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Degrees of marginality: the representation of women poets in 20th century Modern Greek and Yiddish poetry anthologies in English translation

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Abstract

Discussions of under-represented languages in translation necessarily confront issues of (in)visibility, minoritization and marginality. The paper uses three types of marginality - 'extraliterary', linguistic and 'intraliterary' marginality (Kronfeld 228) –as its theoretical springboard in investigating twentieth century poetry anthologies of Modern Greek and Yiddish in English translation, with a focus on the representation of women poets. Modern Greek and Yiddish share a centurylong poetic tradition which is unevenly represented in these mostly maledominated English-language anthologies. Specifically, the anthologies selected demonstrate the degree and variety of representation of women poets in anthologies of Yiddish poetry translated into English from the 1920s to the 1980s and in anthologies of Modern Greek poetry translated into English from the 1940s to the 1990s. The gatekeeping role of anthologists is discussed in relation to their power to select texts/authors or participate in the silencing of these. Questions of how the poets are selected, by whom, and according to what criteria, are examined through paratextual material relevant to the anthologies. Thus, the study of these poetry anthologies and the focus on the women poets included (or excluded) problematize issues of language, gender, and genre representation within the English literary polysystem, while unveiling the challenges involved in reaching an Anglophone readership and questioning established notions of canon-formation.

Introduction

In the introduction to their anthology of women poets from circa 2300 BCE to 1980, Barnstone and Barnstone (xix) highlight an intriguing paradox: women have excelled at composing poetry for millennia – with the first ever known poet, the Sumerian poetess Enheduanna writing around 3000 BCE – without achieving much recognition for their work until the late Renaissance in the Western world. It was not until much later, in the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth centuries, when the successes of feminist movements resulted in efforts within literary and translation studies to restore and unveil silenced and overlooked women writers. This reconfiguration of literary and translation history was part of the aftermath of a wider agenda which aims at re-evaluating the literary canon with the inclusion of more diverse voices (Von Flotow and Farahzad; Dow; Castro), since when women are marginalized as minoritized writers, a dangerous silencing ensues. This has often led to their excision from historical accounts that ignore their literary and intellectual contributions or, worse still, attribute them to their male counterparts. As Von Flotow noted, "the patriarchal canon has

¹ For instance, Scott Fitzgerald plagiarizing from his wife Zelda's diaries (Elias) or the partnership of Leo and Sofia Tolstoy, who revised and edited his *War and Peace* several times (Tanalski).

traditionally defined aesthetics and literary value in terms that privileged work by male writers to the detriment of women writers; as a result, much writing by women has been 'lost'" (30). As it will be shown in our discussion, for peripheral literatures, such as Modern Greek and Yiddish, which are already at a disadvantage due to the "unequal structure [...] of literary space, the uneven distribution of resources among national literary spaces" (Casanova 83), this suppressing of women writers' voices based on their gender reproduces and embeds marginalizations within an already marginalized literary culture.

Current studies regarding "corrective" moves (Von Flotow) in translation history expose the male-dominated literary marketplace (Milan), among a host of other topics which include unearthing and celebrating the work of women writers and translators throughout the ages (Bacardí and Godayol; Krontiris) as well as (re)examining and (re)negotiating the role of gender within the context of literary exchanges (Federici; Santaemillia). These debates within feminist translation studies problematize what Hawkesworth called "the natural attitude" by contesting "axioms about gender" (649).

Literary anthologies perform a crucial part in the foregrounding of the (in)visibility of certain authors and genres. Anthologies of translation, acting as mediators between literatures originating in different languages, use the currency of trust in their promotion or silencing of specific works and authors, frequently based on the literary judgements and predilections of the anthologist. This trust is manifested when readers of the translated text place their confidence on the anthologist to select and present to them what is best or more representative of the source literature. It is building on this trust that elevates anthologies to the status of institutions (Re) and assigns them the status of ambassadors in the literary translation market, which, in turn, informs the formation of literary canonicity. At the same time, the figure of the anthologist comes to the foreground as their central role in selecting material marks them as significant gatekeepers in control of the flow between literatures.

The purpose of this paper is to participate in current debates in literary and translation historiography that aim to redress silenced or overlooked issues of decentred or otherwise neglected agents, texts, practices, and policies, with an emphasis on the poetry of Modern Greek and Yiddish women poets throughout the 20th century, while examining the relationship between canon formation and translated anthologies.

Modern Greek and Yiddish, which may at first seem an unlikely choice of literatures to compare, share a centuries-long poetic tradition. This tradition is unevenly represented in English-language anthologies, particularly in relation to the gender of the writers included. As such, their comparative study yields intriguing insights into the state and evolution of peripheral languages and their literatures as they struggle to make themselves heard in the global linguistic and literary hierarchy.

The paper begins with some definitions of the key concept of marginality. The types of marginalities discussed fall under the categories of extraliterary, linguistic and intraliterary that Kronfeld (228) explores. The overarching marginality is that of gender as an analytical category and major determining factor, both in terms of the inclusion/exclusion of poets and their material in anthologies. A foray into the role of poetry anthologies in canon formation follows. The material used and the method for its selection are presented next, followed by the discussion of the material and the anthologist as editor through the perspective of marginality, and then offer some concluding thoughts.

