itself, can be considered the ST, while the museum-ready texts that are put on display can be considered the TT.

Nonetheless, Brian Mossop criticises this point of view by mentioning that:

TS scholars will certainly find it of interest to see how ethnographers have handled intercultural relations, but there is an obvious problem in calling their writing on the subject “translating”: while we have a text on the target side—the published ethnography—on the source side we seem to have not a text but rather the lives and practices of the people being described. However, for the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz, culture is a semiotic and, therefore, language-like entity; that is, people’s behaviours have meanings for them, and it is these meanings which constitute culture and which we want to have interpreted for us when we read an ethnography (p. 6). Members of a culture who serve as “informants” interpret their culture’s behaviour for the visiting anthropologist, who then makes sense of what has been said. These statements can thus be seen (with some stretching, except where the statements are actually quoted) as a source text (Mossop 2009: 266).

Mossop’s critique serves as a reminder of the importance of researchers recognising their positionality within their field and establishing their own interpretation of translation with valid justifications. Furthermore, it emphasises the need for researchers to clearly define their research objectives and questions before embarking on the study of museum translation. This can encompass a narrow focus on interlingual translations of written verbal texts in museums, or a broader examination of visitor experience or the translation of historically sensitive content, among other possibilities.

However, it is important to remember that museums have certain physical capacities, making it impractical to encompass a whole culture within its confines. Furthermore, ethnographic museums differ from contemporary art galleries in that curators are not at liberty to allow visitors to subjectively interpret objects without any accompanying explanations such as labels or introductory materials. Even if the museum were online or virtual, it would still face the challenge of adequately describing and explaining every aspect of a culture within the limits of the digital space. This limitation is also due to the time constraints faced by visitors, as learning about every single element of a source culture would be excessively time-consuming. Thus, the anthropologist must define the boundaries of their research and determine which specific aspect(s) of the lives of the individuals in a source culture they should examine. Rubel and Rosman state that “[t]he ethnographic texts, which anthropologists publish today, never consist of the data exactly as collected in the field” (2003: 5). Furthermore, it is important to note that the theme of the museum or exhibition come with their own constraints as well. These limitations do not align with the organic flow of life and culture, as life itself is not uncomplicated and one-dimensional. Therefore, it can be argued that when individuals from a particular culture display and explain their actions (which can be seen as a preliminary ST) to the anthropologist visiting them, as Mossop mentioned earlier, the anthropologist is already singling out specific aspects of their own culture and constructing a ST based on the experiences of others. Put simply, the willingness of individuals from the source culture to share aspects of their culture, often in response to a request from the anthropologist, is distinct from the act of engaging in their cultural and daily

practices for their own sake. The construction of a ST in such situations commences at the same time as the anthropologist's *in situ* observations and analyses, considering that the semiotic and language-like characteristic of culture does not necessarily imply that it can be a ST in its entirety within the context of museum representations.

However, if that is indeed the case, what exactly does Sturge imply when she asserts that the translator must first create a ST? To explain, she suggests that it is because “[...] life has to be put into textual form” when translating a culture, and adds that “the cultural translator doesn’t simply find the textual form ready made. Not only is there no ‘source text’ in the physical sense, but people’s lives and practices are not necessarily text-like at all” (2007: 6). This argument leads us to inquire about the precise definition of the term “text”. What are the thresholds associated with this notion and how can we accurately define it? Firstly, if we acknowledge that certain activities in life are not text-like, we can deduce that there exists a division between text and non-text. According to Juri Lotman, “[w]hen classifying cultures according to the feature distinguishing text from nontext, it should be remembered that these concepts may be reversible as far as the limit in each given case is concerned” (1978: 235). Put simply, what we understand from the notion of text can vary depending on the situation, and there is no rigid categorisation. From a semiotic perspective, Thomas Sebeok and Marcel Danesi suggest that the way we make meaning of a text is bound to the context:

The meaning of a text is conditioned by context. The context is the situation—physical, psychological, and social—in which a text is constructed, used, occurs, or to which it refers. Consider a discarded cigarette bud. If one were to come across this object on a sidewalk on a city street, one would no doubt view it as a piece of rubbish. But if one saw the very same object displayed in an art gallery, “signed” by some artist, and given a title such as “Waste”, then one would interpret it as an *artistic text*, and thus assign a vastly different meaning to it. Clearly, the cigarette’s physical context of occurrence and social frame of reference—its location on a sidewalk vs. its display in an art gallery—will determine how one will interpret it. Human beings are capable of constructing an infinite number of novel texts appropriate to a limitless number of contexts (2000: 29).

To determine whether the daily life and cultural practices of a source culture may be considered as texts, one must first have the purpose to offer them as such. In our instance, this refers to the representation of these practices in museums. Given that “[...] a text implies a certain organization” and “[i]n relation to a nontext, a text has supplementary meaning” (Lotman 1978: 235), it is in the hands of the translator to demonstrate the components of a source culture as text or not. Having dinner with family is a common daily activity that may not be considered significant, and might not have any text-like properties for the members of the source culture. However, for instance, in the context of an ethnographic museum, it can take on text-like properties if the differences between the source culture and the target culture in their dining practices are emphasised. This can create

additional meanings such as “they are similar to us despite the differences” or “they are completely different from us because of the differences”.

Therefore, as previously said, the translator’s responsibility in this context is to initially determine what can or should be translated. This necessitates the translator to “decontextualise” (Sturge 2007: 1), or emphasise certain elements of the original culture. The translator can only begin addressing other layers of translation, such as interlingual or intersemiotic, after creating the composition that now serves as the ST. However, even in such cases, there is no assurance that the components of the newly-formed ST adequately represent their intended meanings for the members of the source culture, particularly when developing exhibitions for ethnographic and archaeological museums.

Sturge adopts Geertz’s perspective (cf. Geertz 1973) and contends that simply observing a culture and its particularities is insufficient for comprehending the significance of those elements to the members of that culture, as “[...] cultural facts are like texts [...] which do not stand for themselves but demand complex interpretation” (2007: 7). She adds that “if ‘translation of culture’ can mean the re-framing of meanings from one set of cultural categories to another, the addition of the concept of ‘culture as text’ brings ‘translation of culture’ closer to traditional notions of translation” (ibid.). Sturge also mentions the essays in *Writing Culture*, edited by James Clifford and George Marcus (1986), which criticise traditional ethnographic writing for its tendency to view the source culture from the perspective of the target culture. This approach involves fitting the source culture into the linguistic, cultural, or ideological frameworks of the target culture. When civilisations are distant from each other, either in terms of geography or tradition, the translations and ethnographic representations become less realistic, according to this view.

Contrary to this perspective, there are proponents of the idea of fitting a source culture into the registers of the target culture by identifying suitable equivalents. One such advocate is Alessandra Ficcara, who argues that the translator’s role is challenging and fraught with dilemmas, and that finding equivalents in ethnographic writing is of crucial significance:

The task of the translator is to keep the meaning ‘equivalent’. Equivalence is the major dilemma of the translator: the new text—the Target Text—should be equivalent not only to the source—the Source Text—but it should have an equivalent function in the Target Culture as well. Cultural knowledge, thus, has been recognized as indispensable for translation (2020: 52).

Implementing the concept of equivalence can be more challenging than Ficcara suggests in this paragraph. First of all, if we draw upon Jakobson’s claim (cf. Jakobson 1971 [1959]) that translation occurs on the level of entire messages rather than code-units, it is inevitable to take notice that finding structural and terminological equivalents between different sign systems and/or complete cultural systems is in vain, “[f]or the message to be ‘equivalent’ in ST and TT, the code-units will necessarily be different since they belong to two different sign

systems (languages) which partition reality differently” (Munday 2016: 61). Since Jakobson, there has been extensive discourse spanning several decades over the topic of equivalence. The objective of this research is not to delve into this matter in great depth. However, it is noteworthy that when portraying cultures through museum translation, the task of seeking equivalents to make it appealing to the target culture becomes a complex issue. Addressing Mona Baker (cf. Baker 1992), Munday quotes that equivalence is a relative concept since it is affected by numerous linguistic and cultural elements (Munday 2016: 77). Similarly, in the museum context, not only verbal but also non-verbal factors play a fundamental role in translation, therefore, translation entails more than substituting the lexical and grammatical elements of one language into another to attempt finding equivalents, as the nature of equivalence is not dependant on merely language; it involves culture.

Assigning the translator with the responsibility of identifying equivalents assumes the existence of corresponding elements in both cultures. However, it is important to note that not every component of a cultural system can always be matched with an equal in other cultures. Furthermore, imposing strict conformity on a text may carry the risk of becoming too familiar to the target culture, perhaps erasing the distinctiveness of the translated culture. This does not preclude the possibility of conveying cultural specificity to a target culture while preserving its inherent unfamiliarity. However, this approach runs risk of the translated text being too lengthy. To exemplify, when it comes to an exhibition, providing an excessively long written material or showcasing a 2-hour-long movie to describe only one facet of a particular culture goes beyond the boundaries of practicality. Another potential option could be conveying the distinctiveness through artistic means, by means of an expressive painting for instance. Since creative media is not limited to linearity, it is possible to convey multiple connections that a given cultural piece carries in a relatively compact area. However, there is a risk that it may become excessively abstract for the visitors, necessitating the inclusion of an accompanying explanatory text. This, in turn, would need significant time and effort to create and consume. Furthermore, if the translator opts to convey the cultural nuances of the source culture in a more concise manner (resulting in fewer explanations), there is a risk that the TT will become too unintelligible for the visitors. In return, excluding the unintelligible cultural specificities of the source culture in order to create a comprehensible TT can lead to the omission of important elements from the source culture. This omission increases the risk of misrepresenting the source culture, which may leave its members discontented, resulting in a sociocultural or political crisis.

At this point, the challenge of translating not only language but also the culture to which it belongs becomes visible. In his essay “Rebuilding the Bridge at Bommel”, James Holmes discusses the limits of translatability, and explains that if we consider translation as a spectrum, then on the one extreme there will be some who believe that every text can be translated, and there will be others on the opposite extreme who think that “no text in one language is ever completely equivalent to any other text in another language” (1988: 45). He further elucidates

that the majority of translations fall somewhere between these two extremes. He provides an illustration of the intricacies involved in translating a poem from Dutch, which possesses unique syntactic and cultural characteristics, into English. This process can be exceedingly complex, offering the translator numerous choices to consider. While poetry is not the main subject of this research, one might view a poem as a museum in the sense that they are both holistic entities in which the signs are interconnected and dependent on each other. Therefore, Holmes' example remains pertinent to the debate. To quote Holmes:

The basic problem facing the translator of a poem, or at any rate the translator who takes it as his goal to create a text that is not only closely enough related to the original text to be called a translation but also meets the basic requirements for being called a poem in the new language he has taken as his "target", is that he must somehow "shift" the original poem not only to another linguistic context but almost without exception also to another literary intertext and socio-cultural situation. On each of these three planes, the choices confronting him range primarily on the axis "exoticising" versus "naturalising": should he retain a specific element of the original linguistic context (e.g., source-language syntax), the literary intertext (e.g., source-literature verse form), or the socio-cultural situation (e.g., source-culture symbols and images), knowing that in the new context, intertext, and situation that element will acquire an exotic aspect not attached to it in its native habitat? Or should he replace the element by one that he considers in some way matching or equivalent in the target context (e.g., target-language syntax), intertext (e.g., a target-literature verse form), or situation (e.g., a target-culture symbol or image)? (Holmes 1988: 47–48).

He emphasises that apart from exoticising and naturalising, a translator can also consider making the choice of "historicising" or "modernising" as well, or they can emphasise "retention" or "re-creation" (Holmes 1988: 48). Within the context of museums, the act of "historicising" can be employed as a means to establish superiority or control over a different culture or ethnic group. Expanding on this, intentionally contextualising ethnographic and archaeological artefacts from a colonised society, exhibited in a museum belonging to the coloniser, not only emphasises the dominance of the "modern" population over history, but also underscores the perceived superiority of the coloniser, through comparisons of technical and technological advancements. (Jean 2018: 1053; also cf. Patou-Mathis 2011).

If we were to view deliberate historicising as a form of alienation or foreignisation, it is crucial to emphasise the differences in the attitudes of particular researchers towards this method. Friedrich Schleiermacher, for example, viewed this approach as a means of fostering a stronger connection between the reader and the writer, and he viewed foreignising as a process of ensuring faithfulness to the ST, which elicits the value of the foreign text (Munday 2016: 49). According to this point of view, these texts can serve to distinguish the cultural characteristics of the target culture through the recognition of the particularities

of the source culture. Hence, it bears a certain level of similarity to the views of Lotman and Torop.

Nevertheless, it is crucial to bear in mind that translation in the museum setting encompasses more than just interlingual translation, as was the case with Schleiermacher. Furthermore, although foreign works are typically translated to cater to the readers' overall interest and enjoyment in literature, the establishment of museums is not contingent upon public enjoyment or curiosity. It is undeniable that foreign literature can be translated for multiple other reasons as well, however, the financial return can still be regarded as a major motivation in translating foreign literature. Museums, on the other hand, can be established regardless of public interest and may even be a result of colonialism, serving as symbols of power and dominance for the collector, such as a state, king, or wealthy family.

Furthermore, it is crucial to consider the identity of the translator. David Katan suggests that instead of considering the individual who performs the translation as a "translator", it is also plausible to view them as a "mediator". This mode of thought involves setting aside the principle of equivalence and instead considering comparability:

In fact, an essential difference between a traditional translator and a mediator is the mediator's ability to understand and recreate culture-bound frames wherever necessary. The mediator will be able to understand the frames of interpretation in the source culture and will be able to produce a text which would create a comparable (rather than equivalent [sic]) set of interpretation frames to be accessed in the target reader's mind (Katan 2004: 171).

As museums are perceived as educative, objective spaces, which are entitled to represent different cultures, translational activities remain an arduous work, no matter which strategies are chosen or put behind by the translator, or by which title they have. From this point of view—and on par with the previous statements—the translator can be the ethnographer, the historian, the scientist, or the curator who has a certain authority over what is chosen to be displayed as well as how those chosen artefacts are displayed.

Thus far, we have examined the matter of ethnographic writing and have also presented a selection of the difficulties that translators may encounter while preparing their writings for museum settings. Let us proceed by examining specific instances pertaining to the matter of translation and representation within ethnographic museums. However, what could be some concrete examples of these risks? Enid Schildkrout demonstrates what can go wrong in an exhibition in terms of representation through her review of *Into the Heart of Africa*, in the Royal Ontario Museum. She addresses the problem of dealing with "facts" in ethnographic museums (2005 [2004]: 181), as, according to her, curators have more responsibility in what they exhibit and how they exhibit compared to, for example, art exhibitions. Schildkrout mentions that even though the intention of the organisers of the exhibition was to show their criticism against colonialism, visitors perceived it otherwise: they saw it as "a glorification of colonialism"

(2005 [2004]: 182). According to her, one reason why *Into the Heart of Africa* was unsuccessful and offensive—it triggered public protests and various groups felt upset and insulted—is in correlation with “the central idea of the exhibition and its failure to address consistently the themes the curator attempted to define” (2005 [2004]: 182). For instance, she argues that the placement of African gold weights alongside a Canadian officer’s helmet in an exhibition intended to critique colonial powers is both inappropriate and perplexing (2005 [2004]: 185). Schildkrout mentions that the intention of the curator was to “present the stories that came into her mind as she viewed objects” (2005 [2004]: 184), however, as is evident, each decision made in the museum carries a multitude of levels of meaning that visitors and/or the groups that are represented can read and understand in different ways. At this juncture, a significant factor that becomes relevant is political asymmetry, specifically in relation to translation and voice: the visitors perceive the voice of the “translator”—who is the curator in this context—rather than the original “author”, who is the source of the voice. This asymmetry arises from the curator’s commentary and the absence of African perspectives on the objects, such as direct quotes, descriptions, and comments from the owners, creators, or inheritors of the displayed items. Consequently, the museum assumes the role of the speaker, while visitors passively listen, and the cultures being represented end up being disregarded. Sturge similarly summarises such a situation as such:

One side initiated the dialogue within the terms of a powerful institution which cannot be accessed by the other; one owns the copyright and ‘speaks for’ the other in a hegemonic language on an academic stage (2007: 1).

Furthermore, Schildkrout explains that since the African voice in the exhibition was quite passive, there were no “responses” given by the represented Africans to the imperialist collectors:

Despite the claims of the curator, the objects selected for *Into the Heart of Africa* were not, of course, speaking for themselves and ultimately only one voice emerged in the exhibition: that of the Canadian collectors whose sentiments were expressed by the selection of derogatory, patronizing, and racist remarks, many of which were paraphrases and not actual quotes (2005 [2004]: 188).

Another illustration of the exclusion of the voices of the source culture is provided by Anna Catalini. She elucidates that traditional religious Yorùbá objects are exclusively displayed in an academic tone in contemporary British museums. This not only indicates that the exhibition is “aimed at an academic and highly educated public” but also, and most importantly, demonstrates that the Yorùbá voice was not consulted sufficiently” as “[t]he voices were, in fact, the ones of the curators” (Catalini 2007: 74). This situation jeopardises the potential for accurate and equitable representation, as the academic voice is unable to completely capture the sentiments and meanings of these spiritual and religious objects. She emphasises the significance of inclusion in museums:

[...] in relation to non-Western traditional religious objects, it is essential to remember how difficult it is to communicate the meanings and feelings related to these objects. Western museums may be able to reach more informed or “authentic” interpretations if they include the memories and voices of the people who are “closer” to the original meanings of traditional religious objects (Catalini 2007: 77).

Therefore, as “the curatorial intent can be expressed in space” (Tzortzi 2017: 3), the museum, which is a “translation zone”, becomes a “political zone” (Apter in Gentzler 2013: 19) not only due to irrelevancy in representation, but also because of absence in representation.

Virginia Dominguez comments that museums as translations “can be read as referential indices of the self. Their concrete objects come from other societies, but everything about the collection itself—the way objects were collected, why they were collected, and how and why they get displayed—points to us” (1986: 554). Similarly, Karp argues that an exhibition serves as a means of expressing and conveying identity, which can be either directly stated or indirectly suggested (1991: 15). Therefore, even if the exhibition implies the existence of the other and represents it, it ultimately serves as a reflection of the self:

Exhibitions represent identity, either directly, through assertion, or indirectly, by implication. When cultural “others” are implicated, exhibitions tell us who we are and, perhaps most significant, who we are not. Exhibitions are privileged arenas for presenting images of self and “other” (ibid.)

Therefore, it can be argued that the lack of input from others can lead to a self-centred exhibition in museums. Sturge argues that when museum translations fail to address the discourse of the source culture, whether intentionally or unintentionally, it leads to exclusion or what we previously referred to as absence:

However important it is to consider museum translations of culture as a document of the receiving culture, the loop that makes both target text and presumed source text into components of the target discourse excludes the people who made the objects on display; those people become shadows in the wings of the real translation action (Sturge 2007: 169).

As opposed to the topic absence, Sturge refers to the Horniman Museum in London and its “African Worlds” gallery, where the target audience is the “diasporic African communities” and mentions that this orientation towards an “unusual”<sup>4</sup> target audience, namely a “[...] changed readership of the museum ‘translation’ has meant considerable rewriting of the collected objects, many of which were acquired in the colonial era” (2007: 169).

As previously mentioned, translation in the context of ethnographic representations is not limited to just translating between languages. It can also refer to the transfer of meaning between different cultures. Additionally, translation can also

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<sup>4</sup> In the sense that actively including source culture members by giving them a voice has been ignored by museums for decades.

occur through visual means. Sturge provides a specific instance where certain labels in the exhibition are intentionally created to include the name of the creator of an object (such as a mask) and a photograph of the commentator:

The maker of the mask is named and the explanatory text defines a historical and political context, two moves against the attribution of African artefacts to generalized 'tribes' living outside the time-world of the receiving culture. The authors of the label itself are named, a specific attribution of the interpreting voice which enables accountability [...]. This is backed up by the inclusion of different sources in a polyphonic, desynthesizing form. Instead of the anthropologists—here both European and Nigerian—being the sole reliable witnesses, members of the communities who use or used the object offer their own comments (2007: 169).

If so, is it not possible to avoid both inclusion and exclusion, and have a relatively distant stance towards both the self and the other? Lavine and Karp present an example of a much earlier exhibition, titled *Art/artefact*, which was organised by the Center for African Art in New York in 1990, by quoting Susan Vogel, who mentions that this exhibition focuses on how the West sees Africa both literally and metaphorically, and makes the viewers turn their gaze into themselves and realise that the way they interpret African art is surrounded and shaped by their own culture (Susan Vogel 1895 in Lavine, Karp 1991: 7). This “experimental” exhibition fits into what Lavine and Karp suggest: if a multicultural perspective cannot be presented, then the controversy of an exhibition must be admitted by the organisers (Lavine, Karp 1991: 7).

James C. Faris mentions that the exhibition “[...] is more precisely concerned with Western perceptions of the African plastic productions that are the specific items of exhibition and the extent to which particular exhibition strategies bear on these perceptions” (1988: 775). Furthermore, as per his assessment, the exhibition predominantly lacks informative texts and labelling, which creates a sense of detachment. He explains that:

[w]ith this context, however, the room has a seditious consequence [...], for without information on the cultural content of objects there is neither the deceit of patronizing appreciation nor the aesthetic denial implied in functional associations. We are at least free to make of it what we will, however limiting this may be in the circumstances. The objects can become, as they so obviously are, *our* objects, whatever other perversities may apply. (1988: 777).

As previously mentioned in this section, the majority of the questions of translation and representation were addressed to the power asymmetry between the coloniser and colonised, which can take the roles of the “representer” and the “represented”. For instance, throughout the examples presented here, Western Europe seems to be assuming the role of the representer while Africa remains the represented. Translating cultures in museums is a global phenomenon in the contemporary world we live in, and the challenges of representing the other are quite similar worldwide. Hence, the task of representing cultures through translation is

fraught with difficulties, nonetheless, the difficulties multiply when polysemic objects, namely, objects with profound and numerous meanings, are displayed in museums (Varutti 2014: 104). Varutti demonstrates from her case study that Tao canoes<sup>5</sup>, which are local to the island of Lanyu in Taiwan function as “boundary objects”, that is to say, objects that have different meanings according to the contexts they are found in. She states that these canoes hold significance related to navigation, traditional wisdom and skill, visual appeal, and appeal to tourists. They are often portrayed as exotic items, particularly in their tourist-oriented form (2014: 105). In the context of museums, however, representations are not limited to exoticising. For instance, in the Kadoorie Nationalities Gallery in the Shanghai Museum, Tao canoes are subject to appropriation, reflected through cultural deletion. The museum labels these canoes as “*Gaoshan*”, which Varutti explains as a collective term designating all indigenous groups in Taiwan” that is considered as a part of regional ethnic minorities in China (2014: 107).

According to the author, this collective approach is a political statement of China towards Taiwan and she formulates that

[t]hus, in the Shanghai Museum, the subjectivity of the Tao indigenous group is erased; their canoes are a symbol of the single “Chinese ethnic group” inhabiting the Taiwan “Province” and are framed as an illustration of the cultural diversity of China (2014: 107).

The author continues, stating that a different kind of collective approach towards Tao canoes can be seen in the National Museum of the Republic of Palau, an island in the Pacific Ocean. In this context, the museum presents the canoes in the explanatory texts by highlighting the shared Austronesian origins between the people of Lanyu and Palau, which, according to Varutti, is demonstrative of “the longterm diplomatic alliance between the Republic of China (ROC; Taiwan) and the Republic of Palau” (2014: 108).

Cultural representation in museums is undeniably demanding, as seen by the aforementioned examples. It is evident that curators and museums have the ability to influence these representations based on the political agenda of the countries or regions in which they are located. However, it is also possible to come across examples of representation that please the members of the source culture. Therefore, the responsibility of cultural representation in museums should not be underestimated or regarded as entirely negative. Instead, researchers and practitioners should strive to educate themselves and comprehend the various complex viewpoints involved in museum translation, with the aim of attaining the best possible outcomes. Thereby, conceptualising museum translation, comprehending what it entails, and gaining a deeper awareness of its complexities become more important than ever.

To exemplify how members of a source culture can feel content after visiting an exhibition, Tuğba D. Apaydın’s perspective can be illustrative. She explains

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<sup>5</sup> *Ipanga na* in Tao language (Varutti 2014: 104).

that the case study she conducted on İznik<sup>6</sup> ceramics in British museums show that the display methods chosen by the curators are demonstrative of cultural and diplomatic interactions between Turkey and Italy, as well as Turkey and its Eastern neighbours such as Iran, without appropriating or exoticising the objects. She gives the example of the “West Meets East” exhibition at the Ashmolean Museum, where İznik ceramic plates produced between 1680 and 1690 are displayed in the same cabinet with their imitations—which are thought to have been produced in Lambeth, England—in order to demonstrate the cultural and artistic influence of Ottoman ceramic designs in Europe (2020: 358). Alongside this approach, the curators also exhibit İznik ceramics that were influenced by Italian design in a separate display. This display showcases plates manufactured in İznik during the 16th century, which bear resemblance to the contemporary Italian ceramics known as “Pondino”. Apaydın states that the exhibition tends to showcase the original alongside its imitation, providing visitors with a context and an explanation of how one affected the other. The museum attributes the influence on the Pondino plates and their İznik imitations to the robust diplomatic and commercial contacts between the Ottoman Empire and Venice (2020: 359). She further explains that in the British Museum, The Albukhary Foundation Gallery places İznik ceramics in a chronological context, highlighting the effect of the elder Ming dynasty era in China on the ceramic industries. The author illustrates the juxtaposition of these examples to exemplify the cultural interchange between civilisations (2020: 360–361). Moreover, the author emphasises that many previous inaccuracies and misrepresentations in museums have been mostly rectified in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. For example, in the 19th century, the Society of Antiquaries and Burlington Fine Arts Club staged Islamic exhibitions where İznik pottery plates were categorised as “Iranian” or “Syrian” because of shared artistic and ornamental characteristics among these nations. Nevertheless, the Victoria and Albert Museum has reclassified these incorrectly labelled plates as “Turkish”. They are being shown alongside Syrian and Iranian pottery in the same cabinets, serving as a demonstration of intercultural exchange (2020: 365–357).

All in all, Apaydın contends that the cultural representations of Ottoman art in British museums are accurately made. As a member of the source culture, she concludes that the exhibition halls showcase the most vivid and representative instances of İznik ceramics (2020: 369). From our perspective, the display methods of these plates demonstrate that in some situations where it is not feasible or preferable to give voice to the source culture (due to limitations in space, displaying the past, etc.), maintaining an objective distance and presenting the objects within a contextual framework leads to a state where members of the source culture may feel content, and the sense of unity and intercultural exchange is highlighted. It is important to note that what is today deemed as “accurately or successfully represented” may not meet future societal standards, or it could have been deemed “unsuccessful” by advocates of different ideologies in the past.

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<sup>6</sup> Formerly known as Nicea, İznik is a historical city in Turkey, which is recognised for its ceramic production.

Hence, it is crucial to consider the temporal and spatial settings while engaging in museum translation, particularly when working with museum texts.

## 4.2. Exploring the Notion of Text in the Context of Museums

In the context of museums, it can be inferred that the processes of ethnographic representation and cultural anthropology are facilitated through translation, with its broader conceptualisation as previously mentioned. We have also provided several perspectives on whether the life and culture represented in museums may be considered analogous to texts. Similarly, one may also inquire if museums possess text-like qualities or not. Sturge elucidates that museums serve as a platform wherein visitors can gain a comprehensive understanding of diverse cultures, a process that bears a striking resemblance to the practice of ethnography; however, she adds that “[u]nlike literary translation there is no preceding physical text, and unlike written ethnography the museum’s medium is not primarily words. Yet the ethnographic display shares with written ethnographies the task of ‘making sense [...]’” and she adds that “[...] to study museums as translations is not to evaluate faithfulness but to ask how they work in the world as text-like artefacts were made” (2007: 129).

So far, the approach of reading museums as scripts or texts has been discussed in various ways, such as being an “organization of space” in the museum and regarding the combination and juxtaposition of objects as “manifestations of ideology and social meaning, like a ‘script’” (Duncan, Krauss in Tzortzi 2017: 2). Moreover, Hooper-Greenhill states that the gathering and the arrangement of museum objects construct a “script”, and the “representation of cultures” is generated through them (1992: 126). Furthermore, Mason, referring to the earlier works by Duncan and Krauss, suggests that museums “function as systems of signification” and that they can be read as texts (2011: 19).

In this respect, Sharon Macdonald (cf. 1995) agrees that museums can be analysed like texts, as they have many common points with, for example, literary theory. However she points out that at the same time, museums are not really text-like. She states that, in addition to the verbally constructed texts such as labels, much of the museum space is devoted to non-verbal components. Furthermore, she proposes that the museum as an establishment possesses an authoritative position distinct from that of a written document. She enumerates the factors that differentiate museums texts:

[...] their authoritative and legitimizing status, their roles as symbols of community, their ‘sitedness’, the centrality of material culture, the durability and solidity of objects, the non-verbal nature of so many of their messages, and the fact that audiences literally enter and move within them. While museums may not be unusual with respect to each of these features alone, together they constitute a distinctive cultural complex (1995: 5).

While museums may differ significantly from the literary studies and theory's notion of a text, they encompass a broader concept according to semiotics, as previously discussed. Let us delve deeper into the topic and provide additional insights into the connotation of the term "text". For instance, as early as 1988, Lotman explains that the definition of text must expand:

The concept of a text has undergone considerable transformation. The original concepts of a text, which stressed its unitary signal nature, the indivisible unity of its functions in any cultural context, or some other qualities, implicitly or explicitly assumed that a text was a statement in some *one* language. [...] It was found that for a given message to be defined as a "text," it had to be coded at least twice (Lotman 1988: 53).

It is important to remark here that what Lotman refers to as "language" is not limited to natural human verbal language, as any system that has linguistic properties such as fitting into syntagmatic and paradigmatic planes (cf. Roland Barthes 1985) can be considered as a language in this context. According to this statement, Lotman seems to suggest that a message conveyed in a code is the starting point of constituting a text. Subsequently, the first statement should be encoded anew within a different system of statements, encompassing a broader and more comprehensive meaning than the original isolated statement:

[...] historically a statement in a natural language was primary, after which followed its transformation into a ritualized formula coded in some second language, i.e., in a text. The next stage was the combination of formulas into a text of a second order (1988: 53).

To facilitate comprehension, let us employ an example of a literary work: each sentence within it has the capacity to convey a distinct proposition. However, when incorporated within a chapter (thus, enduring dual coding), the chapter itself becomes the textual entity, encompassing not only the denotation of a single declaration but also extending its significance by assimilating it into its own fabric. In an alternative viewpoint, the novel can be viewed as a cohesive textual entity, with isolated chapters interpreted as individual statements. At this point, it is worth recalling that Sebeok and Danesi stress the significance of context when attempting to assess what the notion of text entails, and what its thresholds are.

However, in the case of our example, it is crucial to acknowledge that a book depends on spoken human language and may not offer the most exhaustive illustration of the meaning of a text within a wider framework. In fact, Lotman distinguishes texts that are based on verbal forms from non-verbal texts in "The Discrete Text and the Iconic Text: Remarks on the Structure of Narrative", by suggesting that meaning can be "conveyed by a message in which we cannot single out signs in the sense in which they are defined most often—as the words of natural language" (1975: 333). To sum up the article, he classifies the texts that are constituted by the elements of natural language as "discrete"; and the texts that are created by uniform semantic relations (e.g., a painting) as "iconic".

Discrete texts are heterogeneous, as all of the signs that make up the text are traceable, whereas iconic texts are homogenous, in which singular signs cannot be isolated. Therefore, as long as there is an established—and coded—principle of isomorphism between the object (not necessarily a physical one, but more in the sense of “*signifié*” here) and its sign, we can discuss the presence of an iconic text (1975: 334):

In the discrete verbal message, the text is made up of signs; in the second case, there are, essentially, no signs: the message is communicated by the text in its entirety. And if we do treat it as discrete, and single out signlike structural elements, this is because of our habit of seeing verbal intercourse as the fundamental, even the sole, form of communicative contact, and a result of making the pictorial text seem like a verbal one (1975: 335).

