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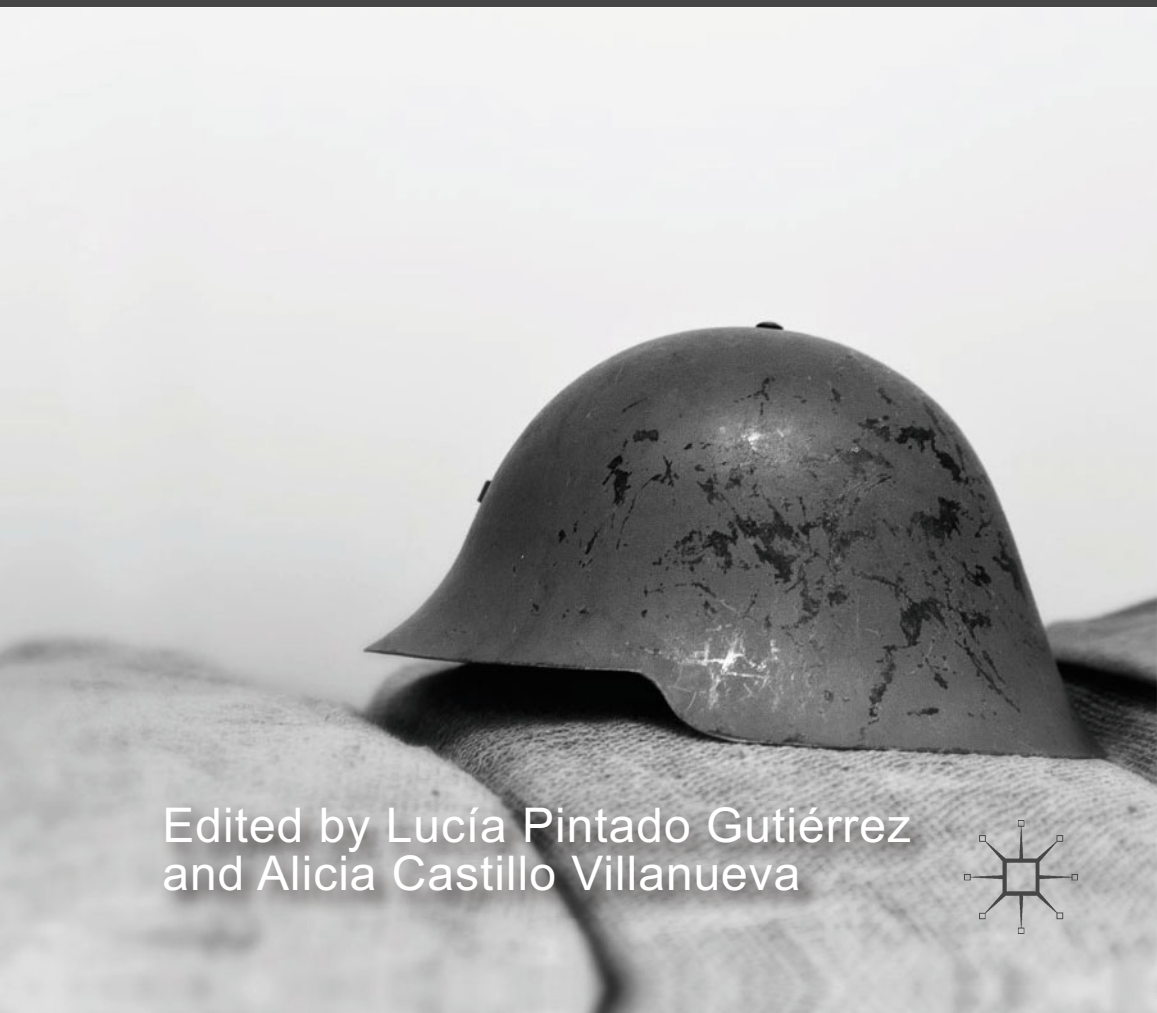
New Approaches to Translation, Conflict and Memory

Narratives of the Spanish Civil War and the Dictatorship



Edited by Lucía Pintado Gutiérrez and Alicia Castillo Villanueva

Palgrave Studies in Languages at War

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Lucía Pintado Gutiérrez · Alicia Castillo Villanueva
Editors

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Narratives of the Spanish Civil War and the Dictatorship

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A mis padres, Tomás y Conor, por estar.
A Alicia, por ser.
En memoria de mis abuelos Petra, Mercedes, Isidoro y Ángel, a quienes les tocó vivir esta difícil época.

A mi madre.
A Willie, Guillermo, David y Wilco.
A Lucía.

Foreword

Hugh, the rural schoolmaster, in Brian Friel's *Translations* (1981) likes to remind his pupils that "to remember everything is a form of madness" (Friel 1981: 67). Friel's play, however, reminds us of an another equally important truth, to forget everything is another form of madness. The obliteration of a language, the destruction of a culture, the eradication of a historical memory produce figures of dislocation that seriously compromise a society's ability to engage with the present and envision the future. Memory is a dynamic process. It is not the stale recitation of wrongs but a constant reinterpretation and reevaluation of what has gone before. If translation is primarily an act of metamorphosis, then the transformative character of remembering finds a natural analogy in the dynamics of change that are central to the translator's task. In situations of conflict, the ethical lifeline between translation and memory becomes ever more apparent as the victors are keen to use translation to turn military defeat into psychological and cultural submission. In the words of the translated title of Javier Marías's novel on the manipulation of memory in Spanish society, *Thus Bad Begins* (2017). In Spain, during the period of the dictatorship, translation was used to promote the monoculturalism of National Catholicism.

In Spain, after the dictatorship, for many years the Pact of Forgetting meant that (non)Translation was practised to silence witness to atrocity and subjugation. Translation was not some incidental after effect of brutality and terror but a conscious strategy to normalise domination and exculpate the executioners.

Spain in the 1930s was in every sense a translation zone. Seen from a particular angle, the Spanish Civil War was a striking example of translation as both process and product. Not only because of the language variety of the territory itself but because, as a number of the contributors to the volume point out, the presence of foreign combatants meant that military effectiveness entailed language mediation. This was not the only example of translation as process. The War was Civil in name but the ideological realities were transnational not national. Fascism, liberalism, communism, socialism, anarchism were all pan-European currents of thought that through multiple translations would influence the thinking and political choices of the parties to the conflict. This tension is reflected in the very terminology used to proclaim difference. The "National" is always at odds with the implied universality of the "Catholic." Part of the drama of the War was the process of translating the competing ideologies into the political realities of the Spain of the period. George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* (1938) is among other things a detailed description of that translation process, how the translation products of transnational ideologies were domesticated in Spain's warring political cultures.

The Shoah, Cambodia, Rwanda, Armenia and other sites and instances of mass murder are a tragic reminder of the enduring tension between conflict and memory, between those who wish to conceal and those who wish to reveal crimes. Central to a notion of restorative justice is that reconciliation be arrived at through truth-telling. There is no telling of truths, however, if the testimonies of the victims are never translated and the world does not hear or read about toxic forms of wrongdoing. The present volume through scrupulous examination of evidence and bold speculation on the ethical embeddedness of translation in political practice is a major contribution to what happens when words are used to silence other words. One of Hugh's last pieces of advice to his young charges was "We must learn where we live" (66).

In an age of renewed conflict and memory wars, *New Approaches to Translation, Conflict and Memory: Narratives of the Spanish Civil War and the Dictatorship* is an excellent guide to what needs to be learned as much as to be remembered.

Dublin, Ireland

Michael Cronin
Trinity College Dublin

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colleagues in SALIS Dr. Mary Phelan and Dr. Patrick Cadwell for their useful comments and their kind assistance in helping to solve any thorny issues. Our warm thanks to John Kearns, his skilled and insightful copy-editing work and wise advice were essential for the completion of this volume. A final thanks goes to our loved ones for their affection and support throughout.

We genuinely hope that this book will contribute towards a new dialogue at the intersection of translation, conflict and memory in Spain and beyond. As Nobel Prize José Saramago stated, we must recover and pass on historical memory, as we start with oblivion and end in indifference.

Praise for *New Approaches to Translation, Conflict and Memory*

"This varied and well-documented set of case studies focused on translation and conflict in Spain supplements accounts of repression and censorship with innovative ideas drawn from memory studies, affording a contemporary political perspective on the dark days of the Franco era."

—Theo Hermans, *Professor of Dutch and Comparative Literature, University College London, UK*

"Provocative, enlightening, groundbreaking, this volume is a compelling account and an intellectually engaging enquiry into translation as an activity that takes place not in a neutral site but within a political context with parties who have interests in the production of texts. It is thus an in-depth study of the challenges faced by translators during a particular historical episode. No doubt courageous, using numerous contemporary examples, it faces questions of dominance and resistance. Food for thought."

—África Vidal Claramonte, *Professor of Translation Studies, University of Salamanca, Spain*

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Part I

Introduction

1

Emerging Trends in Reassessing Translation, Conflict, and Memory

Alicia Castillo Villanueva and Lucía Pintado Gutiérrez

New Approaches on Translation, Conflict, and Memory: Narratives of the Spanish Civil War and the Dictatorship is a collection of essays that endeavours to establish a new dialogue between translation, conflict, and memory studies. Focusing on cultural representations of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco Dictatorship, it explores the significance and the effect of translation within Spain and beyond. Drawing on fictional and non-fictional texts, reports from war zones, and audiovisual productions, the contributors to this volume examine the scope of translation in transmitting the conflict and the dictatorship from a contemporary perspective. Narratives produced during and after the Civil War and the dictatorship both in Spain and abroad have led to new debates arising from the reassessment of a conflict that continues to resonate.

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This book emerges from the common ground shared by our different academic interests, particularly in translation and historical memory studies, but also from an ethical commitment to justice, truth, and moral reparation for those who were erased from the official history and relegated to oblivion. Translation, conflict, and memory taken together, form an emerging field that bridges the gaps between these disciplines within Spanish studies in order to provide a solid background for further analysis and research. This book aims to give visibility to a field that still has to be studied in greater depth and which has the potential to occupy a significant position on a bigger map that depicts other narratives of conflict and translation.

During the Spanish transition to democracy, political leaders decided that, with a view to uniting the country and directing its path towards the new system of governance, some of the more problematic aspects of Spanish history of the previous five decades might be best papered over. The decision was taken not to prosecute those who had committed serious crimes; instead perpetrators were tacitly pardoned under an amnesty law passed in 1977 which was supported by the majority of the political spectrum. The legacy of the Civil War and Franco's repression was a delicate subject and to avoid the reopening of old wounds, both conservative and socialist governments proceeded with extreme caution. The collective determination to re-establish democracy by whatever means were necessary led to what would be known as the Pact of Forgetting, a curtain of silence over the past (Preston 2007: 19). Thus, the politics of memory in the transition to democracy have been described as the elimination and eradication of historical memory and a forgetting and silencing of the past (Morán 1991; Medina 2001; Labanyi 2007; Colmeiro 2011).

The Pact of Forgetting (1977) implied in turn the tacit suppression of the Republican memory and identity in both the political and public spheres (Ryan 2009). Discussion was impeded between the generations who experienced, in one way or another, this episode in Spanish history, and this has led to a debate at all levels in contemporary Spain. This reassessment has taken place in various areas of society, culture, and politics in order to recover the memory of the defeated and to complete the untold stories and the hidden history of the conflict.

Therefore, historical memory in this context consists in recovering in the public space the memory of the violence suffered by the victims of the dictatorship marginalized in the collective story, but above all it claims justice, truth, and reparation for the victims of Francoism (Saz 2003: 56). Gálvez Biesca points to the political triumph of the conservative People's Party (PP), and specifically the government of José María Aznar (1996–2004), as the onset of the increasing socio-political sensitization and the revival of historical memory (2006: 27).

In the past few decades, the tireless efforts by different associations to give recognition to the victims of Franco's repression have made remarkable progress. The work carried out by the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory and the passing of the controversial Historical Memory Law in 2007 under the socialist government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero led to the search for, and recovery of, the remains of victims of the Francoist repression. These events coincided with the commemoration in 2005 of 30 years of democracy and in 2006 with the 70th anniversary of the beginning of the war, which increased general interest and debate. Both media and literary criticism have considered this phenomenon to be a "journey back from amnesia" following the title of an article by journalist Javier Valenzuela that many critics have echoed:

> It took over 25 years for democracy to confront the post-war period. Bookstores have become filled with works by historians, essayists, journalists, and novelists who give voice to the millions of Spaniards who lived a sorrowful inner exile following the Civil War. (Valenzuela 2002—our translation)

What Valenzuela describes has resulted in a growth in popular awareness of the "right to memory," so that those who were denied this right to remember might be granted recognition (Castilla del Pino 2006: 16). This has brought with it a debate that embraces the rights of the individual and the community, a discussion that grants visibility for families seeking their relatives, a public discourse in literature, cinema, and other cultural channels. According to authors such as Dulce Chacón, Santos Juliá, or Javier Cercas, this growth in awareness seems to correspond to

an interest awakened among the new generation and the grandchildren of survivors (Valenzuela 2002). Recent Spanish fiction has focused on questions of memory in a new perspective, questions that differ from those which dominated public discourse previously in the ways in which they relate to current debates about the appropriate memorialisation of the recent past (Leggott 2015: 1). These narratives bring previously silenced Republican stories into the public domain, acknowledging the victims of nationalist repression, persecution and extra-judicial killings during the years of Civil War and the dictatorship (2015: 1).