Definitions of marginality

Lionnet and Shih point out how scholars have prioritized the study of the relation between the centre and the margin, but seldomly examine the relationships between different margins. Heilbron, for instance, examines what he terms the "core-periphery structure" which accounts

for the "uneven flows of translations between language groups" (429). This centre/margin relation may explain in part the marginal presence of poetry translated from Modern Greek and Yiddish into English, but it is not sufficiently nuanced to account for the disparities within a translated body of work which (re)produces marginalities and inequalities of representation. As Sapiro notes, "while the core-periphery model accounts for the global flows of translation, it does not explain the variations within languages according to categories and genres" (419).

To illustrate the less represented in major canonical works, Kronfeld employs a chart in which the different marginalities are represented as: "linguistic" marginality, when writing in languages such as Modern Greek and Yiddish; "extraliterary" marginality, as is the case for women's representation; and "intraliterary" marginality, where we can find the category of avant-garde poetry (228). This representation of the minorities, in turn, affects what gets translated in the literary market and what gets included (or excluded) from canon formation. Kronfeld terms this representation as "selective modelling" in a hegemonic literary system or the "single-lens construction of literary affiliation" (3, 12). Instead, Kronfeld counterposes an "alternative tradition" taken from Raymond Williams's concept of a new tradition that might come "from the neglected works left in the wide margins of the century" (3). This new tradition would not only include "writers outside the cartographic and linguistic mainstream" (3-4), but marginalized genres as well.

Poetry anthologies and canon formation

The significance of anthologies in the formation of national and international literatures – in shaping readerly expectations and their reading strategies, influencing the literary taste of critics and reviewers as well as determining, among other factors, the literary value and afterlife of a work - cannot be overstated. Lecker views anthologies as the "symbolic constructions [...] maps, namings, narratives that try to impose order on the wilderness" of the literary scene (4). At the same time, anthologies can and do act as aesthetic barometers, gauging, and often setting, literary trends. This is particularly true of anthologies of translated works, which offer "a symbolic means of experiencing [another] country through the always conflicted pages of the text" (Lecker 22) to their readers. Translated anthologies are, therefore, considered "indispensable for the study of translation and literary culture" (Franklin 13). Seruya also states that the "main, generic purpose of (translation) anthologies is to make (canonical, unknown, forgotten, marginalized) texts available and usable", while they may also be used as "tools of intervention" for the purposes of pleasure and education, innovation, and preservation or in order to make a profit (2-3).

As the etymology of the term implies, anthology literally means "flower-gathering" from *anthos* "flower" + *logia* "collection, collecting" from *legein* "gather," (also "speak"). The element of gathering, collecting, editing is a fundamental component of the literary anthology with its consequent implications of foregrounding some works/authors over others, silencing, misrepresenting, or completely erasing for reasons often only known to the anthologist and/or their publishing team. As such, the examination of Modern Greek and Yiddish poetic voices in translation and the presence or exclusion of women poets within anthologies through the conceptual lens of marginality is particularly apt.

Furthermore, as Stern remarks, "there is no anthological organization devoid of an ideological orientation. In the anthology, literary form, organization, even sequence, are all ideological subjects" (5). Consequently, in cultures with patriarchal constructions, canon formation has been male-oriented, with men generally editing the anthologies and women's writing generally being excluded from their contents, with all the implications that this has for the position for women in the literary lineage. Harold Bloom's Canons and his essay on "The Anxiety of Influence" are a clear example. In relation to Bloom, Gluzman suggests that "the

only female figure in the (male) poet's world is the personified muse; in Bloom's own words: 'what is the Primal Scene, for a poet as a poet? It is his Poetic Father's coitus with the Muse' [...] Bloom's politics of exclusion is too overtly masculinist to be taken as innocent" (264).

Shifts in the representation of women writers in anthologies coincided with the rise of what is known as second-wave feminism in the 1970s. This triggered feminist literary studies (Gilbert and Gubar; Kristeva; Irigaray) and in 1977 Elaine Showalter published her groundbreaking work of feminist criticism A Literature of Their Own. This book uncovered the long but neglected tradition of women writers in England. Showalter comments how, "having lost sight of the minor, who was the link in the chain that bound one generation to the next, we have not had a very clear understanding of the continuities in women's writing" (7). The politics of exclusion² and inclusion of women writers in anthologies has generated a feminist reexamination of the literary canon. As Horowitz remarks regarding women in translated English anthologies, "decisions about what to translate into which language fundamentally affect the transmission and preservation of culture [...] Examining the inclusion and exclusion of writers in anthologies from synchronic and diachronic perspectives provide one way to gauge the transmission of literature" (11). The efforts of feminist literary studies and feminist criticism helped to reconstruct and to claim an "authentic past" where women were included, as Klepfisz remarks (56). In the last decades, new translations have foregrounded the "lost" works of many women writers and brought gender-awareness into anthologies and canon formation.

The following section sets the literary scene from which the anthologists of Modern Greek and Yiddish poetry would have drawn their material. The selection and presentation of women's poetry by the editors responsible often reflect the literary market's standards of understanding and appreciation of what is deemed literary within either or both the source and receptor culture. As a result, their anthologizing was often lagging behind the literary achievements and trends of the source literature, as they tended to select more conservative and established poets and less experimental works.