If so, how are such viewpoints related to museums translation? First of all, we can argue that museums not only contain textual elements—both discrete and iconic—but they are also text-like in themselves. In other words, if we think that a museum is comprised of exhibitions, which are comprised of clusters/cabinets, which are comprised of objects, the similarity becomes more explicit. However, at the same time, it is difficult to isolate the constituting elements of a museum as singled out signs, since each sign in the museum is interdependently connected to each other, rendering the museum as a homogenous entity. For instance, in the Mardin Museum in Turkey—which is a museum that exhibits ethnographic artefacts from various eras (e.g., Roman, Artuqid, Ottoman, etc.) as well as cultures of the local communities who have a minority status in Turkey, such as Arabs and Kurds, it would be an impossible mission to pinpoint which exact object specifically represents the city life, or which display is created to represent the cultural history of Mardin, as nothing in the museum stands as an isolated sign, and on the contrary, everything stands in correlation with another. However, it is very much possible to claim that the museum holistically represents<sup>7</sup> the ethnographic elements of Mardin. Thus, we can claim that museums are perhaps not (discrete) text-like as Macdonald suggested above, but they are (iconic) text-like.

Sturge explains that first of all, there are verbal texts present in museums such as introductory text panels, pamphlets, brochures, etc., which were first categorised by Dean (cf. Dean 1994). This sort of texts, or “interpretative guidance” as Sturge formulates it (2007: 131), support the meaning-making process of the visitors, offering them a scope of explanation regarding the artefact (or the group of artefacts) they encounter. Secondly, there are non-verbal texts, which are—in most cases—within the visual domain, however, these texts can also be comprised of auditory, olfactory, etc. signs as well. According to Sturge, “[t]he visual context steers the way we will ‘read’ [...]” a particular object (2007: 131). This domain pertains to the micro level, specifically the presentation of an object. This

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<sup>7</sup> At this point, the discussion is not constructed on *how* it represents, but the fact that it, one way or another, *represents*.

includes its arrangement in relation to other objects, such as grouping or singling it out, positioning it vertically or horizontally, and supporting it with other visual elements like background images and videos. On the macro level, these visual aspects can contribute to establishing a specific ambience in the exhibition area, such as the arrangement of clusters or predetermined paths, lighting, colour selections, and so on.

Uğur Özcan and Hümeyra Çağlar highlight the importance of the visual perception and especially lighting choices by suggesting that:

[i]n museum exhibitions, the relationship between space and artefact is formed and developed in the context of visual perception. The exhibition area has to establish the interaction between the artefact and the visitors while conveying the identity of the artefact and presenting it to the visitor in line with the necessary comfort values and perceptual data. The museum prepares a perception-based environment in the exhibition it organizes in order to define and recognize its collection (Kurtay et al. 2003). It is impossible for people in a museum to have physical contact with the artefacts. For this reason, perception is mostly realized with the eyes. The effect of illumination and light is quite high in this case (2020: 648)<sup>8</sup>.

While the authors suggest otherwise, it is indeed possible to have tactile experiences in certain museums. For example, at the National Museum of Finland in Helsinki, visitors can touch specific stones and feel their texture. Similarly, at the Viking Museum in Stockholm, visitors can try on replica helmets. However, it is undeniable that visual elements hold great importance in museums. However, the main focus we want to highlight here is how perception can be influenced by the means of display, as Özcan and Çağlar argue that the presentation of an object at a museum influences how people view it. According to Karp, the methods used to install an object or a display are important in determining both the tone it conveys and how it is seen and valued by visitors:

[t]he museum effect is clearly a force that is independent of the objects themselves. The mode of installation, the subtle messages communicated through design, arrangement and assemblage, can either aid or impede our appreciation and understanding of the visual, cultural, social and political interest of the objects and stories exhibited in museums (1991: 13).

In terms of representation, it can be claimed that this crucial role of the museum can be manipulated in order to exoticise, foreignise, or appropriate the source culture as well as to banalise or single out. In terms of TS, such possibilities of manipulating how intercultural transfer is executed can be conceived as the style of the “translator”, which is the museum as an institution and any other authority that has a *locus standi* in the translation process, or the conformation of the text for the targeted audience, which is the museum visitor in this case.

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<sup>8</sup> Translated by I.U. from the Turkish source text.

Sturge acknowledges that sound, such as recorded voices, background noise, and silence, as well as physical factors like the visitor's mood and the accessibility of things, play a significant role alongside spoken and visual messages (2007: 131). Juxtaposition and display techniques involve the mixing of visual texts and physical circumstances, influencing how museum representations are perceived and understood. Catalini explains the cruciality of arrangement by claiming that:

[t]he horizontal and vertical arrangements were both predominant in the ethnographic exhibits. This seemed due to the shape of the objects but also to the space available for the displays as, for example, in the case of the Court, in the Pitt Rivers Museum. In any of the displays examined, the arrangements did not have a comfortable viewing height. Indeed, objects were placed either at a level too low for a standard adult view or too high (2007: 73).

In addition, Varutti argues that the utilisation of various exhibition techniques in museums, such as juxtaposition, not only generate new meanings that are associated with the objects, but also offers visitors an opportunity to interpret and observe in an open manner (2014: 103). However, these newly-generated meanings are likewise susceptible to manipulation. In summary, it can be inferred that the aforementioned elements together contribute to the making of a museum, all of which can be regarded as texts from a semiotic standpoint. Nevertheless, it is crucial to acknowledge that embracing this perspective entails the recognition that various texts serve to complement one another, converging to form a cohesive, holistic entity in which each part is a *sine qua non*. Under such circumstances, examining the ways in which texts are translated and utilised to represent ideas, cultures, art, science, and so on, becomes crucial, particularly in cases where power asymmetry and manipulation are manifested in museums as a result of individual, institutional, or societal biases. Examining cultural translation and assessing its relevance in the context of museum translation is crucial for understanding the formation of biases and comprehending their implications in this specific setting. Additionally, it forms the final section of this frame chapter.

### 4.3. Cultural Translation

The concept of “cultural translation” elicits diverse interpretations and connections throughout numerous academic disciplines. Various researchers in the field of TS, as well as those in anthropology and cultural studies, have contributed their own interpretations of this concept. While there are instances of similarity between these understandings, it is also evident that conflicting perspectives exist. In the following section, we will initially examine several methodologies employed in delineating the concept of cultural translation from the vantage points of TS and anthropology. The theoretical framework offered by TS allows us to establish the overall structure of our research. Meanwhile, cultural anthropology plays a significant role in illustrating the practical application of cultural translation over

the course of several decades, particularly within the realm of exhibitions and museums.

First, let us examine Kyle Conway's definition of cultural translation, which involves a comparative approach that explores the various uses of this term TS and in other fields. Conway differentiates between the perspectives of anthropology, cultural studies, and other fields regarding this concept. However, he notes that regardless of the perspective, scholars typically begin their explanations by discussing the etymological origins of "translation", which derives from the Latin term meaning "carrying across" (Conway 2012: 21). The author discusses the initial definitions of anthropology provided by Godfrey Lienhardt in the 1950s and Ernest Gellner a few years later. While these definitions share some similarities, they diverge in their approaches to the objects and settings of culture. Lienhardt defines cultural translation as the process of converting the system of beliefs and customs that shape the interpretation of the world by members of a cultural community into a different system of beliefs and customs belonging to another community (Conway 2012: 22). Conway explains that this definition does not distinguish the object from its context, that the distinction between those disappears during translation (2012: 22). In contrast, Gellner's main concern lies in the task of identifying equivalents when a cultural object is rendered into the language of another culture. Gellner proposes that instead of completely converting one entire cultural system into another, it is more appropriate to focus on translating a specific concept from one system to another. In this manner, the object and its context are distinguished (Conway 2012: 22).

Furthermore, in the 1980s, Conway discusses how Tim Ingold perceived the paradox of "object/context" as a manifestation of ethnocentrism and Western modernity. As Conway argues, Ingold suggests that anthropologists are committed to revealing the elements of a culture, however, this approach runs the risk of reducing culture to a mere object that is awaiting discovery and interpretation (2012, 22). The new millennium, however, brought new understandings of cultural translation. Conway refers to Shirley Ann Jordan's viewpoint, which relates the production of cultural translation to a textual "co-creation" rather than the action of replacing one text with another text (Conway 2012: 22). Accordingly, Jordan provides her own definition of what cultural translation is as such:

Cultural translation is a holistic process of provisional sense making. It implies trying to render accessible and comprehensible, first to the self and then to others, one's experience of aspects of ways of life—either one's own life made strange, or lives which are different from one's own. We are constantly involved in translating self to other and other to self [...] (Jordan 2002: 101).

In addition, she presents her readers with a very precise list of the characteristics of "cultural translation within ethnographic encounters". According to her, cultural translation:

[...] is heuristic, extended and multi-level; does not involve translating a given text, but creating that text and progressively translating as one goes along; uncovers

the processes of meaning-making within the 'Third Space'; dramatises conflicts, tensions and resolutions; shows translation getting done; does not present a translation without a self-reflexive infrastructure; may have inspirational flashes but is not uniformly smooth and polished; is porous, fragmentary, ragged and open-ended; is aware of the history, politics and power dynamics within which it is taking place (Jordan 2002: 103).

It can be seen that her definition of cultural translation suggests an active, ever-developing understanding of translation, where the translator is not only transforming what exists as the source into the target, but also adding a piece of their own self to the final product. That is how the "co-creation" takes shape.

Conway elaborates that there also exists a strong correlation between cultural translation and cultural studies. He posits that postcolonial scholars saw this concept as a response to the national identities of colonising Western societies, which were built upon the binary opposition of "foreign vs. familiar", and he adds that these scholars "[...] saw cultural translation as a tool, at least potentially, to challenge oppressive and restrictive social norms" (Conway 2012: 23).

Furthermore, from the perspective of TS, Conway addresses two points of view by Tomislav Longinovic as well as by Boris Buden and Stefan Nowotny. According to Conway, the main difference between these two points of view is due to the emphasis they put on the form of the performance of cultural translation (Conway 2012: 23). On the one hand, according to Longinovic, cultural translation is linked to the negotiation of the identity that the other (e.g., refugees in this context) executes in a new environment. Therefore, the emphasis is on the side of the minority/oppressed/newcomer. On the other hand, according to Buden and Nowotny, the highlight is on the other side, namely the majority/oppressor/authority, yet, they also consider the production of cultural translation that Longinovic previously noted. Conway suggests that they consider cultural translation as negotiation, similar Longinovic's view, however, their view "involves acts of hospitality and cannot be separated from the ethical dimension of people's encounter with cultural 'others'" (Conway 2012: 23).

In fact, Longinovic raises questions regarding the impact of the interplay between native and exile cultures on the core meanings of "native", and asks how these novel, hybrid manifestations of cultural exchange translate specific political practices, and he states that cultural translation entails a process of transformation. It produces new entities, which brings a "space of the national in-between" into being, which then becomes a ground of "hybrid and mobile identities" (Longinovic 2002: 5). It can be argued that according to him, cultural translation has the purpose of creating a dialogue between different cultural communities. Especially during times of crisis, migration and war, nations face and interact with each other and this situation is demonstrative of the fact that the extents of cultural translation are not limited to a theoretical approach since translational activities can be found in everyday life as well (2002: 6).

Defining translation as "the contact between two different semiotic registers", Longinovic claims that the results of translation are bound to "mutual identi-

fiction”: one’s own realia are in an interchange with those of the other, who is alien and foreign, and in a situation where a minor culture is facing a major culture, translation becomes afflicted by what Longinovic calls a “fearful asymmetry”, an inequality (2002: 6).

Furthermore, he asserts that in situations when there is a confrontation between a “foreign” and a “local”, the “foreign” constructs an identity based on their dissimilarities from the “local”. This identity can exhibit resistance to alteration. Translation contributes to highlighting these differences and it can be “experienced as a form of violence upon a particular linguistic, artistic, cultural and ultimately national form of being and belonging” (2002: 7). The cultural stance of the “foreign” that withstands translation not only shuts out the ways of cultural exportation but also “performs a kind of desperate nationalism to resist globalization” (ibid.). He explains that when the self is reflected in the other, it results in a translation that is generative. This translation creates a space-time continuum that goes across cultural boundaries, allowing a flow between “different registers of cultural exchange” (2002: 9). It is evident that these perspectives on the formation of identity align with the ideas previously presented by Lotman and Torop.

Regarding the topic of cultural translation, the discussion revolving around the essay titled “Cultural Translation: An introduction to the problem” authored by Buden and Nowotny has a special importance as well. The authors start their essay with their famous German citizenship example, where they explain that the test takers get culturally translated when they answer certain questions that conform to a pre-defined German-ness that the authorities expect. By taking the exam, the German citizenship candidates answer the questions “correctly” regardless of their cultural background. For instance, even if they come from a culture that does not tolerate women who go outside on their own without a male relative, when they are asked what their opinion is on that topic, the test supposedly accepts only one “correct” answer, an answer that fits the ideals of the creators of the test. By doing so, the participants become “translated”. This test is what the authors define as “the politically institutionalized form of cultural translation (Buden, Nowotny 2009: 197).

Buden and Nowotny further analyse the relationship between multiculturalism and deconstruction to advance their case. On one hand, they argue that multiculturalism associates culture with race, gender, or ethnicity. As a result, it not only challenges the absolute nature of cultural concepts, but also serves as a basis for identity-based politics. This means that it enables minority groups to maintain their “original cultural identity” (Buden, Nowotny 2009: 198). On the other hand, they argue that deconstruction approaches culture as a sign system, which only interacts with other sign systems. In addition, according to the deconstructionists, culture is a construction that is independent of race, gender or ethnicity unlike the multiculturalists.

However, the authors propose that such discussions are not novel; in fact, they may be observed in prior centuries as well. German Romantics, for example, diffused the idea that translation is “an essentially cultural task”, as they considered

language and culture as the essential building block of a nation (Buden, Nowotny 2009: 199). They embraced a foreignising approach, namely they believed that by demonstrating the differences of an external culture, the translator could emphasise the “familiar” culture. This approach was also previously discussed with the example of Schleiermacher in the earlier sections. Congruently, the authors refer to Wilhelm von Humboldt, for whom “translation is always already cultural translation”, and elaborate on how he favoured a certain loyalty to the original text, in which the translator points out what is different (ibid.). Buden and Nowotny point out that:

[...] the ideal translator of German Romantic translation theory must sacrifice a part of his or her freedom in order to accomplish a cultural mission that is seen as an intrinsic part of translational practice. Once again, the cultural task of the translator is always a social—indeed a political—one, the task of nation-building (Buden, Nowotny 2009: 200).

According to this perspective, the concepts of “culture” and “nation” are seen to be very static. They are capable of acknowledging and accepting diversity, but they only utilise this diversity to protect their own identity, rather than expanding or enriching it. Translation, therefore, becomes a tool for the sake of this ideal.

In their essay, Buden and Nowotny continue with Walter Benjamin’s viewpoint on translation theory, which is that “[n]either the original nor the translation, neither the language of the original nor the language of translation are fixed and enduring categories” (2009: 200). Thus, it is evident that his comprehension of translation is not static, and also rejects the notion of an inherent nature in these concepts, which aligns with the deconstructionist theory, as per the authors (ibid.). Moreover, Homi Bhaba’s concept of cultural translation, which is the product of this deconstructionist approach, was developed in opposition with multiculturalism, as he envisaged culture as a notion that transcends “cultural identities and communities originating within these identities”. His concept of cultural translation is negotiation within a hybrid “third space” (Buden, Nowotny 2009: 200–201). From our own perspective, such a third space can perhaps be envisioned as a museum itself.

Furthermore, after having mentioned how Jakobson majorly considered interlingual translation as “translation proper”, the authors address alternative points of view, such as that of Naoki Sakai, who puts emphasis on the heterogeneous nature of addressing different communities instead of the translation between two languages. Namely, “[i]t does not start from the assumption of pre-existing unities between which translation takes place, but rather conceives of translation as a *social relation* and a field of *social practices*” (Buden, Nowotny 2009: 204). In other words, the need for translation arises not from encountering two distinct languages simultaneously, but rather from the presence of two distinct social spheres. Therefore, “translation as an activity posterior to given languages” is only one type of representation of translation, but overall translation is a social practice overall (ibid.).

Since translation goes beyond solely transferring the linguistic characteristics of one language to another, it may be argued that the study of translation is connected to the “modes of address” between the addresser and the addressee, which are rooted in social relationships. Translational activities are ubiquitous and can be performed by individuals from many backgrounds, including academics and immigrants (which are not necessarily distinct categories). Examining these activities in order to gain a deeper understanding should involve taking a comprehensive approach. In other words, as investigating the opposition of the “homolingual” versus “heterolingual” does not suffice, it is also important to bear in mind how the regimes of homolingual address are “based on an a posteriori ‘representation’ of heterolingual practices” (Buden, Nowotny 2009: 205). Buden and Nowotny mention that the term “superaddressee”, associated with Mikhail Bakhtin, helps us understand how this representation is practised. In sum, a superaddressee is “a third party” which an addresser consciously or unconsciously takes into account when creating a message. Therefore, every message expresses a “higher” addressee apart from its direct and explicit addressee:

Therefore, the “third party” which is the superaddressee can be understood as the very point of contact or intertwinement of representation and practice that we have asked for: it is, at least in its ideological saturation, a *representation* of a structural moment founded in the relationship of address itself, but at same time it generates a particular *practice* of addressing, an ideological form of expression, which enacts the representation or ideological saturation of this very moment. It generates a regime of homolingual address (Buden, Nowotny 2009: 205).

Buden and Nowotny’s seminal essay is not conclusive on the topic of cultural translation, as it received many reactions by other scholars. Sherry Simon, for example, comments that TS is not neglecting the presence of the opposing homolingual and heterolingual addresses, nevertheless, non-traditional views such as that of Sakai are setting the concept of culture forth by making it “an object of suspicion”, where the distinction between “translation” and “cultural translation” becomes blurry (Simon 2009: 210). Furthermore, Simon underlines Harish Trivedi’s opinions on cultural translation, which are closely related to monolingualism and an over-enlargement of the discipline of translation studies. In other words, according to Trivedi, this term conveys a feeling of running rampant and it “expresses the institutional power” (Simon 2009: 210). However, she adds that one cannot ignore, first of all, the popularity of this term; and secondly, the fact that translation is not restricted to philology and linguistics anymore. Thus, she alludes to Maria Tymoczko and concludes that “it makes sense” to “enlarge the field” (ibid.). In other words, it can be emphasised that it is not only scholars from the discipline of semiotics that adopt a broad perspective on translation; many TS scholars are also in favour of broadening the term translation.

According to Andrew Chesterman, ascribing a metaphorical meaning to translation—and therefore, enlarging its connotation—has gained widespread recognition, and it is possible to remark “non-textual modes of transfer” as translation as a part of this trend (Chesterman 2010: 103). However, he expresses

his reservation about the secession from “translation proper” as the term seems to bear diverse meanings in several disciplines, which risks becoming an “empty signifier” (for the term see Laclau 1996). For him, if translation has to contain various meanings in itself, then there should be a different terminology developed and provisioned in order to avoid an equivocation of the *signifieds*. Chesterman also criticises Buden and Nowotny for being “somewhat Eurocentric” since the way they introduce the term translation etymologically only takes English into account, failing to consider the roots of the term in other languages such as Turkish and Chinese (Chesterman 2010: 104). Robert J. C. Young adds to the discussion that the complication in Buden and Nowotny’s article does not lie in the “trend” of expanding the term translation, as it has had different connotations both chronologically and synchronically: it can be seen that this term was in use in the year 1300 with both verbal and non-verbal contexts (2010: 358). According to him, then, the complication is “that it assumes the problem already exists, that there is a material process called ‘cultural translation’, without fully defining it or proving that it ever takes place” (2010: 357).

In addition, Chesterman claims that Buden and Nowotny neglected the complexity of some other terms that they had used, such as “culture” and “identity”. He explains that “[t]hey are notoriously complex, and we seem to have led ourselves astray in our traditional attempts to reify these ideas as classical concepts” (2010: 104). To clarify “the notion of cultural identity”, he introduces Paul Ricoeur’s *idem* and *ipse*, which can briefly be explained as *what you are* and *what makes you different in contrast with the “other”*. This point of view already comes with the premise that an individual can have multiple identities, which has not been adequately considered in Buden and Nowotny’s article, according to Chesterman (2010: 105).

Moreover, in his response to Buden and Nowotny, Ashok Bery mainly considers the significance of cultural translation from an anthropological stance, and points out that the only “addressee” which was discussed in their article is the “superaddressee”. However, he adds, the position of the “translated” as the “addressee” should be scrutinised as well. In brief, he emphasises the importance of voice in translation, in the sense that the translated culture might be muted or passive, “a mere clay in the hands of the translators” (Bery 2009: 214). Referring to Douglas Robinson, he suggests that “non-translation” is an option, as translation comes with appropriation, but non-translation points to a cultural immersion without colonising (*ibid.*). Nonetheless, for him, it is impossible to achieve this type of immersion, as it would have to transcend the borders of the sign systems of both parties, namely that of the translator and that of the translated (*ibid.*). Accordingly, Bery mentions Geertz’s concept of “interfering glosses”, meaning that the cultural viewpoint of the translator interferes with how they perceive the elements of another culture no matter how much they get immersed. The matter of “interfering glosses”—although not mentioned in Bery’s response, nor in Buden and Nowotny’s article, nor by Geertz—evokes the famous article of Thomas Nagel “What is it like to be a bat?” where he explains that as human beings, we can speculate about the experience of being a bat, we can never truly

understand their perception of the world, as that would require us to become bats ourselves and cease being human:

Our own experience provides the basic material for our imagination, whose range is therefore limited. It will not help to try to imagine that one has webbing on one's arms, which enables one to fly around at dusk and dawn catching insects in one's mouth; that one has very poor vision, and perceives the surrounding world by a system of reflected high-frequency sound signals; and that one spends the day hanging upside down by one's feet in an attic. In so far as I can imagine this (which is not very far), it tells me only what it would be like for *me* to behave as a bat behaves. But that is not the question. I want to know what it is like for *a bat* to be a bat. Yet if I try to imagine this, I am restricted to the resources of my own mind, and those re-sources are inadequate to the task (1974: 439).

Even though developing a mutual intraspecies understanding in terms of culture is explicitly much easier to operate than trying to understand how another species would perceive the world, one can still think of this paragraph in Nagel's article as a marginal analogy to the concept of an interfering gloss. Nonetheless, the difference of Geertz's point of view, as mentioned by Bery, is that despite understanding another culture in its totality and seeing the elements of that culture in the shoes of the "translated" is not fully possible, one can still comprehend and translate another culture. Geertz suggests that:

[t]he truth of the doctrine of cultural (or historical- it is the same thing) relativism is that we can never apprehend another people's or another period's imagination neatly, as though it were our own. The falsity of it is that we can therefore never genuinely apprehend it at all. We can apprehend it well enough, at least as well as we apprehend anything else not properly ours; but we do so not by looking behind the interfering glosses which connect us to it but through them (Geertz 1977: 799).

Bery also mentions Geertz's point that the interfering glosses are not unilateral, therefore, "[t]he culturally translated are translating even as they are being translated—they are not just being observed, they are observing (Bery 2009: 215).

Moreover, Conway questions "why scholars who theorize cultural translation have not always agreed on what their object of study is", he classifies "cultural translation" as an ambiguous concept, and suggests ambiguity is related to both components of this term, which are "culture" and "translation" (2013: 15). For him, it can be broadly explained as "[...] what happens when two semiotic systems—language or, more broadly, culture-as-interpretive-framework—come into contact" (ibid.). Nonetheless, he adds, the controversy on the matter of cultural translation is due to its modes as well as the results of cultural contact.

The discourse on cultural translation among TS scholars remains inconclusive, with each expert offering their own distinct viewpoint on the subject. Additionally, cultural anthropology can be utilised to gain a deeper comprehension of cultural translation and its practicality within museum settings. Firstly, it may be stated that the representation of cultures in a museum has close ties with cultural anthropology. To identify, translate, and accurately represent a

culture, it is important to possess a sufficient level of comprehension regarding it. This comprehension entails acquiring knowledge of the language spoken by individuals from the source culture, as well as familiarising oneself with their various behaviours (such as religious, ceremonial, and daily activities) as well as its interconnected traditions and customs. For example, the cultural anthropologist can assume the role of a facilitator, mediating the transfer of the concepts of one culture into another; therefore, discussions regarding translation are prevalent.

Paula G. Rubel and Abraham Rosman emphasise the importance of translation in anthropology by stating that “[s]ince its inception as a discipline and even in the “prehistory” of anthropology, translation has played a singularly important role. In its broadest sense, translation means cross-cultural understanding” and continue that “[w]ith the development of anthropology as a formal academic discipline in the mid-nineteenth century, and later as a social science, translation of course continued to play a significant role” (2003: 1–2). According to Rubel and Rosman, during the early stages of anthropology’s establishment as a recognised academic field, anthropologists would depend on second-hand accounts from individuals who had visited other places, such as travellers, missionaries, and government officials, rather than directly engaging with the cultures they were studying. The transmission of information was unquestioned, and the means by which these individuals acquired such knowledge was inconsequential: “Translation was the *modus Vivendi*; however, the anthropologists of the time were not concerned with questions of translation but only with the information itself, and the ways in which it could be used to buttress the evolutionary schemas and theories which they were hypothesizing” (Rubel and Rosman 2003: 2).

Anthropologists began actively participating in data gathering in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries when formal methodological techniques began to emerge and gain traction. At the same time, they emphasised the significance of knowing the languages of the source culture. Nevertheless, the importance of translation was not fully acknowledged, even though all the data collected relied on translational efforts (Rubel, Rosman 2003: 3). Bronisław Malinowski was one of the first anthropologists to engage in fieldwork after Baldwin Spencer and Francis James Gillen (Kaberry 1960 [1957]: 73), which eventually required learning the native language of the people studied and engaging in conversations with them. Furthermore, Malinowski possessed a certain level of knowledge in the field of linguistics and implemented a systematic method for collecting data, both of which were pioneering techniques at that time period. According to him “[...] the adequate investigation of a culture demanded not only the documentation of aspects of social structure, the details of behaviour and emotional interaction, but also the natives’ commentaries on action, their beliefs and ideas” (Kaberry 1960 [1957]: 79). Therefore, he suggested that “[t]he ethnographer must also record the *imponderabilia* of actual life. And this cannot be achieved by the method of question and answer” (Kaberry 1960 [1957]: 78). As an anthropologist who prioritised the use of language in his ethnographic analyses (Firth 1960 [1957]: 95–96), Malinowski, throughout his research, applied a double translation

method in which he wrote down a word in the source language, gave a literal translation in English, and engaged a “free translation” to describe the word in its own context. He employed this approach to establish meanings and even incorporated specific definitions offered by members of the source culture (Firth 1960 [1957]: 108). Firth suggests that his understanding of translation was not restricted to “translation proper”, by referring to Malinowski’s 1935 collection on Trobrianders titled *Coral Gardens and Their Magic*<sup>9</sup>:

Malinowski’s notion of ‘translation; extends to his whole method of ‘*defining a term by ethnographic analysis*, that is, by placing it within its context of culture, by putting it within the set of kindred and cognate expressions, by contrasting it with its opposites, by grammatical analysis and above all by a number of well-chosen examples—such translation is feasible and is the only correct way of defining the linguistic and cultural character of a word’ (1960 [1957]: 108).

Although Malinowski added his own commentary<sup>10</sup> to his research and to the words he listed—which might lead to appropriation of a culture—and encouraged readers to exercise their own discernment in interpreting specific concepts, his utilisation of translation in ethnographic writing and anthropology, not solely as a process of linguistic transfer, but also as a transfer of cultures, was a groundbreaking and remarkable undertaking during his era in the field of anthropology. This is why he continues to be cited in contemporary literature and essays.

Moreover, Rubel and Rosman refer to Malinowski’s contemporaries such as Alfred Radcliff-Brown and Sir Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard and discuss that [t]hey did long periods of intensive fieldwork during which translation was constantly involved, but they did not formally consider translation’s impact on their work or their theorizing. They recognized that it was important to use the languages spoken locally and not pidgins, *lingua francas*, interpreters or the languages in use by the hegemonic colonial governments, in order to understand the nature of the local culture and its meanings (Rubel, Rosman 2003: 3).

Anthropologists began to acknowledge and examine the role of translation in their works, although they did not specifically consider the processes of translation and their impact on representation. Until the end of the 1970s, “despite the turn in interest toward symbolic and later interpretive anthropology with its primary focus on cultural understandings—translation, such a central part of the search for meaning, was never a subject of discussion and seems to have been of minimal importance” (Rubel, Rosman 2003: 3).

Rubel and Rosman continue their discussion by addressing the topic of hierarchy and hegemony in translation, the traces of which can be seen in both colonial and postcolonial periods. Moreover, they define the aim of translational

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<sup>9</sup> Malinowski 1935. *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* Vol II, page 11. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press.

<sup>10</sup> For instance, he referred to the residents of the Trobriand island as “savages” multiple times, “implying thereby a whole catalogue of value judgements about the intrinsic superiority of European culture” (Leach 2002 [1960] [1957]: 125).

activities in anthropology as “[...] preserving the cultural values of the source language into the target language” and add that the divergences in cultural values between the source and target is present in all sorts of translations (2003: 6). However, this situation, in some cases, may end up in a TT which is full of ideological implications of the translator, since, according to them “[i]t is clear that the translations done by anthropologists cannot help but have ideological implications” (2003: 6).

For instance, according to them:

[i]n the situations in which the anthropologist usually works, the role, status and identity of the translator is also an issue. In colonial situations, those local people who were able to learn the language of the colonial power themselves came to be in powerful positions as a consequence of their being middlemen, mediators or bridges in the colonial situation (2003: 16).

and

[...] translation always has political implications. In the colonial context, within which many anthropologists worked, the power differential was always an important factor in the nature of the translation (2003: 18).

In postcolonial settings, power dynamics have always been matters of discussion. Karp explains that museums—as they have educational motivations—create the illusion of being objective spaces, however, they are always engaged in power relations:

Museums and their exhibitions are morally neutral in principle, but in practice always make moral statements; [...]. The alleged innate neutrality of museums and exhibitions, however, is the very quality that enables them to become instruments of power as well as instruments of education and experience (1991: 14).

In this sense, therefore, translating cultures, or “cultural translation” in museums is destined to be a part of this power relation. Sturge mentions that the concept of translation has still an active role in anthropology, and refers to Douglas Robinson’s take on the dynamics of colonial and postcolonial relations: “[i]n the post-colonial context, ‘translation’ often stands for the alteration of the colonizing language through its mixing with languages of the colonized and vice versa, a notion of ‘hybridity’ in both language and identity [...]” (Sturge 2007: 12). In addition, she notes that translation may be viewed as a reciprocal concept of exchange that encompasses not only language but also culture. She further emphasises that the translation process is not one-sided, but rather situated between the ST and the TT. In this context, convergences and divergences may reach a common ground, occasionally leading to both parties being content with the representations. Conversely, it may also result in one party’s perspective being more dominant in the representation. However, the existence of reciprocity, or a dialogue, is still clearly evident. Considering that museums serve as educational

platforms for culture, art, science, and ethnography, it may be inferred that in museums, where many languages, religions, traditions, and communities are showcased, the bivious exchange between cultures is the very essence of translation. Sturge argues that translation is crucial for negotiating between cultural groups. However, she also adds that the concept of translation in a broader sense does not:

“[...] push actual translation practices off the stage; on the contrary, it becomes clear that the importation and adaptation of meanings and practices from other places is the very basis of the hybrid cultures we inhabit today. Unpicking the assumed monolingualism and monoculturalism of ‘cultures’ hugely multiplies the requirement for and the complexity of translation, abolishing the ‘source’/‘target’ model and bringing translation into almost infinite permutations across a social space (2007: 13).

Ficcara comments on this issue by saying that language and culture are indispensable from each other. According to her, despite their ability to function in themselves, they are interdependent:

Language is perhaps the first element which is used to identify a given culture—but language itself, instead of being a mere part of a culture, is also a vehicle which reflects some cultural specificities. Culture and language, therefore, are two independent but closely linked systems. (2000: 52)

Hence, while considering the concept of cultural translation, it is plausible to infer that it encompasses both the act of translating across languages and the process of transferring between different cultures. We have observed in the previous sections that it is realistic to expand our understanding of translation. Thus, translation in the museum space takes place not just through interlingual translation in the conventional sense, but also incorporates various perspectives from semiotics, ethnography, and anthropology into TS. After all, such a multi-dimensional research inevitably requires looking at cultural translation as a wide-scale activity that is comprised of both verbal and visual elements of transfer. Van Doorslaer formulates that “[a]s a direct result of the broader perspectives on translation phenomena over the past decades, the traditional borders of *translation proper* may seem too restrictive. Given this, translation scholars tend to widen not only the definition, but also the scope of the research object and the discipline’s field of application” (2018: 221).