Since the end of the dictatorship, but especially since the 1990s, there has been a rapid growth the number of cultural representations that recover the memory of the defeated. Among the titles included under the theme of "novels for the recovery of historical memory" (Ramblado Minero 2004; de Urioste 2010) are *Luna de lobos* (1985) by Julio Llamanzares; the trilogy comprising *Historia de una maestra* (1990), *Mujeres de negro* (1994) and *La fuerza del destino* (1997) by Josefina Aldecoa; *Maquis* (1996) by Alfons Cervera; *Un calor tan cercano* (1997) by Maruja Torres; *El lápiz del carpintero* (1998) by Manuel Rivas; *Luna lunera* (1999) by Rosa Regás; *Un largo silencio* (2000) by Ángeles Caso; *Cielos de barro* (2000) and *La voz dormida* (2002) by Dulce Chacón; *Soldados de Salamina* (2002) by Javier Cercas; *Tu rostro mañana* (2002) by Javier Marías; *Las trece rosas* (2003) by Jesús Ferrero; *El heredero* (2003) by José María Merino; *El vano ayer* (2004) by Isaac Rosa; *Fantasmas del invierno* (2004) by Luis Mateo Díez; *La meitat de l'ànima* (2004) by Carmen Riera; *Malena es un nombre de tango* (1994), *Los aires difíciles* (2002), *El corazón helado* (2007) and *Inés y la alegría* (2010) by Almudena Grandes; *La mujer del maquis* (2008) and *Si a los tres años no he vuelto* (2012) by Ana R. Cañil or *El tiempo entre costuras* (2009) by María Dueñas. Some translations include *Diamond Square* (trans. Peter Bush 2013) by Mercè Rodoreda, also translated in 1967 by Eda O'Sheil Sagarra as *The Pigeon Girl* and in the 1986 by David Rosenthal as *The Time of Doves*; *Trapped in Spain* (trans. Leandro Garza 1978) by Carlota O´Neill; *The Carpenter's Pencil* (trans. Jonathan Dunne 2003) by Manuel Rivas; *The Soldiers of Salamis* (trans. Anne McLean 2003) by Javier Cercas; *The Wind from the East* (trans. Sonia Soto 2007) and *The Frozen Heart* (trans. Frank Wynne 2010) by Almudena Grandes;

The Sleeping Voice (trans. Nick Caistor 2006) by Dulce Chacón; and *An Englishman in Madrid* (trans. Nick Caistor 2013) by Eduardo Mendoza; *The Time in Between* (trans. Daniel Hahn 2011) by María Dueñas; or *Wolf Moon* (trans. Simon Deefholts and Kathryn Phillips-Miles 2017) by Julio Llamanzares.

The film industry has also echoed this trend since the transition period with works such as *Los días del pasado* (1978) directed by Mario Camus, *Las largas vacaciones del 36* (1976) by Jaime Camino, *El corazón del bosque* (1979) by Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón, *¡Ay, Carmela!* (1992) by Carlos Saura, *Libertarias* (1996) by Vicente Aranda, *Los años bárbaros* (1998) by Fernando Colomo, *Silencio roto* (2001) [*Broken Silence*] by Montxo Armendáriz, *Soldados de Salamina* (2003) [*The Soldiers of Salamis*] by David Trueba and *El laberinto del fauno* (2006) [*Pan's Labyrinth*] by Guillermo del Toro, among others. Television series such as *Cuéntame cómo pasó* (2001–present), *La chica de ayer* (2009), or *El tiempo entre costuras* (2013) [*The Time in Between*] highlight the way in which, according to H. Rosi Song, "popular culture mediates the viewer´s relation with the past, and how it affects the creation of both cultural and private memories" (2016: 89).

Research into this aspect of Spanish culture, which is taking place at the intersection of the young disciplines of translation, conflict, and memory studies, is still relatively scant. It has been triggered by a desire to do justice to history and the need to live in a fair society. The nexus between translation, conflict, and memory is therefore a consequence of academic, professional, and historical practices and social interests that reflect cross-lingual and cross-cultural issues in contemporary societies. The crossroads between translation, conflict, and memory is in debt to research frameworks developed in conflict and memory, translation and conflict, and translation and memory. Translation thus becomes the element that connects all three areas.

Mona Baker claims that "[d]efinitions of conflict inevitably draw on notions of power, and vice versa" (2006: 1). Tymoczko and Gentzler (2002), in their introduction, also underline the fact that power and translation are closely intertwined. As such, the intersection of translation, conflict, and memory draw on frameworks related to censorship, power, and translation among other fields. Developments in conflict and translation studies, particularly by Mona Baker and others, have drawn

primarily on narrative theories that examine the ways in which translation and interpreting interact and their increasing visibility in war zones; Baker's work in this field in particular has developed the notion of framing in the context of activist discourse in the Middle East conflict (2006, 2007, 2010). Along similar lines, Inghilleri and Harding (2010) look at the role of translators and interpreters in violent conflicts. Tymoczko (2000) and Tymoczko and Gentzler's (2002) contributions are also essential in the exploration of translation and political engagement.

The power exercised by the state in Spain determined which cultural representations were imported into and exported out of the country through translation; exercising power in this way could become particularly contentious when references in those cultural artefacts challenged the official discourse of the Spanish conflict. This happened over a long period of time and comprised disturbing practices, from restrictive dictatorship to the prolonged silence following the Pact of Forgetting during the transition and the first years of democracy. The public outcry that has emerged in contemporary Spain can be seen as a reaction against these practices: there is now a thirst to rescue a past that was condemned to institutional, social and cultural amnesia. Tymoczko and Gentzler state the importance of studying translation "in charged political contexts" as it "illustrates the relationships between discourse and power" (2002: xix). In the Spanish context, translation was at the service of power (as we can see in Part II and III). Evidence of this can be found in reports in archives and in numerous articles and national projects. The analysis of archival sources provides an account of the restrictions that translators worked under, though it also shows the potential to act as resisting narratives stretching from one period in which there was a complete lack of freedom to another in which justice and empowerment began to be sought. The renegotiation which this transition has witnessed has enabled new discourses to emerge which have helped to reshape the narrative of the conflict and the dictatorship.

This pattern cannot be separated from the ideological forces that shape (or reshape) our societies. Translation, as Venuti argues, should follow "the same rigorous interrogation that other cultural forms and practices have recently undergone with the emergence of poststructuralism and its impact on such theoretical and political discourses as

psychoanalysis, Marxism, and feminism" (1992: 6). This is consonant with Bassnett and Lefevere's (1990) idea that translation as rewriting reflects a certain ideology and, as such, manipulates literature to function in a given society, in a given way. This is, in fact, how Franco's regime saw translation: manipulation undertaken in the service of power; translation—or lack thereof—as a shaping force.

If, as Baker (2006) maintains, translation plays an important role in the management of conflict, then looking back over translations becomes key in the reconstruction of the past in relation to the collective imagination. In fact, if "[…] translation and interpreting are essential for circulating and resisting the narratives that create the intellectual and moral environment for violent conflict in the first place, even though the narratives in question may not directly depict conflict or war" (Baker 2006: 2), then we can assume that the reinterpretation of narratives that have typically been subjected to different forms of oppression will allow us to create a "sense of community with 'past experiences of oppression'" (Baquedano-López 2001: 344). The role that translation plays in the revision of the dominant ideologies reflected in cultural artefacts is therefore key in revisiting the Spanish conflict. In this vein, our interest lies in looking at how information travelled from or into Spain, with a special focus on the understanding and the perception of the conflict, both within and beyond the borders of the Iberian Peninsula.

Motivated by a necessity to do justice to the Republican memory, there has been a resurgence of social and cultural interest in filling this gap in the individual and collective memory, through the publication of novels and the production of numerous feature films and TV shows. Research conducted by Siobhan Brownlie (2007, 2016, 2017) marks the cornerstone in the field of translation and memory as she explores discourses on translation and conflict within a broad perspective and establishes a nexus between memory and translation. In the case of the Spanish conflict, novels, films and other types of cultural artefacts are important not only in contesting a discourse that in the past had been excluded but also in establishing an intergenerational discourse. The rewriting of history, challenging established structures of power by (re)telling stories from a new angle, emerges from a commitment to honour the memory of the victims.

Existing works on the Spanish conflict from a contemporary perspective, together with research conducted as part of this new translation turn, is part of the emerging field of translation, conflict, and memory. Recent publications by Catalan and Spanish scholars have featured analyses of translation with reference to the position of women under Francoism (Bacardí and Godayol 2017; Godayol 2017; Godayol and Taronna 2018). Of course, this field cannot be understood without considering publications related to neighbouring areas like ethics, language, rewriting, memory, etc.

But a revision of the past through contemporary narratives that draw from memory is particularly important: "[m]emory is […] a lived and present thing, and the traumatic past may be quite real. By the same token, an alternative positive and hopeful memory takes on great importance" (Brownlie 2016: xi). At the heart of this claim (applied to a different context) is the fact that no real reflection on the narrative(s) of the Spanish conflict and the dictatorship has yet taken place. Contemporary narratives, and their translation, challenge an established *status quo*, creating a forum in which historical grievances may be aired. Memory is used with a future aim: to confront the past involves questioning different contexts and actors in order to build a better future (Bickford and Sodaro 2010: 68). The past is thus interpreted through the lens of the present.

Our volume represents a commitment to current lines of research engaging with translation and conflict from a memory perspective. The contributions in this volume explore several interrelated themes through a variety of approaches, drawing on fictional and non-fictional texts, and historical and contemporary cultural artefacts related to the recovery of memory as the overarching element. In examining the translation of narratives of the Spanish conflict and the dictatorship, the main themes on which the volume focuses can be divided into four different areas, reflected in the following four sections of the book: translation as rewriting and the transmission of ideologies; translation, power and identity; translation and censorship; and translation and memory studies.

Part II focuses on the figure of Langston Hughes (1902–1967). As an African American activist poet, translator, and correspondent, Hughes dedicated much of his personal and professional life to the African American civil rights struggle. His commitment to justice led him to empathize with other struggles and his experience as a first-hand witness

to the Spanish Civil War prompted him to draw parallels between the Spanish conflict and the African American civil rights struggle. He participated actively in the Spanish cultural sphere, perpetuating Lorca's legacy and identifying with the Republican cause. In chapter two, Patricia San José looks at ideology and explains how Hughes's domestic experience with racism and his own political views are key to him seeing a parallel between both conflicts. San José's cultural translation approach takes its lead from the work of Walter Benjamin and Laura Izarra and sees the traveller as a witness to a historical event, who transfers his struggle to that of Spain through his own identity and vice versa. In other words, San José analyses how this prominent author translates his experiences of both conflicts through his own physical and symbolic journeys between the two cultures. Andrew Walsh also examines Hughes's personal and ideological history to explore the parallels he established between the two different conflicts, with a focus on Lorca's poetry. Langston Hughes initiates a dialogue between Lorca's demands reflected in his *Gypsy Ballards*, and his own demands emerging from the racial conflict in the southern states in North America. Hughes's political engagement in the struggles of oppressed minorities entails a re-reading of Lorca, whom he translates into English after visiting Spain. This gave the Spanish conflict a visibility in the USA—a country looking closely at the development of conflict-ridden Spain. Translation is explored as a tool in ideological propaganda and social empathy.

Part III examines interpreters in the Spanish conflict. The largely unexplored role of international interpreters during the Spanish Civil War is uncovered, revealing the challenges they faced when trying to establish fluent communication on the frontline. Marcos Rodríguez Espinosa looks at the International Brigades and their role as communicators. The 35,000 volunteers from numerous backgrounds comprised a radically diverse group, not only in terms of their cultural backgrounds, but also with regard to their languages and ideologies. The author brings together work from a variety of disciplines to depict how the international brigades communicated. Rodríguez Espinosa addresses in this fashion issues regarding communication, ideology, and interpreting in the Spanish conflict. The frameworks that he applies follow those outlined by Salama-Carr (2007), Baker (2010), Inghilleri and

Harding (2010), and Footitt (2012) among others. Matters relating to interpreting in conflict among multilingual battalions and the issues that arise have hardly been addressed in accounts of the Spanish Civil War. This chapter therefore offers an insightful perspective on the ordeal, and the division and hostility encountered by translators and interpreters in the Republican war zone throughout the conflict.

Part IV offers insightful analyses of the regime's *modus operandi* regarding censorship of foreign (specifically North American) texts and productions that challenged the ideology imposed by Franco's dictatorship. The three chapters show how censorship was one of the most powerful and effective systems of control preventing subversive ideologies (such as feminism or communism) that deviated from those established by the regime. Based on the censorship records kept at the Archivo General de la Administración (*General Archives of the Administration*) in Alcalá de Henares, these authors cast new light on how the manipulation of foreign literature by the censor contributed to strengthening the regime's idea of a Spanish identity based on the ideology of National Catholicism. Pilar Godayol focuses on the controversial figure of the novelist and critic Mary McCarthy (1912–1989) whose works, translated into Spanish and Catalan under Franco, were clearly considered by the regime to be 'dangerous' due to the atheist, feminist and communist tendencies of the writer. McCarthy's references to free love, adultery, or birth control were considered immoral and harmful for women and strongly contravened the National-Catholic code. Using a methodology that takes its lead from Jeremy Munday's notion of "microhistory" in translation studies (2014), this chapter investigates the censors' files on the Barcelona publishers who wished to publish translations of McCarthy's novels in the 1960s and 1970s. Godayol focuses on archival sources relating to three novels translated into Spanish during this period (*The Group*, *A Charmed Life*, and *Birds of America*), drawing on the contradictions and misunderstandings recorded in the censor's reports at the General Archive of the Administration.