Method and criteria for material selection

The material discussed in this paper was found in poetry anthologies of Modern Greek and Yiddish poets published in the twentieth century. The anthologies were located through bibliographic searches in library catalogues and internet search engines using keywords such as "Modern Greek", "Yiddish", "poetry anthology", "women poets". The selection criteria for the inclusion of poetry anthologies were:

- chronological (the anthology had to be published in the twentieth century, i.e., 1900-1999),
- linguistic (the anthology had to appear in English but not necessarily in an Anglophone country),
- and gender-based (the anthology had to include at least one woman poet).

The material is presented in two tables, classified by source language. The full title of the anthology, the date and place of publication, and the publisher are included. The last three columns report the number of women poets among the overall poets in the collection, the number of poems by women poets in relation to the overall number of poems included in the anthology and the name of the editor/translator.

A traditional approach in translation history for the exploration of extraliterary elements is the study of paratexts, which are texts extending and complementing the main text (Genette). They may appear in the same volume as the main text, in the form of introductions, forewords, translator's notes or acknowledgements, in which case they are called peritexts. They may also

 $^{^{2}}$ The term was first used by Gayatri Spivak and was further developed by Celeste Schenck (244).

be derived from external sources, as in the case of reviews, author/translator obituaries, scholarly criticism, or interviews with authors/translators. Such materials are called epitexts. Paratexts offer a glimpse of the text's past and its genesis, marking the various phases of its evolution from the conceptual to the physical copy a reader holds in their hands. Specific peritexts, such as the title, blurbs and book covers, are an important component of the text as they contribute to its presentation, attract a specific audience and influence its reception in the market for which they have been designed. Paratexts unfold along the main text forming parallel and often complementary narratives. Like any narrative, however, they express the point of view of the writer and their publishing team, advocate specific agendas and are often influenced by the cultural norms they deem to expose.

The study of paratexts has offered significant insights into the work of marginalized translation agents and their contribution to the spread of literary and scientific ideas (Delisle and Wordsworth). As such, the study of paratexts has become one of the key methods for conducting research in translation history (see, for instance, Tahir-Gürçaglar; Batchelor). For this study, we consulted reviews, introductions, acknowledgements, title and contents' pages, poet and translator biographical notes.

Presentation of the material

Rae Dalven's anthology, *Modern Greek Poetry*³ in its 1949 edition presents four women poets (Myrtiotissa, Galatea Kazantzaki, Sophia Mavroidi Papadaky, and Rita Boumy Pappas), represented by a total of eleven poems between them. This is the highest number of women poets to be included in any anthology of modern Greek poetry translated into English in the twentieth century until Crist's anthology, published in 1997. The 1972 edition includes two additional women poets, Zoe Karelli and Melissanthi, represented by two poems each.

Published in 1951, Trypanis' anthology includes 218 poems starting from Byzantine times and ending with contemporary poets. The anthology introduces the poets Maria Polydouri and Emily S. Daphne and Myrtiotissa again with one poem each, thus effectively silencing the other three women poets anthologized by Dalven. An immediate narrowing of both scope and quantitative representation may be observed here, as the theme of Polydouri's and Myrtiotissa's poems is romantic love, while Daphne's poem evokes images of Attica.

The 1964 version of the same anthology edited by Trypanis adds no women poets, although by that time significant women's poetry had emerged in Greece, by such poets as Kiki Dimoula, Heleni Vakalo and Katerina Anghelaki-Rooke to name a few. Trypanis also edited the *Penguin Book of Greek Verse*, published in 1971, twenty years after his *Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry* anthology. Disappointingly, just the same three women poets are represented with the same poems.

Friar's 1982 anthology offers the familiar names of Zoe Karelli, Rita Boumy Pappas and Melissanthi with fourteen poems between them but adds no further women poets.

Thus, in terms of women's representation in anthologies, after the promising start with Dalven's collection, the number has steadily remained at three from 1951 to 1982. This underrepresentation finally changes in 1997 with Crist's anthology which includes an equal

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³ The first English language anthology of Modern Greek poetry was the 1926 *Modern Greek Poetry* edited by T. Stephanides and G. Katsimbalis, a serviceable copy of which has been very difficult to locate. The online bibliographic record of the Greek National Book Centre (ekebi.gr) shows the names of poets and titles of the poems included but no other information is available regarding the paratextual material accompanying the translated text. The only two women poets included in this anthology (with one poem each) are also represented in Dalven's anthology, which is the first this paper discusses.

number of men and women poets. Anthologized⁴ for the first time are Dimoula, Anghelaki-Rooke, Maria Laina, Jenny Mastoraki, Pauline Pampoudi, Ioulita Iliopoulou and Liana Sekelliou-Schultz. Some of these poets, such as Dimoula and Anghelaki-Rooke have been publishing since the 1950s and are currently considered among the best Greek poets of the last century. The range of topics and different styles of the poets are clearly displayed, with some metapoetic works, centring on poetry, its purpose and the writing process. Thus, the poetics of women poets is also represented, voicing the poets' principles on the making of poetry.