In the context of cultural translation, it is explicit that every museum conducts translational activities to a certain extent, either by translating the statements of a member of the source culture into the language of the target culture, or by translating the museum texts into other languages for various visitors, or by choosing a specific method of display and representation of an artefact or a group of artefacts for an exhibition, designed to fit the cultural viewpoints of the targeted visitors. Therefore, the presence of translation in museums is beyond dispute. Nonetheless, what is the extent of translatability of cultures: can culture

simply be labelled as “translatable” or “not translatable”, or are there other, less binary ways of considering the relationship between culture and translatability?

One of the characteristics of translation is the fact that it can highlight the similarities and differences between the source and target cultural systems. However, in terms of representation, translation may reveal an assumed hierarchy between the source culture and the target culture. Until recently, the topic on a perceived hierarchy of cultures (and languages) remained prevalent. Franz Boas, an anthropologist—often referred to as the father of American anthropology—was one of the pioneers in cultural relativism. Mark Risjord defines him as such:

Franz Boas was a social activist who campaigned against racism and nationalism throughout his life. While his writing on anthropological theory and method barely hints at this political interest, he was part of a paradigm shift in anthropology that had far-reaching effects on the way we think of race and human diversity (2007: 24).

According to Sturge, he “[...] arose as a stand against evolutionary racism, countering to the idea that the world’s cultures were located at different points on a ladder of evolutionary development which culminated in European civilization” (2007: 17). Boas endorsed the argument that each culture and language were equally important from their own points of view, and a hierarchy among them could not be a matter of discussion. However, Sturge points out the two possible outcomes of the cultural relativism based on the Boasian tradition. The first one, strong cultural relativism, suggests that every cultural group sees the world in their own way, hence, the discordance between the source and the target would be irreconcilable, as both may have a completely different—and even at times mutually exclusive—way of interpreting the reality. The second one, mild cultural relativism, accepts that there is only one form of reality, and every culture has its own interpretation of it (2007: 17).

Faris poses his point of view on relativism by stating that:

[t]he relativism [...] is principally a way of defining our humanity by ostensible acceptance of theirs—we accept those who deserve recognition on *our* terms. Relativism is not, however, despite its rhetorical centrality to the anthropological enterprise, acceptance of *their* terms. [...] Of course, to accept their beliefs on their terms, in terms of their own truths (particularly if those truths fly in the face of our own received wisdom/morality/ethics), is impossible (1988: 779).

When considering cultural relativism in the context of museum representations, it becomes evident that both forms of cultural relativism stated earlier provide challenges in terms of translation, particularly when taking into account Faris’ remarks. The linguistic and cultural categories of a particular group will never perfectly align with the categories of another community.

While criticising Otis Mason<sup>11</sup> in his idea of founding a “psychological museum” “i.e., a museum of ethnological objects arranged according to the ideas to which they belong”, Boas (2005 [1887]: 139) unwittingly provides a great example of categories of cultures and how different objects may evoke different categories depending on the interpreters:

The rattle, for instance, is not merely the outcome of the idea of making noise, and of the technical methods applied to reach this end: it is, besides this, the outcome of religious conceptions, as noise may be applied to invoke or drive away spirits; or it may be the outcome of the pleasure children have in noise of any kind; and its form may be characteristic of the art of the people (Boas 2005 [1887]: 141).

An overlooked approach that Mason disregarded, and Boas skipped over, was perhaps the creation of categories based on the source culture rather than the interpretation of the target culture. Lavine and Karp present the example of the exhibition *Essence of Indian Art* at the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, which was held in 1984. The authors explain that the collection was not arranged according to how the Western visitors would interpret and categorise the objects; instead, they were juxtaposed according to “rasas”<sup>12</sup>. This manner of exhibiting conforms with their point of view in trying new methods of exhibition: “[...] we need experiments in which the artwork is organized according to the aesthetic categories from which it derives (Lavine, Karp 1991: 6–7). Moreover, Karp defines this exhibition as “[a] rigorous attempt to resolve problems of translation and to present another culture’s aesthetic standards” (Karp 1991: 20) and he comments that:

[t]his is a good example of a difference in the cultural resources used to produce and appreciate objects. The emotional and aesthetic progress mandated by the theory of rasi exhibits an order that is the reverse of that expected in the Western theory of personhood [...] (Karp 1991: 21).

However, he also notes that while visitors may like it, they still approach it with caution and their assumptions may remain unchanged (Karp 1991: 20). The museum has the option to align its display with either the source or the target culture, or it might opt for a combination of both. Nevertheless, there will inevitably be disparities in both scenarios.

Similarly, Catalini argues that museums, by virtue of their role in constructing representations, convey the perspectives of the curators through the images presented in their exhibitions. At the same time, however, they have the power of shaping how visitors may perceive otherness:

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<sup>11</sup> Otis Tufton Mason, an ethnologist, was a contemporary of Boas. He was also one of the curators at the Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>12</sup> According to Indian culture, a rasi is the aesthetic essence of an artwork. Lavine and Karp describe it as a “sentiment”.

Museums and museum exhibitions fully fit into this process of “constructing and maintaining a sense of order.” Indeed, museum representations mirror the understanding of cultures and therefore contribute to the formation of social and historical views. In addition, if we consider religious images, objects, and symbols, they visually cement people’s religious beliefs and values; at the same time, they also help to order and classify the surrounding world and human experience (2007: 68).

She explains that when visitors interact with objects from another culture, if there are two distinct sets of images that highlight cultural differences, it is because there is no shared system of classification between the source and the target. Returning to the aforementioned concept of relativism, when translating a culture, even from a relativist perspective, one must address how to handle any differences that arise, as both the approaches of familiarising/appropriating and foreignising/exoticising would require making changes to certain elements of the ST and the TT.

For instance, Jones mentions that one of the difficulties of translating cultures is that the translator (unless they are a native speaker) is not sufficiently familiar with literal and metaphorical language constructions, which demonstrates that even if the source and the target cultures had the exact same categories, there would still be a dispute in representation and translation (1998: 55). Sturge comments that “[w]ithout knowing absolutely that the other person’s categories are the same as our own—and this is impossible even for members of the ‘same’ culture—we can’t make an absolute statement about equivalence in meaning [...]” (2007: 19). Furthermore, in parallel with Jones, Lavine and Karp suggest that having disputes over the issue of representation in exhibitions is inevitable, and even when museums try to be responsible about multiculturalism, controversy is unavoidable, as “[...] an exhibition often bears the burden of being representative of an entire group or region” (1991: 5).

Overall, it is evident that several authors hold divergent perspectives regarding the definition of cultural translation, with some expressing skepticism about its practical applicability as a conceptual framework. At this juncture, it is pertinent to inquire as to why museum translation cannot be unequivocally regarded as a form of cultural translation. What distinguishes it from museum translation research, given that museums also engage in the translation of cultures? Cultural translation is closely associated with the field of cultural anthropology and primarily concerns itself with the study of the cultural other, as evidenced by previous examples. In this context, for the purpose of designating museum translation as cultural translation it is necessary to concentrate solely on museums that exhibit the cultural others. This idea introduces two accompanying issues. One key observation is that the demarcation between the self and the other can exhibit considerable ambiguity, as the adoption of particular stances might fluctuate based on the specific circumstances and perspectives involved. Specifically, both individuals and communities have the capacity to possess many identities, and the positioning of these identities within the realms of the self and the other can vary depending on the specific identity being examined. The dichotomy

between the self and the other in the context of museums is primarily delineated by the museum's identity and its positioning as an institution in contrast to various societal, cultural, economic, political, religious, and ethnographic domains.

The second issue, which is more apparent, pertains to the fact that not all museums fall within the category of ethnographic museums or museums that require cultural translation, including science or natural history museums. In fact, science can be regarded as an outgrowth of culture, as the manner in which scientific endeavors are pursued as well as the manner in which scientific knowledge is perceived, interpreted, and applied may be closely linked to our understanding, utilisation, and portrayal of science, which can be influenced by the cultural context and its associated norms that surround us. Similarly, the concept of "Other(s)-in-time" (*l'Autre dans le temps*) can be applied to natural history museums as an alternative to the concept of "Other(s)-in-space" (*l'Autre dans l'espace*) (for the terms cf. Patou-Mathis 2011). Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that not all themes and topics that a museum can be based on are directly linked to culture. Consequently, it is inadequate to exclusively consider museum translation from the standpoint of cultural translation. In addition to this, cultural translation lacks a comprehensive methodological framework, as the majority of academic literature primarily centres around three key areas of inquiry: i. the definition and scope of cultural translation, ii. its practicality and effectiveness, and iii. case studies illustrating its application. In summary, although cultural translation offers a useful initial approach to comprehend museum translation, it is insufficient in building a comprehensive methodological framework and addressing the fundamental challenges in this field. Therefore, it is imperative to look at museum translation as a multifaceted and multilayered phenomenon, while recognising the added value the perspectives pertaining to cultural translation can bring. To accomplish this, we will provide four papers that seek to address the research questions: "how can the limits of museum translation be described, theorised, and defined by translation studies, semiotics, and other related disciplines?" and "what are some practical implementations of a broader concept of museum translation, as viewed from a holistic perspective?", in order to fulfil the research aim of establishing a semiotic-translational perspective on museum translation.

## **5. ARTICLE 1: MUSEUM TRANSLATION: A COMBINED TRANSLATION STUDIES AND SEMIOTICS PERSPECTIVE**

In recent decades, scholars have examined museum translation under a variety of topics, including audio description, generational translation, interlingual translation, intersemiotic translation, metonymy, visitor experience, multimodal and multisensory transformation, and so on. Nevertheless, because of the polysemiotic and multimodal characteristics of museum translation, pertinent research falls under the purview of other disciplines as well. Therefore, the present article examines museum translation through the lens of semiotics of culture (besides the perspective of translation studies), delving into the holistic nature of museums in relation to the notions of sign, text, and meaning. Using the concept of ‘semiosphere,’ this article contends that translation in the context of museums is linked to dialogue, the generation of new meanings, and the semiotization of museum artifacts. To address the following questions (“What role does semiotics play in a possible conceptualization of translation?” and “How can one establish an understanding of translation that is not solely derived from linguistic phenomena?”), the authors argue that each sign in the museum operates interdependently, forming a network of meanings that cannot be examined in isolation. The authors illustrate how the artistic, didactic, and ideological intentions as well as the biases and prejudices of agents, such as curators, can be translated into the museum space, thereby generating secondary meanings surrounding artifacts and exhibitions via semiotization.

### **5.1. The conceptual and research position of museum translation**

Museum translation is a topic, even a subfield par excellence, illustrating the conceptual expansion and object extension of translation studies (TS) over the past decades, which is strongly characterized by a “paradigm of change” (van Doorslaer 2019, 220). In its more-than-linguistic approach with explicit attention to self- and other-related connections, representational aspects, historical views, and societal situatedness, it shares these features with other TS subfields such as city translation, the translational aspects of travel writing, or national and cultural image-building through translation. As such museum translation is also “a multifaceted and complex process that can encompass several viewpoints, and requires the acknowledgment of how anthropological, historical, literary, proxemic, semiotic, and sociological perspectives approach translation in the context of museums” (Mertens and Decroupet 2024). The basic distinction between the interlingual and different cultural levels involved in museum translation was already present in Sturge’s seminal distinction between “translations in museums”

and “museums as translation” (Sturge 2007, 129; 164) and has informed many later publications on museum translation.

Whereas translation(s) in museums are still relatively easily approachable with traditional conceptualizations of translation (interlingual or intersemiotic), a perspective on museums *as* translation(s) usually adds very different levels or angles: spatial, material, and visual aspects, for instance, transforming the object under study into a “three-dimensional multimodal text, in which a variety of different meaning-making resources interact” (Neather 2021, 159). Studying text, transformation, and translation is then no longer a mainly verbal or linguistic investigation but looks at varying forms of resemiotization. For instance, Liao (2018) shows how geosemiotics can become productive in a multimodal TS approach to museums, focusing on the interaction between social actors, visual semiotics, and place semiotics (e.g., architecture or urban planning).

In a conventional verbal text, meaning is already based on the interaction between the different verbal components. In a museum conceptualized as a (translated) text, however, the complexity and the potential number of meaning-generating interactions grow exponentially. Representation involves procedures and decisions of selection, structure, and organization—activities inevitably related to cultural background and power relationships. According to Neather, museums that consciously engage with this problem can themselves be considered “translation zones, in which intercultural contact is itself a form of translation” (2021, 160). A recent illustration is an article in which the AfricaMuseum near Brussels, Belgium, is conceptualized as not only a resemiotized but also a “sensitive translation” for which the “curators-translators” have adopted a set of strategies to reduce the “translation risks” (Spiessens and van Doorslaer 2024).

These are just a few examples illustrating to what extent the use of the term ‘translation’ is undergoing profound changes based on new and varying conceptualizations. Although TS, based on its early self-understanding as “an interdisciplinary” (for instance in the book title of Snell-Hornby, Pöschhacker and Kaindl 1994), has quite some experience with variation in concepts and terminology. Mainly, the most recent decades have shown even more centrifugal tendencies toward a proliferation of “alternative labels for translation” (van Doorslaer 2021, 3) and a “fluid concept of translation” (Gambier 2023, 318). Technological innovation developments such as multimedia and digitization have largely contributed to that.

As part of the move away from text-bound linguistic approaches to translation, multimodal translation studies began to emerge in the late 1990s as a strain of research to investigate how translated texts interact with other semiotic modes in multimedia texts; its focus was primarily on audiovisual translation but has gradually expanded to include other types of multimodal events. (Liao 2023, 48)

Despite such clear developments, also in recent publications, TS is sometimes still described as a discipline in which “the transfixing gaze has always been on lingual manifestations of translation, primarily interlingual” (Zheng, Tyulenev and Marais 2023, 170). Though such an assessment might be true quantitatively,

it also strongly underrates the huge qualitative conceptual and epistemological evolution that has taken and is taking place, and it presents the discipline as more static than it has been in reality. In fact, over the past half a century a countless number of TS scholars have gone beyond that so-called primarily interlingual gaze by investigating phenomena such as intersemiotic translation, multimodality, intralingual translation, socio-cultural situatedness, agency, etc. The expansion of the research object and the field of application has been welcomed and practiced by many, it has generally led to a more comprehensive societal understanding of translation that transcends merely linguistic phenomena.

It is no coincidence that several of the widening views on the translation concept mentioned above refer to semiotic concepts and applications. Semiotics is a discipline that has largely used “translation” in a far-broader-than-linguistic way. The aim of this chapter is to present museum translation as a productive case in point, showing the commonalities between conceptual developments in TS on the one hand and semiotic angles on translation on the other. Methodologically, we will not look at one specific case study. Rather, and in line with the conceptual focus, in the following section, we will approach and explain some essential aspects of semiotic views on translation and look at ways to apply them to museum translation.

## **5.2. Semiotic approaches to (museum) translation**

As individuals living in a society that necessitates daily engagement in meaning-making processes through various modeling systems (e.g., visiting a museum, reading poetry, recognizing traffic signs, interacting with our neighbors, appreciating artworks, navigating in the city, watching a movie, etc.), we can recognize translation as a phenomenon with a semiotic essence. According to Zheng, Tyulenev and Marais, “translation is primarily a semiotic activity” and can be studied by considering its semiotic aspects in TS (2023, 175). In that case, if we foster a rapport between translation and “distributing a work through semiotic repertoires,” which naturally encompasses but also extends beyond interlingual transfer (Lee 2023, 377), then two interconnected questions emerge: i. “What role does semiotics play in a possible conceptualization of translation?”; ii. “How can one establish an understanding of translation, that is not solely derived from linguistic phenomena?”

First, it is imperative to recognize that the term “translation” can refer to a multitude of phenomena across different disciplines outside of TS, such as media studies or literary studies, and it has been extensively employed in those disciplines in a way that entails “a metaphorical sense” (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016, 14). Nonetheless, unlike any other discipline, translation from the viewpoint of semiotics serves as a core concept pertaining to the discipline’s objects of research, such as sign, culture, meaning, text, alterity, and so on.

In this regard, seeing translation not necessarily as a borrowed concept employed as a metaphor but as a concept that has sometimes been developed

concurrently with TS (cf. Jakobson 1959), and also often theorized independently from it (cf. Peirce *CP* 4.132) can help researchers gain insight into why translation need not stem exclusively from a linguistic standpoint. Given the main understanding of translation in broad, non-scholarly usage, we cannot deny that even the most expansive conceptualizations of translation in TS often use language as their reference. However, such is not always the case from the semiotics perspective, as translation can be pre-linguistic and even involve non-human agents. For instance, Petrilli argues that meaning—ubiquitous in the biosphere, which comprises living organisms of all kinds and their intra- and inter-species interactions—is linked to translation, which she deems as a “*constitutive modality of semiosis*” (Petrilli 2003, 17):

If we agree with Charles S. Peirce that signs do not exist without an interpretant and that the meaning of a sign can only be expressed by another sign acting as its interpretant, translation is constitutive of the sign, indeed sign activity or *semiosis* is a translative process. (ibid.)

Should this be the case, one could contend that investigations of signs and sign systems inherently possess a translational dimension. Adopting this perspective on translation, we can examine museums in the subsequent sections of this article as semiotic wholes comprising interconnected units of meaning. Notwithstanding, the current article shifts its emphasis from meaning-making in the biosphere to anthropological aspects of translation, particularly of translation within the context of museums. Thus, rather than attempting to examine museum translation through a biosemiotic framework—as it would be excessively broad for our subject matter—first of all, we adopt the perspective of semiotics of culture, which would fall under the category of “anthroposemiosis translation” by Petrilli, designating translation beyond the verbal sign systems that are mostly observable in human cultural world (Petrilli 2003, 19).

### 5.2.1. The *semiosphere* and translation

Semiotics of culture is a sub-discipline that tackles how the concepts of text, meaning, translation, etc., function as integral components of culture. The Tartu-Moscow School of Semiotics (TMS) is among one of the highly prominent schools within the discipline. Kourdis writes that the most notable contribution of the TMS has been “the correlation of the concept of culture with the concept of translation” (Kourdis 2017, 149). According to the members of the TMS, such as Ivanov, Pjetigorskij, Toporov, Uspensky, and Lotman, culture is “a mechanism of information creation, storage, and transmission” (Sütiste and Salupere 2021, 64). These scholars, perceiving translation as a semiotic phenomenon, centered their attention on the matter of meaning, which they defined “as that what is conveyed in translation” (Sütiste and Salupere 2021, 81), namely regarding meaning as an outcome of translation. When researching the correlation between meaning, culture, and translation from the perspective of semiotics of culture, it is inevit-

able to discover the concept of the *semiosphere* introduced by Lotman in 1984 (2005 [1984], 205). One can envision this greatly abstract concept as a dynamic and organic sphere encircling all cultural sign systems operating in an interdependent and interconnected manner across all layers of culture, extending from its periphery to its core. The semiosphere comprises all signs integral to a given cultural system, which serve as “an inscription of cultural information” (Kourdis 2017, 154).

Among many of the properties of this concept, the existence of a bilingual border (i.e., boundary, filter) between the semiosphere and the extra-semiotic space is notable for the research on translation, given that any information passing through this filter indicates a translational process as the new information must be translated into the “language” of the semiosphere before being recognized as new information. In other words, new information or newly generated meaning—which was considered a new text by Lotman—could be identified only as such after being “semiotized,” hence *translated* by the border (Lotman 2005 [1984], 209). Thus, it can be claimed that the existence of such a border creates an opposition between the Self (i.e., the interior) and the Other (i.e., the exterior), which functions as an enabler in identity creation: one’s identity can only be determined once it is self-described, and such a process can be realized only when the Self is in opposition, hence in dialogue, with the Other (Torop 2005, 164). The necessity for dialogue, according to Lotman, originates before language and is a prerequisite for semiosis (Lotman 1990, 143–144). As an “ontological characteristic” of the semiosphere, dialogue is “the elementary mechanism of translation” (Torop 2005, 163–164). If dialogue is an indispensable apparatus for translation, and if, to quote Torop, “it comes naturally to say that culture is translation and translation is culture,” consequently one can realistically contend that the concept of culture can be identified with the concept of translation, broadening “the use of the term ‘translation’” (Torop 2002, 603; Kourdis 2017, 165). As “a central mechanism of the workings of culture,” the formation and functioning of every semiotic structure is contingent on translation (Sütiste and Salupere 2021, 83). Therefore, adopting such a viewpoint on translation, we not only establish our interdisciplinary position but also provide an effective tool for investigating museum translation from a holistic perspective. Nonetheless, how can museum translation be linked to such a broad conceptualization of translation? Let us commence with a quote by Lotman:

Imagine a room in a museum, where exhibits from different eras are laid out in different windows, with texts in known and unknown languages, and instructions for deciphering them, together with explanatory texts for the exhibitions created by guides who map the necessary routes and rules of behaviour for visitors. If we place into that room still more visitors, with their own semiotic worlds, then we will begin to obtain something resembling a picture of the semiosphere. (Lotman 2005 [1992] [1984], 213–214)

Akin to the semiosphere, the museum space functions as a ground for generating meaning where dialogue is eminent, due to the dynamic interplay among

the various elements making up the museum. So, everything that enters the museum has been translated (i.e., collected, selected, contextualized, recontextualized) and continues to be translated (i.e., acknowledged, interpreted, interacted with). From this viewpoint, not only is each unit of meaning in the museum comprehended as/through translation but also the museum itself is a product of translation due to the accumulation of these meanings in space in correlation with one another. In a more precise sense, the ability to identify a specific artifact amidst a museum exhibition establishes a dialogue among multiple actors: the source and target cultures; the curator and the visitors; the ethnographer/historian/scientist and the museum; and so on. Concurrently, the ability to discern the functioning of a given artifact in connection with other units of meaning—including accompanying information, other (groups) of artifacts, its spatial placement within the museum, the atmosphere it is showcased in, and so forth—can also be considered dialogue and thus translation.

This view is similar to how Neather establishes a relation between the texts in the museum, as, from this perspective, examining a source-target relationship between two texts is not sufficient, and one must also consider the “relation to other target texts within the museum text hierarchy, as well as to visual elements” (Neather 2008, 219). However, given the multimodal—including multisensory—nature of museums, broadening the discussion of museum texts beyond the verbal and visual ways of transmission is crucial. Noting all other potential cues that one may encounter in the museum space is also vital. For instance, the Mayer van den Bergh Museum in Antwerp, Belgium, exhibits a still-life painting illustrating various food items on a table, which is accompanied by a written text providing background information on the œuvre and the artist. Additionally, a bowl of candies is nearby, flavored to match the different foods depicted in the painting. Visitors can choose a candy from the bowl and taste the flavors corresponding to what they see in the painting. Similarly, in the Kunstmuseum Den Haag in the Netherlands, the exhibition “Mondrian & De Stijl” offers visitors the possibility of smelling the artist’s studios in Amsterdam, Paris, and New York, alongside a display of the 3D models of the studios.

Nevertheless, the complementarity of diverse components converging to create (new) meanings in the museum does not necessarily require a direct correlation between the signs, as seen in the aforementioned examples. The interconnection can also be observed on broader scales, such as the intertextuality between different museum texts displayed under the same exhibitionary theme. Neather formulates it as follows:

Intertextuality [...] is a crucial factor in the construction of museum meanings that operates at several contextual levels: within texts; between co-spatially situated texts; between such texts and those of other, similar institutions; and finally between these texts and the broader sociocultural context. (Neather 2012, 215)

Neather mentions in his article that his thorough investigation of intertextuality in the museum focuses only on the verbal aspects of semiosis. However, if we

define the notion of “text” from a broader perspective, such as new information translated into the “language” of the semiosphere as discussed above, we can see that intertextuality also applies to all aspects of semiosis encountered in the museum space. Even from a non-semiotic perspective, Sturge recognizes the multimodal aspect of museum texts and recommends that researchers “take more account of the interrelations of different forms of translation” (Sturge 2007, 164–165). Her seminal distinction mentioned at the beginning of this chapter sets apart the investigation of interlingual translation within the museum setting (e.g., translation of labels from language A to language B) and studying how museums as institutions have the authority to represent and recontextualize artistic, didactic, historical, ethnographic, scientific, etc., information based on their own vision and mission as public educational spaces, as well as their connections with other institutions, political leanings, and at times, their biases and prejudices.

### 5.2.2. Semiotic interconnectedness in museums

Recent research indicates that museum translation can be analyzed regarding the questions of “inclusion-exclusion, accessibility, representation, identity, image building, memory” and might signify the study of various topics, such as “audio description, generational translation, interlingual translation, intersemiotic translation, intralingual translation, memory, metonymy, popularization, resemiotization, transcultural sensitivity, and visitor experience” (Mertens and Decroupet 2024). From this vantage point, the conceptualization of museum translation is similarly debatable, as is the conceptualization of translation itself. On one hand, if we were to apply Sturge’s seminal distinction to our research, this categorization intrinsically implies that one can either focus on the translations in the museum or on museums as translation, employing an “either-or” type of categorization. On the other hand, adopting a comprehensive viewpoint necessitates a multidisciplinary approach encompassing heritage studies, architecture, history, ethnography, and semiotics, among others. While this can add value to the research, it also risks introducing complexity by accumulating theories, concepts, and definitions.

One potential approach to addressing this issue is by adopting a holistic viewpoint regarding museum translation, based upon two fundamental premises: first, every sign in a museum operates in tandem with another, as opposed to operating in isolation. These signs are not restricted to the museum collection and the information about the collection presented to the visitors through verbal, visual, auditory, etc., registers, but they can also be detected by utilizing light, color, cluster selections, visitor pathways, and, in a broader sense, the exhibition’s focal point, the type of the museum, its location within the city, and so forth. Second, the selection and implementation of this network of signs within the museum space suggest that they carry secondary meanings, given that every component of the museum is the consequence of a decision made by the museum itself (i.e., the curators, professional translators, or higher institutions such as ministries of tourism or education, etc.). Consequently, visitors may ascribe tertiary meanings

to the signs, for instance, based on their expectations, mood, sociocultural background, and so forth (Whitehead 2012, xiii–xiv). In other words, signs do not represent only themselves in the museum space; thus, researchers can scratch only the surface of museum translation if they do not consider the artistic, didactic, ideological, and political connotations affixed to them.

For example, the meaning of a work of art is not solely reliant on the verbal information provided by the museum but also influenced by its visual presentation, its placement in relation to other artworks, the manner in which visitors find it within the exhibition hall, the architectural style of the museum, as well as the discourse offered by the museum and the exhibition. Hence, narrowly emphasizing the intersemiosis between the artwork and the accompanying information, or an analysis of the translation from languages A to B in the audio guides without considering other signs surrounding the artwork, is akin to superficially examining a single paragraph in a novel, devoid of a comprehensive understanding of the author, translator, contextual factors, and so forth. To sum up, it can be claimed that all elements within the museum operate interdependently, which inherently generates new meanings. Furthermore, as everything in the museum results from selection and recontextualization, the agents who participated in this process imprint their agency in translation. Thus, it is essential to consider museums as semiotic wholes in their entirety and to adopt a holistic approach to museum translation. In the following subsections, we shall discuss both these factors in detail.

### 5.2.3. Translation as semiotization: layers of meaning unveiled

Upon entering the museum space, an artifact acquires multiple layers of meaning, which may be related to ideological, didactic, artistic views, or a combination of those. Furthermore, the artifact ceases to embody merely the initial connotations ascribed to it by its original creators and users. Moreover, the significance derived from a museum visit is subject to interpretation and reception on the end of the visitor as well, influenced by several circumstances. For instance, it is imperative to take into account that the visitor's background, expectations, and even their demeanor during the visit can influence the meanings they make (Whitehead 2012, xiv). Even in an entirely hypothetical situation in which the visitors enter the museum with complete neutrality, and the museum does not translate any artistic, didactic, or ideological intentions into the exhibition, the artifact in question would retain a minimum of two additional layers of meaning. First of all, one of the factors determining how we perceive objects in a museum exhibition is the specific theme or the focalization of the museum. For instance, a piece of onyx stone showcased in an archaeological museum can symbolize the intellectual capabilities and craftsmanship of prehistoric humans in creating sharp tools. Conversely, the same rock exhibited in a geological museum may captivate our interest due to its unique mineral properties. Furthermore, even within the confines of a single museum, the significance of a given artifact can vary based on its interactions with surrounding elements. While this is primarily determined

by display techniques, architectural qualities may also play a role. To exemplify, Sturge explains the following:

For example, a visitor will see an object in a particular setting, arranged and lit in a particular way to seem functional or aesthetically important, typical or unique, positioned with other objects which build up an interpretative context. Thus, an earthenware pot next to many other earthenware pots from around the world asks to be understood differently from an earthenware pot in a reconstructed eighteenth-century potter's workshop, or an earthenware pot next to other cooking utensils, or one set against a large photograph of a landscape or of a person making a pot. (Sturge 2007, 131)

Second, continuing with the hypothetical situation, such an artifact would fall within an "authoritative discourse" (Sturge 2007, 164), implying that its presentation in the exhibition would likely be perceived as objective and factual by a significant number of visitors, owing to the "authoritative and legitimizing status" of museums (Macdonald 1996, 5). Receiving a visitor gives "the museum a certain authority" not only over its collection but also over the "visitors who expect to receive information objectively" (Riegel 1996, 87–88). For instance, the goldfish *impressif* ("a 'mood-creator,'" see Neather 2008, 228), displayed as part of Turkish wedding ceremonies in the "Celebration!" exhibition by the Museum aan de Stroom in Antwerp, Belgium, may suggest that this animal holds cultural importance in Turkish society and celebratory culture. However, in reality, it does not bear such significance. Similarly, the Egyptian hieroglyphs displayed in the Tartu Art Museum in Estonia are presented solely as phonetic equivalents of the Latin alphabet, disregarding the complex logographic nature of this writing system. This approach may lead visitors to believe that it is possible to "write" in hieroglyphs using only 26 characters. To sum up, due to museums' authoritative and representative nature, museum artifacts continue to signify more than their initial meanings, even when the artistic, didactic, and ideological influences in exhibitions ascribed by the museum through translation (in the broadest sense) are untraceable.

Nevertheless, artistic, didactic, and ideological influences are always present in museums, either implicitly or explicitly. Similar to what has been discussed above, Camilleri mentions the secondary meanings a museum artifact holds as such: "An object has at least a double existence. It is what it is, but it signifies more than what it is" (Camilleri 2001, 47). Calling this situation the "semiotization of the object," she contends that if "an object is exhibited it cannot return to being what it was before and yet it can evolve in a kind of constant dialectic between denotation and connotation" (Camilleri 2001, *ibid.*).

One notable example of semiotization can be found in the Museum of Innocence in Istanbul, Türkiye, where one of the installations consists of 4,213 cigarette buds encompassed in one of the museum's entrance walls. Although thousands of buds would be regarded as waste outside the museum, their placement within the museum space shifts how they are perceived immediately. One could argue that although a great number of individuals would avoid

approaching a heap of waste on the street, museum visitors might admire it when displayed behind a glass panel.

According to Parla, turning waste into art is a “magical” remediation, which is a power held by museums (Parla 2018, 64). Originally corresponding to a chapter titled “What is This?” in the eponymous novel *The Museum of Innocence* written by Pamuk (2012, 539), this installation stands for how the main character of the novel obsessively steals and collects the cigarette buds smoked by the woman he is infatuated by. Moreover, this installation is paired with a black and white video demonstrating the repetitive hand movements of a woman smoking, two quotes from *Anima Poetae from the Unpublished Notebooks* by Coleridge (1895), and *The Black Book* by Pamuk (1990), and finally Pamuk’s “A Modest Manifesto for Museums” which advocates that museums do not need “to represent a state, a nation or company, or a particular history” and that if objects are “situated with care and ingenuity in their natural homes, they will already portray their own stories”<sup>13</sup>. It can be claimed that the curator, ironically also Pamuk himself (Tekgül 2016, 391), creatively envisioned the materialization of his main character’s obsession, and such a materialization illustrates how artistic intentions could be translated into the museum space. Namely, this museum installation represents not only the accumulation of thousands of cigarette buds or the chapter in which the protagonist lustfully steals them but also the curator’s artistic vision reflected in his choice of the repetitive display of real cigarette buds accompanied by literary quotations and a video. By juxtaposing his manifesto with the aforementioned components, one could even argue that he forwards an ideological position. Furthermore, this cluster at the entrance exhibits an inherent correlation with the other installations, videos, and quotations within the museum, all connected to the novel, which is in return linked to the notion of innocence—an omnipresent motif throughout the exhibition. As a result, through the example of *The Museum of Innocence*, we can deduce that the holistic nature of museums—and thus museum translation—cannot be disregarded, and that examining a single sign in isolation within the museum is futile, given that each sign in the museum operates, (re)presents, and translates interdependently.