Literature for children was also a target for the regime in their efforts to indoctrinate the young and, in so doing, secure the perpetuation of National-Catholic family values. Focusing on Mark Twain's novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), Julia Lin Thompson explores

how texts produced for children were deemed an effective tool for ideological homogenisation. While controversies concerning the reception of the novel in the source culture do not necessarily guarantee its censorship in the target culture, Twain's satirical treatment of religion and his contemptuous attitudes towards authority and social norms, as expressed through the voice of his protagonist Huckleberry Finn, did clash with ideas of what was deemed good children's literature under Francoism, and thus the translations of this novel were subject to censorship. By examining translations of this novel, Thompson analyses how a knowledge of what it withheld from children is of equal importance to a knowledge of what it attempted to inculcate.

Rosa Bautista's chapter focuses on the translation of *Adventures of a Young Man* by John Dos Passos, in which the hero, Glenn Spotswood, is a fervent anti-fascist who, after taking part in radical workers' movements in the U.S., enlists to fight Franco in Loyalist Spain. Bautista presents a case study of the power exercised by Franco's censors over the Spanish cultural polysystem (Even-Zohar 1990) and, more specifically, over the translation of foreign works of literature dealing with the Spanish Civil War. Based on scholars from the so-called Manipulation School Bautista's analysis of the censorship files, along with the identification of manipulated fragments in the translation, indicate that Franco's administration used banned foreign works such as Dos Passos's as propaganda tools.

The closing section is dedicated to the intersection of translation, conflict and memory, focusing on questions that relate to current debates about ways of memorializing the past. Contributions explore how cultural productions are built from memory and postmemory and the role of translation in framing such memories of the conflict and the dictatorship in other societies. The chapters in this section respond to a current social demand to reestablish the memory of the defeated through different genres, including a TV series, a novel, and poetry. Kyra Kiertrys examines the Spanish television series *El tiempo entre costuras* in light of the evolving social, cultural, and political discourses in twenty first century Spain around memories of the Civil War. She also explores the impact of Netflix's expanding international programming on perceptions of Spanish history outside Spain.

Kiertys's approach relies on a fourfold understanding of translation as: (1) intra-cultural translation, or the transmission of collective memory from one generation to another; (2) adaptation from one medium to another—novel to screen; (3) inter-cultural translation, or the transmission of cultural memory from one culture to another—Spanish to U.S. American; and (4) inter-lingual translation—here, Spanish to English. Through a humanistic exploration of the idiosyncrasies of a high-profile contemporary Spanish television series, this chapter shows that *El tiempo entre costuras* moves the collective memories around Spain's painful past away from trauma, forgetting, and the recovery of the forgotten, in order to create a new memory that looks towards the future. Inês Espada Vieira examines how silenced memory is transmitted and how the "dialogic forgetting" (Assman 2010) does not necessarily imply forgetting. In this chapter, memory is seen as movement, as traffic and motion. In *Los girasoles ciegos* she explores the concept of transnational memory (Brownlie 2017) as memory that crosses geographical and cultural borders and, in this case, migrates into Portuguese culture. Following Erll's (2011) proposal of five dimensions of movement—*carriers, media, contents, practices* and *forms*—the author argues that the memory of the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship moves within Portuguese culture through *carriers* as *content* and also as *form*. The last chapter by Pilar Cáceres engages with Derrida's idea of hauntology and his views on translation within the field of memory studies. Using this framework the author analyses *The Hair of the Shoah*, the only Jewish Holocaust-related poem in Spanish poetry of the twentieth century. Composed as a book-length poem by Félix Grande, this work is unique both in its theme and its structure. The chapter discusses and frames Grande's work within the context of the poet's traumatic experience of the catastrophe. Cáceres explores how Grande's poetic mechanisms to deal with historical loss are akin to the ideas underpinned in Derrida's concepts of untranslatability and hauntology. The author analyses how Grande demonstrates that all deep traumas constitute untranslatable experiences that paradoxically call for a translation similar to Grande's exploration of Jewish suffering in the poem.

Revisiting the Spanish conflict and the recovery of historical memory within contemporary Spain is a recent phenomenon that has been represented not only in literature, cinema, and other cultural forms, but it has also generated social debate in the media, blogs and other channels. Translation becomes key in the revision of ideas about the conflict and the dictatorship and is a new tool to recover the memory of the defeated in a new perspective that connects with current debates on the subject. This collection of essays opens a critical discussion on prevailing views on this topic by examining the (inter)connection between artefacts and the circulation of resisting narratives. Engaging in this intergenerational and intercultural exploration will encourage global dialogue to continue gaining pace. This volume responds to a social demand that is part of a general need across different countries, to recover and repair traumatic experiences throughout the twentieth century, including the Holocaust and France during the 1970s, and more recently in other countries in Eastern Europe, Latin America, or South Africa. Translation is vital to this global recovery of memory.

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Part II

Langston Hughes: An Afro-American View of the Conflict

2

The Writer as Notional Translator: Langston Hughes and His Transcultural Racial Interpretation of the Spanish Civil War

Patricia San José

According to his autobiographical volume *I Wonder as I Wander*, when Langston Hughes left Spain after covering the Civil War for the Baltimore *Afro-American* (a periodical) over six months from July to December 1937, he had serious problems packing and carrying around all of the belongings he had collected during his time there. Even though he left behind his phonograph records for his friends in Madrid to play tunes such as "Organ Grinder's Swing" during bombings in order to drown out the explosions outside, as he had himself done before, Hughes insisted on taking with him a good deal of

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souvenirs that he had collected during his stay. Consequently, his friend the Cuban writer Nicolás Guillén saw himself forced to help carry a series of miscellaneous objects, including a bottle of wine in a wicker basket, a pair of bullfight banderillas, a box with shrapnel fragments, and a lace mantilla, as well as dozens of gift books "warmly inscribed" by their authors (Hughes 1993: 394). It is easy to imagine that, besides all those tangible objects, Hughes was taking with him much more, and that, by the same assumption, he also left behind more than a bunch of music records. Memories and intangible experiences usually accompany those who experience them and Langston Hughes no doubt brought a great deal of those back home with him.

And yet, even if Hughes's material luggage was ostensibly smaller on his way *to* Spain, his emotional and life baggage was already voluminous and filled with the knowledge and experience of racial oppression and segregation in the US, which, as the texts analyzed here amply prove, permeated his experience and—perhaps most importantly—his representation of the Spanish conflict. In that sense, most of Hughes's output during or about the Spanish Civil War can be understood as a cultural translation practice, even if not a literal one. Just as Evelyn Scaramella reminds us, "[t]he Latin word for 'translation,' *translatio*, means 'to carry across'" (2014: 178), which underlines the transnational and transcultural aspect of translation in what I understand to be a bidirectional motion. Translators not only bring the experience of a foreign language, culture and literature back to their own languages, cultures and literatures, but they also unavoidably take with them their own exposures to their home backgrounds and transfer them onto their understanding of the host culture. In this sense, writers such as Langston Hughes, even when not undertaking translation projects in the strictly linguistic sense, can be understood to perform an act of cultural translation, which Laura P.S. Izarra defines as "the result of the contact between two or more cultures where both cultures provoke transformations in each other" (2004: 343). Although Hughes does undertake both types of translation in relation to the Spanish conflict, he devotes much more time and space to cultural translation, interpreting the Spanish situation from the point of view of his American experience and vice versa.

What is more, insomuch as the metaphorical luggage that Langston Hughes was carrying with him on his way to the conflict in Spain was already and in itself an experience of a struggle, he truly became a translator of conflict in the sense that he transferred his first-hand knowledge of the racial confrontation and fight for equality in the US into his understanding of the Spanish War. However, that transference did not occur in a single direction. In what follows, excerpts of Langston Hughes's writings (both articles and poems) produced during or about the Spanish Civil War will be used to demonstrate that not only did he filter what he learnt of the Spanish conflict through his personal experience of race and politics acquired in his native country, but he also utilized certain aspects of the war he was witnessing and attesting to, thus explaining and putting in perspective his fellow African Americans' struggle back at home. In this way, Hughes became a mediator between the two countries, cultures and conflicts not only from a linguistic point of view (he could speak fluent Spanish and indeed actively worked as an interpreter between several English-speaking comrades and Spanish soldiers and villagers during the conflict), but also culturally.

According to William Scott, Walter Benjamin's concept of translation highlights the fact that "what is really at stake in translation [is] the *expression*, not the reproduction, of a […] specific significance […] not reducible to the information conveyed in the meaning of individual words of sentences, but […] rather an 'essential quality' […] of the literary work and thus not directly communicable as such" (2005: 38, emphasis in the original). Taking this into account, together with the Latin etymology of the word "translation," we must conclude that what Hughes is doing when he is not actually translating texts from one language to another but producing English texts about his Spanish experience is yet another form of translation, one that expresses the specific significance of the Spanish situation and *transports* it to the American sphere. The cultural type of translation carried out by Hughes, therefore, must be understood in terms of him constantly conveying several cultural, notional and political ideas back and forth between both countries and backgrounds in the articles and poems he produced for the American public during or about the Spanish Civil War.

Langston Hughes and the Racial Conflict as a Global Issue

That Hughes's writings about Spain were filtered through the prism of race should not come as a surprise if we take into account the fact that he was sent to the conflicted country as a reporter for the Baltimore *Afro-American* "to cover for that paper the activities of Negroes in the International Brigades" (Hughes 1993: 315) and that, moreover, he had striven from the earliest stages of his literary production to present himself as "a young writer deeply committed both to creating art and to theorizing the means by which art might merge with race to challenge and revise dominant conceptions of both" (De Santis 2013: 106). As such, all of Hughes's literary work should be taken as a translation act, for if we take into account Nicolás Guillén's rendering of Hughes's own words, he once claimed the following: "I have no other ambition than to be the poet of the Negroes … the blows they get hurt me to the core and I *sing* their sorrows, I *translate* their sadness, I put their anxieties to flight" (Guillén, quoted in Scott 2005: 59, emphasis in the original).

A renowned member of the Harlem Renaissance in which race was at the core of most African-American writers' activites, Hughes saw several of his works published in *The Crisis*, the official publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The publication was, at that time, synonymous with the figure of W.E.B. Du Bois and his advocacy for African-American writers to devote their literary production to racial issues and their community's plight, and the articles and short stories published there showcased his philosophy. Hughes no doubt also shared Du Bois' opinion and expressed it so in several of his essays, claiming for instance that "until America has completely absorbed the Negro and until segregation and racial self-consciousness have entirely disappeared, *the true work of art from the Negro artist* is bound, if it have any color and distinctiveness at all, to reflect his racial background and his racial environment" (Hughes, quoted in De Santis 2013: 114, emphasis in the original). Even though it is fair to say that Hughes's lighter skin colour and relatively comfortable economic situation (particularly during his most

successful period as a writer) protected him from the harshest forms of racial discrimination, he certainly had internalized the racial struggle in a way that became (as for the majority of the African-American community) part of his collective and personal identity, thus making him feel a responsibility to showcase his community's plight in all his literature and essays, including his work dealing with the Spanish Civil War.

That Hughes considered himself a spokesperson for the African-American experience is made even more evident when we examine his words from a speech he gave as a delegate from the United States in the Second International Writers' Congress held in Paris in July 1937, days before he crossed the Spanish border to cover the conflict:

> I come to the Second International Writers Congress representing my country, America, but most especially the Negro peoples of America, and the poor peoples of America—because I am both a Negro and poor. And that combination of color and poverty gives me the right then to speak for the most oppressed group in America, that group that has known so little of American democracy, the fifteen million Negroes who dwell within our borders. (Hughes 1937: 272)

This commitment to represent the racial cause coincides, moreover, with the peak of Hughes's political approach to Communism, which places him in direct ideological opposition to the rise of fascist regimes in Europe at the time. Fascism and racial oppression appear as natural synonyms in Hughes's mind and rhetoric. He continues his speech at the Congress by clearly linking these two concepts:

> We [Negroes in America] are the people who have long known in actual practice the meaning of the word Fascism … Yes, we Negroes of America do not have to be told what Fascism is in action. We know. Its theories of Nordic supremacy and economic suppression have long been realities to us. And now we view it on a world scale: Hitler in Germany with the abolition of labor unions, his tyranny over the Jews, and the sterilization of the Negro children of Cologne; Mussolini in Italy with his banning of Negroes on the theatrical stages, and his expedition of slaughter in Ethiopia; the Military Party in Japan with their little maps of how they'll conquer the whole world and their savage treatment of Koreans

> and Chinese; Batista and Vincent, the little American-made tyrants of Cuba and Haiti; and now Spain and Franco with his absurd cry of 'Viva Espana' at the hands of Italians, Moors and Germans invited to help him achieve 'Spanish Unity.' Absurd, but true… (Hughes 1937: 272)

For Hughes, as Isabel Soto points out, "antiracism occupies the same discursive space as proletarian antifascism" (2014: 133) and it does so in an international, diasporic sense. Global race issues certainly make their way into Hughes's literary oeuvre in several instances, and he shows a marked tendency to equate the plight of racially marked communities of the world with that of his own. As Miller and Hubbard point out, "Hughes's astute perception of global linkages derived from a subconscious agreement with the concept of negritude—the idea that fulfilling the personal self becomes a conduit to a broader humanity" (2013: 36). Such a global and transnational perception of race and humanity is broadly represented in his writings about the Spanish Civil War and is what lies at the core of his interpretation and translation of the conflict, as well as of his open adherence to the Republican cause and, probably, a weighty reason for his travelling to the conflicted country. His transference of the African Americans' experience of race and racism onto his representation of the Spanish Civil War and his linking it with the rise of oppressive fascist regimes across Europe can be understood as an attempt to draw a not-so-invisible line between the fight of his fellow racial comrades back at home and the threat to legal and civil rights in other belligerent countries. His translation of one conflict onto the other and vice versa exemplifies his view that all those rising (fascism) and pre-existing conflicts (racism) are one and the same.