The following table summarizes the most pertinent information about each anthology:

Title	Publication Date	Publisher	Women poets/	Women's poems/	Editor/ translator
Modern Greek Poetry	1949	New York: Gaer Associates, Inc	6/57	8/150	Rae Dalven
Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry: An anthology	1951/ 1964	Oxford: Clarendon Press	3/38	3/218	Constantine Trypanis
The Penguin book of Greek verse	1971/ 1978/ 1981	Harmondsworth: Penguin Books	3/30	3/70	Constantine Trypanis
Modern Greek Poetry	1982	Athens: Efstathiadis Group	3/32	14/200	Kimon Friar
Grind the big tooth: a collection of Modern Greek poetry	1997	New York: Sterling House Publications	7/14	24/56	Robert Crist

Table 1. Twentieth century Modern Greek poetry anthologies in English translation.

Most of the Yiddish poetry anthologies in English translation were published after Korman's anthology *Yidishe dikhterins: antologye* (Yiddish Women Poets: Anthology) was published in 1928 in Yiddish. This anthology was made in response to the male dominated Bassin's *Antologye: finf hundert yor yidishe poezye* (Anthology: Five Hundred Years of Yiddish Poetry). Korman's anthology marked a turning point in establishing a place of women poets in Yiddish literary history, so it is most likely that the editors' choice of the women poets in the English anthologies came from Korman's anthology.

Imber's anthology, *Modern Yiddish Poetry: An Anthology*, (1927), which was the first major collection of Yiddish poetry in English translation,⁵ had a selection of 166 poems by fifty-three poets that showcased the modernist aspirations of Yiddish writers. This selection

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⁴ This is the first time these women poets appear in an anthology of Modern Greek writing alongside their male counterparts. It is not, however, the first time they appear in English translation, as their work has been introduced in literary journals, or in a single-poet volumes.

⁵ There was a previous collection called *Great Yiddish Poetry* of only fifty-five pages with a small modest selection of poets by its editor Isaac Goldberg printed in 1923.

included only four women out of the seventy-seven poets anthologized. The women poets represented are Celia Dropkin, Rachel Korn, Anna Margolin, and Miriam Ulinover. Imber's edition preceded Korman's anthology, previously mentioned, so it is most likely that the inclusion of these four women poets came from their recognition in literary journals being published in Europe and New York in the 1920s.

Following Imber's anthology, Leftwich edited and translated *The Golden Peacock* in 1939, with a second edition in 1944. Leftwich arranges the poets primarily by country ("America", "South America", "Poland", "England", etc.) "in rather an arbitrary fashion" (xlv), except for the women poets who appear in a separate section, labelled "Women Poets". Leftwich justifies this exclusion to a different section as not being entirely sure in doing right by "taking Rachel Levin out of the Soviet group or Rachel Korn out of the Galician group", though he believes these women poets to be "sufficiently distinctively feminine to justify grouping them all together in a separate section" (xl). Out of 239 poets twenty-four are women, making their presence in this anthology the most representative of women poets in an English anthology of Yiddish poetry. Still, it falls short compared to the seventy women poets compiled by Korman in his 1928 Yiddish anthology.

The Anthology of Modern Yiddish Poetry, edited by Whitman in 1966, was not the first anthology edited and translated by a woman but does show a lack of representation of women poets as stated by Whitman in the introduction of her revised third edition in 1995 where more poems by women were included. Although Whitman's anthology presents only four women poets out of fourteen poets (Dropkin, Korn, Margolin, and Molodowsky) it does gather a vast number of poems by these women poets, twenty-three poems out of seventy-two.

Three years after Whitman's anthology, Howe and Greenberg edited *A Treasury of Yiddish Poetry* in 1969 (second edition in 1976, third edition in 1985). Fifty-eight poets are grouped in different sections, such as "Pioneers", "Modern Yiddish Poetry in Europe", "Modern Yiddish Poetry in America". Out of fifty-eight poets, nine are women and they are Veprinski, Margolin, Dropkin, Zychlinski, Vogel, Molodowsky, Korn, Gutman-Jasny, and Potash. In contrast to Leftwich's anthology, where women are relegated to a section titled "Women poets", in Howe and Greenberg's anthology women are incorporated in sections alongside male poets. In addition, this anthology includes two women poets who had not been previously published in any English anthology, Rachelle Veprinski and Rikudah Potash, the latter crowned as "the Poetess of Jerusalem" by Sholem Asch (Forman).

Eighteen years later, Howe edited another Yiddish poetry anthology in English, titled *The Penguin Book of Modern Yiddish Verse* (1987) co-edited by Wisse and Shmeruk. A second edition would be published a year later, in 1988. Several translations were taken from the previously mentioned anthology *A Treasury of Yiddish Poetry*. In this anthology, the editors opted for a chronological order to present the thirty-nine poets, five of which are women. The women poets include Margolin, Dropkin, Molodowsky, Korn and Heifetz-Tussman.

The following table summarizes the most pertinent information about each anthology:

Title	Publication	Publisher	Women	Women's	Editor/
	Date		poets/	poems/	Translator
			poets	poems	
Modern Yiddish	1927	New York: The	4/77	8/166	Samuel J.
Poetry: An		East and West			Imber
Anthology		Publishing Co.			
The Golden	1939/	London: Robert	24/239	50/823	Joseph
Peacock	1944/	Anscombe & Co.,			Leftwich
	1961	LTD.			