The artistic, didactic, and ideological connotations associated with the exhibitions, as well as the semiotization of the museum artifacts and their interdependent correlations with other signs in the museum space, can be exemplified further. For instance, recognizing the influence of the museum space on the transmission of knowledge, Peponis and Hedin contend that museum architecture is inextricably linked to the type of knowledge it seeks to impart and the message it intends to convey (1982, 21). They exemplify the importance of spatial arrangements, argued as “space syntax” (Hillier et al. 1976; Hillier and Hanson 1984), through a case study on the Bird Gallery within the Natural History Museum of South Kensington in London, specifically focusing on an exhibition regarding Darwin’s theory of evolution. They argue that the spatial arrangement of Bird Gallery is such that each of the smaller exhibition spaces is linked to a main aisle,

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<sup>13</sup> <https://www.masumiyetmuzesi.org/en/mani-festo>

thereby facilitating a chronological visit—i.e., spatially following a certain order—during which the visitors can navigate with ease and take their time to examine and comprehend the exhibition rather than rushing (Peponis and Hedin 1982, 23). With their study, they demonstrate that as the subject of evolution must be understood in the context of time, the curator’s didactic intentions are translated into the space to convey the message that evolution occurs in distinct stages.

Explained further subsequently, Hillier and Tzortzi formulate that as “in museums, spatial layout is commonly used both to express and to support a pedagogical intention of some kind, and to shape a pattern of visiting, space syntax analysis can show how it is done and assess how it is working” (2006, 287). Put simply, the utilization of space syntax to analyze the museums implies that specific spatial configurations—such as the distance between displays, the routes a visitor must move through, the axial fragmentations, and so forth—serve as the physical manifestations of the curator’s didactic intentions embodied in the museum space. Moreover, these arrangements demonstrate that the same exhibition can generate different meanings depending on the spatial layout of the objects. Once more, this highlights our argument that the significance of a museum artifact has an intrinsic relationship to its surroundings. Thus, evidently, the translation of curatorial objectives into the museum is not necessarily limited to language in its “natural verbal human language” sense. From the standpoint of semiotics of culture, integrating spatial elements into the museum can be seen as a form of translation because such an integration generates new meanings.

#### 5.2.4. Power and ideology translated in the museum space

Earlier on, we have discussed the authoritative power of museums, and the way in which the exhibited objects are semiotized, representing multiple meanings attached to them by museums. Then, recognizing the immense power museums hold is important due to how they can shape what we make out of a museum visit, especially considering that museums “have influence far beyond their walls” and that they “create cultural identity and make explicit values for individuals, communities, and nations” (Watson 2007a, 9). It is important to acknowledge that the didactic objectives or the artistic expressions of a museum might be closely linked to the ideological beliefs of those involved in the curation of the exhibition or the administration of the museum. Consequently, in certain contexts, exhibitions—and how they are translated—have the potential to be utilized as a means of promoting propaganda. To reiterate, even science museums, which one might assume to be the most objective type of museums, can disseminate information influenced by prejudices, ideologies, and biases. As formulated by Watson, science showcased in museums “is never objective and neutral, though it may appear to be so” and it “reflects power relationships” (Watson 2007b, 173). Additionally, as museums serve as spaces of “power of sanctuary, shrine, place of knowledge, forum and a vital role in democracy” (Golding 2007, 358), power relations are strongly reflected in museum exhibits (Luke 2007, 199). To

exemplify how ideology can be translated into the museum space, a look at how prehistoric humans were portrayed in certain museums might be insightful.

The tendency to hierarchize “races” in the past centuries and decades was based on the justification of “certain ideologies such as colonialism, slavery, social Darwinism, or eugenics” which “created myths like that of ‘Aryan people’” (Patou-Mathis 2013, 36—translated from French by I.M.). Such ideologies, as argued by Jean, reflected the desire to “civilize”—and colonize—the cultural, ethnic, and geographical Others, which also represented their so-called “inferiority” (2018, 1045). The manner in which museums historically portrayed prehistoric humans mirrored these thoughts:

Primary stereotypes epitomize the prehistoric human as a caveman: a “caveman,” a barbarian, who has crude, anthropoidal physical characteristics, and a type of an “ape-human” who lives in an enemy nature; in brief, a hairy, hunchback, “animal-like” creature. (Jean 2018, 1023—translated from Turkish by I.M.)

Patou-Mathis (2013) also argues that archaeological, anthropological, and biological knowledge can be distorted in museums to impose exploitative practices. For instance, the author explains that during the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries until the Second World War, the Trocadéro Ethnographic Museum reinforced the idea in their exhibitions that “white” Europeans were “superior” and “civilized,” as opposed to the human groups represented in the museum, who were deliberately depicted to resemble the image of prehistoric “uncivilized” humans, unlike their European counterparts (Patou-Mathis 2013, 35–36). Hence, it is evident that the prevailing ideologies of a given era can readily manifest themselves in museums, serving as propaganda channels, instruments to manipulate particular world-views, or justifications for asymmetrical power relations forcibly imposed upon colonized and/or minoritized communities. As museums are frequently affiliated with local or state governments, ministries of education, and so forth, it is conceivable that ideological intentions can be translated into the museum space. As Camilleri formulates, the “political meta-narrative seems always present” in museums (2001, 48).

Especially in the subfield of sociology of translation also, TS has largely focused on the constitutive role that translation can play in different forms of group construction and shared values. In a special issue of *Translation in Society*—a journal specifically aiming at more scholarly exchange between TS and the social sciences—Dizdar and Rozmysłowicz propose the concept of “*collectivities*” to explore how translation contributes to the formation of identities, “national/ethnic cultures,” and “political movements,” and they argue that translation is not simply the result of these constructions but in return it also actively participates in creating a socio-cultural reality (2023, 1–2). Van Doorslaer expresses a comparable perspective when he mentions the following:

The inevitability of translators’ choices, cultural context, ideological influences, role of agency and idiosyncrasy, multilingual processing in newsrooms, travel and migration as translational phenomena, transfer of national and cultural images

through translation—these are all examples of situations where translation is fundamentally involved in a (much more than interlingual) process of change. (van Doorslaer 2019, 222)

Hence, one could contend that translation has a transformative power in any context it is encountered and tackled. Put simply, translation not only mirrors the circumstances in which it is situated but can also influence and establish those circumstances. When reflecting on museum translation and the aforementioned instances from the perspective of new meaning generation and secondary meanings, museums indisputably possess a similar characteristic to how Dizdar and Rozmysłowicz (2023), as well as van Doorslaer (2019) perceive translation: museums are products of the sociocultural and political milieu of their era and geographical setting. Concurrently, their ability to represent also empowers them to alter and reshape culture, artistic production, historical events, political views, and more; this can be viewed as a recurring pattern that perpetually incites tension, a dialogue. All in all, translation not only creates “tensions and dialogues” (Vidal Claramonte 2022, 7) but also comprises these tensions and dialogues.

Earlier, we have mentioned how scholars of semiotics of culture view culture as a concept that can be used interchangeably with translation. According to this viewpoint, culture is not the total sum of texts that it comprises. Based on the principle of dialogue, culture operates as a whole, with all of its components intertwined:

What is necessary to understand this intertwining is studying and understanding the space in which it takes place, the cultural space. And, within this space, it is necessary to understand the situation that creates dialogue or is accompanied by dialogue—to understand the event or the text. (Torop 2002, 600)

When discussing museum translation, recognizing that the cultural space created by the museum relies on dialogue—which is often asymmetrical—is important, implying that the various layers of meaning in the museum both convey and are conveyed through translation. Similar to culture, a museum is also not simply the total sum of all its signs but also a dynamic and holistic structure that is both the result of and the catalyst for creating new meanings.

When defining the “holistic nature” of the poetic, Pajević explains that “*the poetic is what cannot be said otherwise, or, extended to the extra-linguistic—what is itself only in precisely this form*” (2023, 12—italics in original). The author presents the example of a poem, indicating that “a poem only makes sense as an organic whole, we cannot take it apart and break it down into its component parts and then expect to find the meaning of the poem in those individual parts” (Pajević 2023, 12–13). Similarly, we propose the following regarding museums and museum translation: due to their holistic nature, isolated units of meaning or their juxtaposition will not lead us to the meaning(s) we can make when considering the totality of the museum. As spaces where the “polysemiotic combination of visual, verbal, aural and kinaesthetic experiences” (Sturge 2007, 131),

and the secondary meanings attached to these experiences come together, museums reveal their holistic nature. Therefore, when an examination of museum translation is limited to a narrow and isolated scope (e.g., only interlingual or intersemiotic translation) without considering the holistic nature of museums, it would fail to reflect the multidimensional characteristic. All in all, similar to how the “value of any linguistic ‘item’ is finally and wholly determined by its total environment” (Hawkes 2003 [1977], 15), any sign in the museum is also holistically determined by the other signs that surround it.

### **5.3. Conclusion**

While lingual translation is no doubt the most well-known form of translation, museum translation is an excellent example demonstrating why and how the concept of translation extends far beyond linguistic boundaries. Meaning-making is achieved through the selected and necessarily framed transfer of ideas, through the use of different modes of expression—both lingual and non-lingual. This activity is already abundantly shown in TS over the past decades, through research dealing with varying forms of audiovisual translation, emotional translation or cultural translation.

With museum translation, however, the complexity of representation in its various layers (historical, visual, spatial, ideological, collective, or individual, etc.) is so multifarious that including semiotic perspectives adds value to the existing TS angles. Combining creative and representational aspects can be directly associated with the translation practice, but semiotics is well-positioned and equipped for navigating, conceptualizing, and presenting a holistic view of shaping the final (museum) outcome. It approaches museum components not as independent signs but as an integrated network of signs. The different meaning-making layers in a museum, as well as their interaction, directly refer to text construction and meaning transfer in translation. In that sense, research on museum translation is a case in point for demonstrating not only the compatibility but also the complementarity of TS and semiotics.

## **6. ARTICLE 2: CONCEPTUALIZING MUSEUM TRANSLATION: CULTURAL TRANSLATION, INTERLINGUAL PROCESSES AND OTHER PERSPECTIVES**

The scholarly debate in translation studies and related fields has extensively addressed the definition, scope, and limitations of translation. We contend that museum translation, which encompasses both the traditional “translation proper” as well as the non-verbal and multimodal aspects of translation, is central to this debate. Museum translation covers an extensive spectrum of perspectives, which contribute to the expansion of the concept of translation and the field of translation studies. It capitalizes on the intrinsic interdisciplinarity of museum studies and translation studies, fostering a profound exchange of disciplines and serving as an ideal foundation for discussing the boundaries of translation. It has a dynamic nature that can contract or expand to suit the researcher’s perspective and disciplinary concentration. A comprehensive examination of the intricate procedures encompassed by museum translation is, therefore, timely. In this article, we examine and compare different applications of this concept and provide an overview of how various disciplines and research foci have approached this area of study. We aim to contribute to the ongoing development of the concept of museum translation and its position in translation studies, a call further addressed by each author in this special issue titled “Museums as Spaces of Cultural Translation and Transfer.”

### **6.1. Museums: From contact zones to translation zones**

As multimodal and multisemiotic places, museums serve as spaces where meaning-making is constructed through contact, sometimes taking the form of a dialogue between translators and visitors (Sturge 2007, 164). This reflects the concept of a “contact zone” as defined by Mary-Louise Pratt (1992). From a transcultural and post-colonial standpoint, a “contact zone” refers to a space characterized by colonial interactions. In this zone, the spatial and temporal relationships between different groups of people who encounter one another at the frontiers are marked by cultural and social tensions, conflicts, and imbalances of power (Pratt 1992, 4–6). Pratt formulates that “contact zones” are “[...] social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today” (Pratt 1992, 7). In this context, it might be argued that, although they do not serve as physical boundaries facilitating direct interactions between diverse groups under conditions of control and disempowerment, museums can be regarded as grounds where encounters and their associated dynamics take place.

Therefore, described as “contact zones” after Pratt’s initial definition, museums become spaces of encounter, negotiation, transfer, and learning, where objects,

ideas, knowledge, customs, values, and emotions are collected, presented, and sometimes exchanged. The encounters that take place in museums are by no means simple or neutral. Ideally, and in line with James Clifford's understanding, museums are places where contact is established with a view to reducing power imbalances by focusing on collective curatorship and dialogue between those who are represented and those who represent others, in an "active collaboration and a sharing of authority" (1997, 210). However, the forms of encounter in the museums are complex and varied. Specifically, the dynamics of encounter can be observed within three categories.

Firstly, the exhibition space facilitates the passive interaction of diverse source cultures through various display methods. Put simply, whether they are informed and consulted about it or not, any cultural group that is represented in a museum exhibition engages in a silent exchange with one another even prior to the visitors' encounter with the exhibition due to the simple fact that they are placed and displayed in the same exhibitionary space.

Secondly, the represented cultures establish contact with the audience through the museum's mediation. Mediation has the potential to foster a closer connection between different cultures, ethnicities, worldviews, and belief systems, which, in turn, builds a platform for effective communication, in line with Clifford's conceptualization. However, it is also plausible that such mediation may inadvertently generate a sense of detachment between the visitor and the exhibition. The mediation of a museum's collection through the organization of an exhibition and the application of display methods by the curatorial team are determining factors in this matter. The museum, as an authoritative and educational institution, engages in dialogue with the presentation of the exhibitions. The decision-making process of curating an exhibition is inevitably influenced by preconceived ideas, biases, and prejudices. In this category of encounter, it is important to recognize that although mediation is orchestrated by the museum, visitors are actively involved in the meaning-making of exhibitions as well. It has, indeed, long been recognized that exhibitions are perceived through the personal interpretation of visitors, which is defined by, among others, their previous knowledge, background, state of mind, and own biases (Falk and Dierking 1992; Silverman 1995). In this light, visitors are actors in the mediation process as well.

The third category of encounters in the museum happens specifically at the level of the visitors themselves, who can encounter one another through verbal communication or by simply acknowledging each other's presence within the shared space. How visitors participate in verbal or non-verbal communication with each other during their visit might also impact their meaning-making process. The deliberate or unconscious interaction between visitors in the museum can itself be influenced by various factors, including the organization of the museum space (e.g., the layout of exhibition halls, the spacing between displays, and the availability of multiple paths for visitors to choose from) as well as the individual backgrounds of the visitors.

In each of these categories of encounter, museums can present, represent, challenge and promote new perspectives on pre-existing power relationships,

historical events, culture-sensitive topics, scientific knowledge, artistic freedom, etc. All of these aspects can be evident in the exhibitions in numerous diverse ways, such as the decision to include, or indeed exclude, a particular artifact, the context in which it is displayed, the accompanying texts that are used, as well as the background information provided to visitors. The manner visitors perceive the combination of this information in the museum is equally important. This perception is influenced by their sensory and cognitive filter, as well as their socio-economic background, expectations, and needs. We suggest that these parameters can all be considered as translation, going beyond the traditional definition of interlingual text transfer. As such, museums can be regarded as zones where multiple layers of translation occur.

As “translation is logically one of the major activities in the contact zone” (Simon 2013, 181), the notion of a place of encounter has been further examined by scholars through the conceptual framework of a “translation zone.” Referring to its attributes that transcend isolated semiotic registers, Emily Apter argues that, “[t]he translation zone defines the epistemological interstices of politics, poetics, logic, cybernetics, linguistics, genetics, media, and environment; its locomotion characterizes both psychic transference and the technology of information transfer” (2006, 6). Museums undoubtedly serve as spaces where all aforementioned characteristics of a “translation zone” might manifest, whether as integral components of the translation process or as the outcomes resulting from translation. As an illustration, these outcomes could involve, among other things, making complex information easier for children to comprehend (such as through games or simplifying language), tailoring museum visits for individuals with specific requirements (such as going beyond the exhibition’s theme to encourage interaction for patients with memory impairment), or providing bilingual or multilingual versions of information, whether in physical form on group texts, labels, and audio guides, or through phone applications, QR codes, and so on. Moreover, the former—integral components of the translation process—can be regarded as the defining characteristic of the translation in the museum. This encompasses the aforementioned types of encounters and also involves the transfer of knowledge in exhibitions, the translation of cultures by and through museums, and the dialogue between the triangle of curator, source culture, and target culture. Therefore, in addition to deeming museums as contact zones, it is also possible to characterize museums as “translation zones” (Neather 2021a: 307). To elaborate, based on this conceptualization, “museums as translation zones” can encompass both verbal and non-verbal translations of cultures within the museum setting. It also covers connections established with the source cultures for the exhibitions in which they are represented, which involves “off-stage and on-stage of cultural interaction and translation,” for instance, consulting indigenous groups before displaying their art in a museum, or providing multilingual translations of verbal texts in exhibitions, depending on the expected needs of the visitors, and so on (Neather 2021a, 316).

## 6.2. Museum translation

According to Luc van Doorslaer (2021, 7), the specific translation processes considered across different sub-disciplines have implications for the definition of translation and the extent of its domain. Therefore, it is imperative to ascertain the definition of translation within the context of museums, which have been acknowledged as spaces of contact and translation. To do so, we trace the uses of the concept of museum translation in translation studies and beyond.

Prior to exploring the concept of museum translation, it is crucial to establish our understanding of the term translation. In fact, the discourse surrounding the definition, scope, and limits of translation has been the subject of extensive scholarly debate across several academic fields, including Semiotics, Ethnography, Literary and Cultural Studies, and particularly within the discipline of translation studies. Recently, the phenomenon of translation has been depicted as an exchange that encompasses society, culture, and politics, and through which meaning is rendered decipherable (cf. van Doorslaer and McMartin 2022). Similarly, from an intercultural perspective, translation can be regarded as a negotiation in social and discursive settings (cf. Basalamah 2022). Consequently, in museums, this negotiation is conducted not only between the source and target languages and cultures but also among actors such as the curators, translators, and visitors, as mentioned earlier. Museum translation is thus a multifaceted and complex process that can encompass several viewpoints, and requires the acknowledgment of how anthropological, historical, literary, proxemic, semiotic, and sociological perspectives approach translation in the context of museums.

If so, in what manner can we conceptualize museum translation? Museums *translate*—while recontextualizing and re-mediating—culture, history and scientific knowledge through the selection and combination of objects and verbal texts, and through various multi-modal displays (Neather 2005, 2008). As tourist destinations attracting an international public, they also resort to interlingual and intersemiotic translations to cater to different language user needs and make their collections accessible to a variety of target audiences. In translation studies, this distinction is captured in the idea of “museums as translations” versus “translations in the museum” (Sturge 2007). Indeed, without a focus on translation in the broad and narrow sense, it is impossible to fully grasp the importance of museums as transnational learning environments and as spaces where generations connect through the transfer of novel ideas, worldviews, as well as cultural and scientific knowledge.

For instance, according to Robert Neather, an exhibition space serves as a platform for meaning-making, functioning “as a three-dimensional multimodal text” that constructs the museum as translation (Neather 2021b: 159). Thus, the concept of museum translation involves acknowledging that museums are spaces of cultural translation and transfer that extend beyond physical structures where we seek language-based text transfer, which is on par with Sturge’s aforementioned distinction. Translations can be observed in various types of interactions, for example as those between the cultures represented in the museum space,

between the exhibition and the visitor, and among the visitors themselves. Such translations are also manifested in the mediation of cultural and scientific knowledge, driven by curatorial purposes.

Remitting to Neather's initial definition of museums as spaces of meaning-making which stand not only for channels that contain the tangible outcomes interlingual translation, but also for the translations themselves, we can initially argue that museum translation entails a combination of the aforementioned layers of translation that function in tandem. Hence, it is essential to implement a holistic approach in order to comprehend the functioning of its individual components. Regarding this matter, while not extensively discussed as a part of Sturge's seminal distinction, we can nevertheless consider a subset of "museums as translation," that we can call "museum space as translation."

Museums have been regarded as spaces where curatorial and architectural expertise can be *translated* into concrete forms through the design of exhibitions and specifically in terms of ambient aspects (i.e., the architectural design of museums, such as the groupings and the layout of exhibitions), even before the "cultural turn" of the late 1970s and 80s in translation studies. Drawing on Hillier and Hansons's theory of space syntax, Peponis and Hedin argued that a legible spatial syntax in the museum transforms the transmission of knowledge and curatorial intention through architecture, impacting the pedagogy, or even the ideology of the message in some cases (1982, 24). This impact of architecture on the visitors' experience has also been recognized from a linguistic perspective. Louise Ravelli, for example, writes that museums function "as texts." Inside the composition, the "organized walking" through the displays "might function to draw visitors towards an object, or encourage some sequential reading of different displays, or allow for more open relations between them" (Ravelli 2006, 123). Indeed, it can be suggested that architecture affects the museum experience as a system of spatial relations in the way that visitors not only explore the connection between architectural constructs and objects but also perceive each other, "creating possibilities of co-presence and encounter" (Tzortzi 2015, 2).

Additionally, museum translation covers the multimodality of the museum experience and not only the architecture. Christopher Whitehead provides a conceptualization that might be useful in this regard. He offers a trifold view with his "model of the temporal visit," in which he demonstrates the nesting mechanism of "text" (i.e., materials related to verbal and multimodal texts such as digital panels, labels or audio guides), "environment" (i.e., how the museum space is organized and modified to accommodate an exhibition, such as lighting, graphics, and displays), and "circumstance" (i.e., the factors that have an impact on the interpretation of the exhibition, such as social interaction between visitors, or an individual's cultural background), which he shows to be closely tied to a fourth element, "experience," as it moves across all of these spheres through time and space (Whitehead 2012, xiii–xiv). Therefore, one possible conceptualization of museum translation based on this model focuses on the visitors' experience of all these elements together, recognizing the interdependent and interconnected functioning of all registers of interpretation. The experience of the museum becomes

a *museological chronotope*, where the “intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships” is materialized and where “space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot, and history” (Bakhtin 1981, 84). Consequently, space and time are fundamental components of museums and, therefore, museum translation. Besides possessing an exhibitionary space, a collection, a curatorial team, and an exhibition theme, museums are also constrained by physical and temporal limitations while simultaneously translating space and time. It is essential to take into account that every museum, regardless of whether it showcases contemporary art, historical artifacts, rock formations, revolutionary ideas, or scientific discoveries, presents its own modeling of the world based on its vision, artistic, sociological, and political perspective, as well as its financial resources. This modeling process involves representing a specific portion of the universe through an exhibition, which we recognize as translation.

Another aspect to consider when discussing the significance of space and time is how it relates to practical aspects of exhibition practices. This includes the selection, recontextualization, and display of the chosen collection within the constraints of space (such as the boundaries of a museum building or the capacity of a museum website for a 3D tour) and time (such as the duration of a museum visit or the limited attention span of visitors). In synthesis of the aforementioned considerations, therefore, the presence of a museological chronotope can be viewed as an additional conceptualization of museum translation.

### 6.3. Translating the “other”

Considering the chronotopical aspect of museum translation, we can argue that it was not a coincidence that Juri Lotman depicted his concept of *semiosphere* through the metaphor of a museum:

Imagine a room in a museum, where exhibits from different eras are laid out in different windows, with texts in known and unknown languages, and instructions for deciphering them, together with explanatory texts for the exhibitions created by guides who map the necessary routes and rules of behaviour for visitors. If we place into that room still more visitors, with their own semiotic worlds, then we will begin to obtain something resembling a picture of the semiosphere. (Lotman [1984; 1992] 2005, 213–214)

The metaphor of the museum provides an image for the concept. The semiosphere is a dynamic theoretical space that is based on a core-periphery relationship and the principle of semiotic irregularity, which encompasses culture in its totality. All units of meaning function in interconnectedness within the semiopshere. It is surrounded by a bilingual boundary that serves as a contact—hence translation—point for new meaning generation. Museum translation can be compared to the operation of the semiosphere across several levels. First of all, the core-periphery relationship within the semiosphere can be correlated to the interaction between a target culture (core) and a source culture (periphery) within a museum. In this

context, new information originating from “‘foreigners’ within a given system” (Lotman 2005, 214) is conveyed through physical objects and multimodal texts, facilitating the meaning-making among museum visitors. Furthermore, museum translation shares similarities with the description of the semiotic idea of the border. This concept encompasses both the semiosphere and the extra-semiotic space and serves as a point where the unrecognizable and undecipherable (i.e., foreign) texts are translated. From this perspective, museums also serve as borders between different cultures, traditions, worldviews, demographics, and beliefs and become a ground where objects, ideas, and people are translated into each other’s languages, whether intra- or interlingually, inter-semiotically, or intrasemiotically. The shared characteristics between the museum and the semiosphere support the previous discussion on museums as contact and translation zones. This demonstrates that both Semiotics and translation studies can contribute to the research field, highlighting the significance of an interdisciplinary approach in museum translation.

For instance, investigating translation in the museum space from a semiotic perspective, Jaanika Anderson and Maria-Kristiina Lotman described the copies of ancient art that went through certain modifications in time (i.e., changes in color, garments, size, material) as intrasemiotic translation (2018). Their research uses a relatively less frequently used term within the niche of museum translation, underlining a fourth dimension to Jakobson’s famous typology (1959). At the same time, it provides a semiotic approach that merges cultural translation with the hybridity of translating the layers of space and time within the context of museums. It sets an example for how the representation of the cultural Others in time and space could exist in hybridity.

Indeed, a semiotic approach allows us to conceptualize museum translation as the accumulation of the translational layers of “Other(s)-in-space” (*l’Autre dans l’espace*) and the “Other(s)-in-time” (*l’Autre dans le temps*) (for the terms cf. Patou-Mathis 2011). For instance, while representing the artistic practices of a certain source culture in an ethnographic museum could be regarded as translating the “Others-in-space,” representing the prehistoric human ancestors in a national museum could also be deemed as translating the “Others-in-time.” Both layers often exist in hybridity, such as the representations of ancient Greek and Roman sculptures in a fine arts museum. Apart from discussing the constituents of museum translation, one can thus also focus on the curatorial tendencies of representation in the museum space.

Such representations of Others—in time or space—make museums spaces of *cultural* translation specifically. For instance, Neather defined museum representation “as one form of ‘cultural translation’” since “museums ‘translate’ cultures through the selection and combination of objects, texts and other representational apparatus in the exhibitionary space” (Neather 2018, 361). Abigail Celis (2019) similarly described curatorial work in the museum as a gesture of translation, as part of which other cultures are represented in local exhibitionary codes. This echoes Sturge’s perspective, whose seminal distinction between “translation in the museum” and “museums as translation” was discussed in the earlier paragraphs,

and for whom cultural translation “constructs its source text as well as transferring it into a different language in the manner of the traditional translator,” and is an institutional as much as an individual process (2007, 6).

At this point, we would like to emphasize that translating the layers of time and space could potentially transcend the limits of the semiosphere and the noosphere and simultaneously extend to the biosphere, as the Others in question could be within the realm of alloanimals, plants, or rock formations, which can be observed in the case of science, geography or natural history museums. These museums are dedicated to non-human subjects, including stones, fossils, non-human animals and vegetation. While our attention has not been directed towards those museums in this instance, our conceptualization of museum translation can potentially extend to future initiatives involving museum translation in the context of those museums. This is because even the most factual and objective information must be translated if it is planned to be showcased in museums. Hence, although the current culture-centric subjects in contemporary literature on museum translation are prevalent, it can be argued that the domain of museum translation can potentially encompass a wide range of museum types, warranting examination.

#### **6.4. Museum and translation studies: Convergences**

The potential of what museum translation entails has been tackled from a translation studies angle, but also in the field of museum studies. Here, one could propose that museum translation has indeed been a subject of research for many years, albeit not always through the term “translation.” This inquiry has been on a par with the conceptualization of museum translation outlined above. It encompasses the approaches to translation through the perspectives of the curators and the visitors, including, but not limited to, meaning-making in the museum space and cultural translation. Scholars from museum studies broadly recognize the meaning-making capacity of museums and how the displays in exhibitions translate knowledge and ideas not only through a linguistic perspective but also on the visual, or even a multimodal level (cf. Moser 2010). Museums are recognized for their unique capacity to “bring the whole media ensemble into a particular place and space that exists within a set of complex mediated communication environments” (Drotner et al. 2018, 1).

Furthermore, museum studies have also included research into the making and representation of cultures in museums. Flora Edouwaye S. Kaplan has famously delved into the making of national identities in the museum as *Museums and the Making of “Ourselves”* (1994). In a similar vein to the work done in translation studies, museums have also been described as a frontier, a zone for “intercultural understanding,” “where learning is created, new identities are forged; new connections are made between disparate groups and their own histories” (Golding 2009, 2–4, referencing Marlene Nourbese Philip for the notion of frontier). Integrating the perspective of Folkloristics and Heritage Studies, Elo-Hanna Seljamaa posits that museums possess the authoritative agency to determine which

identities to represent and which identities to suppress in silence (2021, 91). Through the decisions of curators, whose choices may not always be justified, exhibitions not only “implicitly and perhaps inadvertently represent the perspective of” ethnic majorities in museums, but also can reframe and reposition the identities and voices of minoritized groups (Seljamaa 2021, 92). Even though the discussion on the authority of museums in representing identities through various types of translation (e.g., interlingual, intersemiotic, multimodal, etc.) seems relatively recent, it is, in fact, possible to encounter such practices as early as the 19th century. In the representation of identities within a national framework in museums, the museum—and, by extension, the authorities with which the museum is affiliated, such as the government—selects which individuals or groups are granted recognition and by what means. Namely, it has been demonstrated that during the nationalist movements in the nineteenth century, museums served as institutions that mirrored current cultural, sociological, and political dynamics and served as tools to build a national image through their exhibitions (Aronsson and Elgenius 2014). This has been similarly demonstrated in the field of translation studies. To exemplify, van Doorslaer and Mertens (*forthcoming*) contend that museums have the capacity to metonymically translate various ethnic, religious, and cultural groups through exhibitions, therefore contributing to the formation of a homogeneous national identity, through which governments mirror their perspectives in order to communicate their political reforms and socio-cultural reorganizations.

The research on intercultural exchanges and identity-building in museums thus points to convergences between translation studies and museum studies, as well as other domains such as folkloristics, heritage studies, and history. While analyses of intercultural exchange in other domains have not often explicitly referred to translation despite its essential role in such processes, it is evident that it speaks directly to translation, in its interlingual, multimodal, and cultural dimensions. Nonetheless, it is possible to observe apparent references to the concept of translation within museological and curatorial frameworks. For instance, Tony Bennett explains that “exhibitionary forms” in museums can function as the translations of “knowledge/power relations” (Bennett 2006, 59). He further exemplifies that, from a historical standpoint, the principles governing museological displays in the 18th century were influenced by the prevailing practice of scientific classification, which involved the collection and arrangement of various species in cabinets. However, these displays were not based solely on accurate classifications, but rather on culturally conventional distinctions and similarities in the visual appearance of these objects, which the author deems as the translation of “systems of thought” (2006, 70). Moreover, Mari-Carmen Ramirez emphasizes the similarities between the translator and curator, who is “translating what the values of one context are to the values of another context” (quoted in Marincola 2001, 41). In addition, Steven C. Dubin refers to the integration of “new principles into reality” in museums as translation, such as when the doctrines of “reconciliation regarding the past” in historically and culturally sensitive contexts are necessary (2006, 484). Translation has thus been explored, both explicitly and inexplicitly, and through its multiple dimensions, by museum studies researchers.

The dimension of intercultural exchange of museum translation has also been explored specifically in terms of memory, an encounter of the Other-in-time. Translation has the capacity to “act both as the *media* and as *objects* of remembrance” (Demirkol Ertürk 2021, 155). If one can regard museums as “memory institutions” (Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt and Aljas 2014, 164), then the collecting, preserving, and remediating functions roles of museums become clearer, which are on a par with the functions of memory. Considered as one of the most vital attributes of new museums, exhibitions strive to actively involve visitors by seeking to elicit an emotional reaction through the curatorial decisions made in the portrayal of specific events and individuals (Andermann and Arnold-de Simine 2012). The relationship between memory and museums is evident through the experiential register of interpretation. Both individual and collective memory can be expressed through exhibitions, which serve as powerful reminders of the past (Neather 2022). In addition, it is also possible to define translation as “mnemonic transfer and remediation,” through which museums function as *translocal* sites to connect past and present (Spiessens and Decroupet 2023, 489, 501). From this perspective, even the very existence of the museum can be regarded as translation, due to the fact that an individual or collective is revoked the moment the visitors step into the museum space, and continues with the visitors’ exposure to multimodal texts. Nevertheless, it is of paramount importance to assert that interlingual translation plays a pivotal role in reflecting the curatorial authority and intentions as well as in how “visitors experience the museum environment and position themselves with regard to the transmitted memories” (ibid. 499).