Langston Hughes as Racial Reporter in Spain

As noted above, Hughes went to Spain "to write for the colored press" (Hughes 2002c: 161), and therefore he strove to describe in his dispatches as many coloured people as he could encounter in the divided country. And yet, as early as in his second dispatch for the Baltimore *Afro-American*, he states that he does not want to write exclusively about

the coloured people in the International Brigades; he is also very interested in the Moors fighting for the fascist side,[1] as many of the articles and poems analyzed here demonstrate. In one of them, for instance, he affirms: "I knew that Spain once belonged to the Moors," and continues: "[n]ow the Moors have come again to Spain with the Fascist armies as cannon fodder for Franco. But, on the Loyalist side there are many colored people of various nationalities in the International Brigades. I want to write about both Moors and colored people" (Hughes 2002c: 161). According to Brent Hayes Edwards, references like this to the prior existence of Moors in Spain and their connection to the presence of Moors in Franco's lines point to "a prior poetics of otherness within Spain itself," which might be considered "a species of translation on a formal level" (2007: 699).

In his translational and diasporic take on race and racial matters, Hughes does not want to exclude any black people from his narrative of the war and, as a consequence, he does not fail to filter what he sees through the lens of his own personal experience and ideology about race and world politics. We cannot forget that Hughes is but one of the numerous foreign writers who travelled to Spain as war correspondents in order to report back for their leftist magazines and newspapers on the events taking place in that country. This was obviously done in an attempt to raise awareness of the Loyalists' cause back in their own countries and to help raise money and volunteers for the International Brigades, so the writings they produced were heavily influenced by that political and ideological perspective. Just like other English-speaking writers such as George Orwell, Ernest Hemingway or W.H. Auden, Hughes no doubt felt that "writers and artists must translate for foreign audiences what they were witnessing in Spain in order to document their version of history" (Scaramella 2014: 184–187). This act of translation needs to be understood not (or not exclusively) as a linguistic act, but rather as a transference of ideological positions and personal experiences onto the writers' interpretation of the Spanish Civil War and vice versa. If we are to understand the literary output of these writers as, in the words of William Scott, "not concerned so much with realizing acts of communication or transmission […] but with acts of expression of a specific socio-political significance that is not amenable to linguistic

and discursive models of intelligibility" (2005: 38), then we must conclude that Hughes's literary and poetic production during the Spanish Civil War is a wilful act of cultural translation framed within a very specific socio-political context and performed with very specific socio-political purposes. Hughes, like the rest of the writers that travelled to Spain, felt that the only or most effective way in which they could join in what they saw as a global conflict was with the power of words and, consequently, they did not hesitate to apply their own thoughts and convictions to what they were witnessing in Spain and then relate that interpretation back to their previous ideological, cultural and socio-political purposes. In Hughes's own words, "I am a writer, not a fighter. But that is what I want to be, a writer, recording what I see, commenting upon it, and distilling from my own emotions a personal interpretation" (Hughes 1993: 400).

Hughes as a Cultural Translator of Conflict: Applying the American Racial Struggle to the Spanish Civil War and Back

Because Hughes clearly equated the conflict of race in his own homeland with the Spanish Republican cause, his feelings towards African Americans' participation in the Spanish Civil War were complex. He undoubtedly respected those volunteers that chose to fight in the International Brigades, but at the same time, he asked himself what would make an African American risk his life to solve Spanish problems when there were so many (racial) problems still left unsolved back at home (Hughes 1993: 354). Why abandon one conflict to join in another so far from home, so far from the struggle that affected them directly? Many of Hughes's writings during the period approach this issue, and he seems to conclude that fighting fascism was felt to be a moral imperative by those African Americans who identified the fascist ideology rising in Spain as intricately related to the ideology behind segregationist and racist practices taking place in their own homelands. As Isabel Soto points out, "the [Spanish] war presented an opportunity to

oppose, literally to fight against racial othering. That the othering was being practiced by European colonial powers, such as Italy or Spain, rather than upholders of Jim Crow legislation was a false distinction" (2014: 137).

Hughes himself does not refrain from making similar connections in his weekly reports to the Baltimore *Afro-American*: "Give Franco a Hood and he would become a member of the Ku Klux Klan, a kleagle. Fascism is what the Ku Klux Klan will be when it combines with the Liberty League and starts using machine guns and airplanes instead of a few yards of rope" (2002g: 181); or "The captured sniper turned out to be the vice president of the local Falangists, the town's Fascist organization (like our Ku Klux Klan)" (2002f: 188). In another instance, shocked by the very recent death in action of an African-American soldier he had expressly travelled to meet and pass on greetings from his brother whom Hughes had met back at home, he writes: "Milton Herndon had died not only to save another comrade, or another country, Spain, but for all of us in America, as well. You see, he understood the connections between the enemy at home and the enemy in Spain: They are the same enemy" (2002d: 185). Hence the necessity to fight, the necessity to momentarily abandon the struggle against racial problems in the United States and join the Spanish cause, as it was perceived to be the same fight, the same struggle.

Hughes and the African-American International Brigadiers he interviews consciously translate their domestic plights into their Spanish experience, and consequently interpret the latter through that lens. But not only do they transfer their personal cultural and ideological background onto their understanding of their experience in Spain, they—in a true example of translation practice—apply their interpretation of the Spanish events to the problems they left back in their homeland. Thus, a bidirectional motion is established very much like that surrounding the translated text in which traces of both the target and original language's cultures are combined. In this way, target readers can find in a translated text a knowledge of the culture associated with that of its original language inevitably permeated by the translator's personal understanding of that culture, which in turn emanates from his or her

own cultural, economic and social background and coincides with that of the reader. Similarly, Hughes collects several examples of African-American soldiers who believe that what they are experiencing in the Spanish Civil War should be applied to their own situations at home—situations that, at the outset, moved them to join the Spanish conflict and influenced the way they viewed and interpreted it.

However, as mentioned earlier, these African-American soldiers did not limit themselves to translating their previous experiences onto the sphere of the Spanish Civil War; they translate their interpretation of the fight on Spanish soil back into their struggle in America and wish to transfer the same fight there: "Colored college students must realize, too, the connection between the international situation and our problems at home" states one of the interviewees. He continues: "When we see certain things happening in Europe and Asia that may involve America in another world war, then, and only then do we see clearly the need for combating such tendencies at home and abroad" (Hughes 2002b: 195). This opinion resonates clearly in Hughes's poem "Song of Spain" when he writes:

> Workers, make no bombs again
> Except that they be made for us
> To hold and guard
> Lest some Franco steal into our backyard
> Under the guise of a patriot
> Waving a flag and mouthing rot
> And dropping bombs from a Christian steeple
> On the people.
>
> (Hughes 1995e: vv. 63–70)

Whereas the African-American soldier places the responsibility for the struggle in America on coloured college students, Hughes refers in this poem to workers of all races, perhaps in keeping with his Communist inclinations at the time. Just as in the speech for the Second International Writers' Congress he equates the end of fascism with the victory of the "workers of the world," Hughes in "Song of Spain" exhorts the workers of the United States to not make bombs or bomber

planes for fascist use and finishes the poem identifying Spain and its war with the workers' plight: "A workers' world / Is the song of Spain" (Hughes 1995e: vv. 82–83). Moreover, with that union of workers, he seems to imply, will come not only the end of fascism, but the end of racism, as he sees those two concepts as one and the same: "When will we learn to work together like that in America?" he asks himself. "In Spain now the Internationals of all races stand against Fascism and its barbarous theories of white supremacy and working-class oppression. When the black and white workers of America learn to stand together in the same fashion, no oppressive forces in the world can hurt them" (2002a: 187). In wishing this joining of forces of peoples of all races against the oppression that he witnesses in Spain to be transferred to America in the fight against racism, Hughes is effectively transferring one situation onto another, thus actively embarking on a process of notional, if not linguistic, translation.

Black Faces on the Opposite Side: An Ideological and Linguistic Breach in Hughes's Act of Cultural Translation

Yet the coloured people were not only in the International Brigades; Hughes finds, much to his surprise and outrage, that Franco's troops are also utilizing black soldiers. Consequently, he writes extensively about what is, to his mind, a blatant oxymoron. As Luis Girón argues

> Hughes presents the [Spanish] war as an allegorical as well as historical conflict; he tends to equate the ideological struggle between democracy and fascism as a conflict between good and evil, (…) [he] was disturbed by the one component that did not fit into this neat arrangement of opposites: the North African troops serving with Franco's Army. (2005: 97)

The presence of black soldiers in the enemy's lines disrupts Hughes's ideological narrative and notional translation of conflicts and renders moot his argument for transferring to the US the racial unity against a

common enemy he is portraying in Spain. "[U]nfortunately," Hughes writes, "the Moors are shooting the wrong way. In pointing their guns against the workers and farmers of democratic Spain, they are only further aiding the rebel generals to tighten more surely their grip of despotism on Africa as well as on Spain" (Hughes 2002g: 179).

When Hughes visits a hospital in which various wounded prisoners were being treated, he tries to talk to several of these Moors, but finds that most of them cannot speak Spanish, thus linking Hughes's linguistic inability to understand these men with his conceptual struggle to come to terms with the presence of black faces in the opposing forces. If we conceive translation as a process of making the incomprehensible understandable, then here it is failing. Hughes could not understand these wounded soldiers because he was unable to relate either their words or their actions to his own language and ideology.

This encounter is clearly the inspiration for what is (together with "Song of Spain") one of the better-known Hughes poems about the Spanish Civil War: "Letter from Spain." Taking the form of an epistle directed from the Lincoln Battalion of the International Brigades to an unnamed "Brother at home" in Alabama, the poem encapsulates Hughes's and the American soldiers' feelings of despair about fighting other coloured people (Girón 2005: 97). The poem opens with a statement of these sentiments in the poetic voice of the African-American soldier: "We captured a wounded Moor today. / He was just as dark as me. / I said, Boy, what you been doin' here / Fightin' against the free?" (Hughes 1995b: vv. 2–5) and continues by expressing the experience of linguistic and conceptual inability to understand the boy and his role in the conflict: "He answered something in a language / I couldn't understand" (Hughes 1995b: vv. 6–7). According to William Scott, the poem can be understood as embodying "a notion of translation that, from the very start, assumes the ultimate failure of linguistic intelligibility while insisting on the historical iterability, figured here as the material transliteration, of its international object: the dying body of the Moor" (2005: 56).

And yet, more than the linguistic barrier, it is the presence of dark faces among Franco's troops that baffles both Hughes and the poetic voice.

Identifying himself on racial grounds with the wounded Moor on several occasions throughout the poem, the poetic voice reaches some understanding of the situation by explaining that the boy has been *forcefully* conscripted to fight on for the Republicans—an idea that Hughes also mentions repeatedly in his articles—and that "he [the Moor] didn't understand" (Hughes 1995b: 37). Again, this lack of understanding on the part, this time, of the Moor referred to in the poem may be taken to refer both to the linguistic aspect of that Moor's exchange with the soldier and to Hughes's compassion towards these Africans on the grounds of his considering them "ignorant victims of Fascism" (Girón 2005: 98). This same conclusion is also present in one of Hughes's reports about the Spanish Civil War published in the *Volunteer for Liberty* in September 1937. In it, Hughes refers to the African soldiers fighting under Franco's command as the "deluded and driven Moors of North Africa" and positions them "in the company of the professional soldiers of Germany, and the illiterate troops of Italy" (2002e: 156). By pairing the adjective "deluded" with his portrayal of the Italian troops as "illiterate," Hughes seems to be emphasizing a notion of those African soldiers as either slaves or ignorant of the broader (racial) picture that he strives to highlight in his argument. A similar judgment may be extracted from the very few Spanish poems on the Civil War that Hughes chose to translate.

The existence of these translations is not commonly known and it was not until very recently that they were discovered by Evelyn Scaramella. As it transpires from the article in which she explains the discovery, Hughes translated five poems written by Spanish authors and originally appearing in three separate volumes of poetry (Rafael Alberti's *De un momento a otro (Poesía e Historia) 1932–1937*[2] and two compilations of poetry commissioned as propaganda by, respectively, the *Alianza de Intelectuales Antifascistas*[3] and the Spanish Republican ministry for Public Instruction about the Spanish Civil War (*Poetas en la españa leal*[4] and *Romancero de la Guerra Civil*[5]). The translations were presumably done during or shortly after his stay in Spain. These five poems are Rafael Alberti's "*Dialoguillo de la revolución y el poeta*" ["A Little Dialogue Between the Poet and the Revolution"]; José

Moreno Villa's "*Frente*" ["Front"]; "*Lamentación por los muchachos moros, que, engañados, han caído ante Madrid*" ["Lament for the Young Moors"] by Gil Albert; another poem by Alberti, "*El moro fugado*" ["Moorish Deserter"]; and Emilio Prados' "*El moro engañado*" ["The Moor Betrayed"] (Scaramella 2014: 182–184). As the translations were never published, it is impossible to say whether or not they might have had an impact in the US or in Spain. Likewise, it is difficult to know whether the translation of these poems was part of an unfinished project between Alberti and Hughes[6] to publicize and raise awareness for the Loyalist cause beyond Spanish borders during the conflict through an English translation of the three previously mentioned volumes, or if Hughes translated these poems for his own pleasure, or indeed if they were translated with some other intention. What is noteworthy, however, is precisely the poems that were translated. Because only five translations from three separate volumes have been found to date, we may be led to think that Hughes definitely had a hand in choosing the poems he wished to translate or, at the very least, in picking the order in which he wanted to translate them.