The Anthology of	1966/	New York: October	4/14	23/72	Ruth Whitman
Modern Yiddish	1979/	House			
Poetry	1995				
A Treasury of	1969/	New York:	9/58	30/234	Irving Howe
Yiddish Poetry	1976/	Schocken books			and Eliezer
	1985				Greenberg/
					Various
					translators
The Penguin Book	1987/	New York: Penguin	5/39	24/224	Irwing Howe,
of Modern Yiddish	1988	Books			Ruth R. Wisse,
Verse					and Khone
					Shmeruk/
					Various
					translators

Table 2. Twentieth century Yiddish poetry anthologies in English translation.

As it is clear from these figures that significantly fewer women poets and their poems appear in translated anthologies, the article will discuss the significance of this marginal representation of women's writing within anthologies and the repercussions for canon formation in the context of world literature.

Discussion

One of the subtle ways in which anthologies participate in literary canon formation is through the promotion, and thus legitimization, of specific texts, authors, and genres, often to the detriment of others. As a result, anthologies can never be "a disinterested or non-ideological instrument for the dissemination of ideological discourse [...] [as it is] one of the textual places where the ideological appropriation of literature becomes most readily visible" (Re 585). In cases of unequal representation, be it based on gender, ethnicity, religious beliefs, sexual orientation and so on, the people with the symbolic capital to promote and legitimize these texts and authors wield significant power with long-lasting consequences, particularly for the future of literatures of peripheral cultures. Without wishing to diminish the social embeddedness of the production and circulation of translated poetry (Boll; Milan), the discussion that follows will focus on the role of the editor/anthologist in relation to women poets' representation in the anthologies presented in the previous section.

Editors as gatekeepers is a concept discussed by several scholars regarding poetry translation and in particular poetry anthologizing (Boll; Milan; Munday; Jones). As Munday notes, anthologizing, "through the selection, presentation or omission of texts makes an evaluative judgment on the relative importance of different writers with competing claims" (84). This evaluative judgement is inherent to any anthology as, by definition, it cannot include the entire oeuvre of an author, since that would run counter to its purpose of introducing or presenting a sample of writers and writing, with an emphasis on variety. The question then that arises is what criteria were adopted by the editors of the ten anthologies presented in the previous section in their sampling of the material included?⁶

Dalven herself was part of the "Greek-speaking Ioanniote Jewish enclave in New York" (Yitzchak 154) and a poet, playwright, translator, and historian of Romaniote Jews. Dalven received a doctorate in English by the New York University and taught English literature and Modern Greek literature. Her selections for the 1949 anthology that she edited and translated

⁶ Only the first five anthologies and not the one edited by Robert Crist will be discussed here as, with its equal number of women and men poets, it satisfies the criterion for equal representativeness which the other anthologies do not.

do not seem intended for students, as was clearly the case with Trypanis' anthologies. Dalven's *Modern Greek Poetry* is innovative in more ways than one: the title implies a break from traditional anthologies of Classical and Medieval works of literature and a clear focus on recent and contemporary writing. The second innovation comes in the types of poets included: the left-leaning poet Yannis Ritsos, the Greek-Jewish poet Joseph Eliyia, and the future Nobel Laureates Yorgos Seferis and Odysseas Elytis, who were only beginning to make their mark in the late 1940s. Dalven's anthology thus sets a very distinctive tone and directly challenges extraliterary marginalities, such as diverse ethnicity and politics (Kronfeld 228).

The anthology also challenges intraliterary marginalities (Kronfeld 228), by including a wider range of topics from women's poetry. These are the heroic poem "Women of Souli", commemorating the sacrifice of women during the War of Independence (1821-1829) by Myrtiotissa, a provocative first-person narrative poem of a prostitute by Galatea Kazantzakis, a lyrical poem dedicated to motherhood by Sophia Mavroidi Papadaky, and a poem about Athens by Rita Boumy Pappas. The selection may be attributed in part to Dalven's gender and own mixed ethnic background. Dalven's 1994 anthology devoted solely to women poets seems to attest to her feminist tendencies, which became more pronounced by the end of her life.

Constantine A. Trypanis was a scholar of Medieval and Modern Greek literature at Oxford, who taught in Chicago before taking up the post of Minister of Culture in 1974 in the post-dictatorship government. Trypanis' selection of material in his Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry: An Anthology (1951) suggests that the purpose of the anthologist was to demonstrate the uninterrupted poetic tradition that connected Ancient Greek to Modern Greek letters, while showcasing the links of some contemporary Greek poets to the current debates in European poetics (xxv). According to one of the anthology's reviewers, Trypanis was "well qualified to select what is of value and will prove of value to English students", while the selection of the material was done "with real taste and discrimination" (Jenkins 188). The reviewer's trust in Trypanis' literary judgement, based on the latter's scholarly qualifications and "European background", reifies Trypanis' position as literary gatekeeper with the prerequisite symbolic capital to introduce and demarcate what constitutes Modern Greek poetry, as presented in his anthology. Trypanis' anthology is more conservative in terms of the politics of the poets included, disregarding, for instance, the left-leaning poets appearing in Dalven's anthology. In 1951 the inclusion of three women poets with one poem each was not an issue to be commented on.