## **6.5. Verbal aspects of museum translation: Central or auxiliary?**

In fact, the verbal aspects of museum translation have long been known and discussed in academia, for instance from the perspectives of translating museum labels, mediation of museum texts, representation of indigenous cultures, quality assessment of interlingual translation, or accessibility for special needs. This has taken place from a museum studies angle (Coxall 1994; Garibay and Yalowitz 2015; Garcia-Luis, McDonald and Migus 2011; Lazzaretti and Gatti 2022) as well as from various linguistic ones (Gill 1994; Purser 2000; Jiang 2010; Jiménez Hurtado and Soler Gallego 2015). For instance, Min-Hsiu Liao acknowledges the diverse meanings and definitions that can be ascribed to museum translation, thereby facilitating the “theoretical and professional development” within the scope of museum practices. Nevertheless, she emphasizes the significance of examining museum translation through the lens of interlingual translation (Liao 2018, 47). She has also introduced a typology consisting of five functions of museum translation, focusing on language-based perspectives (Liao 2018, 48): “informative function” (i.e., how the target text is provided in a manner that facilitates the rendering of the source text for the visitors), “interactive function” (i.e., fostering visitor engagement with the exhibitions), “political function” (i.e., the influence

of ideology on the communication dynamics between a museum as an institution and its target audience), “social-inclusive function” (i.e., acknowledging the diverse linguistic backgrounds the visitors, hence mirroring the multilingual needs in the museum texts), and “exhibitive function” (i.e., integrating translations as physical objects in exhibitions). It is evident that a broader perspective on museum translation—which considers ethnography, identity-building, representation, multimodal communication, and spatial organization as translation—can also be grounded in similar frameworks as the foci of these functions have been investigated in contexts that do not involve interlingual translation.

As a matter of fact, one can encounter particular viewpoints that consider language in the context of museum communication as necessary yet “auxiliary,” thus positioning it outside the center of the research spotlight (Plokhotnyuk and Mitrofanenko 2018, 21). Namely, similar to Liao’s typology of museum translation, Vladimir Plokhotnyuk and Ludmila Mitrofanenko (2018, 22) present a four-dimensional typology of museum communication, which consists of the communicative relations between “the outside world—a museum specialist,” “a museum specialist—a museum collection,” “a museum specialist (exhibitor)—an exposition,” and “a museum exposition—a visitor.” The process of communication begins before the curation phase, wherein specialists deliberate on the inclusion of artifacts in a museum collection based on their own perspectives, intentions, and the criteria set by the museum. Additionally, the museum’s affiliations with other esteemed institutions, such as ministries of culture and education, may also influence the selection and display of items. Furthermore, the experts examine the collection and analyze the values and meanings that might be ascribed to the selected artifacts. The third phase delineates the manner in which experts impart significance to the museum collection by means of their exhibition choices, such as providing complementary information, arranging and grouping artifacts, and so forth. The final type of communication refers to the visitor experience, which is influenced not only by the museum’s curatorial decisions regarding the arrangement of their collections within exhibitions but also by the reception of these choices. As previously mentioned, the sentiments and personal backgrounds of visitors collectively contribute to their perception of what the museum communicates.

An alternative perspective on the notion of the experience of museums might be examined by investigating the topic of accessibility and co-texts. In other words, the boundaries of the “experience” are not necessarily confined to the viewpoint of “museums as translation,” as the other category in Sturge’s seminal distinction (2007), “translation in museums,” can also serve as a foundation for exploring the visitor experience and meaning-making from the perspective of the target audience. More specifically, one of the possible ways to explore this is through museum audio description, which serves as a means of facilitating access to various museum artifacts, such as the artworks showcased in exhibitions. This form of audio description may occasionally incorporate many modes of sensory engagement, particularly when it is intentionally created to function “as a stand-alone experience” (Manfredi and Bartolini 2023, 267). As a consequence, visitors

can be subjected to “experiential equivalence” through the connection of museum audio descriptions with the source and target texts that accompany the artifacts in intersemiosis. Therefore, the visitors not only contribute to meaning-making through their experience of the exhibition rendered by the audio description but also engage in “memory-making,” particularly when they are recognized “as the main subject and producer of meanings in different contexts” (ibid. 271).

Thus, it can be concluded that the translation of exhibitions in museums has attracted the attention of various academic fields, each with their own overlapping and contrasting viewpoints on how to approach and conceptualize it. The differences in the conceptualization of museum translation arise from the inquiry of whether museum translation should primarily rely on the utilization of language within museums (such as interlingual translation found in labels, brochures, group texts, audioguides, etc.), or if researchers should adopt a broader approach to translation, which entails integrating various forms of knowledge, such as social, cultural, historical, ethnographic, artistic, didactic, and political reflections and perspectives, as well as curatorial intentions. This integration can take place through the representation of identities, the recontextualization of objects, people, and events, or even through the overall visitor experience, including their interactions with each other and with the museum. However, such differences can be regarded as complementary, mutually enriching each other’s scopes. Another discrepancy that has been pointed out is that certain scholars opted to not utilize the term “translation” and instead employed alternative terms such as “communication” to designate the same concept and similar practices, as exemplified earlier. Nevertheless, it is clear that the similarities across previous research on museum translation, regardless of whether they were explicitly labeled as such, outweigh the differences. The brief overview we have attempted to present to our readers illustrates the primary concerns of researchers, regardless of their field of study or the time frame in which they participated in the discourse. Ultimately, the concerns revolve around issues of inclusion-exclusion, accessibility, representation, identity, image building, memory, and so on.

## **6.6. Museums as spaces of cultural translation and transfer**

Given the aforementioned perspectives, our main argument was that the definition of museum translation comprises a diverse array of viewpoints within the realms of communication, representation, and cultural understanding. To illustrate these multidimensional approaches, we have addressed the divergence in viewpoints and terminology as a typical trait of the conceptualization of museum translation. We have also pointed out two particularities of the relevant research. First of all, despite its perceived novelty and niche nature, the questions related to inclusion, cultural and ethnic representation, communication through space and time, authority, power, multilingualism, and so forth have been the subject of scholarly discourse for several decades across various academic disciplines,

including, but not limited to, museum studies, semiotics, folkloristics and heritage studies, history, and architecture. Secondly, while translation studies traditionally emphasizes the role of interlingual translation, and while the fundamental focus on interlingual translation remains pertinent, approaches that do not particularly focus on written verbal texts in museums gradually attain more prominence. These include approaches that consider museums as an artistic, cultural, historical, educational, sociological, and political whole in which meaning is conveyed through multimodal texts and received by a multitude of demographics. In this regard, we hope to have answered Marie-Noelle Guillot's call that "there is as yet no overview of translation practices across the many different possible sites of representation that museums are, fundamentally and both intralingually and interlingually" (Guillot 2014, 92).

The aim of this special issue is to explore museums as spaces of cultural translation and transfer and to provide an inter-/trans-disciplinary perspective that prioritizes both the linguistic and non-linguistic applications of translation. In line with this aim, the articles included associating museum translation with various concepts, such as audio description, generational translation, interlingual translation, intersemiotic translation, intralingual translation, memory, metonymy, popularization, resemiotization, transcultural sensitivity, and visitor experience. Therefore, we can reiterate our argument that the concept of museum translation should not be confined to a single definition or discipline, as it intrinsically thrives on inter-/trans-/multi-disciplinarity while its definition evolves in tandem with the definition of translation.

This special issue illustrates the extensive range of perspectives on museum translation by discussing the role of the curator and the visitor while simultaneously focusing on museums, their websites, and visitor diaries. The articles featured in the special issue do not concentrate on a particular type of museum; instead, they offer case studies including art, diasporic, ethnographic, natural history, and university museums.

Opening the issue, Anneleen Spiessens and Luc van Doorslaer present a trifold view of museum translation comprising interlingual, intersemiotic, and cultural aspects, which function as a cohesive unity in the museum space. Taking the time to detail the value of using translation concepts in museums, they highlight the *resemiotized* nature (for the term cf. Liao 2023) of museum translation—which entails the confluence of verbal, visual, and auditory cues in museums—as a transformative process. They direct their attention to the issue of sensitivity, which leads them to conceptualize "Museums as Resemiotized and Sensitive Translations." Through their case study, the AfricaMuseum in Belgium, they discuss and apply the abovementioned concepts to analyze transcultural sensitivity in the museum.

Next, Robert Neather sheds light on the expectations and reactions of museum visitors, examining a novel aspect of Museum Translation. In his article, he highlights a broad conceptualization of translation in the context of museums, which transcends not only a language-based viewpoint as in verbal text transfer (e.g., interlingual or intralingual translation) but also the juxtaposition and combination

of various semiotic registers as a curational practice. Namely, he introduces visitor experience as an incremental perspective to consider within the scope of museum translation, suggesting that translation can be regarded as a point of contact between memory and history. Giving prominence to the shift from the text producer (i.e., the museum as an institution, curator, professional or non-professional translator, etc.) to the text receiver (i.e., the visitors from various backgrounds with shared or divergent identities), he analyzes the intertexts related to The Museum of Chinese in America (MOCA) to investigate how the visitors translate this museum in line with their identitarian position-takings. The datasets utilized in this paper are derived from museum diaries and online museum reviews, holding a pivotal position in the analysis.

In contrast to the first two articles, Terje Loogus and Jaanika Anderson opt to narrow their research scope to verbal translation. Their study investigates the translation strategies employed by the University of Tartu Museum in Estonia for local and international visitors. Their primary focus lies on interlingual translation, emphasizing the inherent combinatory nature of museum texts, which also encompass intralingual and intersemiotic translations. These combinatorial texts arise from the institution's objective to embody its socio-political position, which, in turn, influences its language policy, while the perspectives involved in the creation of museum texts have academic, didactic, or design-related undertones. The authors contend that due to the authoritative status of museums, the translation strategies employed in museum texts assume heightened significance, as the manner in which museum translations deliver messages might influence visitors' perceptions of the exhibition.

Annalisa Sezzi's and Jessica Jane Nocella's main focus similarly lies on the translation of verbal texts. However, rather than centering their research on interlingual translation, their primary emphasis is on the process of popularization. Examining the concept of popularization as recontextualization and intralingual translation, they propose that the extent of this translation process is further influenced by additional mediation when the intended recipients are children. In relation to the concept of museums as "translation zones," the authors characterize museum websites as "important agents of knowledge dissemination." Through the website of the Natural History Museum in London *OLogy*, as well as the website of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, they conduct a discourse analysis and reveal the convergences and divergences in knowledge dissemination practices between their selected case studies.

The following article by Chiara Bartolini provides a comprehensive analysis of the distinct levels of interpretation, specifically examining the interlingual, intralingual, and intersemiotic translations of the artworks exhibited at the Pinacoteca di Brera. The author emphasizes the significance of examining museum translation, particularly in relation to the diverse media present in art museums, such as labels, online descriptions, audio guides, and audio descriptions for visitors with accessibility needs. This research encompasses not only the physical exhibitions within museums but also extends to online platforms, aligning with previous scholarly contributions in this special issue. The author

directs attention toward the diverse interpretations that emerge from the multiple translations of the same artworks. She emphasizes that the process of meaning-making might vary significantly according to the visitors' requirements and capacities, particularly when considering the matter of accessibility.

Closing the issue, Clare Hindley, Katja Grupp, and Magda Sylwestrowicz assert in their analysis that museums can be conceptualized as environments that facilitate the preservation and transmission of collective memory through the process of translation. This definition encompasses an examination of the influence of generational translation and the significance of architectural elements within museum spaces in facilitating introspection and eliciting emotional reactions. The authors emphasize the significance of visitors' backgrounds in shaping their experiences and perceptions of museums that depict catastrophic events in history, as they explore the interplay between history, memory, and visitors. This is exemplified through their examination of the Jewish Museum Berlin as a case study. The authors illustrate the difficulties faced by their case study in achieving visitor expectations by examining the concept of generational translation.

## 7. ARTICLE 3: TRANSLATION AS METONYMIC CULTURAL TRANSMISSION: THE CASE OF THE ISTANBUL ARCHAEOLOGY MUSEUMS

Although this book aims at enlarging the conceptualization of translation, this chapter will paradoxically start from the observation that by far most adjacent disciplines making use of the concept of ‘translation’ seem to adopt it in a very traditional, narrowly linguistic way (see Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016). This perspective will be confronted with two alternative suggestions by seminal TS scholars. Maria Tymoczko (1999) provided the foundations for conceptualizing translation as metonymy, as a partial process “highlighting specific segments or parts” (282). On the other hand, Andrew Chesterman conceptualized translation as memes, i.e. units of cultural transmission (revised version of his book 2016). Both approaches are productive for analyzing modernity and its transmitted forms in translational terms, in particular in the context of associating modernity with “turning Western” (Ferguson 2011: 218) and with cultural mediation. In a trans-disciplinary effort, our case study will combine translation studies and museum studies.

The Istanbul Archaeology Museums complex (previously known as *Müze-i Hümayun*, ‘the Imperial Museum’) is one of the symbols of modernization through Westernization of the Late Ottoman Empire. Mentioned by Théophile Gautier as a “notable mark of progress” in his travel writings about Istanbul (1853: 287), the foundations of this museum complex were laid in 1846 in the Church of Hagia Irene (Ünar 2019: 70), which became the first official museum of the Ottoman Empire in 1891 (Kuruloğlu 2010: 55). It is not a coincidence that the transitional process of becoming a modern state (Telli & Yılmaz 2020:20) as well as the relatively egalitarian policy on different races and religions during the *Tanzimat* (‘reorganization’) period in the Ottoman Empire correspond to changing views on museology, historical artifacts, and the foundation of the first museum in compliance with European standards. In this context, one of the signs of modernity is the evolution in the mentality of defining historical artefacts, namely, the transition from the concept of *kadim*—ancient and important due to functional reasons—to the concept of *atık*—ancient, therefore intrinsically important (cf. Serbestoğlu & Açık 2013). It is remarkable that Istanbul Archaeology Museums displayed Ancient Greek, Byzantine, Commagenian and Phoenician artefacts alongside Turkic and Islamic artefacts, as this approach marks an attempt of a *translation* of the ‘other’—both the ancient and the Western—, into ‘self’—the Ottoman-Islamic culture—in the form of a museum.

## 7.1. The multitude of translation conceptualizations

When aiming to academically investigate the role of translation in the distribution and development of modernity, we first have to consider the diversity and incongruities in translation conceptualizations. Translation Studies (TS) has long since departed from the so-called objectivist, mostly equivalence-based approaches, as “few translation scholars today would claim that translations are completely objective entities and that Translation can be articulated in only one true way” (Halverson 2010, 378). This is also directly related to the development of the discipline over the past decades, particularly its immensely grown corpus of available translated texts and resulting evidence. This situation reveals “a complex image of different forms and appearances of translation processes and products” (van Doorslaer 2021, 3), undermining relatively easy and straightforward objectivist views.

However, it is important to acknowledge that outside of the discipline—be it in popular definitions or daily usages—the perspective on ‘translation’ is still significantly dominated by principles of equivalence-based interlingual transfer and the faithfulness of language transfer only. This largely holds true for the world of translation practice, where the ideas of stable sense and meaning (independent of the language transfer) form a basis for the business model of translation industry. Zwischenberger criticizes that translators’ professional associations mostly confirm this image of “trustworthy professionals steered by fidelity, accuracy, and neutrality” (2019, 265), although it perpetuates outdated perceptions of “translation proper” and an unnecessarily subservient image of the translator.

Despite the overall dominant development in TS described previously, there also remain currents within the discipline that generally defend to stick to the original core business of interlingual translation (practice) and exclude other text-modifying practices such as intralingual or intersemiotic translation—the two other “types” of translations already mentioned by Jakobson (1959). Those currents warn against the broadening tendencies as running the risk of undermining the specificity of the discipline. That specificity is then linked closely to the concept of equivalence: “[...] something like the concept of equivalencing needs to be defended against the now commonplace references to the old notion of equivalence as dubious or passé. [...] Under the influence of literary and cultural studies, there has been too much emphasis in recent years on the non-equivalencing work of translators” (Mossop 2016, 19–20). At the same time, the argumentation representing this current also confirms that this view on translation is based on the concept of a stable meaning that can be “preserved”: “changing meaning (whether deliberately or accidentally) is easy whereas preserving it is precisely what is so difficult” (Mossop 2016, 20).

Paradoxically, it is precisely the tendency to broaden the object field of TS that has created fertile ground for the creation of alternative understandings to “translation”. Other translation-related text-modifying practices (such as interpreting, adaptation, or localization) are all included in the object of TS when “translation” is used as an umbrella term with a broader coverage. The (existing)

narrower use of “translation” as one practice only, however, excludes the translation concept of qualities such as change, difference, and transformation. In that case, the narrow conceptualization generates a need for alternative terms, also with consequences for the popularity of the term. “The word *translation* seems to suffer from a bad reputation. It is often replaced by or competes with other terms, such as *localization*, *adaptation*, *versioning*, *transediting*, *language mediation*, and *transcreation*” (Gambier 2016, 888—italics in Gambier’s text). The fact that the concept is expanding can be expressed in one generalized term (a broadened understanding of “translation”) or in a multitude of terms distinguishing between the different practices covered by the same concept. This situation illustrates that “the boundaries of the concept ‘translation’ are ultimately not set by something intrinsic to the concept itself, but by the ways in which members of a culture use the concept” (Chesterman 2016, 60).

This conceptual development is all the more relevant at the beginning of the 21st century, where people not only belong to multiple cultures but also to very diverging types of communities. Under the circumstances of growing digitization, text production is increasingly characterized by a plethora of medial and modal transformations as well as by a boom of transmedial production and reproduction. This impacts the appreciation for the value of offshoots, spinoffs, rewritings, co-writings, adaptations, recontextualizations, etc. All of these products—also including interlingual, intralingual, and intersemiotic translations—are dynamic elements in a complex and interacting (inter)text production system with essential features of transmediality and multimodality.

Andrew Chesterman introduced “memes” in TS as a concept expressing the spread of ideas in the discipline already in 1997. The term was originally coined by evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins in the 1970s as a cultural counterpart for “genes.” Whereas a gene is a unit of biological heredity, a meme would be “a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of *imitation*” (Dawkins, quoted in Chesterman 2016, 1). Interestingly, together with the ubiquity of the Internet at the beginning of the 21st century, the concept of “meme” itself became widespread. Particularly, the youth copy and spread numerous messages (images, videos, etc.) on a daily basis with slight variations, often with a humorous aim. Translation is however not only the means by which memes are disseminated—and as such an act of “sharing, spreading, propagating, duplicating-with-variation” (Chesterman 2020, 212). Translations themselves are also memetic in their relationship with the preceding or source text(s), a relationship of “*divergent similarity*” encompassing “a wide range of possible variation and adaptation” (213).

This goes hand in hand with the blurring of the boundaries between text types, as well as interconnections and convergence between technologies, human and non-human agents, and media. In the era of print, traditional thinking about translation was based on the centrality of stable sources. In the Digital Age, all texts are subject to dynamic changes, as such sources are destabilized. This is less new than we might think as also in the pre-print age, texts were constantly rewritten, “and translation was frequently perceived as just another step in that

chain of rewritings” (Pym 2004, 175). The disappearance of clear-cut boundaries between translation and localization, or between translation and adaptation, is relativized in a historical perspective. Furthermore, such a perspective reminds us that the association of translation with “copying” has only become dominant since Romanticism and its glorification of originality. As the semiotician Juri Lotman has explained, this so-called “aesthetics of opposition” has not at all been a universal and timeless value—most of the time the “aesthetics of identity” has prevailed. “Throughout the history of art, artistic systems that associate aesthetic worth with originality are the exception rather than the rule” (Lotman 1977, quoted in Berger 1992, 51).

From this perspective and based on such a memetic conceptualization, accepting the inevitability of change in translation is almost obvious—not only in transnational, translingual, and transcultural contexts, but also in modern trans-medial and/or transmodal contexts. Further on in this chapter, the case study under investigation will deal with the translation and transfer of modernity in the Istanbul Archaeology Museums (formerly known as *Müze-i Hümayun*, “the Imperial Museum”). Representing aspects, such as modernity, related to and experienced by a culture, is obviously subject to variation. When applied to the framework of this volume, it means that the position and perception of modernity in the source language, source text, source situation, and source culture A can never have the exact same representative value in the target language, target text, target situation, and target culture B (see also van Doorslaer 2022, 110).

Besides Chesterman’s memetic view on translation, at this point, it also adds complementary value to refer to Maria Tymoczko’s view on translation as metonymy, i.e., “a form of representation in which parts or aspects of the source text come to stand for the whole” (Tymoczko 1999, 55). As opposed to the traditional concept of translation as an act of selection and substitution, Tymoczko stresses the hybrid, connecting, and creative aspects of translation. Presenting translation as a fundamentally metonymic operation reflects such variation and prioritizing potential: “translation is always a partial process, whereby some but not all of the source text is transposed, and in the way that translations represent source texts by highlighting specific segments or parts, or by allowing specific attributes of the source texts to dominate” (282). Comparable to the functioning and spreading of modern memes, translation is not essentially considered here as an “all-or-nothing process,” but as a process “to transpose aspects or *parts* of a text and a culture, and that very *partiality* of translation gives it flexibility” (1999, 290—italics in Tymoczko’s text). Such a metonymic perspective considers translation as inevitably fragmented and highlighting specific aspects more than others. This take on translation is fruitful for approaching the translation of modernity and considers translation itself as a *modern* expression of knowledge: “In this guise translation is the subject of modern thought par excellence: the nexus of the paradoxes of language and knowledge” (1999, 284).

Chesterman’s memetic and Tymoczko’s metonymic conceptualization of translation both show interesting common grounds with more recent interdisciplinary takes on epistemic aspects of translation, particularly in the social

sciences. When considering the translation of knowledge, translations act as “a mediated space where epistemic authority is negotiated and the situative and contextual attribution of meaning and authorship allocated” (Schögler 2019, 9). The central idea of negotiation includes and acknowledges the variation and transformation of translation, not only at the obvious linguistic level, but also in relation to the geographic and cultural frameworks of knowledge construction. Therefore, agency takes center stage. “The translator thus always participates in knowledge-making” (Schögler 2019, 11) in the stages of production and reproduction, and the translative is described as a “continuous process of re-production, transfer, circulation and transformation of discourses, imaginaries and perceptions” (Basalamah 2012, 94).

Additionally, the diversity of conceptualizations makes the translational and transformational “as a paradigm in its own right” (Basalamah 2016, 12) attractive to the social sciences, particularly for trajectories of “reflexive TS or the meta-theorization of translation” (10). The growing interconnections between TS and the social sciences, in particular sociology, as for instance exemplified in and by the journal *Translation in Society*, illustrate the attention for the broad social relevance of translation and the translational elements of knowledge production. Translation is investigated as “a necessary social process underpinning meaningful exchange between (cultural, linguistic, political, legal, economic) groupings that would otherwise remain unintelligible to one another” (van Doorslaer and McMartin 2022, 5). Such a lens will also be used for approaching translation in the modernity context of the case study further on in this chapter. It will conceive of translation “as a form of active engagement in social and discursive negotiations and explores translation as it brings about change in the dynamics of intergroup and intercultural relations” (Basalamah 2022, 15).

## 7.2. Modernity and translation

Despite related designations such as postmodernity and post-postmodernism, the concept of modernity itself is still very much present in scholarly discourses and shows dissemination potential. In TS publications, ample attention has been given to the translational features of modernist texts. The relationship between modernity and translation, on the other hand, has recently attracted great attention from Chinese scholars focusing on the transformations of Chinese society under so-called modern or Western influences.

Luo (2022) thematizes translation as a means for cultural dissemination in the development of China’s development toward modernity. However, he also conceptualizes translation as an interdisciplinary endeavor that reflects modernity. Although less explicitly using the concept of translation, Sun (2020) deals with the ambiguous introduction of nation as a modern concept in China, where the ambiguity resulted from a binary use of nation that was difficult to connect to the ethnical complexity of the Chinese society. Another transformation difficulty was the existence of distinctive roots of the nation concept within Europe itself.

Whereas nation states mainly represented a political character in Western Europe, the cultural origins were much more dominant in Central European states. An explicit case of interlingual and intercultural translation concerned “the problems encountered by Christian missionaries in translating the concept of religion into Chinese” (Sun 2020, introduction).

An article also addressing Chinese modernity, but fundamentally using the translation concept as developed in this chapter, was paradoxically not published in a TS but a literary studies journal. It starts by acknowledging that translation “always alters, displaces, and hybridizes the translated and what emerges at the other end of the process of translating modernity will be an alternative modernity” (Xie 2007, 62). Modernist Western ideas or concepts such as humanism or post-modernism are never unmodified or untransformed after the transfer. Critics “seem to have neglected or underestimated performative-transformative translational agency” (74).

The use of the term “Western” in itself can however be criticized as being too simplistic and even polarizing. Although binary thinking is sometimes relativized, several of the publications dealing with the transfer and translation of modernity use the dichotomy “Western”—“Chinese” as a shorthand. Nevertheless, “it is recognized that there has never been a monolithic entity of the West, nor has there been a homogenous and exclusive Western body of knowledge and beliefs” (Guo 2020, 675). This echoes similar conceptual discussions in TS about concepts such as Eurocentrism. Here too, the use has been criticized for the centrality of a geographically based term that is not appropriate for “a phenomenon that is a complex mixture of political, cultural and historical facts” (van Doorslaer 2018, 172) or for “the tendency by post-colonial critics to reduce Europe to two languages, English and French, and to two countries, England and France” (Cronin 1995, 86).

Despite the lack of nuance and the questionable geographical basis of the term, the act of “turning Western” or absorbing Western influences is a central element in the “Chinese translation of Western modernity” (Guo 2020, 674), considering that “translation has temporal, therefore historical, as well as linguistic and cultural consequences that are more often than not irreversible, unremediable, and unredressable” (685). Describing the transfer of the features of culture and modernity easily runs the risk of presenting it in a hierarchical or dominant framework, particularly when making use of binaries. In a broad historical overview, Ferguson tries to overcome this (“this is not another self-satisfied version of ‘The Triumph of the West’”—2011, 13) by describing how many so-called Western “inventions” in reality had Chinese precursors, such as the printing press, paper money, gunpowder, or the magnetic compass. The success of the Western world was mainly related to “novel complexes of institutions and associated ideas and behaviours” (12), which he summarizes under the headings of competition, science, property rights, medicine, the consumer society, and work ethic. Besides many examples about Chinese modernity, Ferguson pays ample attention to the Ottoman Empire, in particular the Tanzimat era in the 19th century, which directly connects to the case study of this chapter. In short, the modernization of the

Ottoman Empire in the Tanzimat era “had to embrace both the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment if it was to be credible as a great power” (Ferguson 2011, 86). The case study on the Istanbul Archaeology Museums, also known as the Imperial Museum, essentially illustrates such import of European modernity in all its (specifically institutional) complexities.

### 7.3. Modernity and Westernization in the Ottoman Empire

Modernity and Westernization in the 19th century Ottoman Empire has been a well-debated topic for numerous researchers throughout decades, and the discussion extends through no less than the 21st century. Nevertheless, how can a past century be considered modern in the age of digitalization? “Modernity” as a term has its roots in the 5th century, which was first used as “modernus” in the 490s (Jauss 2005, 333) to highlight the threshold between the pagan past of ancient Rome and Christianity. Starting from that point, the term has had various coinages and explosive points (cf. Lotman 2009 for “explosion”) of use throughout history, such as the 12th-century Renaissance (Jauss 2005, 334) or the French Enlightenment (Habermas 1985, 4; Jauss 2005, 343). Jauss suggests that the common use of the term “modern” is demonstrative of a division between what is considered old and new (Jauss 2005, 332). Delanty explains that this division called for a rejection and renunciation of the past, leading up to a “reinterpretation of historical origins” (Delanty 2007, 1). Thus, the term has had various meanings in multiple contexts throughout centuries.

Starting from the 19th century, the term gained popularity and became more used in the context of social and political change. Delanty formulates that “the term had a wider social and political resonance in the spirit of revolution and social reconstruction that was a feature of the nineteenth century” (Delanty 2007, 1). Therborn calls this shift “a self-conscious epochal concept” and adds that it was seen as an objective toward a “modern society” (Therborn 2017, 1).

Modernity, in our case, is not synonymous with the most contemporary or technologically, scientifically, and industrially advanced, nor is it the product of the latest social, cultural, and political movements. It rather signifies a breaking point from what had been traditional, a moment of realization of the necessities of a new era. It is a collective thought pattern born as the result of the *semiosphere* of a society that constantly updates and upgrades itself when in contact with the outside world (for the term cf. Lotman 2005 [1984]). Therefore, although the 19th century is decades away from the present day, the shift from the traditional to the modern in arts, culture, society, science, and politics has expanded in a distinguishable manner—at least in the Ottoman context.

In this respect, besides the universal definitions of the term “modern,” what did modernity signify for the Ottomans in concrete terms? Can we talk about “multiple modernities,” or was the Ottoman modernization through Westernization? These questions may be answered in multifarious ways by various historians and sociologists, and they are still a matter of discussion to date. As modernity

has mostly been defined from a Western perspective in the past, one of the first remarks could be about how to categorize the Ottoman Empire: are we looking at a Western society, thus, defining the Ottoman modernization in a Western manner, or should we consider them as a part of the East? The second problem—as mentioned earlier in this chapter—ironically lies within the binary opposition of East vs. West, as the threshold between the two is extremely ambiguous as well as context- and ideology-dependent. In addition, the cultural and ethnic diversity, and the geographical position of the empire (even when its borders regressed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century) contributes to a perplexing situation. Our aim in this chapter is not to strictly categorize or label the Ottoman Empire one way or another, as we are aware that multiple viewpoints on this issue could be used depending on the research context.

In terms of the context of archaeological and museological practices in the 19th century, the empire positioned itself as a non-Western country. Even though the idea of establishing a modern museum most certainly came from Western cities, such as London and Paris, the Ottomans did not categorize their collection, which was soon going to become the Imperial Museum, as a Western product. It is also worth mentioning that the first two directors of the museum before the grand opening were of foreign descent: Edward Goold and Dr. Anton Dethier. Nevertheless, it must be stated that Turkish museology starts with Osman Hamdi Bey, an Ottoman painter and archaeologist, who was appointed as the museum director after Dr. Dethier passed away (Başgelen 2018, 9). As the director, he not only personally oversaw the archaeological excavations and tackled the transportation and curation of the findings, but also directed the School of Fine Arts as an addition to his post (*ibid.*).

A glance at *İkdam* newspaper from the 19th century, which published an article about the grand opening of the Imperial Museum, as well as the transcription of the opening speech of Osman Hamdi demonstrates that he compared the museum to its counterparts in Europe:

The progress has been at such an extent that no European museum has ever matched its pace. We have completed these two buildings in just 13 years and with the courtesy of our Sultan, we are beginning the construction of a third one.<sup>14</sup>

The Imperial Museum was established by courtesy of our Sultan who has been unsparing in his support, with the belief that the study of ancient artifacts makes a major contribution to the development and progress of humanities. Opened with great effort, the Imperial Museum has become truly spectacular in a very short period of time, and has in fact surpassed the museums of Europe.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Extract from “His Excellency Hamdi Bey’s Opening Speech”, from *İkdam* newspaper article about “groundbreaking ceremony for Museum’s south wing on September 2, 1904”. Source: Istanbul Archaeology Museums, accessed in March 2022, translated in English by the museum.

<sup>15</sup> Extract from “The Opening of the New Annexe of the Imperial Museum”, from *İkdam* newspaper article about “groundbreaking ceremony for Museum’s south wing on September 2, 1904”. Source: Istanbul Archaeology Museums, accessed in March 2022, translated in English by the museum.

As both Osman Hamdi Bey and the article in *İkdam* compared the Ottoman Empire with Europe, it is safe to say that they did not consider themselves as Westerners. Therefore, in this context, our article also positions the empire as non-Western. Going back to the abovementioned questions, it is thus crucial that we identify the implications of this positioning in comparison with modernity. In fact, is it possible to discuss a singular modernity, which is in parallel with Westernization, or is the idea of “multiple modernities” applicable in our case?

In essence, Eisenstadt’s term “multiple modernities” signifies a viewpoint that denies the so-called analogousness of Westernization and modernity, as, according to him, modernization reverberated differently in various parts of the world as a result of each society’s unique way of making sense of the world (Eisenstadt 2000, 2–3; Roniger 2017, 1). We shall discuss two points elaborated by Eisenstadt on the awareness of multiple modernities as well as characteristics of modernity: i. the question of autonomy and authority and ii. the construction of a new order, especially in terms of political order. According to him, one way of recognizing modernity in societies starts with disengagement from the traditional authority on culture and politics, which suggests autonomy as a result.