This hypothesis becomes more plausible when we notice that, of the five poems, the last three share the same topic of race, as they all deal with the participation of African soldiers under Franco's command that had so baffled Hughes and to which he had dedicated so much attention in his articles and poems on the Spanish Civil War. It is remarkable, moreover, that in two of the Spanish titles for these poems the word *engañado* appears (which translates as "betrayed" or "deceived"), referring to the Moors fighting by Franco's side. Also notable is the fact that in the third, the Moor has deserted Franco's ranks and has surrendered to the Loyalist troops with the cry of "I'm with you, comrades!"[7] (Scaramella 2014: 184). This representation of Moors fighting for the Nationalist forces as either deceived mercenaries or forcefully conscripted innocents is consonant with Hughes's own views, reflected in the poems and articles discussed above, which gives us reason to believe that this is precisely why he felt attracted towards these poems.

Fighting in Spain for Racial Freedom in the US: Bringing the Luggage Back Home

Together with "Letter From Spain," Hughes wrote two more epistolary poems on the Spanish Civil War: "Postcard From Spain" and "Love Letter From Spain." The first poem was originally composed during his time in Spain to be published in the *Volunteer for Liberty*, the journal of the International Brigades. It was republished in the the January 23rd 1938 issue of *The Daily Worker*, along with the other two. All three poems are written in the form of letters sent by Johnny, an African-American soldier fighting in the Lincoln Battalion of the International Brigades, to, respectively, his "Brother" (whether that brother is an actual sibling or an abstraction of all African Americans is open for discussion), his "Folks," and his "Sweetie" down in Alabama.

It is important to point out the fact that Hughes chose as metaphorical addressees for these three poems people living in Alabama, as that is one of the states in which segregation and racism was most acutely felt by African Americans at that time. According to Isabel Soto, these specific addressees extend "the diasporic reach of the war in Spain to the 1861–1865 conflict in a coalitional project that positions itself as a counter-discourse to the racial absolutism sweeping Spain and Europe at the time" (2014: 141). Consequently, all three poems address the Spanish Civil War through a racial lens and apply it back to the domestic American sphere in an attempt to "call for solidarity and internationalist consciousness" (Edwards 2007: 704). Consistent with Hughes's repeated statement that "[i]n Spain there is no color prejudice" (2002e: 156), in "Postcard From Spain" Johnny reflects on the fact that in Spain he is not being discriminated on the grounds of race (as his people are back at home), and expresses his hope that, in the future, there will be those who will be willing to fight for the rights of African Americans in the way that he is fighting now for the people of Spain:

> Folks over here don't treat me
> Like white folks used to do.
> When I was home they treated me

Just like they treatin' you.
I don't think things'll ever
Be like that again:
I done met up with folks
Who'll fight for me now
Like I'm fightin' now for Spain.

(Hughes 1995d: vv. 10–18)

Since Hughes was referred to by his own friend Nicolás Guillén as a poet whose production must be "understood as translation—specifically, as a translation that is the result of Hughes's *observation*, and thus as a translation which is to 'give' his people to be known […] and to be loved as such (Scott 2005: 50, emphasis in the original), this poem is precisely one clear example of Hughes's attempt to translate his people into the Spanish situation by translating the Spanish situation for his people. This poem, therefore, is nothing other than the result of Hughes's observation of his people and recording of opinions during his stay in Spain, and his translation of those opinions and that people in order for them to be known and loved. That Johnny makes such direct reference to the situation of racial oppression back at home and links it to the fight against fascism in Spain situates this poem unequivocally within Hughes's and the interviewed colored soldiers' view of both conflicts as one and the same.

Similarly, in "Love Letter From Spain," when Johnny writes "Fascists is Jim Crow peoples, honey— / And here we shoot 'em down" (Hughes 2011: vv. 21–22), he is expressing in what Isabel Soto calls an "epistemological and an aesthetic positioning" (2014: 140) his pride in fighting fascism, and he equates it with the segregation system back in Alabama and many other states. By physically combating Franco's troops, Johnny feels he is metaphorically fighting the ideology behind racist structures and practices in his own homeland. This same identification runs throughout several other Langston Hughes poems, even those he wrote years after the conflict. In "From Spain To Alabama," for instance, he draws a clear parallel between flamenco—which he previously identified as "the song of Spain" in the poem of the same title written during the conflict—and blues, in order to highlight the fact

that the people's problems in both of the places referred to by those types of music (Spain and Alabama, respectively) were alike:

What is the song of Spain? *Flamenco* is the song of Spain: Gypsies, guitars, dancing Death and love and heartbreak To a heel tap and a swirl of fingers On three strings. *Flamenco* is the song of Spain. (Hughes, "Song Of Spain" vv. 3–10)	Where have the people gone That they do not sing Their *flamencos*? *The people* *Have gone nowhere:* *They still sing* *Their flamencos.* Where have the people gone That they do not sing Their blues? *The people* *Have gone nowhere:* *They still sing* *Their blues.* (Hughes, "From Spain To Alabama")

It is not the first time that Hughes establishes such a direct link between both forms of music as a metaphor for what he perceives to be a parallel between the sufferings of colored people in the US and those of Spanish gypsies (Moreno 2006) or rather, I would argue, all oppressed Spaniards during the Spanish Civil War and the later fascist regime. In *I Wonder as I Wander*, Hughes mentions that he attended a performance of Pastora Pavón ("La Niña de los Peines"),[8] a Spanish flamenco singer famous around the time when Hughes visited the country, and describes his feelings towards the show in the following terms: "I found the strange, high, wild crying of her flamenco in some ways much like the primitive Negro blues of the deep South. The words and music were filled with heartbreak, yet vibrant with resistance to defeat, and hard with the will to savor life in spite of its vicissitudes" (1993: 333). This view of the performance of "this old Girl with the Combs" as "vibrant with resistance to defeat" is in keeping with Hughes's consistent portrayal of the fight in Spain as an undeterred resistance to fascism and oppression as seen in the poems above, and his references to heartbreak and blues highlight his constant translation and identification of that fight with the racial struggle of African Americans.

Likewise, in "Tomorrow's Seed," also written after the conflict, Hughes recaptures Johnny's hope for a better future for African Americans derived from the opposition to fascism on Spanish soil expressed in the 1938 poem "Postcard From Spain," and maintains that the bodies of African-American soldiers "Stuck deep in Spanish earth" will become "Human seed/For freedom's birth" (Hughes 1995f: vv. 19–20), a theme that also resonates through "Negro—International Brigade," another poem on the Spanish Civil War written after the event:

> But had I lived for score and ten
> Life could not've had
> A better end.
> I've given what I wished
> And what I had to give
> That others live.
>
> (Hughes 1995c: vv. 23–28)

Those "others" are clearly the soldier's fellow African Americans at home. Thus, he conceives his sacrifice as not made merely for the people of Spain, but for all peoples of color—precisely all those that Hughes claimed to be writing for.

As we can see, the political, racial and cultural parallels between the Spanish conflict and the situation in the US that Hughes drew from his experience in the Spanish Civil War accompanied him long after he left the country and, upon departure, he was burdened by much more than mere objects and souvenirs. Placed in a position of intermediary between two countries, two cultures and two experiences, Hughes acts as a conduit for the experience of one culture to flow into the understanding of the other and back again, bringing with it traces of the latter on the return trip. Both in his own writings about the Spanish Civil War and in his choice of texts for translation, Hughes embodies the true figure of the translator as mediator, as the agent who connects and relates languages and ways of thinking. This results in a notional if not purely linguistic translation process during which both poles mutually partake of the unavoidable transference that takes place. This is how both translation and literature become truly transnational and transcultural.

Notes

1. Even though the Spanish Civil War started with the Nationalist uprising in Melilla on July 17th 1936 and spread almost immediately throughout the Spanish protectorate in Morocco before transferring to the peninsula the following day, Langston Hughes makes no reference to this, nor does he link it with General Franco's use of Moroccan troops (*regulares*) or Moorish mercenary soldiers in any of his writings about the conflict.
2. *From one moment to another (Poetry and History) 1932–1937*.
3. The *Alianza de Intelectuales Antifascistas* (Alliance of Antifascist Intellectuals) was a Spanish institute founded by Rafael Alberti as a refuge and support for Republican artists and their works—very much in the same way as *The Crisis* was the literary manifestation of the NAACP.
4. *Poets in loyalist Spain*.
5. *Ballads of the Spanish Civil War*.
6. It would not have been the first; Alberti had already asked Hughes to translate Federico García Lorca's *Romancero gitano* into English. Hughes did, and in 1951 the *Gipsy Ballads* were published in the *Beloit Poetry Journal*. He also produced a translation of Lorca's play *Bodas de sangre* (*Blood wedding*).
7. In the original, this verse reads as "*yo estar rojo, camaradas*" (García Luque 1936/1978: v. 21). The fact that García Luque makes the Moor's speech grammatically incorrect (it should be "yo *soy* rojo"), represents once again the linguistic as well as ideological barrier between these Moors and the Loyalist Spaniards that also features in Hughes's writings. In the translation, however, this is lost.
8. Literally "the girl of the combs."

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3

Empathy and Engagement in Translation: Langston Hughes's Versions of Lorca's *Gypsy Ballads*

Andrew Samuel Walsh

Everything that has black sounds has *duende*

Introduction

This chapter will seek to explore the personal empathy and political engagement that initially motivated and subsequently informed the translation of Federico García Lorca's *Romancero Gitano* (*Gypsy Ballads*) by the African-American poet Langston Hughes (1902–1967). He began work on the poems in Madrid in 1937 in the midst of the Spanish Civil War with the assistance and encouragement of the Republican intellectuals Rafael Alberti and Manuel Altolaguirre, and finished with the approval of the poet's brother Francisco García Lorca in New York in 1951. Specifically, I will explore how the pro-Republican Hughes's

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personal empathy with Lorca's representation of the oppressed gypsies of Andalusia echoed his defence of the cause of his own black community in the South of the USA, and how his political engagement with the cause of democracy in Spain, as personified in the protomartyr figure of Lorca, inspired his translation of the text. Just as the *Gypsy Ballads* were conceived as flamenco-inspired, oral poetry which was meant to be read aloud and whose force lay to a great extent in its musicality, Hughes also strongly favoured a demotic, jazz style and spoke of the "syncopated rhythms and Harlem slang of my poems" (Hughes 1956/1993: 290). Lorca's deceptively simple popular ballads of the oppressed, therefore, mirrored Hughes's representation of his own ethnic minority, and his close personal and aesthetic identification with their author was the driving force of his translation.

I will also attempt to reflect how the themes and rhythms of the source text generated a translation which was the consequence of Hughes's profound apprehension of Lorca's stylized ethnopoetics of a mythical Andalusia of downtrodden but dignified gypsies, outcasts from a society that marginalized them under the violent control of the Civil Guard. For Hughes, there were evident parallels with the plight of his black compatriots in the Southern States, where Jim Crow laws on segregation were still in force and officially tolerated lynchings were commonplace. As we shall see, Hughes himself would also expressly draw attention to the common anguish of the poor and oppressed that, like Lorca, he believed was shared by the art forms of gypsies and blacks, flamenco and blues,[1] and the Andalusian tropes and traditional Spanish versification used by Lorca would find their corresponding expression in Hughes's Harlem rhythms and register. Finally, I will highlight the outstanding poetic qualities of Hughes's version through a selective textual analysis of some of the most brilliant translation solutions he proposed and, ultimately, try to provide an answer to the fundamental questions that my examination of these English versions has led me to insistently ask myself: why is this "lost translation" of the *Gypsy Ballads* not much better known? Why did it not have a more profound influence upon Lorca's reception in the English-speaking world? And how can Langston Hughes's *Lorquismo* be understood within the context of the historical memory of the Spanish Civil War?

Background

Although this was not the much-travelled Hughes's first visit to Spain (as a seaman, he had briefly visited Valencia and Alicante), it was his first lengthy spell in a country which had long exerted a fascination over him. In *I Wonder as I Wander*—the second volume of his autobiography, which covered his intense personal experience of the Spanish Civil War—he would declare that "one of my dreams had always been to go to Spain. But at first I was not sure I wanted to go in the midst of a Civil War—with the part that I most wanted to see, Andalusia, in the hands of Franco" (Hughes 1956/1993: 315). Indeed, his knowledge of Spanish was one of the reasons he was sent to cover the Civil War, as he already knew the language well from the time he had spent with his estranged father in Mexico in 1919 and 1920, when he began to read *Don Quixote* in Spanish and translate Mexican short stories. Recalling this formative period in his life, he would declare, "I have an affinity for Latin Americans, and the Spanish language I have always loved" (Hughes 1956/1993: 291). He also states that this was when he became "fascinated by bullfights" and specifically mentions Ignacio Sánchez Mejías "of Lorca's *Five O'Clock in the Afternoon*" (ibid.). Hughes returned to Mexico several times, at one point living with the French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson and the Mexican poet Andrés Henestrosa, as well as frequenting notable Mexican artists such as Diego Rivera. After the Wall Street Crash of 1929, he also travelled to Cuba, where he met and befriended the poet Nicolás Guillén, and also convinced him to adopt the rhythms of his native Camagüey in his own poetry,[2] as exemplified by *Motivos de son*, published to great acclaim in 1930.

In July 1937, Langston Hughes travelled to Paris to participate in the Second International Antifascist Writers Conference, an event which was designed to offer support to the beleaguered Second Spanish Republic and which would also hold sessions in Barcelona, Valencia, and Madrid. Hughes admitted that he was initially loath to abandon the French capital, citing the fact that "Paris was so alive that summer that I regretted having to leave it to fulfil my newspaper assignment in Spain" (Hughes 1956/1993: 320). In fact, the day he left for Spain, accompanied by his friend Nicolás Guillén who was also heading to Madrid as a war

correspondent for a Cuban newspaper, he heard on the radio that several hundred people had been killed by fascist aviation in Barcelona, where he would witness further bombings. Hughes's political engagement with the Spanish conflict had taken root from the very beginning in his homeland, where he had heard of "the Spain that had for more than a year occupied the front pages of the world, the Spain of the huge Madison Square Garden meetings in New York" (Hughes 1956/1993: 326), and had been sent to cover the Civil War as a correspondent for the *Baltimore Afro-American* and other black newspapers in the USA.