Criticism is different for the 1971 edition of Trypanis' Penguin *Book of Greek Verse*, however, about which Colakis noted that "a more generous representation of living poets (particularly women) would have been welcome" (370). The reviewer highlights this lack of representation in the 1981 rendition of the anthology, which had not been amended to include any of the numerous women poets actively publishing in Greece at the time.

The marginalization of the work of women poets reached its unfortunate extreme in Trypanis' Penguin publication with great ramifications because Penguin is an established publisher whose books reach libraries, bookshops, and readers across the Anglosphere and beyond. The timing of the first publication is significant: in 1971 the second wave of feminism was well underway internationally, resulting in the challenging of established canonical readings of texts and demands for the inclusion of marginalized and otherwise silenced voices. On a local level, the Colonels' dictatorship in Greece (1967-1974) was in full swing, while attempts to overthrow it gained support among pacifists, socialists, and antimilitarists. This support, often backed by European intellectuals and literati, translated into a renewed interest

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⁷ This argument is further expounded if we consider that two anthologies of women's poetry were published around that same time: *Contemporary Greek women poets* (1978) and *Ten women poets of Greece* (1982). Also, a collection of selected poems by Melissanthi, *Hailing the ascending morn: selected poems* (1987).

in the literature of Modern Greece as a small nation. Considering the social and political climate of the times, the frequent reissue of the Penguin anthology without any substantial changes to the material included could be viewed as a manifestation of extraliterary marginality, centred around politics, which adversely affected women poets. As Van Dyck has shown, however, it was particularly during this time that women poets, such as Maria Laina, Jenny Mastoraki and Rhea Galanaki offered "an alternative response to censorship [...] [by introducing] the confusion and misunderstandings of the times into the language of their poetry" (57).

Kimon Friar was a poet, editor, and literary critic, who identified foremost as a poetry translator. His anthology *Modern Greek Poetry* (1982) is of particular interest as it uncovers hidden dynamics in the publication of translated anthologies which are not visible through paratexts. Friar in his introduction to the anthology contends that he tried "to select the best or most representative work" (25) with the poets' help, which were consulted at several stages of the translation process. This sense of representation does not seem to include a wider selection of women poets, with only three women out of thirty-two poets in the anthology. The poets included are Karelli, Boumi-Pappas and Melissanthi, represented with fourteen poems between them. The anthologist's agenda and selection criteria come into question here as Friar seems to ensconce women poets within the same unfavourable marginality as Trypanis. However, research undertaken at Princeton archives (Georgiou) revealed that Friar wished to include more women poets, who were cut out of the anthology by the editor and the publisher on the grounds of the book's size and price. Friar had in fact translated entire poetry collections of the poets Vakalo and Maria Laina, and was constantly looking for a publisher for them to no avail.

At the same time, Friar's selection of poems proves more varied than any previous anthologizing of their work, as he includes poems about youth and its problems by Karelli as well as the controversial for the time of its publication in 1952 "Man, Feminine Gender", also by Karelli. The collection also includes Boumi-Pappas's lament about long lost friends and Melissanthi's evocation of "Ancient Shipwrecked Cities" alongside an ode to autumn. Apart from selecting a wider range of themes, likely more representative of these women's poetic scope and breadth, Friar also notes the date of the poems' initial publication in his anthology. Thus, the reader is informed that Boumi-Pappas has been publishing since 1942, Karelli since 1948, and Melissanthi since 1930.

A potential reason for the relative lack of women poets in twentieth-century anthologies could be that only "slight and superficial" critical attention (Robinson 23) has been paid to post-Second World War Greek women poets. Despite the work of scholars who have striven to demonstrate that "there was a consistent presence of powerful and uninhibited female voices in Greek literature throughout the second part of the twentieth century" (Kapparis 188), Barbeito and Calotychos suggest that "women's voices and texts have long been silent in and absent from the modern Greek literary tradition" (44). Trypanis and his publisher Penguin were not alone in their blindness towards the existence of women poets. Fourtouni, the translator and editor of an anthology of Greek women writers published in 1978, notes that when she asked an "avant-garde publisher who had given me a treasure-trove of works by men poets" as well as students, friends, academicians the question "Where are the women poets?", the answer she received was: "There are none". Fourtouni gathered the work of seven women poets for her 1978 anthology and in 1994 Dalven's anthology included no fewer than twenty-five women poets, many actively publishing since the 1930s or 1940s in Greece. Dalven acknowledges the help supplied by Greek poets when she was gathering the material for her 1949 anthology, explaining: "in a very real sense, this anthology is a collective job. I am indebted to a great number of poets and scholars in Athens, Paris and New York" (15). Dalven also recounts how she gathered the material published in her collection of Contemporary Greek Women poets, "Melissanthi introduced me to the Cypriot poet Pitsa Ghalazi [...] [and] to Ioanna Tsatsou [...]

Rita Boumi Pappa introduced me to Yolanda Pengli [...] Katerina Anghelaki-Rouke introduced me to Maria Servaki and Heleni Vakalo [...]" (15-16).

Similarly, the number of publications of Yiddish women poets in literary journals published in New York at the beginning of the twentieth century attests to their literary presence. Celia Dropkin, for example, was published in the first issue of the *Inzikh* journal (1920-1940), opening with her poem "Mayne hent" ("My hands"). Dropkin, Korn and Margolin were frequently published in the press and the latter was regarded by literary critics as one of the finest early twentieth-century Yiddish poets in America. These poets also published their work in Yiddish in book format, Korn as early as 1928 and Margolin in 1929.