Central to this cultural program was an emphasis on the autonomy of man: his or her (in its initial formulation, certainly “his”) emancipation from the fetters of traditional political and cultural authority. In the continuous expansion of the realm of personal and institutional freedom and activity, such autonomy implied, first, reflexivity and exploration; second, active construction and mastery of nature, including human nature. This project of modernity entailed a very strong emphasis on the autonomous participation of members of society in the constitution of the social and political order, on the autonomous access of all members of the society to these orders and to their centers (Eisenstadt 2000, 5).

The above-mentioned autonomous access of Ottoman members of society to the “constitution of the social and political order” can be regarded as an example of what Eisenstadt describes. Even though complete democratization was not yet at stake, the Tanzimat period triggered a Westernization process in the empire with the Edict of Gülhane, followed by the Constitution of the Ottoman Empire (Aktürk 2013, 67). As opposed to the past regulations that divided nations according to religion in the empire, the new laws implemented “equal citizenship” and suggested the abolishment of restrictions against non-Muslims (Bozkurt 1993, 52). The new laws not only assured the citizens that they were free to practice any religion with liberty (Clauses XI, XII, pages 18–19) but also guaranteed everyone equal educational and employment opportunities (Clauses XIII, XIV, page 19). The beginning of the legislation mirrors the changes in society:

The guarantees promised and granted to all our subjects by the Edict of Gulhane and by the laws of the Tanzimat, without distinction of worshipped religion, for the security of their person and their property, and for the preservation of their honor, are recalled and rededicated; effective measures are to be taken to ensure

that these guarantees attain their full and entire effect (Clause I, page 15<sup>16</sup>) [translation from the French original by IM]

The second point by Eisenstadt's "multiple modernities" that we address in this chapter is the establishment of a new order as a consequence of "the modern program" (Eisenstadt 2000, 5). Such an order could be constructed through various social and political acts, such as "rebellion, protest, and intellectual antinomianism, allowing for new center-formation and institution-building, giving rise to movements of protest as a continual component of the political process" (Eisenstadt 2000, 6). Among these examples, "intellectual antinomianism" (in its secular sense), "new center formation," and "institution building" bear a resemblance to the foundation of the Imperial Museum. Considering that intellectual antinomianism refers to "an extreme manifestation of the tensions and ambivalence between intellectuals and authority" (Eisenstadt 1971, 69), the inurement of the Antiquities Act (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*) of 1869, 1874, and 1884 can be regarded as the triumph of the Ottoman intellectuals against a system that tolerated the looting of archaeological sites in the empire, for example, the plundering of Troy by Heinrich Schliemann. The Antiquities Act not only marks a modern approach to the preservation of the empire's cultural and historical heritage but also indicates a changing point of view toward antiquities: what used to be addressed as "*kadîm*" (ancient; important due to functional reasons) was replaced by the concept of "*atik*" (ancient; intrinsically important due to its historical and cultural significations). In fact, the word "*atik*" has Arabic origins (عتيق), and it not only refers to being ancient, but also has a profound and sacred semantic association. In the Quranic context, this term symbolizes the house of Allah in Mecca, which is Qaba, and it can be seen in the expression "the ancient House" (بيت العتيق) in various *sūrahs*. For instance, in *sūrah* Al-Hajj *ayat* 33, the word "*atik*" is used to address Qaba:

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<sup>16</sup> All clauses are extracted from Aristarchi Bey, Grégoire (compilateur) 1874. *Legislation ottomane ou Recueil des lois, règlements, ordonnances, traités, capitulations et autres documents officiels de L'Empire Ottoman*, Tome II, édité par Demétrius Nicolaïdes. Constantinople: Bureau du Journal Thraky. Accédé via: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k374339r/f2.item.r=L%C3%A9gislation%20ottomane> [Aristarchi Bey, Grégoire (compiler) 1874. *Ottoman Legislation or Collection of laws, regulations, ordinances, treaties, capitulations and other official documents of the Ottoman Empire*, Second Volume, edited by Demétrius Nicolaïdes. Constantinople: Thraky Newspaper Office]. Accessed via: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k374339r/f2.item.r=L%C3%A9gislation%20ottomane>

لَكُمْ فِيهَا مَنَافِعٌ إِلَىٰ أَجَلٍ مُّسَمًّى ثُمَّ مَحْلُومًا إِلَىٰ الْيَوْمِ الْعَتِيقِ

For you therein [i.e., the animals marked for sacrifice] are benefits for a specified term; then their place of sacrifice is at the ancient House. (Quran 22:33<sup>17</sup>)

In that respect, the shift from “*kadîm*” to “*atîk*” both indicates a new world view within the society which attributes value to ancient artefacts (Serbestoğlu and Açıık 2013, 165), and is grounded on cultural-religious norms that run deep in the societal memory. To sum up, in parallel with the developments such as The Antiquities Act and a shift in the way ancient artefacts are labelled, the foundation of the Imperial Museum and the *Müze-i Hümayûn* School (the Imperial Museum School) created a basis for a new cultural center formation. This school served as an institution with the mission to educate museologists. Therefore, all of these attempts can be regarded as signs of modernization and Westernization in the Ottoman Empire. (Serbestoğlu and Açıık 2013, 163, 168; Şimşek and Dinç 2009, 108).

The framework of Ottoman modernization is based on military defeats and technological restraints, which eradicated the common view that the empire was superior to its rivals. Certain crucial points of modernization could be listed as the reign of Mahmud II (1808–1839), the Edict of Gülhane (1839), the First Constitutional Era (1876), and the Second Constitutional Era (1908) (Telli and Yılmaz 2020, 15). Defining modernization as “an economic, political and societal transformation that arises during a specific time and place,” Telli and Yılmaz suggest that Ottoman modernization is “a unique process” that needs to be considered with its multi-time and multidimensional aspects (Telli and Yılmaz 2020, 31–32). An interchangeable utilization of “modern” and “Western” comes with the premise that modernity is a state that non-Western societies can achieve by modeling themselves through Western examples (Telli and Yılmaz 2020, 11). Göçek points out that Westernization led up to modernization, which, in fact, resulted in a global experience that grew out to be non-inherent to the West (Göçek 1999, 17–18 quoted in Telli and Yılmaz 2020, 11), in parallel with Eisenstadt’s views. Ortaylı points out that Ottoman modernization, which is an “autocratic modernization,” is not the consequence of an admiration or idolization toward the West; instead, the steps regarding modernization, despite being influenced by the West, were taken out of necessity (Ortaylı 2018, 34, quoted in Telli and Yılmaz 2020, 16). Nevertheless, this influence was adjudicated internally; hence, it was not strongly exerted by outside powers (ibid.).

This situation is unlike many other non-Western societies that were subject to colonization; therefore, it makes the Ottoman case noticeably unique. However, it is crucial to not overlook the case of autocratic modernization as an example of pure voluntary adaptation, for even the internal decision to become modern was tied to the explicit requisite to survive as an empire among the European countries. Parla explains that for the empire, modernity has always had a “Western”

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<sup>17</sup> Arabic to English translation extracted from Saheeh International’s *Translation of the Meaning of the Qur’an* (2004: 320).

connotation and that it deliberately *chose* modeling itself after the Western world as a means to overcome their power (cf. Parla 2009). We can position the roots of this choice in the defeat of the Ottoman Army after the Battle of Vienna (1683) and the Treaty of Karlowitz, which was signed a year later and put an end to the Ottoman expansion in Europe. Symbolically, it also initiated a new understanding in the empire that would become increasingly prominent in the following centuries: the West was economically and militarily superior (Kaçar 2011, 128). Especially starting in the 18th century and becoming more visible in the 19th century, modeling the West not only in terms of economy and military forces but also in terms of arts and humanities were also the products of this new—modern—mentality. For instance, during the Tulip Era, French opera, ballet, architecture, and overall lifestyle gained popularity (Kuran-Burçoğlu 2009, 36). In humanities, one of the most distinguished examples of this growing mentality is the foundation of the Imperial Museum, as well as the institutionalization of Turkish archaeology, the Antiquities Act. In the next section, we elaborate on the foundation of the Imperial Museum and associate it with the auto- and hetero-images of the Turks, referring to the social and cultural changes in the empire.

#### 7.4. The Imperial Museum

Istanbul Archaeology Museums is a museum complex that is home to thousands of archaeological artifacts, coins, and cuneiform tablets that come from Anatolia, modern-day Greece, the Arabian Peninsula, the Middle East, and Egypt. With its collection of 750,000 artifacts in total, the museum complex comprises the main building (a.k.a. Istanbul Archaeology Museum), the Museum of the Ancient Orient, and the Tiled Kiosk Museum (Başgelen 2018, 71–73). Nonetheless, the history of this museum complex dates back a couple of decades earlier.

The first steps toward a museum as a sign of modernity were taken when Sultan Abdulmejid I and Ahmet Fethi Pasha noticed Byzantine artifacts during one of their trips in 1846.<sup>18</sup> Sent to Istanbul, these artifacts were collected by the Pasha in Hagia Irene (a former church) and exhibited as “Collection of Ancient Weaponry” (*Mecma-ı Ešliha-ı Atik*) and “Collection of Ancient Artefacts” (*Mecma-ı Âsar-ı Atika*). (Şahin 2007, 110). Wendy Shaw explains that Ahmet Fethi Pasha’s efforts could be considered the first successful museological display of the collection. In 1869, the term “museum” started to be in use rather than “collection,” which, according to some, is the correct date of establishment of the first museum (Shaw 2003, 31, 46). When the main building, which is the empire’s—and later Turkey’s—first purpose-built museum, was opened to the public in 1891, it was welcomed with praise in Istanbul and described as “a source

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<sup>18</sup> Şahin mentions that according to some scholars (e.g., archaeologist Aziz Oğan), the correct date is 1847 (Şahin 2007, 110).

of pride, adding to the existing progress.”<sup>19</sup> However, the apparent enthusiasm toward excavating and displaying cultural heritage and designating it as a sign of progress in 1891 has not always been manifest in the empire; on the contrary, the museum complex is the outcome of a radical evolution of the perception of what ancient artifacts signify.

Although the first museum-like complexes were scattered around the known world, such as the Mouseion of Alexandria (Egypt) or the pinacotheca in the Acropolis in Athens, as well as similar complexes in Pergamon and Antiochia in Asia Minor, the variety and quantity of museums have been significantly greater in Europe than in other parts of the world (Kuruloğlu 2010, 46). From the display of relics in churches during the Middle Ages and the small private collections in the Renaissance to large-scale private collections and private museums in the 17th and 18th centuries, collecting and exhibiting cultural and religious heritage was not unaccustomed in Europe. This custom was consolidated in the 18th and 19th centuries by the foundations of multiple prominent museums, such as the British Museum, the Louvre Museum, the Philadelphia Museum, Kunsthistorisches Museum, and the Altes Museum (Kuruloğlu 2010, 47). However, for Ottomans, the concept of a museum, as we understand it today, was not recognized until the 19th century, even though there had been certain collection-displaying practices in earlier centuries (Ünar 2019, 68). Şahin adds that the museology tradition in Europe resulted in the foundation of multiple museums starting from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the lack of this tradition in the Ottoman Empire startled European travelers, which created a negative hetero-image of the Turks: insensitive and even detrimental towards ancient artefacts (Şahin 2007, 104). Even though the improvement in museology was once appreciated by the French traveler and writer Théophile Gautier as a “notable mark of progress” in his travel writings about Istanbul, he was still unimpressed with the collection (Gautier 1853, 287), and many European travelers approached were repulsed by the Turkish attitude toward ancient artifacts. For instance, Şahin explains that Jacque Gassot, a French missionary, had a rather negative impression during his visit:

[...] According to travelers, the Turks do not value ancient monuments. They do not feel shame for carrying every stone they find that could be useful for the construction of the Sultan’s palace. [...] Travelers recount that there is a myriad of ancient coins that belong to past epochs in Anatolia, and that Turks turn them into pots and pans as “*those are some worthless coins of infidels and idolaters*”. (Şahin 2007, 104–105—translation IM).

According to this report, it is explicit that the concept of “kadım” in approaching antiquities had been more dominant than the concept of “atık,” which was discussed in the earlier paragraphs. Among various other names that reported similar incidents, Şahin mentions that Giambattista Casti, who visited the empire

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<sup>19</sup> Extract from “The Opening of the New Annexes of the Imperial Museum”, from *İkdam* newspaper article about groundbreaking ceremony for Museum’s south wing on September 2, 1904. Source: Istanbul Archaeology Museums, accessed in March 2022.

in the second half of the 18th century, specifically defines Turks as detrimental to the development of society (Şahin 2007, 105):

They callously let everything go to ruin. For example, the meritorious monuments of ancient Greece, the chef-d'œuvres that thoroughly ornate the blissful regions of old times which witnessed the taste, superiority and talent of the famous art masters of the world either lie in ruins, or soon to be ruined. [...] (Şahin 2007, 105—italics in Şahin's text, translation IM).

Nevertheless, some contributing causes to the formation of the image of Turks could be related to culture, religion, values, psychology, clichés, and the ideology of the observer since there was no positive nor negative consensus found in the writings or paintings by Europeans (Kuran-Burçoğlu 2009, 14). Şahin argues that this neglect of ancient artifacts and monuments could also be the result of frequent fires, civil wars, and riots. In addition, certain travelers—such as Jean Chesneau—reported that the Turks were respectful of ancient relics (Şahin 2007, 108). We can also add that even the non-neglected artifacts and monuments were mostly preserved only out of a “practical instinct of protection,” and it was not indicative of a modern mindset (Serbestoğlu and Açıık 2013, 159). However, it is also important to take into consideration that certain relics were, in reality, protected beyond a practical instinct. For instance, the holy relics of Islam that were associated with Prophet Muhammad had been seized and brought to Istanbul during the reigns of Selim I (1512–1520) and Murad III (1574–1595), which were kept in the privy chamber of Topkapı Palace (Bozkurt 1997, 14–16). In the palace, these relics were protected by four servants every night, and they were open to visit of during the month of Ramadan (ibid, 23). Hence, we can perhaps claim that thanks to the Ottoman curatorship, the holy relics of Islam survived the Wahhabi iconoclasm. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that there was no standardized protection policy toward cultural heritage in the empire until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and this situation left a negative impression on some missionaries, intellectuals, and travelers. In the 19th century, however, archaeological findings and the concept of “relic” gained a different status. This shift not only marks the beginning of Ottoman archaeology and museology but also a changing mentality in perceiving cultural heritage—even when they did not necessarily have Turkic or Islamic origins—which implies a modern approach: “a breaking point from what had been traditional, a moment of realization of the necessities of a new era,” as we have mentioned in the earlier paragraphs.

Considering museums as one of the essential signs of modernity, Serbestoğlu and Açıık point out the direct association between Ottoman modernization and the Imperial Museum. They add that prior to the founding of the Imperial Museum, the opinion that the empire needed a museum, as all the other “civilized” countries had museums, was already being formed. Before the 19th century—and parallel to the impressions of travelers—ancient artifacts were either preserved in warehouses or made use of in new constructions (Serbestoğlu and Açıık 2013, 157–159). For example, alluding to the travel writings of Count Edward Bernard

Raczyński, Şahin explains that columns and cymae from ancient cities were taken to Istanbul to be repurposed as construction material, and even commoners would destroy ancient Greek artifacts to use as gravestones (Şahin 2007, 106). Not only was this repurposing rather common, but such artifacts were also sold in various shops for low prices, and their export to foreign countries was not legally regulated. All of these practices, mentioned by Serbestoğlu and Açık, are regarded by the authors as “the products of a primitive mentality of ancient artifact collection” (Serbestoğlu and Açık 2013, 159).

Overall, we can conclude that although a fixed hetero-image of the Turks in Europe did not exist in the context of cultural heritage protection, it is indubitable that European visitors had negative impressions at times. Kuran-Burçoğlu explains that Turks have a prevailing sentiment that they are not successful in representing themselves to the West and that Europe is intrigued by the “intellectual achievements” of Turks: “[...] the lively interest of the Europeans in the Ottomans [...] could be interpreted as an attempt to be well informed about the ‘other’”. (Kuran-Burçoğlu 2009, 31, 47).

## 7.5. Translation in the museum

Museums are spaces where one can come across various translation practices. Even when seen through the principles of equivalence-based interlingual transfer, it is possible to notice translations from language A to language B in written museum texts, brochures, labels, or audio guides. Certain other types of translations in museums could be classified as intralingual, intersemiotic, or intrasemiotic. Nonetheless, this chapter’s focus is not on how typologies of translation could be illustrated through examples in museums; rather, it focuses on how an ideology, a changing mentality—“autocratic modernization” through Westernization—could be *translated* into a museum, both as an auto-communicative (cf. Torop 2008 for the term) message to Ottoman citizens, who are now considered “equal” under the law, and as a meta-image construction toward the West, proving the past reports and travelogues of European intellectuals and missionaries wrong. In this sense, Sturge’s distinction of “museums as translations” and “translations in the museum” (2007, 130) is a convenient dividing line, as the Imperial Museum stands as the translation of a curatorial intent that is tied to the political, cultural, and societal changes in the empire. From this viewpoint, the museum is seen a translated text in itself, and the individual artefacts with their artistic or historical value in this context become less relevant.

Shaw explains that the antiquities displayed in the museum functioned as “metonymic devices” to validate the “European-ness” of the empire (Shaw 2003, 87). In fact, prior to the official opening of the Imperial Museum, the “Collection of Ancient Weaponry” and the “Collection of Ancient Artifacts” in Hagia Irene also had metonymic functions, yet they had a different agenda: the Islamic relics displayed next to Byzantine antiquities were witnesses to the glory of the Ottomans and the conquest of Istanbul (Shaw 2003, 34). For example, Shaw

describes how the bell of Sancta Sophia and a group of muskets and spiked maces were positioned together, which she reports as follows:

This small display represented metonymically the overall program of the museum, juxtaposing church and sword, as Grosvenor interprets it, mute and paralyzed and under the surveillance of the Ottoman museum (Shaw 2003, 52).

The modern Imperial Museum, however, tells a different story. As can be seen from certain summary catalogues of the museum, such as *Catalogue du Musée Impérial d'Antiquités* (1882), *Catalogue sommaire de monuments funéraires* (1893), *Catalogue sommaire des bronzes et bijoux* (1898), and *Notice sommaire de monuments égyptiens* (1898), most of which had been prepared by the order of the Imperial Ministry of the Public Education, the Imperial Museum displayed ancient Greek, Byzantine, Thracian, and Egyptian artifacts. These artifacts “became representative of the entire empire as a conglomeration of various territories metonymically represented by antiquities” (Shaw 2003, 84). Hence, this time, the museum collection is centered upon how these different territories either are or have been a part of the empire, which is now threatened by nationalist movements. The artifacts in the museum represent a part of each group that makes up the empire, standing all together equally, serving both as a model of the nations and as a model of the new society after Tanzimat, with all of its social, political, and legislative changes. Nevertheless, as Shaw indicates, the “assertion of possession over Ottoman territories” always appears as an implicit message in the museum (Shaw 2003, 171). The Imperial Museum metonymically *translates* these changes to its citizens through its collection.

Highlighting the political and ideological background of metonymics of translation, Tymoczko suggests that a metonym can represent historical or cultural wholes (Tymoczko 1999, 57). Although her examples of translation and metonymy are based on literary translation, we have seen through Shaw’s work that metonymic translation in museums can also work. However, metonymy in this case does not work in the sense of being able to transfer the known and relatable or unknown and unrelatable (*transparent* and *opaque*, using Tymoczko’s terms) cultural properties of a source literary text into a target literary text. In our case, metonymy functions as a method of displaying the cultural artifacts of the empire’s territories and their cultural and historical richness using artifacts as representatives.

As Tymoczko explains, during the translation process, the metonymic level is correlated with the metaphoric level (Tymoczko 1999, 45). In the Imperial Museum, the metonymic level is comprised of two layers: the first layer is the physical museum itself, home to antiquities from various civilizations that represent the totality of their culture and history. The second layer, on the other hand, metonymically stands for Ottoman power over these artifacts, pointing out an imperial presence. Furthermore, on a metaphoric level, this museum represents the modern Ottoman Empire. In parallel with the drastic changes that we discussed in this chapter, the museum metaphorically conveyed the message of

equality among its citizens: just like the different nations within the empire, the antiquities coming from different territories were placed together in the exhibition. Moreover, it also signaled the modern and Westernized face of the empire, “[...] as an appeal to the distant past, embodied by antiquities, could construct new ways of incorporating a European identity” (Shaw 2003, 83).

## **7.6. Conclusion**

The case of the Istanbul Archaeology Museums illustrates how nontraditional, particularly more-than-linguistic, views on translation can contribute to analyzing and understanding societal transformation processes. The memetic relationship between translated texts, expressed in the feature of divergent similarity, as well as the presentation of translation as essentially metonymic, are fruitful components for explaining how modernity can be conveyed through museums and artifacts. Therefore, the partiality of translation is immediately applicable to social transformation and dynamic intercultural relations, as represented in the museum case under study. New collective patterns break with the traditional and express the gradual and partial inclusion of modernity. All of these elements are explicitly brought together in Shaw’s presentation of antiquities displayed as “metonymic devices” in an attempt to show the Europeanness of the Ottoman Empire. The museum becomes an integrating tool of modernity through metonymic translation.

## **8. ARTICLE 4: “POETICALLY WELL BUILT MUSEUMS”: TRANSMEDIA STORYTELLING AND WORLD BUILDING IN THE MUSEUM OF INNOCENCE**

This article examines the transmedia world building of Orhan Pamuk’s Museum of Innocence, and explores how transmedia storytelling can effectively merge fiction and non-fiction to serve as a means of historical documentation and artistic expression. The Museum of Innocence is not only a novel, but also a physical museum situated in Türkiye. In contrast to conventional museums that present factual material, the museum discourse upholds the fictitious aspects of the novel, asserting that the characters have influenced the museum and played a role in the production of the novel. Paradoxically, the objects exhibited in the cabinets were acquired from antiquarians and second-hand stores, providing insight into the previous decades of Türkiye and unveiling historical, social, religious, cultural, and political facts and occurrences.

The primary objective of this chapter is to illustrate how the utilization of transmedia enables The Museum of Innocence to establish its unique and distinct reality. Furthermore, it suggests that the transmedia storytelling in this particular case relies on intersemiotic translation and transcreation, where the emphasis on the source text and target text diminishes in favor of the symbiotic relationship between both concepts. Posing the questions “How can world building expand in different directions and platforms?”, “Through which ways a novel–museum pair crosses various semiotic systems?”, “What roles can intersemiotic translation and transcreation play in transmedia storytelling?”, the present chapter deliberates on transmedia storytelling and world building, while simultaneously offering a new model to analyze the transmediality of fictitious source texts. The chapter proposes that Pamuk engages in the translation of written verbal signs into physical reality, while also employing fiction as an artist and curator at the museum to transcreate the physical reality. This process leads to an exceptional manifestation of transmedia storytelling and world-building.

### **8.1. Introduction**

Much research in the past decades deliberated on media studies, especially with a view to investigating intermedial relationships between various media forms. A major current focus has been on the topics of transmediality and transmedia storytelling. Elleström (2010a) questioned what a “medium” is and how different media could be connected through intermediality, while examining the relationships among diverse forms of art and new media. In the same year, Grishakova and Ryan (2010) addressed some fundamental questions raised by the medial turn in narratology through the examination of a wide range of various media, from literature to computer games. Following that, Elleström (2014) discussed the limits for transferring media characteristics across various media, and offered a

paradigm for identifying intermedial transfer. Meanwhile, through the use of storytelling, Ryan and Thon (2014) examined the ways in which media might create new storyworlds, with particular attention paid to the concepts of multimodality, intermediality, media convergence, and transmediality. Finally, the various transmediations, media transformations, and examples of transmedia storytelling were addressed by Salmose and Elleström (2020).

Although these monographs and edited volumes carefully define the above-mentioned concepts, frame the limits and possibilities of the field, and offer applicable methodologies, only a few researchers have focused on transmediation and transmedia storytelling in museums. Moreover, in terms of transmediation, the museum as a target medium has not been sufficiently addressed in the past. This research gap is partially justifiable due to the limited number of previous discussions on whether the museum is a medium or not. Nevertheless, museums are multimodal spaces that mediate prior knowledge, events, thoughts, and artifacts. This mediation occurs between the visitors and the agents who created and/or made use of the points listed above, which suggests that even the act of curating an exhibition in a museum has mediative aspects. In some rare cases, the mediation the museums offer could be between the visitors and nature, as some exhibitions are purely based on natural artifacts (i.e., natural history museums, botanical museums, geological museums, etc.). Nevertheless, there remains a need to question the museum as a medium and to investigate whether museums could be evaluated from the viewpoint of transmediation and transmedia storytelling.

In fact, in the past couple decades, there has been a certain amount of interest in investigating museums as a medium, and in *The Museum of Innocence* by Pamuk as a unique novel–museum pair. Putnam (2001) suggests that the idea of museums as mere places of display should be reconsidered. The author asserts that artists, as creators, have an impact on museums just as much as curators do. Despite the fact that Putnam’s monograph implies that the museum *is* a medium, the topic of transmedia and the museum is not the primary focus of the book, nor does the author discuss the museum as a medium from a media studies perspective. Henning, however, views museums as “media-forms” (2006, 76). The author pays attention to museum artifacts and how the museum environment mediates them. Despite the book’s considerable insight, the author does not view the museum from a transmedial perspective. However, Kidd (2014, 23) offers a clear picture on “the transmedia museums” and understanding of “the museum as a transmedia text”; nonetheless, the author primarily concentrates on digital media and museum technologies used in the displays.

Kuş (2015) describes how Pamuk uses the museum to portray the concepts of time, memory, and space. Nevertheless, she neglects the transmedial value in this particular case, and she does not acknowledge the transformation of words into objects as intersemiotic translation. Tekgül (2016) discusses the role of ethnography and aesthetics in Pamuk. Unlike Kuş, Tekgül focuses on the artistic value of the installations in the museum and tackles the topic of cultural translation in the museum. Nevertheless, she does not approach the novel–museum pair from the perspectives of transmedia or intersemiotic translation. The same is applicable

for Parla (2018) as well. She goes into great length in her two chapters on *The Museum of Innocence* to explain the author's literary style, which includes ekphrasis. Nevertheless, as the book's title suggests, the primary focus is on the reiteration of finding consolation in seclusion and writing in Pamuk's works.

Ryan, as a scholar who contributed valuable knowledge in the topic of transmedia storytelling, discusses *The Museum of Innocence* in one of her articles (2018) and one of her chapters (2020a). However, she pays particular attention to the comparison of fictionality and reality in the museum in the former, and to fictionality in real-world locations as well as literary tourism in the latter.

Earlier research mentioned above establishes a solid foundation for future research, although it prioritizes museums as intermediary spaces where transmediations could be observed and examined, and not as a deliberate target medium. The present study, which focuses on the case of *The Museum of Innocence*, has the goal of discussing transmedia storytelling and world building within the framework of transmediation, with an additional discussion on intersemiotic translation from the novel to the museum. To put it in another way, the object of this study is twofold. First of all, it aims to demonstrate how transmediation can enable an unorthodox combination—a fictitious museum, a novel, and a physical museum—to build its own reality. It also explores the effect of intersemiotic translation and transcreation<sup>20</sup> in this novel–museum. Second, this chapter intends to outline and discuss transmedia storytelling and world-building practices through the examples from the case study. The following pages utilize Elleström's model for media transformation, Ryan's frame of reference for transmedia storytelling and world building, Aguiar and Queiroz's (2009, 206) Triadic Translation Model for intersemiotic translation, and de Campos's approach of transcreation as the methodological framework. The results of the analysis demonstrate that: (1) the intersemiotic translation between the chapters of the novel and the cabinets in the museum is based on additions and substitutions, which reveal the transcreative practices executed by Pamuk as the author-curator; (2) the transmedial nature of the novel–museum pair can be regarded through the scope of the relations among the fictitious museum, the novel, and the physical museum, and this situation not only builds a storyworld, but also transmedially tells a love story.

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<sup>20</sup> Originally used by the concrete poet Haroldo de Campos in Portuguese as *transcriação*, the term *transcreation* refers to “transformation” in “a non-linear, synchronic selection of creative writing from diverse literatures and periods (Jackson 2010, 140–41). Originating as a poetry movement in São Paulo, the concrete poets focused on language while integrating plastic arts and music into their work, resulting in the emergence of transcreation (139).

## 8.2. The Museum of Innocence as a novel and a museum

Even though media studies is not an ancient discipline, transferring one story from one medium into another has been practiced for centuries; for instance, in theatre, the stories used to be translated “from page to stage” in ancient civilizations (Giannakopoulou 2019, 199).

Pamuk’s novel *The Museum of Innocence* (2009)<sup>21</sup> guides the readers through the cabinets in a museum, telling the stories of the displayed objects, which are connected to the memories of its two main characters, Kemal Basmacı and Füsün Keskin. It reveals their dysfunctional love story, which is presented as the reason for the existence of the museum collection. As distant relatives from different social classes, the lovers never truly unite as a real couple. However, Kemal cannot help fetishizing and obsessing over her, which results in his habit of collecting/stealing Füsün’s objects: cigarette stubs, a grater, slippers, jewelry, and so on. After Füsün’s death, Kemal decides to dedicate a museum to her, and through the objects in the museum, he “writes” a novel in which he tells his love story and his process of creating the museum collection. At the end of the novel, it is revealed that it was not Kemal who personally wrote the novel; instead, it was a writer—eponymously named Orhan Pamuk—who “has narrated the story in his name” all along (Pamuk 2009, 703). In other words, Pamuk includes himself as a character who becomes Kemal’s ghostwriter. As the real author of *The Museum of Innocence* and the curator of the museum, Pamuk, then, takes the role of a character who could easily switch places with Kemal:

Once or twice, Kemal noticed that I was tired, and we switched places. He sat on my chair and I lay down on the bed; suddenly I was looking at the world through his eyes, unnerved. I could easily be Kemal. I could tell you my story as if it were his, and his as if it were mine. (Pamuk 2012, 257).

On the one hand, *The Museum of Innocence* is a novel that is based on the description of a fictitious museum that provides its *raison d’être*, or the *source* of the novel. On the other hand, the homonymous Museum of Innocence<sup>22</sup> is a real museum in Istanbul that is open to both Pamuk readers and those who simply wish to get a glimpse of Istanbul and its residents in earlier decades, mainly in 1970s and 1980s. This period’s sociological, political, and economic events, as well as Istanbul, its inhabitants, and their customs and daily lives, are shown in the background. The museum is situated in the neighborhood of Çukurcuma, on Istanbul’s European side, which is well-known for its historical buildings and antique shops. The museum itself is housed in one of the historical buildings of that district.

Each chapter of the novel corresponds to a cabinet of curiosity in the museum—both the fictitious and physical one. In other words, each chapter is modeled after a fictitious cabinet, which later finds a physical form through the

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<sup>21</sup> The novel was published in Turkish in 2008, and in English in 2009.

<sup>22</sup> When the title is not written in italics, the author does not refer to the novel. Instead, she refers to the museum.

real museum that was curated by Pamuk himself. Unlike most museums, however, the fictitiousness of the novel and its characters are carried through: the physical museum presents Kemal as a real person and insists that Pamuk wrote their story in Kemal's bedroom upstairs, which the visitors can also see with their own eyes as a part of the exhibition.

In *The Innocence of Objects*—a secondary catalog in which the author discusses how he collected the pieces in the museum—Pamuk (2012, 17) confirms that he developed the idea of the novel and the museum at the same time. In addition, he reveals in *The Innocence of Memories* (2018)—a companion volume to the original—that he wrote the novel thinking of the museum and founded the museum thinking of the novel. In the section “A Novel and a Museum Are the Same Thing” he clarifies that despite being conceptualized at the same time, and in parallel with each other, the novel had been completed in 2008 whereas the museum was opened in 2012, due to the challenges of renovating a building and setting up the exhibition (2018, 7). Explaining further the connection between the novel and the museum, Parla (2018, 61) asserts that the novel was already written for the museum, and that it was intended to end, so that the museum could be founded.