The specific task assigned to him was to report on the experience of black American volunteers in the International Brigades, and he particularly wanted to learn about the effect on racial attitudes of the "bringing by Franco of dark troops to Spain from North Africa" (Hughes 1956/1993: 327). In fact, Negritude was a constant in his experience of the Spanish conflict, expressed abundantly in his autobiography and the poetry he wrote there. Hughes was also a poet who habitually employed a demotic style[3] in his own politically infused verses and, inevitably, Lorca's popular ballads inspired by an oppressed ethnic minority resonated with his defence of his own racial identity. Indeed, before coming to Spain, Hughes was already an admirer of flamenco, which from his perspective as a black man born in Missouri bore strong parallels with the traditions of the blues in African-American culture. Like Lorca, he particularly admired *La Niña de los Peines*, and when he discovered she was still singing in Madrid he decided it was time to get his permit validated and head for the front in August 1937. Thus, on his first Sunday in the war-torn capital, he went to see her sing and heard:

> …her voice rising hard and harsh, wild, lonely and bitter-sweet … This plain old woman could make the hair rise on your head, could do to your insides what the moan of an air-raid siren did, could rip your soul case with her voice … I found the strange, high, wild crying of her flamenco in some ways much like the primitive Negro blues of the deep South. The words and music were filled with heartbreak, yet vibrant with resistance to defeat, and hard with the will to savor life in spite of its vicissitudes. (Hughes 1956/1993: 333)

During the five months he spent in the besieged Spanish capital, Hughes stayed at the residence of the Alliance of Antifascist Intellectuals, located in the requisitioned Palace of the Counts of Heredia Spínola[4] (a name that resonates curiously with that of one of Lorca's most notable gypsy protagonists, Antonio Torres Heredia). It was here that he began his translation of the *Gypsy Ballads*, a text whose original version had been published in Madrid by the *Revista de Occidente* in 1928 and had subsequently enjoyed enormous popularity in the Spanish-speaking world. Indeed, in May 1937, in the aftermath of Lorca's murder at the outbreak of the Civil War, Alberti had reissued the poems in an edition published in Barcelona by the *Editorial Nuestro Pueblo* in which he included an elegy entitled "Palabras para Federico." This text was subsequently translated by Hughes as "Words for Federico García Lorca" and published on 11th January 1938 in *New Masses*, a journal closely linked to the American Communist Party. Indeed, it would appear that Alberti personally instigated the translation, even providing Hughes with a copy of his recent re-edition of the book.[5] In his "Translator's Note", Hughes expressly acknowledged the "aid" received from both Alberti and Altolaguirre, as well as other unnamed friends of Lorca. In fact, according to *I Wonder as I Wander*, during the period in which he was translating the *Gypsy Ballads* Hughes also spoke to those who had known the Andalusian poet such as María Teresa León and Arturo Barea, as well as spending time with Hemingway and other pro-Republican foreign intellectuals. In this respect, his version of Lorca's poetry was a notable example of the propagandistic importance afforded to translation by the Republican literary intelligentsia, who actively encouraged and assisted foreign writers in their translation work in the common cause of anti-Fascism. According to Evelyn Scaramella, "Many of the literary activities under Alberti's direction at the Alliance valued the role of translation as a vehicle for social action and change, and recognized translation's power to widely disseminate information about the Republican cause across international borders" (Scaramella 2014: 181).

As stated previously, Langston Hughes began his translation of the *Gypsy Ballads* in 1937, but was unable to finish this version during his time in Madrid, although in 1938 he did publish versions of five of the poems in the aforementioned issue of *New Masses*. Back in the USA, he

became immersed in his own literary projects, until in 1945 his friend the Mexican painter and antifascist activist Miguel Covarrubias[6] helped him to revise the poems in New York. Nevertheless, the following year this translation was rejected with little explanation[7] by Hughes's habitual publisher Alfred Knopf, where he had published his best-known collections of poetry such as *The Weary Blues* and *Fine Clothes to the Jew*. In 1951, Robert Glauber of the *Beloit Poetry Journal* (BPJ) proposed the publication of a thousand copies of the translation in chapbook form, a proposal which according to Arnold Rampersad "gratified" him and which he "quickly endorsed".[8] On 7th June of that year, Hughes spent several hours at the New York home of Francisco García Lorca, who helped him to revise the translation and approved the publication of these versions of his brother's poetry. Hughes dated his final version of the translation on 10th June 1951 and in the autumn of that year he published fifteen of the eighteen poems that make up the original text[9] in volume 2, number 1 of the *BPJ*, with the title of *Gypsy Ballads by Federico García Lorca*.

Impact

Unfortunately, as Hughes's translation only appeared as a chapbook edition of a recently created academic poetry journal (the BPJ had only been founded in 1950) and was not released and promoted by a major US publisher such as Knopf (perhaps due to the racial prejudice suggested by Rampersad), its diffusion was necessarily limited until the advent of the Internet era, which has now made it freely available online. It was also curiously omitted from the *Collected Works of Langston Hughes*, which contained a volume (Vol. 16) published in 2003 that was entirely devoted to his translations, among which we can find his version of Lorca's *Bodas de Sangre* (1933)[10] and other translations of authors such as Nicolás Guillén and Jacques Roumain.[11] Nevertheless, his *Gypsy Ballads* were strangely absent and, inevitably, this was one more factor that has contributed to making it something of a "lost translation".[12] In terms of the very scarce availability of this version before the modern

period, one of the most perceptive scholars of Lorca's reception in the English-speaking world, Jonathan Mayhew, has stated that literary history could have been different if these *Gypsy Ballads* had been released by a major New York publisher in the mid-1940s and that, consequently, "Langston Hughes has remained a largely forgotten link in the history of North American Lorquismo" (Mayhew 2009: 58).

Frustratingly, therefore, Lorca's reception in the English-speaking world in general, and in the USA in particular, owed more to translations of inferior poetic quality to Hughes's version, which somewhat slipped under the wire due to the chronological coincidence of other translations. In 1952, Roy Campbell published his extremely tendentious[13] volume of translation and criticism entitled *Lorca: An Appreciation of His Poetry* (Yale University Press), and in 1953 Rolfe Humphries also released his version of the *Gypsy Ballads* (Indiana University Press), a text which contained ten of the versions that had already appeared in his 1940 translation and the *editio princeps* of the *Poet in New York* and on which he had been working since as early as 1936. Both of these editions were favourably reviewed in the *New York Times*,[14] unlike Hughes's version, although the same newspaper did publish his translation of "Reyerta" ("Brawl") on 22nd June 1952. Indeed, to further compound the relative obscurity that would be the fate of Hughes's 1951 version of the *Gypsy Ballads*, the *Selected Poems of Federico García Lorca*, published in 1955 and edited by Francisco García Lorca and the renowned poetry publisher Donald M. Allen, included only one of his translations ("Ballad of One Doomed to Die"), and instead opted for a preponderance of versions by Spender and Gili. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that the mid-1950s were the apex of the Beat Generation's surrealism-tinged reading of Lorca (i.e. Ben Belitt's seminal 1955 translation of *Poet in New York*) and perhaps this was not the most propitious period for the reception either of his Andalusian ballads, or Hughes's vernacular version thereof. In summary, the impact of Hughes's 1951 version of the *Gypsy Ballads* was necessarily limited due to both the reduced circulation and the absence of influential reviews of this translation and also to the Beat Generation's strong preference for 'surrealist' rather than 'Andalusian' Lorca.[15]

Personal Empathy: Blacks, Gypsies and Other Outsiders

Some modern critics have suggested that Langston Hughes was a closeted gay man, and his poetry and particularly his memoirs do indeed bear testimony to his appreciation of the physical beauty of other men in general and young black men in particular. Intimations of this troubled gay sensibility can be found in a poem written in the 1950s entitled "Café: 3 a.m.", which contains an unusually early defence of heterodox sexual orientation ("fairies. / *Degenerates* some folks say. But God, Nature, / or somebody made them that way") and in certain references made in the first volume of his autobiography (*The Big Sea*) to the homosexual demi-monde of New York, such as his recollection of a highly camp ball which he attended in Harlem in the late 1920s along with the "male masqueraders of the eastern seaboard" and the "former queens of the ball."[16] If Hughes was indeed a repressed homosexual, he must have realized the truth about Lorca's troubled sexuality, and Antonio F. Calvo considered that what Hughes responded to profoundly in Lorca and shared was the "expression of impossible longings" (Calvo 2007: 163) and the "experience of hiding" (ibid.: 155) these feelings. Indeed, some Hispanists have even stated that the pair met and became friends in Harlem in 1929.[17] However, it seems implausible that, if Langston Hughes did actually "squire Lorca around Harlem," neither poet would ever explicitly mention this acquaintance in their texts, particularly so in the case of Hughes, who published two extensive volumes of autobiography which chronicled in great detail his Harlem years and his relationship with Spain and Spanish literature, including express references to his translation of the *Gypsy Ballads*. If Lorca and Hughes did meet and become friends, perhaps the only possible explanation for why both would neglect to mention this would be that this hypothetical friendship would have been of a nature that neither cared to publicize. In this sense, it is pertinent to ask ourselves to what extent the latent homoeroticism of a poem such as "San Miguel" was brought to the fore by this translation at a time when Lorca's status as the quintessential Republican martyr was not allowed to be "tainted"

by scurrilous allusions to what was then his thoroughly taboo homosexuality.[18] In fact, as we will see in the forthcoming textual analysis, Hughes actually rather undertranslated Lorca's references to the effeminate beauty of the patron saint of the Albaicín.

Undoubtedly, Lorca's defence of outsiders was crucial to the personal, political and aesthetic identification with the *Gypsy Ballads* of Langston Hughes, who on reading the poems instinctively equated the plight of the gypsy poor of Andalusia with that of the blacks of the South of the USA, just as Lorca established the same poetic analogy in his New York cycle of poems. Regarding these latter compositions, it seems extremely curious that Hughes did not translate or even comment upon *Poet in New York*, which was presumably much closer to home and of which he may also have been one of the background characters in the Andalusian poet's stylized portrayal of Harlem. The shared affinity of Lorca and Hughes with the poetry of the outsider, whether they were gay, black or gypsy (and Hughes himself composed his own "gypsy" poems)[19] might nowadays be accused of being an egregious example of cultural appropriation or even romantic racism, although this seems to me to be a clear case of misconstructing the past through the cultural parameters of the present.[20] Indeed, the renewed interest in Lorca's life and work must be understood within the context of the historical memory movement in contemporary Spain, and Langton Hughes's involvement with both the Spanish conflict and his association with the memory of Lorca in the English-speaking world[21] are inextricably linked to this continued fascination with Lorca by both academic and non-academic readers.

Political Engagement

Langston Hughes's political commitment to the causes of anti-Fascism and democracy in Spain was at the root of his translation of the text with the active support and encouragement of the Communist intellectuals Rafael Alberti and Manuel Altolaguirre. Although he was never a member of the Communist Party, as he would declare in 1953 to Senator Joseph McCarthy's infamous "Anti-American Activities Commission", he was frequently accused of being a Leftist and was consequently

boycotted by the American Right throughout the 1940s and early 1950s. After this point, Hughes distanced himself somewhat from consciously left-wing positions and by the time his *Selected Poems* was first published in 1959, he had considerably revised his political views and had gone from signing a manifesto in support of Stalin's purges in 1938 to eliminating his more radically socialist verses from this anthology. Like Lorca, Hughes was a somewhat reluctant fellow traveller and was also unable (and unwilling) to toe the party line, as demonstrated by his recollection of an answer he gave to his friend Arthur Koestler when the then Communist author asked him why he had not joined the Party: "I did not believe political directives could be applied to creative writing" (Hughes 1956/1993: 122). Similarly, Lorca had been pressured by Alberti and María Teresa León to join, or at least publicly support, the Spanish Communist Party, and had consistently refused to do so (Gibson 2016: 656). Both poets evidently held progressive social views and each had taken a public stand in defence of the reforms made by the Second Republic, but neither was cut out to be a card-carrying member of any political party and instead valued their creative freedom over the doctrinaire constraints imposed by membership of such an organization. What united them was a common concern for social justice and an innate empathy with the outsider, a view of the world that Lorca once famously explained with reference to his own origins: "I believe that being from Granada leads me to understand and empathize with those who are persecuted. With Gypsies, Blacks, Jews … with the Moorish exile that we all have inside us" (*Obras Completas*, III: 503).[22]

Translatability

Lorca is much more than just another foreign poet, and instead is habitually categorized and therefore limited to the status of a quintessentially national poet by Spaniards and non-Spaniards alike. In this sense, it is worth remembering that the author of the doggedly clichéd Introduction to Hughes's 1951 translation, Robert H. Glauber,[23] constantly stressed the ethnocentrism and national exceptionalism

of Lorca's poetry and felt it necessary to draw the readers' attention to "the principal preoccupations and symbols of Spanish life", which were deemed to be "death and sex" (Glauber 1951: 2). Glauber was also prone to a rather superficial and frivolous conflation of the gypsy and Lorca's homeland, declaring that "the poems caught so much of the gypsy spirit, that is to say the essential spirit of Spain" (2). Essentially, his Introduction endeavoured to set the tone for the promised exoticism to come by establishing Lorca as the symbol of all things Spanish and as one of those writers who "completely project their society":

> He is the crystallization of all the cross currents which went into the molding of Spain … Lorca's literary output is a microcosm of Spanish history, thought and behavior. He was an observer whose ethnic instincts were developed to a prodigious degree. In him, the Spanish racial memory found its perfect spokesman. (Glauber 1951: 1)

Indeed, Lorca's imagery has reached such a level of identification with his native country that in the immediate aftermath of the 1981 coup d'état, *Time* magazine referred to Tejero and his fellow Civil Guards who opened fire in the Spanish Parliament as having "patent leather souls" a direct translation of the "*almas de charol*" mentioned by Lorca in his controversial "Ballad of the Spanish Civil Guard." Such is the supposedly impenetrable Spanish nature of his work, that many translators have felt the need to issue a cautionary note acknowledging its otherness and recognizing the extreme difficulty of finding an appropriate register in English translation. Nevertheless, although Lorca is traditionally considered to be profoundly antithetical to English-speaking culture, inherently exotic and distant,[24] it would seem that Langston Hughes felt and responded to something in the *Gypsy Ballads* that did not seem so remote to a black man from the land of blues and colour lines, a poet whose own "ethnic instincts" were also prodigiously developed.