As women poets were indisputably part of the literary scene at start of the twentieth century, what cause could there be for their absence from the earliest recorded translated anthologies? Could it be that the editors/translators were not thorough enough in their exploration of what the Greek and Yiddish poetic scenes had to offer? Would it be fair to highlight what seem like distinct gaps in their knowledge of the contemporary Greek and Yiddish literature of their time? In the case of the Greek poems included, these gaps were paired with a seemingly inherent conservatism, which manifested in hackneyed poetic choices of romantic or mythological themes that did no credit to the variety and breadth of Greek women poets' work. By contrast with the women poets represented in Modern Greek anthologies, Yiddish women poets were often accused of not being feminine enough, or of being too sexual and too daring with their poetic styles and themes. As a result, there is a lesser representation of poems from women poets on the more predictable themes of love or motherhood because, as Novershtern argues, these women poets were more concerned with modernism and politics.

As Seruya notes, translated anthologies may "reflect and project an image of the best text, author or genre from a given culture, [and] thus manipulate its reception" (2). The issue of the potential readership of these anthologies should be noted, particularly in relation to the Yiddish women's presence and Yiddish-language anthologies discussed here. Niger in his article "Di yidishe literatur un di lezerin" ("Yiddish Literature and the Female Reader") (1913), remarks "that the connections between Yiddish and women must [also] be sought in the question of audience" (Niger 100; Seidman 15). Since women's writing was considered a means of reaching a wider readership, journals published their poems more frequently. Glatstein made his poetic debut in New York by using the female pseudonym Clara Bloom before launching his career as a co-founder of the Inzikh poetic movement. The idea was that "a woman's American-sounding name would make his poems more marketable" (Novershtern 131). The fact that Anna Margolin was first thought to be a man among intellectuals in the literary cafes is a telling sign of the inherent biases against women poets in the male-dominated poetry cycles of the early twentieth century in the United States. As Schachter observes, "all of these women struggled with the realization that even as new professions, new rights, and new social roles became legally open to women, de facto social realities prevented women from gaining equal access to these new possibilities" (9).

Similar to the Greek case, most editors of the Yiddish anthologies were men and poets themselves, and chose for their anthologies the works of poets whom they liked. Imber, a poet himself, strove to present to the non-Yiddish reader modernist poetry written in Yiddish at a time (the 1920s) when Yiddish poets were most strongly pursuing avant-garde aesthetics. Leftwich, also a poet, translated most of the poems in his anthology. Leftwich explains how "the translator, by making accessible the work of other people and ages, by diffusing thought and suggesting new ways of thinking, influences the whole course of civilisation" (xxiv). This bold statement suggests just how radically the underrepresentation of women writers in anthologies might alter readers' understanding of literary history. Additionally, Leftwich's

organization of the anthology positioning women in a separate section titled "Women Poets" clearly separates them from their male counterparts, thus establishing them as the "other". According to Klepfisz, women are presented as "a country unlike any other: without borders and without connections to Jewish History and communal life," and further adds how Leftwich's choice of arrangement also showcases us with the contradiction that while "the existence of women writers is acknowledged, (...) their place *within* Jewish literary history is denied" (43).

Considering the date of publication (1939) of Leftwich's anthology, Yiddish is not situated regarding its tragic end and the editor does not remark on the demise of its readers in the introduction (as later anthologies do). Instead, he notes how "Yiddish has become more alive than it ever was before and has never had so many writers and readers as today [...] it is because of such a realistic approach [to Yiddish literature] by the present-day Yiddish writers that Yiddish literature continues" (xli). This optimistic statement of the anthology's publication contrasts dramatically with his later revised edition in 1961 and other later English anthologies of Yiddish poetry published in the United States after the Holocaust. Still, Leftwich questions the reception of these poems for the English reader in terms of marginality in a time when the aversion of the "other" and "separateness" were on the rise. Some poems, Leftwich believes, will not be understood as they have little or nothing to do with the English culture. Some, however, "may kindle the imagination of an English poet" (liii).

Although *The Anthology of Modern Yiddish Poetry*, edited by Whitman in 1966, was not the first anthology edited and translated by a woman, the first one being by Zweig Betsky in 1958, it like its forerunner has a low representation of women poets. Zweig Betsky's anthology presents four poems by one woman poet, Molodowsky, out of the forty-six poems that the anthology includes, while Whitman's anthology presents four women poets out of fourteen poets (Dropkin, Korn, Margolin, and Molodowsky). Whitman stated that the inclusion of more women poets was made in the third edition printed in 1995, bringing the anthology "up to date by certain additions [...] To further flesh out the role played by women in the original *Anthology*" (11). This points to a change in attitudes by the 1990s towards the contribution of women poets. In this third edition, Whitman even states her desire "to devote an anthology to the large group of excellent women poets who have written in Yiddish" (11). That anthology was never published; Whitman died four years after making this statement. An anthology exclusively of Yiddish poetry by women is yet to be published in English.