Therefore, the fictitious museum that Pamuk imagined is reflected in the novel as the reason why it was written. The novel, in turn, becomes a physical museum that sustains the suspension of disbelief Pamuk has created, presenting Füsün and Kemal as real people throughout the whole exhibition. As a result, in addition to prompting us to look into this phenomenon from the perspective of transmediation and transmedia storytelling, it also raises questions about the source–target relationship between the novel and the museum. Moreover, through the creative additions of the world Pamuk built, which are revealed in the museum, the requirement for investigating intersemiotic translation and transcreation also emerges, which will be discussed in the following sections.

### **8.3. The Museum of Innocence from a transmedial perspective**

In the earlier paragraphs, we have mentioned that despite having been discussed from a transmedial perspective, museums are usually not considered as the final products of transmediation; they are rather studied as spaces that comprise multiple media that can have transmedial aspects. The Museum of Innocence, however, presents an opportunity to assess museums as a whole target medium, without requiring dissection into smaller elements on which to focus, such as an exhibition's interactive digital board that transmediates a medieval manuscript. Therefore, the question “How should a medium be defined?” must be addressed before discussing the museum as a target medium. As Elleström stated, since the term “medium” can be employed in various contexts (2010b, 13), it is imperative to set forth a precise definition in parallel with the specific purposes of this chapter.

Media can be seen as communicative tools composed of connected elements (Elleström 2014, 2). A museum communicates artistic and/or didactic information through its collection, its display techniques, and its architectural design. Each of these features could be regarded as connected elements that serve a communicative purpose. In that sense, museums can also be seen as media. However, as Elleström himself mentioned, this is merely a broad definition that does not serve a specific purpose (*ibid.*).

For greater clarity, according to Ryan (quoted in Chinita 2020, 34–35), a medium should have three aspects at the same time: “a physical material,” “a technical process,” and “an apparatus” that has a secondary, wider meaning in the artistic sense, or in its way of communicating news. Based upon this suggestion, it can be claimed that a museum is a physical entity, as it is a building in the first place. But as not every building is a museum, the physical space must host an exhibited collection to be regarded as a museum. If, in this case, “a technical process” can be defined as a series of interdependent tasks that result in a particular outcome related to a subject or an activity, then the process of creating an exhibition can be regarded a technical process, since it entails the completion of related tasks that together produce a certain output according to the chosen theme and type of museum. Lastly, museums point to larger implications, as what a visitor sees in daily life—for example, a spoon as a tool to consume food—becomes re-semiotized (cf. Camilleri 2003, 48, for “semiotization”) in the museum context—for example, a spoon as a synecdoche of the culinary traditions of a community, or as a symbol of the dinner etiquette rules of a social class. To put it differently, the objects displayed in museums are connected to different meanings through the elements that surround them, such as the architectural properties of the building and the exhibition halls, display types, groupings, light, color, verbal texts, and so on, whose interpretations depend on the background, expectations, and intentions of both the curator and visitor. Therefore, an object in the museum produces different meanings from its exact copy in a non-exhibitionary space. To use Ryan’s own example of “the nozzles of pastry bags” (2020b, 18), it is through the *nozzle* (i.e., the museums) that the *frosting* (i.e., the exhibition with all its contents) can be squeezed out differently than how it would be perceived in real life.

As a result, it can be suggested that, in addition to housing a variety of media, museums themselves are a medium. Asserting that museums are “a medium, a physical form of communication” that are also “a unique, three-dimensional, multi-sensory, social medium in which knowledge is given spatial form,” Parry (2007, 137, 11) explains that they mediate knowledge through space (86). This multiplicity of how a museum is perceived depends on the fact that visitors engage in meaning making in the museum via the combination of all media categories to which they are exposed, and not through the isolated evaluation of a single element in the museum: an object in a museum can be made sense of only in combination with its position among other objects, the path to reach it, its display (including the lighting and color choices), the written texts surrounding it, its integration within the exhibition hall and the building, and so on.

Elleström distinguishes media in three categories: basic, qualified, and technical. One may say that a *basic medium* is one that can be instantly perceived and directly experienced through the use of one's senses. A basic medium can be an image that one sees, direct communication, or a verbal text. A *qualified medium*, on the other hand, represents basic media and serves as a bridge between human perception and the world around us. Examples of qualified media can be photographs, literary descriptions, and paintings. In this sense, every qualified medium is based on a basic medium. For instance, the cheerful facial expression of a person standing next to us is a basic medium because such expression can communicate cheerfulness to us. If an artist chooses to depict this individual in a painting, the painting can be classified as a qualified medium, given that the artist's vision and the artwork itself are the only means by which we can perceive and understand the cheerful facial expression. Last but not least, a *technical medium* is one that physically or virtually embodies basic or qualified media. It can be thought of as a device or a transmitter that allows the user to encounter different media. Commonly utilized technical media include the Internet, television, and radio. Returning to the earlier example, the canvas and the paint that the artist uses to create the painting can be thought of as the technical media. In other words, a technical medium constitutes the form or the physical aspects, whereas basic and qualified media represent the content that is mediated through the technical medium (Elleström 2010b, 30). A qualified medium is based on conventions, a basic medium refers to the modal aspects, and a technical medium is what embodies a basic or qualified medium physically.

In this regard, a museum can refer to all three media categories at the same time, at least to a certain extent. A museum as a technical medium can be seen as the building and its architectural features that are integral to the museum experience. It is also a qualified medium, since a museum without an exhibited collection is just a regular building; thus the exhibition (i.e., the contents) is what makes a building a museum. Although started as an aleatory process in past centuries, current exhibition techniques are well-defined and categorized by museological and curatorial practices; hence, what distinguishes an exhibition from a random assortment of objects is defined by conventions. The exhibition itself also comprises other qualified media, for instance, paintings and sculptures. As qualified media are always based on basic media, and as these categories are "interrelated" and "complementary" to each other (Elleström 2010b, 12), it is also possible to claim that the basic media, such as the written texts, still or moving images, et cetera, in the museum are related to the qualified media, which appear as the introductory texts, group texts, labels, exhibited objects, and so on.

Taking into account all the aforementioned factors related to regarding the museum as a medium, how can we tackle the Museum of Innocence in terms of transmediation? Elleström (2014, 14) explains transmediation as the mediation of the sensory configurations of a given medium for a second or multiple times by another medium. The same characteristic aspect of the source medium must be present and recognizable when it is transmediated, though this similarity should be expressed through different means in the target medium (20, 25).

Suggesting that transmediality is “an autocommunicative mechanism of culture,” Ojamaa and Torop (2015, 62–63) address the cognitive entirety of this concept by formulating that it is “a cohesive mental whole, a coherent storyworld” comprising sequential fragments that are mediated in various media products, which narrate the same story through different representations. For instance, the rhymes of a song may get transmediated as repeated dance moves in a choreography. The reiteration of the sound is recognizable in the reoccurring bodily movements, yet the repetition does not depend on the same medium. When this definition is applied to the case of the Museum of Innocence, it can be observed that certain characteristics of the source medium, the novel, are mediated for a second time in the target medium, the museum. To be more precise, if we look at the transfer between the novel and the museum, it is revealed that the technical medium “book” (based on paper) is transmediated as the museum building; the basic medium “words” are transmediated as the objects; the qualified medium “novel” is transmediated as the exhibition.

However, it is also crucial to acknowledge that the novel presents itself to the readers as a target medium with a fictitious museum as its source, which requires further investigation. And yet the question of whether a fictitious medium could truly be investigated is debatable. In fact, the discussion on the relevance of fictitious texts in textual analysis is not a novel one. In “Aspects of Metatext,” Popovič describes those as a “strategy of text utilisation,” and lists that they might appear as pseudo-quotations, mystification of the author, reconstruction of a lost text, imitation of titles, or pseudo-translations (1976, 227–28). The case of the Museum of Innocence seems to be a sixth type, where the ekphrastic descriptions of a fictitious installation come into play to constitute the chapters of a novel. However, is it still pertinent to take fictitious texts into consideration? Admitting the complexity of transmedia studies, Elleström (2014, 23) specifies that a mapping of diachronic viewpoints on media relations should also take into account the transmediation of fictitious media. He adds that the diachronicity between the source and the target media, then, should be considered as it is represented, and not as how it is in real life (*ibid.*). However, he also argues that the transmediation of the characteristics of a fictitious medium is an extraordinary occurrence, and that it offers little sense in most cases, *unless* the medium is represented in detail:

Nonetheless, for instance, a novel may be a detailed representation of a fabricated motion picture (a fictitious media representation creates a virtual motion picture); if the representing novel and the represented movie turn out to have clear parallels, then arguably the novel transmediates the fictitious motion picture. However, one must conclude that this transmediation is in itself fictitious and, furthermore, only comes into existence on the basis of an initial media representation: if the fictitious medium is not represented in some detail, perceiving a transmediation of its characteristics is impossible. (Elleström 2014, 25)

Following Elleström, the fictitious museum of our case study could have been briefly touched upon, but mostly neglected in this chapter, if the representation of this museum had not been embodied by a physical museum. In addition, the

representation of the fictitious museum in the novel is so extensive that it, in fact, encompasses the totality of the novel, providing the structure of the chapters. Therefore, it is safe to claim that the analysis of fictitious media is relevant in our case, as it is represented in detail. Consequently, even though one could start off with the premise that the fictitious museum is the source of the novel, the complexity of the source–target relationship expands when the physical museum represents the fictitious museum as well. In that case, both arguments are valid: the fictitious museum is the source medium for two target media, which are the novel and the physical museum; or, the fictitious museum is the source of the novel, which then becomes the source of the physical museum. Based on Elleström’s model for media transformation, the following diagram summarizes how Elleström views the phenomenon of transmediation (2014, 55):

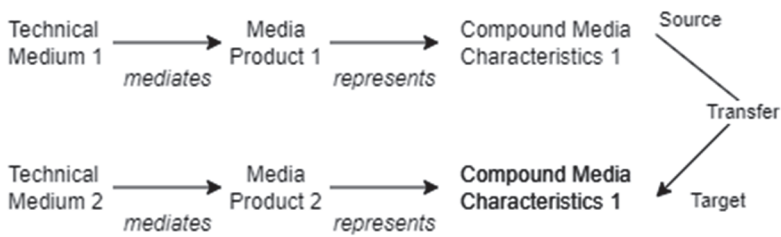


Figure 1: A diagram depicting Elleström's model for media transformation, illustrating the phenomenon of transmediation.

According to Elleström, a source media product is mediated through a source technical medium. In parallel, the compound media characteristics are represented in the media product. These compound media characteristics are transferred to a target media product that is mediated by a target technical medium, which Elleström calls *transmediation* (2014, 55). These compound media characteristics play a key role in transmediation, as without being able to recognize the same characteristics in the target medium, one cannot recognize the transmediation itself. Ojamaa and Torop, despite not using the term “compound media characteristics,” touch upon the relevance of repetition, explaining that “[e]very new segment of the whole essentially repeats a certain invariant of the whole and—in accordance with the specificity of a given medium—creatively varies the rest” (Ojamaa and Torop 2015, 62). Therefore, the repetition of certain characteristics of the source medium in the target medium is where transmediality lies. In light of this, the application of the above diagram on the case study offers the present results:

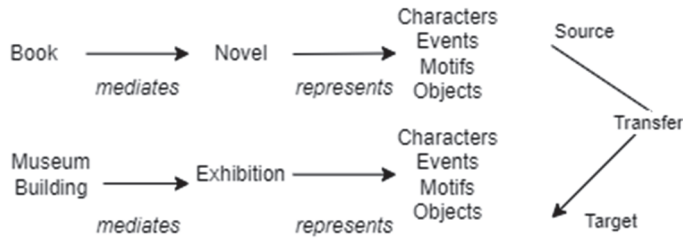


Figure 2: The transmediation of the characters, events, objects, and motifs in *The Museum of Innocence*, based on Elleström's model for media transformation.

In other words, the source media product, which is the novel, is mediated through the technical medium, the book. The compound media characteristics—that is, the characters, events, motifs, and objects in the novel—are represented in the novel. These transferable compound media characteristics are transmediated, as they are represented for a second time in the exhibition, which is the target media product. The museum building, including the cabinets in which the exposition is displayed, is the target technical medium. However, taking into account the interlaced, trifold relationships among the fictitious museum, novel, and the physical museum, this diagram could potentially be expanded as shown:

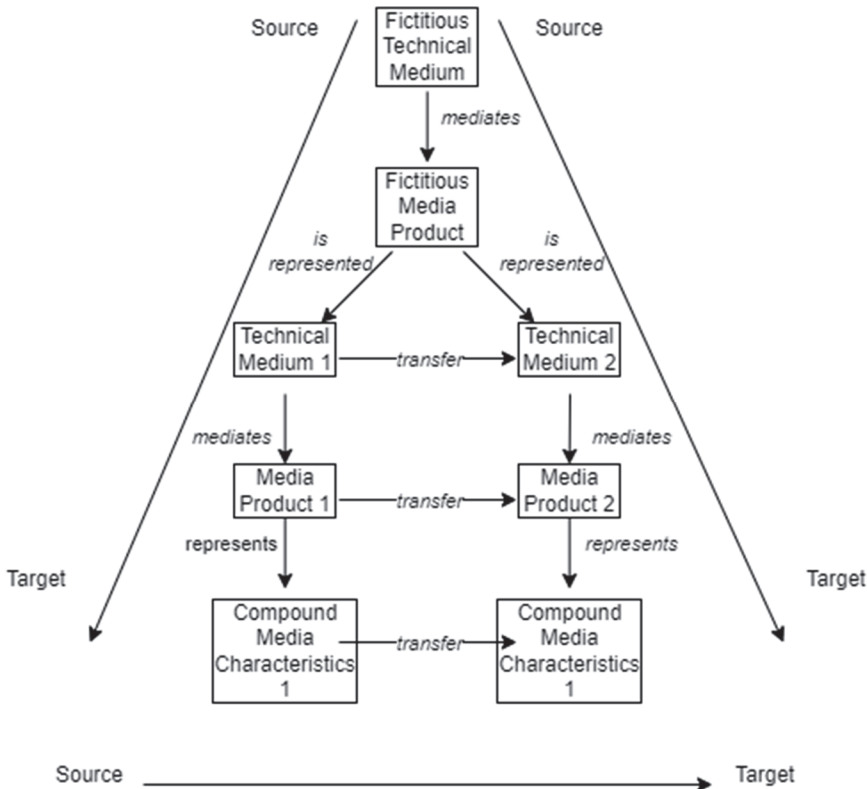


Figure 3: A new model for the transmediation of fictitious source texts.

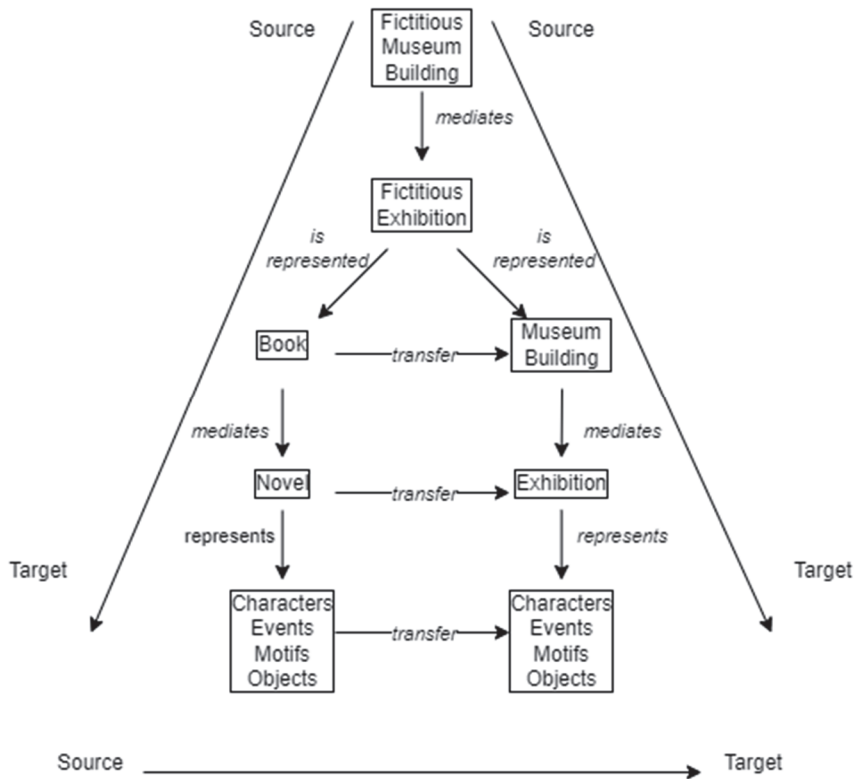


Figure 4: The model for the transmediation of fictitious source texts, applied to the case of *The Museum of Innocence*.

The first relationship that surrounds the transmediation is that of the source and the target. The fictitious museum is diachronically the source of both the novel and the physical museum. Pamuk (2012, 8) explains this diachronicity in *The Innocence of Objects* by mentioning that he started imagining a museum already in the 1990s, through which he could tell a love story. He further elucidates that, in hopes of curating a museum one day, he started wandering around in antique shops, secondhand stores, and flea markets to situate the characters and their lives through the objects they could have used. It has already been discussed earlier in this essay that Pamuk conceived the idea of writing a novel and opening the museum at the same time. Therefore, the fictitious museum serves as the source for both the novel and the museum. According to Pezzini, in his work Pamuk constructs at least two spaces: one that supports the story that is being told, and another that is materialized in the physical museum (2011, 139).

Nonetheless, the real transfer occurs between the novel and the physical museum, as the novel was published before the museum opened, and as the tangible source of the museum is the novel itself. As a result, the third source–target relationship is between the novel and the physical museum located in Istanbul. Moreover, in the diagram just presented, the fictitious exhibition is mediated through the fictitious museum building. The readers learn that the

museum building used to be Füsün's house before she passed away, and that it not only was turned into a museum but also became a home for Kemal, who slept in the penthouse of the building (Pamuk 2009, 677–99). This building was filled with the objects Kemal collected, which became the fictitious exhibition referred to in the novel. This fictitious exhibition is represented both in the novel and in the physical museum. For instance, a slipper, which is an object displayed in the cabinets, is represented in Chapter 69, "Sometimes." In this chapter of the novel, Kemal says that he would sense how Füsün was taking one of her slippers off under the table (Pamuk 2009, 399). In the physical museum, it is also possible to come across the same slipper in a glass cabinet, accompanied by a group text:

Füsün's childhood slippers along with various other objects were donated to the Museum of Innocence by Aunt Nesibe in 1991, seven years after her death. Appended to each of the objects taken from the Keskins' home by Kemal Basmacı himself is the date of its removal. (Pamuk 2009, 703)

In light of the explanations Pamuk wrote in the novel and included in the museum, it is plausible to assert that the museum, despite being a real-world location that visitors can touch and see, is oscillating between fiction and reality. As readers and visitors, we are aware that Kemal and Füsün are fictional characters; as a result, everything one reads and sees is a work of fiction. On the other hand, the museum's tone reiterates that the items on display belong to Füsün—some are even gifted to Kemal by Füsün's mother, Aunt Nesibe—and that Kemal genuinely spent his final years here, utilizing the penthouse as his own room. The museum, in parallel with the novel, displays an informative text about Kemal, and includes a quote from him:

Between 2000 and 2007, Kemal Basmacı lived in this room, where Orhan Pamuk sat and listened to his story. Kemal Basmacı passed away on 12 April 2007.

"Let everyone know, I lived a very happy life.—Kemal BASMACI"

Therefore, not only is the novel transmediated into the museum by Pamuk's curatorial and creative endeavors, but also the museum builds a fictional world in tandem with the novel: the love story is transmediated, as can be experienced through the act of reading the chapters of a book, or by visiting the museum and observing its cabinets one by one.

#### **8.4. Transmedia storytelling and world building in the Museum of Innocence**

The Museum of Innocence allows its reader-visitors (who have both read the novel and visited the museum and are hence able to recognize the transmediation of the characters, events, objects, and motifs) to dive into a fictional world that sustains the illusion even when experienced through physical reality. The irony in the switch between fact and fiction is connected to the de facto expectation that

museums provide didactic, objective information—which, in reality, may not always be the case. As visitors, we expect to obtain objective and unfiltered facts about art, history, nature, and science when we visit a museum. Either consciously or unconsciously, we anticipate being surrounded by a neutral and unbiased representation of the universe, which has no room for fictionality. It can be commented that the expectation to encounter didactic information in museums is based on the authoritative image museums have built until the present day. For instance, Pezzini (2021, 115–16) describes the museum as a physically organized space, made up of a series of syncretic manifestations that reflect the values and culture of a society, which presents itself as a space that emulates knowledge. It can be commented that this authoritative standpoint, which functions as the conserver and conveyor of knowledge, is rooted in the shift from the private collections of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries toward the educational and public exhibitions of the nineteenth century. Namely, the act of collecting and displaying gained a didactic status. This shift played a crucial part in the institutionalization of museums and contributed to the image that most museums carry today: one estranged from displaying fictionality without pointing it out.

It is, in fact, possible to visit a museum that represents a fictional world, such as the Sherlock Holmes Museum in London, or the exhibition “Alice: Curiouser and Curiouser” in the Victoria and Albert Museum. However, no matter how immersive or realistic the exhibitions may be, the visitor is always aware of the fictional qualities of the experience, and is reminded throughout the visit by meta-commentary in the form of labels, group texts, introductory texts, and so on. The Museum of Innocence, as opposed to these examples, displays its fictional collection as belonging to fictional characters, and supposedly curated by the protagonist Kemal Basmacı. Therefore, the novel–museum pair blurs the ontological boundaries between the real and the fictional world.

In addition, another layer of complexity is appended to the setting, as most of the exhibition comprises real objects. Tekgül (2016, 391) explains that while Kemal collected the objects that reminded him of Füsün, Pamuk as “the real author-curator” created his collection of 1970s and 1980s objects that were once used by the real denizens of Istanbul. The historical value that the collection holds in the museum, in synthesis with the blurred boundaries between reality and fiction that is created thanks to the use of physical—and authoritative—space to convey a fictional story, proposes an experience wavering between established reality and fantasy. The tangible yet imaginary museum space repudiates its existence as a mere vessel that mediates a literary work; instead, it contributes to the reader-visitor experience through its spatial materiality that ironically reveals the creative power Pamuk holds as the author-curator. In any event, the world that a visitor experiences in the museum deviates from that of the reader who has never been to the museum, as creative additions can be observed in the exhibition through the multiplicity of objects. As Yin Xing formulates:

[T]he distinction between writing and collecting is blurred and the border between fiction and reality is closed, in the sense that the novelistic fiction is turned into a physical reality in the form of things collected, exhibited, and cataloged in a museum. In this way, reading becomes a form of collecting and collecting in turn becomes writing [...]. (2017, 211)

Accordingly, in order to discuss the creative power Pamuk holds, this section is dedicated to deciphering transmedia storytelling and world building in the Museum of Innocence, and it elaborates on how these phenomena can be seen through the viewpoint of *transfictionnalité* by Saint-Gelais (2002), referring to the connection of multiple fictional texts on common elements, which, as a result, create a fictional ensemble. The term *transfictionality* is connected to transmedia storytelling and refers to the creation of fictional ensembles through various media in a cohesive manner. To elaborate, this term refers to the connection of two or more texts through a shared character or storyworld (ibid.). Transfictional texts, while constructing a cohesive narrative from various elements, often introduce other viewpoints and dimensions to the characters, events, and storyline. However, they do not aim to provide complete answers to all questions from the audience, nor do they intend to bring a definitive conclusion to the fictional whole. Essentially, the inclusion of further transfictional texts enhances the depth of the storyworld, generating a greater number of questions to be addressed and more mysteries to be resolved with each subsequent addition (ibid.). Outside of the literary context, this term is acknowledged to include the fields of film, television, comics, and other media (Carrier-Lafleur 2012, 465); hence, it allows us to see the combination of novel, museum, complementary books, and movie as a fictional whole that shares common traits. From this standpoint, transfictionality connects multiple media, such as literary works, movies, computer games, and so on, in order to immerse the audience in a fictional story. The Harry Potter franchise, with its novels, movies, spin-offs, and computer games, is an example of transfictionality. However, in order to comprehend the relationship between transfictionality and the Museum of Innocence, let us commence by delving into the role of transmedia storytelling in our case study.

Transmedia storytelling takes place when the content of one medium is incorporated into another (Jenkins 2006, 95–96). As a result, it transcends the linguistic, geographic, and historical limitations of a single medium. As explained by Chinita (2020, 38), in transmedia storytelling a series of steps tell a story across various media. She elaborates that, according to Jenkins, each of those steps adds a new perspective or new details to the story, which helps the audience—in this case, the museum visitors—experience a broader narrative (ibid.). Hence, what reader-visitors encounter in the museum is a broader world with more details and side stories compared to what they can get by only reading the novel.

In his personal blog, Jenkins (2007) refers to transmedia storytelling as a process that systematically divides the essential components of a work of fiction into different channels, which, in the end, produces a cohesive experience. Ryan

(2020b, 20) adds that, for Jenkins, being able to expand the storyworld is one of the most essential factors in transmedia storytelling, rather than telling the story in a different medium. In comparison with Jenkin's point of view, Elleström's understanding of transmediation is based upon distinguishing the target and the source media and the transfer of content between the two. However, this implies that his definition does not provide a model to explain new expansions in the storyworld (Ryan 2020b, 21). Thus, on the one hand, although Elleström offers a clear method to investigate how a source content is transmediated in the target medium, the phenomenon of adding creative new aspects to the story is not covered. On the other hand, Jenkins's main interest is in the expansion of the world that consumers can experience without specifically focusing on intermedial transfer (2020b, 20). On that account, situating the Museum of Innocence between these two approaches becomes an arduous task. Is it truly possible to discuss expansion of the storyworld—as in that of *The Lord of the Rings*, Harry Potter, and Star Wars—or shall one ignore the small creative additions in the museum that do not seem as expansive as what those famous franchises do?

The Museum of Innocence neither retells the exact same story in a different medium, nor is designed to expand so as to appeal to the raw entertainment industry or a fandom. The museum adds details to the story rather than new characters or events. For instance, the menu of a restaurant Kemal dined in (Cabinet 34: "Like a Dog in Outer Space"), what Kemal's father might have looked like (Cabinet 21: "My Father's Story: Pearl Earrings"), Füsün's hand gestures while smoking a cigarette (a series of video installations next to Cabinet 68: "4,213 Cigarette Stubs"), the names and personal details of all the employees who worked at the company of Kemal's father (Cabinet 4: "Love at the Office"), doodles (Cabinet 46: "Is It Normal to Leave Your Fiancée in the Lurch?"), and so on.

Nevertheless, it is also possible to come across more detailed additions as well, for example, the full contents of a postcard that Kemal's mother wrote to him (Cabinet 45: "A Holiday on Uludağ"), saying how his father does not feel very good, that Uludağ is boring without him, and that Kemal should not upset himself for anything. Despite not adding a completely new aspect to the story, visitors get the chance to see these events through the eyes of Kemal's mother. Furthermore, there are more crucial additions, such as a letter Kemal wrote to Füsün during his stay at a hotel (Cabinet 44: "Fatih Hotel"). Even though the letter is folded in half, not revealing the full text, it is possible to read that Kemal tells Füsün in detail how the memory of her haunts him on every street corner. Perhaps the smallest, yet most impactful addition in the museum is Füsün's ID card in Cabinet 73: "Füsün's Driving License," which reveals that her middle name is Masume (in Turkish: "innocent"). This detail about her name not only gives reader-visitors a profound explanation of why the novel and the museum are named as such, but also offers a more comprehensive "reading" of certain chapters through the themes of innocence and self-sacrifice: Füsün is the connecting element of the whole storyworld, and learning her middle name highlights that the Museum of Innocence is indeed a museum dedicated to Füsün.

However, the expansion that the Museum of Innocence offers is greater than the few new objects placed in the museum that did not exist in the novel. That is, the transmedia storytelling is not limited to the novel–museum pair. As mentioned earlier, there are two additional books to which a reader-visitor could resort: *The Innocence of Objects* (2012) and *The Innocence of Memories* (2018). The former—which also serves as a museum catalog—adds a background to the story, explaining what made Pamuk decide to build this storyworld, and how he collected the objects in the museum, whereas the latter introduces the viewpoint of Ayla, who is Füsün’s friend. In this book, not only does the distinction between Kemal and Pamuk become blurred, but we also learn how Ayla observed the story from a different point of view. In addition, *The Innocence of Memories* refers to the eponymous movie, directed by Gee (2015), which retells what the book offers but from a cinematic point of view. Therefore, the transfictional value of Pamuk’s work is emphasized through the creation of an expanding universe, and the integration of new perspectives and profoundness to the Museum of Innocence universe with each addition.

All in all, it is apparent that a combination of both Elleström’s and Jenkins’s viewpoints apply to the Museum of Innocence, which is in parallel with Ryan’s (2020b, 21) own perspective on transmedia storytelling: “[i]n contrast to Jenkins’s definition, transmedia storytelling does not exclude adaptation, but in contrast to Elleström’s conception of transmediation, it is not limited to it.” Ryan elaborates on the three operations of transfictionality, which are “extension,” “modification,” and “transposition” (2020b, 22). The Museum of Innocence neither modifies the plot of the story in each new medium, nor does it transpose the storyworld into a different time or location; however, it does extend the main plot with new aspects, such as the details in the museum that do not exist in the novel, or new points of view within the storyworld presented in *The Innocence of Memories*.

To sum up, the world that Pamuk creates in the guise of Kemal is constructed through transmedia storytelling, as the story told in the medium of the novel is transmediated to the medium of the museum—and later into the form of other books and a film—hence fostering a transfictional effect. The transmedia storytelling is embodied not only within the shift from the novel to the museum, but also in the extensions to the storyworld that Pamuk embeds in the museum through the addition of details in the cabinets, such as the postcard, the letter, and the ID card noted above. The transfictional aspect in the Museum of Innocence is based on the transmedia storytelling one can observe in the museum, which was discussed in the previous paragraphs, but it becomes even more prominent when the fictional whole Pamuk has crafted comes into play (i.e., the books and the film), which supports the extensions to the storyworld that are found in the museum.

## 8.5. Intersemiotic translation and transcreation in the Museum of Innocence

The link between translation and creativity has long been discussed by multiple authors such as Boase-Beier and Holman (1999), Loffredo and Perteghella (2006), and Malmkjær (2020). Quoting Alf Rehn, Malmkjær defines this link by suggesting that the act of translating a text brings forth novelty, “something new” (2020, 69). When translation occurs between two different media that belong to diverse semiotic systems, the creative freedom in translation can be anticipated, especially if the translator is also the author of the source text. This section, thus, discusses how to map out intersemiotic translation and transcreation in the Museum of Innocence, where “words become objects” (Kuş 2015, 25; translation mine).

The initial definition of intersemiotic translation, suggested by Jakobson as “an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems” ([1959] 2000, 114) is expanded by Aguiar, Atã, and Queiroz (2015, 11) as a phenomenon transcending the limitations of verbal signs that could be observed between different semiotic phenomena such as theatre and painting. According to the authors, intersemiotic translation is dependent on “an irreducible triadic relation between conceptual spaces through habits and change of habits” (18). There are two possibilities to ground intersemiotic translation on this triadic relation: the first focuses on the Sign–Object–Interpretant as the Translated Work–Object of the Translated Work–the Semiotic Target; the second centers on the Semiotic Target–the Translated Work–the Effect on the Interpreter (Aguiar and Queiroz 2009, 205–6). Both possibilities can be seen in the diagrams below, taken from Aguiar, Atã, and Queiroz (2015, 14):

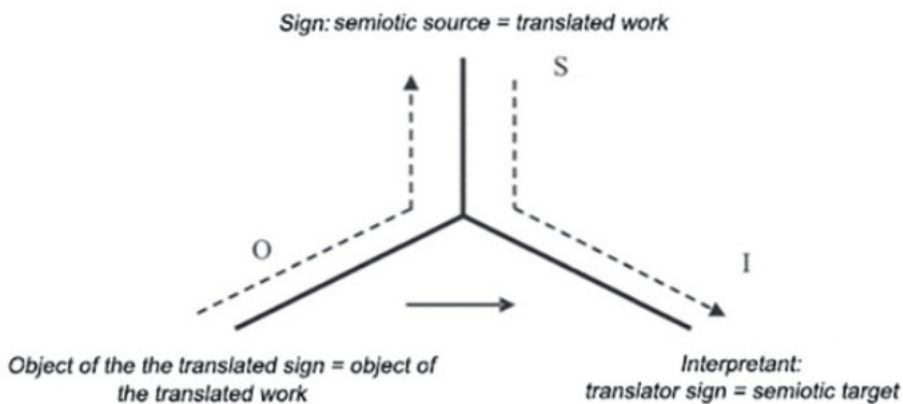


Figure 5: The Triadic Translation Model, developed by Aguiar, Atã, and Queiroz. The first version demonstrates the relationship between the Translated Work–Object of the Translated Work–the Semiotic Target.