The *Gypsy Ballads* undoubtedly contain some of the most famous and frequently quoted verses in the history of Spanish literature and few works of poetry have been so widely retranslated. Any translation

of this text is also profoundly conditioned by the vital importance of the Spanish "romance" form used in the original text, a popular style of versification which was later used by many of the Spanish Civil War poets to connect with the common people, just as Langston Hughes did in his own jazz—and blues-inflected compositions addressed to the black community, such as "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," with its Lorquian evocation of the flowing of millennial waters. The powerful rhythm of the *Gypsy Ballads* is characterized by Lorca's use of octosyllabic assonant couplets with alternate rhyme in which the penultimate syllable is stressed. Assonance can of course be achieved in English poetry, although the much broader range of vowel sounds in English will inevitably lead to a loss of sonority and rhythmic equivalence in comparison to the original text. Furthermore, the strong rhythms and musicality of these poems, based on Lorca's intense internal repetitions, represent a major and potentially insurmountable challenge for translators. Nevertheless, Hughes's version of the *Gypsy Ballads* manages to sound like poetry—not translationese—and the rhythmic equivalence he achieves is far superior to the attempts of other translators, such as Rolfe Humphries or Carl W. Cobb, to render the poems in English ballad stanzas, a strategy that led them to a rather unwieldy, clunky effect.

Inevitably, Lorca's marked rhythms and intense repetitions are impossible to ignore for any English language translator, and here Langston Hughes excels in the elegant and memorable poetic solutions he offers. This is despite the disparaging comments made by Cobb, which rather smack of latent rivalry and what would now seem to us to be a quite distasteful racial paternalism.[25] In addition to frequently maintaining a close rhythmic equivalence, Hughes also retains a strong element of fidelity in his translations whilst managing to make some quite brilliant lexical choices in order to achieve a sonority that confers poetic quality on his versions. He was also particularly successful at finding a dynamic vernacular equivalence for the world of gypsies, as seen in his convincing rendering of the poem "Reyerta" as a "Brawl," in which we find "black angels" and the afternoon "crazed with hot rumors and fig trees", or his use of "Kid Gabriel of my dreams!" to translate the intensely Andalusian sigh of "¡Gabrielillo de mi vida!". Hughes truly heard and recreated Lorca's rhythms in his

own African-American forms of expression in verses such as "It must be those folks / there polishing copper" or "Mother, when I die, / let everybody know. / Send blue telegrams / North and South" from "Muerto de amor" or the convincingly colloquial references to "gypsy crones" and "drowsy nags" in the "Ballad of the Spanish Civil Guard." Violence and heterosexuality are also brought to the fore in his translation, and the rapid flow of striking images is successfully rendered into English, leading Mayhew to declare that "*The Gypsy Ballads* has to be included among the best poetry that Hughes wrote" and that his Lorca translation "must be considered a significant work of American poetry at mid-century" (Mayhew 2009: 57).

Textual Examples

I believe that Langston Hughes's versions of Lorca's *Gypsy Ballads* have **five outstanding translation strategies** which I will now define and support with selected textual examples. Firstly, he is particularly proficient at attaining **dynamic equivalence**, a translation strategy that renders the poems in a natural register in the target language, and Hughes's version is characterized by the vernacular, African-American style he employs such as "Old Saint Christopher, naked as a bird" to translate "*San Cristobalón desnudo*" from "Preciosa and the Air", or "Handsome reed of a boy" to render '*Un bello niño de junco*' from "San Gabriel (Seville)". Hughes also makes frequent use of **intensification** of the original imagery, particularly in the case of the latent sexuality of many of Lorca's ballads—examples include "The stud-wind" for "*El viento-hombrón*" from "Preciosa and the Air," and "Forty Civil Guards / burst through them like a storm" (*Cuarenta guardias civiles / entran a saco por ellas*) from "Ballad of the Spanish Civil Guard". His poetic ear for the possibilities of **alliteration** is also strongly present throughout the translation, particularly in his version of one of Lorca's most celebrated erotic poems "The Faithless Wife," in which we can read that "Her thighs slipped from me / like frightened fish" (*sus muslos se me escapaban / come peces sorprendidos*) and "Soiled with kisses and sand" (*Sucia de besos y arena*), in addition to "Slippery blood sings / a

silent song of serpents" (*sangre resbalada gime / muda canción de serpiente*) from "Brawl," "The sea scowls up its roar" (*Frunce su rumor el mar*) from "Preciosa and the Air," "Loosely luscious ladies pass / eating sunflower seeds"[26] (*Vienen manolas comiendo / semillas de girasoles*), "His vestments[27] encrusted / with spangles and sequins" (*con las enaguas cuajadas / de espejitos y entredoses*) from "San Miguel (Granada)," and "the Civil Guard advances sowing sparks" (*la Guardia Civil avanza sembrando hogueras*) from the "Ballad of the Spanish Civil Guard." Hughes was clearly not afraid of changing word order when necessary and introducing some **creative addition**, and thus we can find "his oily blue curls" (*sus empavonados bucles*) and "star-drops of saliva" (*salivilla de estrellas*) from "Ballad of the Spanish Civil Guard." Finally, we can also highlight how Hughes was extremely successful at finding a **close rhythmic equivalence** for Lorca's intense internal repetitions, i.e. the closest possible reproduction of the original rhythms of the source text in the target version. This strategy can be appreciated in such metrically sensitive translations as "Sorrow of the hidden river / and the far-off dawn" (*¡Oh pena de cauce oculto / y madrugada remota!*) from "The Faithless Wife," "the fish that gilds the water / and puts the marble in mourning" (*el pez que dora el agua / y los mármoles enluta*) from "San Rafael (Córdova)," "dark as a copper-green moon" (*moreno de verde luna*) from "Arrest of Antoñito el Camborio on the Road to Seville," and "When the night came / that nightly comes nightly" (*Cuando llegaba la noche / noche que noche nochera*) from "Ballad of the Spanish Civil Guard."

Conclusions

In summary, I believe that it is high time that we recovered this extraordinary poetic encounter between two kindred spirits and, in my opinion, this would best be served by a new critical edition of the translation. As we have seen, the vicissitudes of publishing house policies in the 1940s conspired to condemn Langston Hughes's version of the *Gypsy Ballads* to an undeserved relative anonymity and this literary ostracism meant that these translations went largely unread by his peers, despite their immense poetic quality. In my opinion, the reclaiming and reading

of these versions is long overdue and they need to be rediscovered from the perspective of the personal empathy and the political engagement that led Langston Hughes to translate Lorca's poetry. The version of the *Gypsy Ballads* which Hughes began in 1937 represents a paradigm of the important role played by translation in defending the Spanish Republican cause abroad, but his translation was much more than a complex linguistic and cultural transmission. It was essentially a labour of love which spanned three decades and two continents and whose Harlem rhythms and register expressed his close personal identification with the work of a poet whose aesthetics and ideals were so close to his own. The fact that he worked for so long and with such determination and perfectionism on these translations would suggest that he felt the need to transmit his own historical memory of the Spanish conflict and of how Lorca's ballads of the poor and oppressed of Spain reflected the suffering of African-Americans in the USA at that time.

In 1951, while he was revising his translation in New York with the help of Francisco García Lorca, Langston Hughes was struck once more by the beauty of these poems which had impressed him so deeply fourteen years earlier in Madrid and whose "*duende*" he had sought to reproduce through his own black sounds, as Lorca had intimated. In a letter he wrote during this period to his friend and fellow Harlem Renaissance poet Arna Bontemps, Hughes would sum up his relationship with Lorca's *Gypsy Ballads* in a few simple words that modestly neglect to mention the corresponding beauty of his own translations: "*The poems are really beautiful. Wish I had written them myself, not just translated them*."

Notes

1. In a letter written to his parents from New York on 14th July 1929, Lorca spoke of a party he had recently attended in Harlem in which "*Los negros cantaron y danzaron. ¡Pero qué maravilla de cantos! Sólo se puede comparar con ellos nuestro cante jondo*." [The blacks sang and danced. What marvellous songs! They are only comparable to the 'deep song' of flamenco.] (*Epistolario Completo* 1997: 626). My translation.
2. According to his biographer Arnold Rampersad, "For the first time as Hughes had urged him to do, Guillén had used the *son* dance

rhythms to capture the moods and features of the black Havana poor" (Rampersad 2002a: 181).

3. Some black members of the International Brigades objected to his use of substandard English, believing that it perpetuated a negative stereotype of African-Americans. See *IWAIW* 318.
4. Hughes ironically noted that it was "the former home of a rebel marquis whose family fortune was derived from the slave trade in the days of the Spanish Main" (*IWAIW* 334).
5. Hughes's annotated copy of this edition is now kept among his papers in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Collection at Yale University.
6. Covarrubias had also illustrated the covers of many key Harlem Renaissance texts such as Hughes's *The Weary Blues*.
7. "Alfred A. Knopf himself, advised by a senior editor, flatly rejected the Lorca book without offering much of an explanation … His curt rejection of the Lorca book was telling. In spite of Knopf's continuing association with Hughes, the firm almost certainly regarded a translation of Lorca as out of his depth… to some extent – and Langston certainly felt so in spite of his smiling stoicism – this attitude was racist and patronizing" (Rampersad 2002b: 119–120).
8. Rampersad (2002b: 193).
9. Hughes did not translate the three "historical ballads" that appear at the end of the original text: "El Martirio de Santa Olalla," "Burla de Don Pedro a caballo," and "Thamar y Amnón."
10. This translation, which was originally titled *Fate at the Wedding*, was begun in Paris in 1938 and then left untouched and unperformed in manuscript form until 1984. Significantly, Hughes also made notable use of African-American vernacular expression in this version.
11. For a detailed study of Langston Hughes's work as a translator, see Kutzinski (2012).
12. The *BPJ* informed me that they never retain copyright of the work they publish—only American serial rights, and then copyright reverts back to the poet. When I contacted Simon and Schuster, the New York literary agency still responsible for the Langston Hughes estate, they had no knowledge of this translation and when asked to check this reference they confused it with the 1953 edition by Rolfe Humphries.
13. Among numerous highly questionable assertions that formed part of his attempt to perform a right-wing reappropriation of Lorca's historical memory, Campbell offers the following extraordinary exegesis of the

"Ballad of the Spanish Civil Guard": "Lorca parodies the self-righteous hatred of gipsies [sic] for Civil Guards in this poem… At least half of the itinerant gipsies … were wiped out by the communists … and the gipsies must have missed the Civil Guard badly in the long run" (Campbell 1952: 58).

14. Campbell's book was reviewed on 21st December 1952 and Humphries's version of the *Gypsy Ballads* on 14th June 1953.
15. For more information on the changing reception of Lorca through English translation, see Walsh (2017).
16. "For the men, there is a fashion parade. Prizes are given to the most gorgeously gowned of the whites and Negroes … these men look for all the world like pretty chorus girls" (Hughes 1993: 273).
17. Isabel Soto quotes Richard Barksdale's biography of Langston Hughes in which Barksdale refers to Lorca as "a friend and fellow poet" of Hughes and also provides a quote from the Harlem Renaissance artist Romare Bearden which unequivocally states that the two poets were friends: "Lorca was studying at Columbia, and he was very friendly with Langston Hughes. I met him with Langston because Harlem was so small that when you gave a party everybody knew it, and Lorca, Federico García Lorca, was a friend of Langston's and Langston squired him around Harlem" (Soto 2000: 129).
18. When Luis Cernuda's elegy for Lorca, "Elegía a un poeta muerto," was published in the Republican journal *Hora de España* in June 1937, the text had been notably modified to remove homoerotic allusions such as the reference to the "radiantes mancebos / Que en vivo tanto amaste" (the radiant young men that you loved so much when you were alive).
19. Hughes was the author of poems entitled "Ballad of the Gypsy," "Gypsy Man," and "Gypsies," in which he wrote the following truly Lorquian verses: "The gypsies' skins are olive-dark / The gypsies' eyes are black fire."
20. In this sense, it seems fair to remember the considerable influence that Lorca's poetry has exerted over other notable African-American poets such as Leroi Jones (later known as Amiri Baraka) and Bob Kaufman, who most certainly did not consider him to be guilty of any form of cultural appropriation or racially patronizing condescension towards the blacks of New York. For more information on this question, see Mayhew (2009: 33–41).
21. For further analysis of this question, see Diteman (2015).
22. My translation.