Whitman omitted certain poets from her anthology, she explained, due to the difficulty of translating their work or because, they did not fit "my hand and my taste as a poet" (18). The avant-garde Yiddish poet A.G. Leyeles was one such poet she left out for this reason. Such comments reinforce the image of the editor/anthologist as a gatekeeper whose tastes determine which poet and poems will gain an afterlife in English translation.

In contrast, Benjamin and Barbara Harshav's anthology *American Yiddish Poetry: A Bilingual Anthology* (1986)⁸ offers a personal vision centred on the avant-garde Yiddish poets of the Inzikh movement. Harshav had already been the chief promoter of the Inzikh poets in his essays and criticism. Their anthology contains numerous works by seven major poets writing Yiddish poetry in America, with just one of these being a women poet. The poets Leyeles, Glatstein, Halpern, Teller, Tussman, Weinstein, and Leivick, translated by the editors themselves, are each represented by an extensive selection of their work, this constituting what Novershtern calls "the American Yiddish Hall of Fame" (360).

In Howe and Greenberg's anthology (1969), a team of translators and English-language poets worked alongside the editors. Not all translators were familiar with Yiddish, as the editors

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⁸ This anthology has not been mentioned in Table 2 as it centers mainly on one concrete poetic movement rather than presenting a diverse number of poets from different time periods.

point out in their introduction, and of those who "lacked Yiddish wholly or in part, the editors supplied scrupulously literal English versions of the poems" (66). This last remark reflects the gradual decline in numbers of Yiddish speakers. This is the first instance where the problem of finding translators for Yiddish, as a minority language, is foregrounded. Norich observes how "within the huge variety and sheer volume of writing in Yiddish in the twentieth century, a miniscule fraction - no more than two or three percent - has been translated into English" (20). Renowned translators such as Cynthia Ozyck, John Hollander and Adrienne Rich translated without having much expertise in the Yiddish language. The latter, an American poet, essayist, and feminist, translated most of the poems written by women in the anthology, such as Anna Margolin, Celia Dropkin, Debora Vogel, and Kadia Molodowsky. Translating the work of Yiddish women poets provided Rich with many insights in her project of feminist re-vision.

While Howe included nine women poets in his 1969 anthology, in his later anthology *The Penguin Book of Modern Yiddish Verse* (1987), co-edited by Wisse and Shmeruk, the number drops to just five. Heifetz-Tussman is the only new woman poet in this anthology, added probably because she was awarded the Itzik Manger Prize for Yiddish poetry in Tel Aviv in 1981.

Although many women writers made their entry into Yiddish literature through poetry, which was considered a more daring genre than prose, their lack of representation in the anthologies points to their marginalization and the effective silencing of their voices. Recent studies and new translations of Yiddish women's writing (for example Norich and Schachter among others) focus on other genres where women's contributions had not previously been recognized – their short stories and novels, underlining the point that literary modernism was a dialogue between men and women writers.

Conclusions

From the anthologies discussed in this paper, fascinating insights can be gained into the way women poets have been represented, as well as insights into the process of selection and the editorial priorities of the anthologists. At the same time, the material poses challenging questions about issues of minoritization, marginality and even of progression towards fairer representation. As we observed, the representation of women poets in the anthologies appeared relatively stagnant for several decades in the late twentieth century in the case of Modern Greek poetry, whereas with Yiddish poetry representation dropped as the century progressed. It is curious to observe this "persistent marginality of women's poetry" (Kronfeld 232) in a literature that has many women writers.

Although Kronfeld here refers to Yiddish literature, the same could be argued of Modern Greek poetry and its representation in English. Figures such as Galatea Kazantzaki (1884-1962), "one of the most prolific female authorial voices in Greek Modernism" (271), are a case in point. Kazantzaki was only anthologized by Dalven in 1949, an omission which foregrounds what is at stake when works and authors from peripheral literatures like Modern Greek and Yiddish are anthologized into core languages: the predilections and various agendas of the editor/anthologist determine the afterlives in translation of the selected texts, while simultaneously sentencing the silenced texts to further obscurity. As a result, editors' and anthologists' selections have the power to support or subvert hegemonic narratives of canon formation by choosing to promote or resist normative texts. This redressing of literary representation within the poetic canon would take the form of "literary historiography [performing] a critical reading of its own practices into the discourse of the profession, to

⁹ Adrienne Rich was also a founding editor of *Bridges*, A Journal for Jewish Feminists and Our Friends (1990).

expose and resist the drive to erase some forms of marginality while privileging others" (Kronfeld 233).

It would be unreasonable to identify anthologists as solely responsible for selecting the work included in an anthology, since research has shown that anthologizing can be "largely driven by extraliterary factors such as socio-political conditions, the readership, the publishing market" (Kruczkowska 105). At the same time, despite the known aversion of publishers to risk taking in publishing experimental or avant-garde writing and market constraints on book sizing and pricing, the first step towards marginalization often starts with the editors' conservative readings of the source literature that recycle the already established and the previously translated. By aiming towards the inclusion of more diverse texts that embrace different types of marginalized or minoritized authors and genres, editors may use their power as gatekeeping agents and literary custodians. Greater transparency in the selection of material and more reflexivity in relation to criteria and potential biases would help improve the situation – and these advances are indeed becoming more widespread in twenty-first century translated anthologies.

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