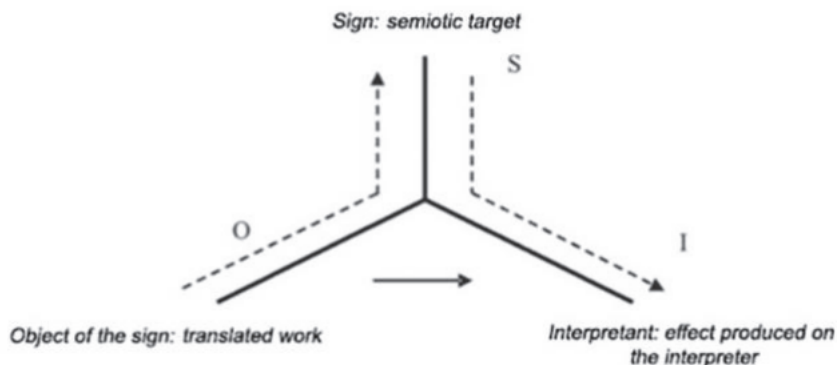


Figure 6: The second version of *The Triadic Translation Model* developed by Aguiar, Atã, and Queiroz, which focuses on the relationship between the *Semiotic Target*–the *Translated Work*–the *Effect Produced on the Interpreter*.

Following the same framework, the applications of our case study to the Triadic Translation Model would appear as follows:

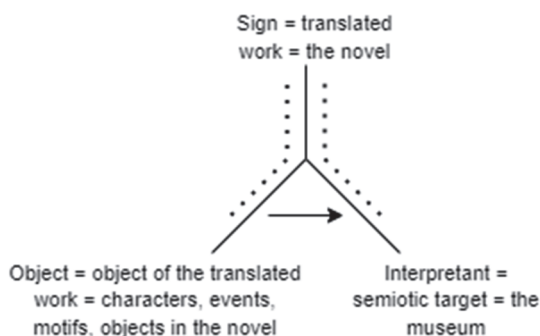


Figure 7: The relationship between the *Translated Sign*–*The Object of the Translated Work*–*The Semiotic Target*, applied to the case of the *Museum of Innocence*.

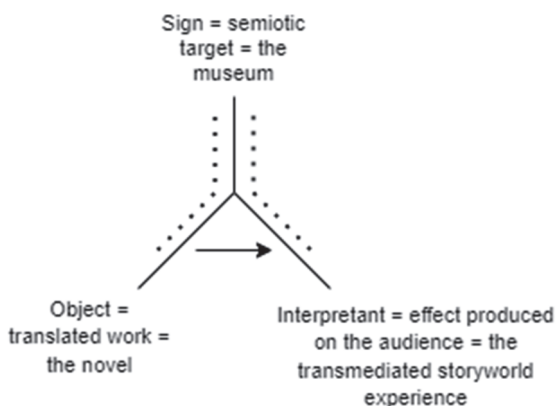


Figure 8: The relationship between the *Semiotic Target*–the *Translated Work*–the *Effect Produced on the Audience*, applied to the case of the *Museum of Innocence*.

In the first case, the translated work is the novel, and the semiotic target is the museum. The object of the translated work is the dominant features of the story that have been transferred to the museum, such as the characters, events, motifs, and the objects in the novel. In the second possibility, the translated work is considered to be the Object, which makes the Sign the semiotic target, hence, the museum. Moreover, the effect produced on the audience is tied into the discussion above, as the world that has been built by Pamuk by the transmediation between the novel and the museum creates an effect of mystery that perplexes the visitors regarding whether Kemal and Füsün were real people or not.

According to Aguiar and Queiroz, creative translation is found when “translation transcreates a *multilevel system* of relations” (2015, 207). The authors borrow the term “creative translation” from Haroldo de Campos, referencing his work *O Arco-Íris Branco* (1997, 52). Campos brought an innovative approach to creative literary translation (Jackson 2010, 139). For him, translation signified creation, and he looked for ways to explore the creative potential of translations based on semiotics. As a result, he revealed the creative potential of modeling processes. Even though Campos mainly focused on the poetic function of the language and was interested in literary translation as a concrete poet, similarities may be drawn between the original use of the term transcreation and the process of creative intersemiotic translation between a novel and a museum during which the translator incorporates pertinent details to the final product through their artistic vision. For instance, according to him, the translator is a veritable creator whose creations are subject to unpredictable outcomes that are not entirely controllable (Ramos Amaral 2013, 263). Namely, Campos highlighted the significance of incorporating creativity into the source-target relationship in translation, since it might lead to surprising outcomes that are not always loyal to the source text or medium. In the case of Pamuk, it may be posited that this is where the additions and extensions to the story and the characters come into play in the museum, which will be demonstrated below. Secondly, in the theory of transcreation, the material and graphic expression of words into physical reality is valued (264–65). Understanding “the materiality of the word as object” (Jackson 2010, 141) played a pivotal role in translation, hence the poetic works translated by the concrete poets sometimes had visual components incorporated in translation, such as calligraphy (153). It is evident that despite not translating poetry, Pamuk manifested his words into physical reality by taking the role of the curator in his museum. From this perspective, it is an intriguing coincidence that the official recognition of the concrete poetry movement started with an exhibition of the poets’ works “in the Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo, along with paintings and sculptures” (140). If so, what is the correlation between intersemiotic translation and transcreation?

Intersemiotic translation, according to Aguiar and Queiroz (2015, 207), works when specific aspects from the source text are picked out and creatively translated into the target text; due to “mutual constraints” the target text does not entirely correspond to the source text. To be more precise, the authors formulate that the fundamental action in the translation process is transcreation, rather than picking

out its “referential message” and completely transforming it into a foreign system, and they add that transcreation is strictly correlated with the poetic function of language (206). Namely, it is impossible to discuss intersemiotic translation without an element of choice and creativity, as the source and target pertain to different semiotic systems. Such a difference results in the growth of the invariants between the source and the target, and the translator whose mission is to carry the referential message across different media is faced with making use of their creativity through their choices. During this step, the translator becomes the creator, who makes creative decisions based on the dominant message that needs to be conveyed in the target medium. As Pamuk is both the author *and* the intersemiotic translator (since he is also the curator), the threshold of the creative freedom in his choices to translate words into objects and chapters into cabinets in the museum is delimited only by his own artistic vision, which invokes the discussion of transcreativity.

Therefore, the intersemiotic translation of a novel written with an emphasis on the poetic function of the language results in a poetically built museum. Aguiar, Atã, and Queiroz suggest that:

[T]o consider an IT<sup>23</sup> creative is often a matter of personal taste. In fact, creativity has often been associated with mysterious, inexplicable, or vaguely formulated concepts such as appeals to ‘talent or gift’, ‘subjective expression’, ‘intuition’, ‘inspiration’ or ‘genius’. (2015, 11)

Considering the value of transcreation in the phenomenon of intersemiotic translation, a comparison of the source and the target can be made not only on the level of novel-as-the-source and museum-as-the-target, but it can also be examined by regarding a chapter in the novel as the source and its corresponding cabinet as the target. To exemplify how transcreation functions, Chapter 22: “The Hand of Rahmi Efendi” and its corresponding cabinet are discussed. To summarize that chapter: Kemal visits the family of one of his father’s employees. Rahmi, who used to have a prosthetic hand, has passed away. Kemal describes what the living room of this poor family’s house looks like while he is smoking a Maltepe brand cigarette:

A kilim<sup>24</sup> hung on the wall in the way Europeans hang a painting. It must have been the unfamiliar taste of the Maltepe that caused me to entertain the illusion that I was having deep thoughts. The most important matter in life is happiness. Some people are happy, and others are not. Of course, most people fall somewhere in the middle. [...] As I looked around the small, threadbare, but immaculate room (there was a lovely barometer of the type so fashionable in the 1950s, and a beautifully executed framed calligraphy saying Bismillah),<sup>25</sup> there was a moment when I thought I was going to join with Rahmi Efendi’s wife in crying. On top of

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<sup>23</sup> The initialism Aguiar, Atã, and Queiroz (2015) use here refers to intersemiotic translation.

<sup>24</sup> A *kilim* is a type of rug, mostly found in the Middle East and North Africa.

<sup>25</sup> *Bismillah* is an Arabic phrase that translates to “In the name of Allah.”

the television was a handmade doily, and upon that was displayed a china dog. The dog looked as if it was about to cry, too. Nevertheless, I remember that I felt comfort at seeing that dog, and thought about Füsün. (Pamuk 2009, 134–35)

The objects that Pamuk paratactically lists in the chapter are also chosen by him to be translated into the cabinets: the prosthetic hand of the deceased man, a kilim, Maltepe brand cigarettes, a thermometer, a handmade doily, a porcelain dog, and a television set. Nevertheless, the cabinet is not the exact copy of how Pamuk describes these objects in the novel. For instance, the television and the sad porcelain dog are substituted as a radio and a happy porcelain dog. Pamuk explains the reason beyond the substitution as such: “The more I worked on the museum and realized that I could use the objects to bring out themes beyond those of the novel, the freer I felt. On the other hand, I also wanted there to be an exact concordance between the museum and the novel” (2012, 121). It is possible to spot additions in the cabinet as well; for instance, the cabinet includes a photograph of men having lunch in the open air, which is never mentioned in the novel. Unlike some other photographs in the museum, placed only to create a certain ambience, Pamuk reveals an aspect of Chapter 22 available to neither the readers of the novel nor the visitors of the museum:

The photograph of Rahmi Efendi and his longtime boss—Kemal’s father, Mümtaz—and some of their colleagues during the company’s early years was donated to the Museum of Innocence by Vecibe Hanım. At the time this photograph was taken, Rahmi Efendi (third from left) had yet to lose his hand (2012, 127).

To summarize, in the world Pamuk has built, transcreation has a prominent role, one that adds a further element of artistic value to his work. Pamuk also resorts to mystery, especially toward those reader-visitors who wonder whether or not Kemal and Füsün truly lived. He uses transmedia storytelling in the novel and the museum; he continues the storytelling in the complementary books he wrote, and in the film *Gee* (2015) directed. Among those, even *The Innocence of Objects*, which supposedly serves as an objective catalog that reveals the background story behind the Museum of Innocence, fluctuates between fact and fiction, for Pamuk often refers to his characters as real people. In this section, the concept of transcreation and the Triadic Translation Model helped us understand how to situate the transfer between the objects mentioned in the novel and objects displayed in the cabinets of the museum. In addition, we have also seen how the transfers between the chapters and the cabinets on the micro level can be connected to transmediation, transmedia storytelling, and world building on the macro level, as both levels work together to create an experience for reader-visitors through which they learn multiple aspects of the story via different media.

## 8.6. Final comments

Focusing on the Museum of Innocence, a one-of-a-kind example where literature and museology connect to create a transmediated storyworld, this chapter discussed the questions:

“How can world building expand in different directions and platforms?”

“By what means does a novel–museum pair cross various semiotic systems?”

“What roles can intersemiotic translation and transcreation play in transmedia storytelling?”

It first discussed the topic of transmediation by expanding Elleström’s model for media transformation through the addition of fictitious media. That first section also revealed the complex source–target relationship between different media. Next, it focused on Ryan’s approach to storytelling and world building, and concluded that although the Museum of Innocence does not expand the storyworld like big commercial franchises do, its transmedial nature allows certain expansions to include new perspectives and characters in the plot through transfictionality. Finally, this chapter investigated the Triadic Translation Model and discussed how Pamuk’s role as the translator and curator allowed him to transcreate certain parts of the novel into the cabinets of curiosity.

In the larger picture, the contribution of the present study that may open up further discussion in the investigation of transmedia storytelling and world building can be summarized in three points.

First, museums are multimodal spaces that comprise various kinds of media. However, in light of the seminal distinction Sturge has made between “translation in museums” and “museums as translations” (2007, 130), one can consider a distinction between media in museums and museums as media as well. Such a perspective can expand the object of transmedia analyses and offer a new point of view, one comprising a holistic approach that recognizes the museum as a phenomenologically transparent whole.

Second, the linear directionality of source-to-target should be reconsidered in the research of transmedia storytelling and world building, as the creative additions to the main story through the target medium (or media) inevitably have an impact on how the source medium is perceived. In that sense, while the source enables the target by serving as a foundation upon which to grow, the target also affects the source, as it enables the generation of new meanings, hence creating a bidirectional circuit.

Last but not least, a new model, namely the model for the transmediation of fictitious source texts presented in this chapter, which was based on Elleström’s model for media transformation, brought an innovative outlook on the relevance of such texts in literary and media analyses, as, for the first time, fictitious media have been modeled. This model can be expanded depending on the number of media that exist within a transfictional whole, and researchers can replace

“fictitious museum” and “fictitious exhibition” with the types of fictitious text or medium they investigate. As the target of both the horizontal and vertical lines on the model point toward the same direction, it can also be read as a regenerative model, meaning that it is possible to place another source at the point where both targets coincide. This way, the model can also serve in mapping out all the pieces of a transfictional whole.

## CONCLUSION OF THE PHD THESIS

The primary aim of this PhD thesis was to develop a semiotic-translational approach to museum translation. This involved conceptualising translation as a multidisciplinary process and providing a comprehensive perspective that can be both theoretically and practically applied. This aim was intended to be attained by posing two primary research questions. The structure of this thesis consists of a frame chapter, four articles, and the present conclusion. The frame chapter provided background information on various notions, concepts, and discussions related to the thresholds of translation, the interdisciplinary relationship between translation studies and semiotics, and ethnographic writing, cultural anthropology, and cultural translation. Additionally, it functioned as a platform to showcase a comprehensive literature review that examined the progress made in museum translation over the past few decades, encompassing diverse viewpoints from numerous academic fields and included multiple case studies. As stated at the outset of the frame chapter, the initial two articles aimed to address the first primary research question, while the latter two articles had a similar objective in relation to the second primary research question, which were: “How can the limits of museum translation be described, theorised, and defined by translation studies, semiotics, and other related disciplines, such as anthropology?” and “What are some practical implementations of a broader concept of museum translation, as viewed from a holistic perspective?”. To do this, each article was matched with its corresponding sub-objective and sub-research questions.

Firstly, the article “Museum Translation: A Combined Translation Studies and Semiotics Perspective” had the sub-objective to explore the relationship between translation studies and semiotics in the domain of museum translation. It also sought to investigate the process of creating new meanings in museums through translation and semiotisation. The related sub-research questions of this study, conducted in the context of museum translation, aimed to explore the role of semiotics in the conceptualisation of translation. Additionally, the study searched for means to develop an understanding of translation that goes beyond linguistic aspects and through the process of semiotisation.

The first article enabled us to elucidate, theorise, and establish the boundaries of museum translation at a theoretical level, addressing the first part of the primary research question. Examining museum translation through the lens of semiotisation highlights the interconnectedness and holistic nature of museums. Each element within a museum contributes to the overall organic unity, similar to, for instance, how poetry forms a continuous poetic text. Isolating individual signs within the museum does not provide a comprehensive understanding of how the entire museum functions. Therefore, it is crucial to have a comprehensive understanding of the functioning of museums as holistic structures. This article argues that the biases and prejudices of agents, such as curators, together with their artistic, educational, and ideological intentions, can influence the way artefacts and exhibitions are presented at museums. This, in turn, leads to the

creation of additional meanings surrounding these objects and displays through the process of semiotisation.

Secondly, the article titled “Conceptualizing Museum Translation: Cultural Translation, Interlingual Processes and Other Perspectives” had the sub-objective to contribute to the ongoing development of the concept of museum translation and its position in translation studies. It sought to conceptualise museum translation from a broad perspective and then delve into specialised perspectives, including multidisciplinary viewpoints. To accomplish this, the study had two sub-research questions. The first was to explore strategies for addressing museums as spaces of cultural translation and transfer. The second was to analyse various conceptualisations of museum translation from a multidisciplinary standpoint.

Thus, this article effectively addressed the latter part of the first primary research question by providing a comprehensive analysis of the role of museum translation in the field of translation studies. Additionally, it explored the perspectives and approaches taken by other disciplines closely associated with the establishment and advancement of museums, sometimes under different names. This article highlighted the importance of researchers having a comprehensive understanding of their position-taking, given the multitude of opinions on how to envision museum translation. The article presented and analysed several perspectives on this idea, providing a valuable resource for future academics to evaluate and contrast diverse definitions, conceptualisations, theories, and types of museums. To remind the readers, this article is a contribution to the special issue “Museums as Spaces of Cultural Translation and Transfer”, which is edited by Sophie Decroupet and myself. Each article in the special issue examines museum translation from a unique perspective, using intriguing case studies. Therefore, it can be suggested that the special issue also functions as a reference for future academics to thoroughly examine several potential areas of attention when addressing museum translation.

Thirdly, the article “Translation as Metonymic Cultural Transmission: The Case of the Istanbul Archaeology Museums” had the sub-objective to examine how the notions of the self and the other are represented in museums using metonymy. It also explored how cultural and political changes, such as modernisation or Westernisation, affect translation in museums. Thus, it posed the sub-research questions regarding the investigation of the practical aspects of non-verbal translation in museums and the ways in which different religious, ethnic, and national identities were translated through auto- and hetero-images within a museum setting.

The previous articles have repeatedly shown that museum translation can encompass various forms such as “audio description, generational translation, interlingual translation, intersemiotic translation, intralingual translation, memory, metonymy, popularization, resemiotization, transcultural sensitivity, and visitor experience” (Mertens, Decroupet 2024: 15). Hence, this article functioned as an illustration to showcase the use of one of these potential conceptualisations, namely metonymic translation. Specifically, the study examined how translation studies might incorporate the fields of history (particularly in its political and

cultural context), sociology, and the sub-discipline of imagology. This article demonstrated that a museum can convey the message to political adversaries that an empire can embrace modernity through political and societal transformations, which were symbolically realised through hetero-communication by institutionalising museums. These changes were reflected in the evolving attitudes towards arts, archaeology, and museology. Additionally, we have seen that a museum has the ability to metonymically translate nations, majorities, and marginalised groups on an equal platform, functioning as a mode of self-communication. This, as was shown, conveyed a message of unity and solidarity throughout the declining years of an empire.

The fourth and last article ““Poetically well built museums”: Transmedial storytelling and world-building in The Museum of Innocence” had the sub-objective to explore museum translation from a unique perspective, specifically by incorporating discussions on theories of the semiotics of translation and transmediality, hence combining semiotics with media studies. Specifically, its objective was to showcase how transmediation may enable a museum to construct its own distinct reality by means of intersemiotic translation and transcreation. Additionally, it aimed to delineate the significance of transmedia storytelling and world-building within the context of museums. Consequently, it raised the sub-research questions about how to broaden the scope of world-building across diverse directions and platforms, and how a distinct combination of a novel and a museum interacts with various semiotic systems. Furthermore, it also explored the functions that intersemiotic translation and transcreation can fulfil in transmedia storytelling. Thus, this article presented an alternative perspective on addressing the second main research question which aimed to uncover practical implementations of a broader concept of museum translation.

Overall, the bundle of articles, along with the frame chapter, provided an overview of topics related to museum translation. It then presented two theoretical frameworks that can be analysed from the perspectives of translation studies and semiotics. Furthermore, it showcased two specific examples of how these frameworks can be applied in practical contexts, using unique case studies. In order to address the aforementioned main research questions and achieve the objective of developing a semiotic-translational approach to museum translation, we endeavoured to conceptualise translation as a multidisciplinary process and offer a comprehensive perspective that is applicable in both theoretical and practical contexts. This PhD thesis employed a multidisciplinary approach to museum translation, incorporating several perspectives and disciplines to explore different conceptualisations. Therefore, it is hoped that it will serve as a basis for future researchers to utilise this framework to establish their own unique perspectives on museum translation.

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## SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

### **Tähenduskihistuste mõju muuseumitõlkele: tõlkesemiootiline vaatenurk**

Doktoritöö eesmärk on rajada tõlkesemiootiline lähenemine muuseumitõlkele. Väitekirjas mõtestatakse muuseumitõlget multidistsiplinaarse nähtusena, millel on nii teoreetilised järeloomid kui ka praktilised väljundid. Selleks et mõista, kuidas muuseumi eri tähenduskihte mõtestatakse ja tõlgitakse avaramas kui pelgalt keelelise tõlke raamistikus, ühendatakse uurimistöös tõlketeaduse ja semiootika lähenemisviisid.

Töö aluseks on kaks uurimisküsimust: esiteks, „Kuidas kirjeldada, mõtestada ja piiritleda muuseumitõlget tõlketeaduse, semiootika ning teiste valdkondade, näiteks museoloogia vaatepunktist?“ ja teiseks, „Millised on muuseumitõlke avarama kontseptsiooni praktilised rakendusvõimalused?“.

Esimene küsimus on aluseks teema teoreetilisele käsitlemisele ning sellele on pühendatud väitekirja kaks esimest artiklit. Esimene artikkel, „Museum Translation: A Combined Translation Studies and Semiotics Perspective“, käsitleb tõlketeaduse ja semiootika vaatenurki muuseumile ning toob esiplaanile tõlkimise kui semiotiseerimise ja uute tähenduste loomise muuseumi kontekstis. Teine artikkel, „Conceptualizing Museum Translation: Cultural Translation, Interlingual Processes, and Other Perspectives“, laiendab teemat, käsitledes muuseumit kui kultuurilise tõlke ja ülekande ruumi.

Teine uurimisküsimus keskendub muuseumitõlke praktilistele rakendusvõimalustele. Väitekirja kolmas artikkel, „Translation as Metonymic Cultural Transmission: The Case of the Istanbul Archaeology Museums“, uurib, kuidas ilmnevad muuseumi väljapanekus kultuurilised ja poliitilised muutused nende metonüümiliste representatsioonide kaudu. Neljas artikkel võtab fookusse transmeedialisuse, intersemiootilise tõlke ja transkreatsiooni mõisted ning näitab, kuidas vastavad praktikad loovad uusi tähendusi ja kujundavad muuseumireaalsust.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

## CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: Irmak Mertens  
Date of birth: 22/09/1992  
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### Education

Bachelor's Degree—Galatasaray University (Türkiye), Faculty of Arts and Sciences / Department of Comparative Linguistics and Applied Languages—2016

Master of Arts—University of Tartu (Estonia), Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Institute of Philosophy and Semiotics, Department of Semiotics—2018

Doctor of Philosophy—KU Leuven (Belgium), Faculty of Arts, Department of Translation Studies, Research Group Translation and Intercultural Transfer, and University of Tartu (Estonia), Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Institute of Philosophy and Semiotics, Department of Semiotics—2024

**Professional career:** Freelance translator

### Research and development work

Main fields of research: Semiotics, Translation Studies

### *A list of publications and patents*

**Mertens, Irmak. forthcoming.** “Poetically well built museums”: Transmedial storytelling and world-building in *The Museum of Innocence*. In the edited volume *Constructing the World Transmedially*, edited by Elin Sütiste and Vasso Giannakopoulou. Palgrave Macmillan.

**Mertens, Irmak; Decroupet, Sophie. 2024.** Conceptualizing museum translation: Cultural translation, interlingual processes and other perspectives. In the Special Issue *Museums as Spaces of Cultural Translation and Transfer*, edited by Sophie Decroupet and Irmak Mertens. *Babel* 70(4). John Benjamins Publishing.

**Mertens, Irmak; van Doorslaer, Luc. 2024.** Museum translation: A combined translation studies and semiotics perspective. In the edited volume *Bridging Cultures and Communities through Translation Studies Research*, edited by Eva Verebová, Lenka Žitňanská, Andrej Birčák, Emília Perez. Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra Press.

**van Doorslaer, Luc; Mertens, Irmak. forthcoming.** Translation as metonymic cultural transmission: The case of the Istanbul Archaeology Museums. In the edited volume *Translating Modernity: (Trans)formations of a Concept*, edited by Salah Basalamah. Palgrave Macmillan.

**Research grants and scholarships:** Self supporting student

Other administrative and professional activities (organisation of conferences, participation in editorial boards, participation in various councils, professional associations, legislative bodies, committees of experts, etc.)

### **Teaching**

Fall 2022—Fall 2023: Co-taught the course National and Cultural Image Building through Translation with Luc van Doorslaer (University of Tartu, Estonia).

Spring 2023: Designed and taught the course Museums, Translation and Semiotics (University of Tartu, Estonia).

17/10/2021: Guest seminar at KU Leuven, for the course “Sociology of Translation” by Luc van Doorslaer.

16/11/2021: Guest lecture at University of Tartu (Estonia), for the course “Introduction to Translation Studies” by Luc van Doorslaer.

15/12/2021: Guest seminar at Boğaziçi University (Türkiye), for the course “Translation and Memory” by Şule Demirkol.

16 March 2022: Participated in the roundtable “The Museum and/as Translation” as a speaker, organized by the Department of Translation and Interpreting Studies (Boğaziçi University, Türkiye)

13 December 2022: Guest lecture at Boğaziçi University (Türkiye), for the course “Translation and Cultural Memory” by Şule Demirkol.

10 May 2023: Preparation, organization and chairing of the academic event: Round table discussion on intersemiotic translation (University of Tartu, Estonia).

23–28 July 2023: Presentation at the summer school: “Transmediation of Fictitious Source Texts through Ekphrasis in Multimodal Environments: A New Model for Media Analysis” (International Semiotic Summer School on Visual Metaphor. Charles University & International Semiotics Institute). Prague, Czech Republic.

### **Conference Presentations—Conference Organizations**

2–3 November 2020: Video presentation, International Online Conference: Translating the Neighbourhood. Galway—Ireland (University of Galway). “The Multilayered Neighbor: Museum translation in a Turkish-Syrian border town” with Luc van Doorslaer.

14–17 September 2021: Oral presentation, IATIS 7th International Conference: The Cultural Ecology of Translation. Barcelona—Spain (Pompeu Fabra University). “The transcultural paradox of a translated Museum” with Luc van Doorslaer.

- 10–11 May 2022: (Co-)Organization of the International Conference “Museums as Spaces of Cultural Translation and Transfer” in Tartu—Estonia (University of Tartu).
- 9–10 June 2022: Oral presentation, International Symposium “Cultural policy, international publishers and the circulation of Dutch literature in translation”. Brussels—Belgium (KU Leuven). “Selecting and publishing Dutch literature in Turkey: The case of Arnon Grunberg’s *Van Istanbul naar Bagdad*”.
- 30 August–03 September 2022: Oral presentation, 15th World Congress of Semiotics: Semiotics in the Lifeworld. Thessaloniki—Greece (University of Macedonia). “When we lose people we love...”: intersemiotic translation and transcreation in a novel-museum.
- 15–16 March 2023: Oral presentation, 12th International Translation Conference—Translation And Creativity: An Interdisciplinary Encounter. Doha—Qatar (Hamad bin Khalifa University). “Translation and Creativity in Literature, Cinema and Museums: The Interconnected Cases of The Museum of Innocence and The Innocence of Memories”.
- 18–19 April 2023: Oral presentation, International Conference: Contemporary Umwelt Analysis: Applications for Culture and Ecological Relations. Tartu—Estonia (University of Tartu). “Co-habitation with Free-Ranging Domesticates: An Ecossemiotic Analysis of the Relations between Stray animals and Humans in Istanbul”.
- 7–9 June 2023: Oral presentation, The 13th conference of the Nordic Association for Semiotic Studies: Feeling, Skill, Knowledge. Helsinki—Finland (Sibelius Academy). “Towards a taxonomy of museum translation: how life, knowledge and curatorial intent is translated into museum exhibitions”
- 19–20 October 2023: (Co-) Organization of the International Conference: Women and the Politics of Translation in/of the Middle East: Encounters, Dynamics, and Prospects”. Brussels—Belgium (KU Leuven).
- 04 April–07 April 2024: Oral Presentation, ATISA XI Conference. New Jersey—USA (Rutgers University). “City translation unveiled: A metatextual analysis of Tartu”.

# ELULOOKIRJELDUS

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## Teadustöö põhisuunad

ETIS VALDKOND: 2. Ühiskonnateadused ja kultuur; 2.4. Kultuuriuuringud;  
CERCS VALDKOND: H352 Grammatika, semantika, semiootika, süntaks

## Teaduskraadid

Irmak Mertens, doktorikraad, 2024, (juh) Elin Sütiste; Luc van Doorslaer; Reinhilde Meylaerts, How Layers of Meaning Affect Museum Translation: Semiotic-Translational Perspectives (Tähenduskihistuste mõju muuseumitõlkele: tõlkesemiootiline vaatenurk), Tartu Ülikool, Humanitaarteaduste ja kunstide valdkond, filosoofia ja semiootika instituut

Irmak Ugur, magistrikraad, 2020, (juh) Elin Sütiste, Novel to Museum and Museum to Novel: A Case of Intersemiotic Translation and Transmedia Storytelling – “The Museum of Innocence” (Romaanist muuseumiks ja muuseumist romaaniks: Orhan Pamuki "Süütuse muuseum" kui intersemiootiline tõlge ja transmedialine jutustus), Tartu Ülikool, Humanitaarteaduste ja kunstide valdkond, filosoofia ja semiootika instituut.

## Õppetöö

National and Cultural Image Building through Translation (HVLC.07.007)  
Museums, Translation and Semiotics (FLSE.00.341)

## Publikatsioonid

Mertens, Irmak (2025). Selecting and Publishing Dutch Literature in Turkey: The Case of Arnon Grunberg’s Graphic Novel *Van Istanbul naar Baghdad (From Istanbul to Baghdad)* in Turkish. In: Jack McMartin, Paola Gentile (Ed.). *Literary Translation Policy: Cases from the Low Countries*. London: Routledge [ilmumas].

Mertens, Irmak; Decroupet, Sophie (2024). Conceptualizing Museum Translation: Cultural Translation, Interlingual Processes and Other Perspectives. *Babel: Revue internationale de la traduction / International Journal of Translation*, 70 (5), 593–614. DOI: 10.1075/babel.00396.mer.

Mertens, Irmak; van Doorslaer, Luc (2024). Museum Translation: A Combined Translation Studies and Semiotics Perspective. In: Eva Verebová, Lenka Žitňanská, Andrej Birčák, Andrej Zahorák (Ed.). *Tradition and Innovation in Translation Studies Research XII: Bridging Cultures and Communities through Translation Studies*. (9–32). Nitra: Constantine the Philosopher University.

- Sophie Decroupet; Irmak Mertens (Ed.) (2024). Decroupet, Sophie; Mertens, Irmak. Museums as Spaces of Cultural Translation and Transfer. Museums as Spaces of Cultural Translation and Transfer. *Babel: Revue internationale de la traduction*. John Benjamins Publishing House. DOI: 10.1075/babel.70.5.
- van Doorslaer, Luc; Mertens, Irmak (2025). Translation as Metonymic Cultural Transmission: The Case of the Istanbul Archaeology Museums. In: Salah Basalamah and Abdel-Wahab Khalifa (Ed.). *Translating Modernity: (Trans)formations of a Concept*. London: Palgrave MacMillan [ilmumas].
- Mertens, Irmak (2025). ‘Poetically Well-Built Museums’: Transmedial Storytelling and World-Building in *The Museum of Innocence*. In: Elin Sütiste, Vasso Giannakopoulou (Ed.). *Devised Truths and the Transmedial Construction of Worlds*. London: Palgrave Macmillan [ilmumas].

## DISSERTATIONES SEMIOTICAE UNIVERSITATIS TARTUENSIS

1. **Михаил Ю. Лотман.** Структура и типология русского стиха. Тарту, 2000.
2. **Елена Григорьева.** Эмблема: структура и прагматика. Тарту, 2000.
3. **Valdur Mikita.** Kreatiivsuskäsitluste võrdlus semiootikas ja psühholoogias. Tartu, 2000.
4. **Ирина Аврамец.** Поэтика новеллы Достоевского. Тарту, 2001.
5. **Ян Левченко.** История и фикция в текстах В. Шкловского и Б. Эйхенбаума в 1920-е гг. Тарту, 2003.
6. **Anti Randviir.** Mapping the world: towards a sociosemiotic approach to culture. Tartu, 2004.
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8. **Элеонора Рудаковская-Борисова.** Семиотика пищи в произведениях Андрея Платонова. Tartu, 2005.
9. **Andres Luure.** Duality and sextets: a new structure of categories. Tartu, 2006.
10. **Peeter Linnap.** Fotoloogia. Tartu, 2006.
11. **Daniele Monticelli.** Wholeness and its remainders: theoretical procedures of totalization and detotalization in semiotics, philosophy and politics. Tartu, 2008.
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