23. Glauber, along with Chad Walsh, was the cofounder of the *BPJ* and had no ostensible acquaintance with Spanish literature.
24. In the Introduction to their 1992 volume of Lorca translations, Sandra Forman and Allen Josephs stated that "it is difficult to find a great artist more radically divergent from our own cultural norms than Lorca" (5).
25. In his 1983 translation of the *Gypsy Ballads*, Cobb made the following assessment of Hughes's version: "The first translator to attempt the major ballads of the *Romancero Gitano* was the American Negro poet Langston Hughes … His translation seems deliberately formless; the phrasing is wooden, and the choice of vocabulary apparently was not given proper consideration. Published in the *BPJ* in 1951, it has fortunately remained somewhat inaccessible" (Cobb 1983: x).
26. Mayhew also highlights this example in his praise of Hughes's translation (2009: 57).
27. The term "vestments" sounds rather ecclesiastical and clearly dilutes the feminine and unequivocally homoerotic allusion inherent to Saint Michael's "*enaguas*," which would literally mean "petticoat". In what was perhaps another avoidance strategy, Hughes translated the notably homoerotic "*efebo*" as "youth" rather than a closer equivalent such as "Adonis". It is worth remembering in this sense that the final version of the translation was to some extent supervised by Francisco García Lorca, who was always reluctant to countenance any suggestion of his brother's homosexuality.

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Part III

Interpreters and the Spanish Conflict

4

Translating for the Legions of Babel: Spain 1936–1938

Marcos Rodríguez-Espinosa

To the Memory of José Espinosa Guerrero

Introduction

The International Brigades were a multinational armed force of 35,000 soldiers who, from late summer 1936, fought on the Loyalist side in the Spanish Civil War. They were mobilized from more than fifty different countries to support the Republican militia, assembled by unions

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and political parties to resist the military insurrection organized under General Franco, which very soon relied on the financial support of Mussolini and Hitler. Although the Loyalist Generals Vicente Rojo (2010: 471) and Enrique Líster (1977: 318) claim that the relevance of the Brigades to the outcome of a number of battles was exaggerated by propaganda, the Internationals filled, to various extents, the gap left by insurrectionists in the professional Spanish army until the Republic could rearticulate its own forces.

Conservative historians (De la Cierva 1973; Vidal 1998; Moa 2003) usually depict the International Brigades as a secret Red Army organized by the Communist International from Moscow. Kowalsky (2004a: 93–120) argues that they were part of a plan devised by Stalin to link the Spanish cause with the Soviet Union's purpose to create an alliance with the West against Hitler. McLellan (2004: 28) and Graham (2005: 122) both acknowledge communist activism as a driving force behind the Internationals, although they prefer to depict them as an army of exiles leading the first antifascist resistance movement in Europe. In canonical histories of the Spanish Civil War, translators and interpreters have, more often than not, been invisible or merely peripheral to other more central figures. Thomas (1961/2003: 233) and Alpert (2004: 210) briefly allude to the Soviet translators who arrived in Spain in late 1936, while Preston (2006: 251) mentions Loyalist minister Alvarez del Vayo as "the most elevated interpreter imaginable," on the occasion of the official visit of the Russian ambassador to the Spanish premier Largo Caballero; Beevor identifies translator Constancia de la Mora as "the wife of the communist commander of the Republican air force, Hidalgo de Cisneros" (2006: 183).

On the other hand, Johnston (1967), Skoutelsky (2006), Baxell (2012) and other International Brigade scholars have acknowledged the cardinal importance of translators and interpreters in organizing a contingent of volunteers whose diverse linguistic, cultural and ideological backgrounds could lead to confusion, chaos and defeat, while authors such as Zaro (1997), Kowalsky (2004b), Aizpuru (2009), Baigorri (2012), and Rodríguez-Espinosa (2016) have discussed the role of translators in the Spanish conflict with special reference to the translation of Spanish combat literature, the performance of Soviet military linguists,

civil White Russians and Spanish interpreters, and the ideological constraints underlying their duties.

Drawing on previous work on translation and conflict (Salama-Carr 2007; Baker 2010; Inghilleri 2010; Foottit 2012; Ruiz and Persaud 2016), historical accounts of diverse aspects of the Spanish Civil War (Alcofar 1973; Núñez Díaz-Balart 2004, 2006; Preston 2009; Juárez 2009; Stewart and Majada 2014), monographic studies on the International Brigades (Johnston 1967; Castells 1973; Baxell 2004, 2012; Skoutelsky 2006; Eby 2007), memoirs and narratives of foreign Civil War veterans (Regler 1940/2012, 1959; Landis 1967; Gurney 1974; Monks 1985; Merriman and Lerude 1986; Fisher 1999; Wintringham 2009; Orwell 1938/2010), and autobiographies by International Brigade translators (Eisner 1972; Szurek 1989; Renn 1956/2016), I will trace underexplored aspects of the role of translators and interpreters in the International Brigades, with a special focus on the search for translators and a common language; the multilingual publications edited by the battalions; their performance of their duties in the warzone, and the impact of the translators' ideology in a politically complex scenario.

The Search for Translators and a Common Language

An underground network following orders from the Comintern would dispatch the foreign volunteers across the Spanish border once they had been recruited at the headquarters of the French Communist Part, on Rue de Lafayette, and at the Maison des Syndicats, the trade union offices in Place du Combat, in the heart of the "Red" arrondissements in Paris. Many of them then spent some time at the garrison town of Figueres, or travelled to Barcelona, Valencia, or Madrid. Their journey came to an end in Albacete, the International Brigades' military base, where they were usually welcomed by their commander-in-chief, André Marty, whose speeches warned the recruits about the dangers of a lack of military and political discipline. Ludwig Renn, pseudonym of novelist Arnold Vieth von Golßenau, commander of the Thälmann

Battalion, recalls the shortage of officers and weapons, as well as the linguistic chaos which arose from having to transmit orders in different languages. Marty initially ignored this Babel-like confusion and refused to organize the troops by country, as he maintained that it was the mixing of nationalities that created an authentic international solidarity (Eby 2007: 144; Renn 1956/2016: 214), but from November 1936, and after the first defeats in Madrid, this idea of mixed international units was abandoned and the brigadiers were grouped into battalions according to their nationalities.

The 11th International Brigade, under the command of Romanian General Emil Kléber, was initially made up of the Commune de Paris Battalion (French and Belgians), the Edgar André Battalion (Austrians and Germans), the Dabrowski Battalion (Poles and Balkans), and the Garibaldi Battalion (Italians); the 12th Brigade, commanded by Hungarian Paul Lukács, consisted of the André Marty Battalion (French and Belgians), the Dabrowski Battalion (Poles and Balkans), and the Thälmann Battalion (Austrians and Germans); the 13th International Brigade, one of whose chief commanders was German Wilhelm Zaisser, was composed of the two Louise Michel Battalions (French and Belgians), the Chapayev Battalion or the 21 Nations Battalion (Poles, Hungarians and Balkans), the Henri Vuillemin Battalion (French and Belgians) and the Palafox Battalion (Poles and Jews); the 14th International Brigade, consisting mainly of French soldiers under the command of the Polish General 'Walter', was divided into the La Marseillaise Battalion, the Henri Barbusse Battalion, the Pierre Brachet Battalion and the Baillant-Couturier Battalion; and the 15th International Brigade, under the command of General Gal, consisted of the British Battalion, the Abraham Lincoln Battalion (mainly volunteers from the United States of America), the Dimitrov Battalion (Balkans), the Six Février Battalion (French and Belgians), the 24th Battalion (Cubans) and the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion (Canadians).[1] The nationalities within the Brigades would eventually vary throughout the Civil War, mainly due to the high number of casualties or to internal conflicts, as was the case of the Irish combatants who joined the North American Lincolns after abandoning the British Battalion, some of

whose officers were accused of having participated in the assassination of Sinn Féin members in 1921 in Ireland (Baxell 2012: 133).

At the headquarters in Albacete, a complex administrative system was soon created practically from scratch, made up of qualified specialists in different fields, such as secretaries, telegraphists, stenographers, cartographers, mechanics, drivers, nurses, doctors, and military experts who were needed at the bases or in the units. Among them, the translators, interpreters or people who spoke foreign languages were scarce and of crucial relevance. As Salama-Carr notes (2007: 2), they would operate within networks of strict power relationships, under ideological constraints, in conditions of political unrest and censorship.[2] French was initially the official language of the Brigades, while in certain units German gradually took over and a knowledge of Russian became essential to communicate with the Soviet military advisors. These 'universal' soldiers ended up speaking a kind of argot made up of words from different languages: *bono*, for instance, meant "yes" or "ok"; *no bono*, "no", or "bad"; and *saluqui* was used for *salud*, a way of saying "good-bye" in Spanish in the Republican zone (Skoutelsky 2006: 84; Castells 1973: 89).

Constancia de la Mora, Chief of the Foreign Press and Propaganda Office of the Loyalist government, and Lise Ricol, interpreter for André Marty, were two of the first linguists to perform their duties in the units in the early stages of the conflict (Beevor 2006: 181), but their role still did not match that of the typical military interpreters, whom Ruiz and Persaud (2016: 16) describe as members of the army, enlisted or conscripted, who are called on at every stage of a conflict. However, the pressing need for linguistic coordination between the battalions soon made those interpreters selected from among the polyglot officers indispensable among the higher ranks, with a capacity to combine their military assignments and their translating skills. Joseph Dallet, the political commissar of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, and Italian Vincenzo Bianco (Krieger), head of the 13th Brigade were praised by General Walter because of their ability to command troops in several languages. Volunteers of Jewish origin who spoke Yiddish as a lingua franca in the Polish Dabrowski Brigade also acted as translators because of their knowledge of languages and the ease with which

they could learn Spanish. English novelist George Orwell (1938/2010: 23), who joined the militia of the Workers' Party of Marxist Unification (POUM), recalls officer Levinski, a Polish Jew who spoke French as his native language; and Alexander Szurek (1989: 129), the translator for General Lukács in the 12th International Brigade, mentions captain David Kamy, a White Russian exiled in Europe, who was appointed assistant to Colonel Vladimir Ćopić because he could speak in Russian, Arabic, Hebrew, Spanish and Yiddish.

In April 1937, Loyalist premier Largo Caballero, who had long sought to diminish the power of the International Brigades' war commissars, signed a decree according to which the Internationals were to replace the Spanish Foreign Legion, which had fought for the rebels since the early weeks of the *coup d'etat*. From then on, the International Brigades were to be subject to the same code of military justice as the rest of the Republican units. Due to the large number of casualties suffered by the Internationals, the number of Spaniards who joined the Brigades increased, and thus Spanish was adopted as the official language, and foreign soldiers were encouraged to learn it in order to improve communication and avoid misunderstandings. Irish brigadier Joe Monks (1985) recalls one such misunderstanding when his comrade Renart lifted his companion Neville's rifle barrel just in time to save the life of a Spanish boy who was shouting "Villa Franca!"—the name of a village—when Neville thought he had been hailing "Viva Franco!"

The Spanish soldiers were astonished by the variety of languages spoken by the Internationals. They felt a special attraction for the Americans, whose culture some of the local recruits felt familiar with, having seen Hollywood movies which portrayed a society with customs, food and sports completely different to their own. Johnston (1967: 61) notes that in the Chapayev Battalion, composed of 21 nationalities, the Germans demanded coffee, whilst the other brigadiers preferred tea and the French insisted on drinking wine. A sergeant from the 12th International Brigade complained to his political commissar, novelist Gustav Regler (1940/2012: 351), that the Spanish soldiers forced him to prepare meals using olive oil; and Fisher (1999: 81), an Abraham Lincoln volunteer, remembers how they would be made fun of when eating corn on the cob, as the Spaniards considered it to be animal fodder.

Orwell (1938/2010: 42) also recounts how the Spanish knew two expressions in English: *Ok, baby*, and a word used by prostitutes in Barcelona in their dealings with British sailors. Fisher writes about translator John Murra, whose skills were required by a Loyalist captain who asked him to explain the meaning of the word *fucking*, which was probably the only thing he understood in a dispute between Internationals: "You, Americans, are very strange. From your actions and comments, sometimes *fucking* is good, other times *fucking* is bad. From now on, there is to be no more *fucking* in this company" (1999: 136).

The International Brigades' Multilingual Publications

In spite of several attempts to reorganize the International Brigades so as to achieve greater uniformity between the different nationalities and linguistic groups, difficulties in communication persisted within the Brigades, both in trivial and important matters. Aware of the power of information to combat enemy narratives, in February 1937 the political commissariat of the International Brigades ordered every brigade and battalion to publish periodicals, newspapers or journals so as to more effectively disseminate the political and military doctrine to be followed by the volunteers. Gregoire André, who had been responsible for propaganda in the French Communist Party, issued a series of pamphlets with instructions on how to keep discipline and political orthodoxy in the troops. These included *Bulletin des Commissaires Politiques des Brigades Internationales*, which was translated into French, German and English, and *Le Volontaire de la Liberté*, with editions in German, Italian, English, Polish, Czech, and Serbo-Croatian (Núñez Díaz-Balart 2004, 2006).

By mid-1937, the International Brigades had published 71 newspapers, magazines or booklets which, together with books, radio broadcasts, documentaries and a public relations department, were intended to spread the Loyalist version of the conflict abroad or to any distinguished visitor arriving in Spain. These became part of a remarkably sophisticated propaganda machinery which was subject to governmental

censorship in order to control the circulation of confidential military information and politically biased messages. The Propaganda Committee of the Republic also wanted brigadiers to be an example of discipline and solidarity for their Spanish comrades, many of whom had only learnt to read and write through the literacy programmes set up in 1937. The volunteers were given orders by their commissars to strengthen links with the Spanish people by taking part in sport, organizing libraries, and arranging music concerts, theatre performances and cinema screenings while on leave. Publications by the Brigades even prohibited troops from complaining about the food in the mess which, as previously noted, was not always to the taste of some of the brigadiers (Núñez Díaz-Balart 2004, 2006).

Printing multilingual newspapers required the joint efforts of highly competent writers and translators, such as the Americans Langston Hughes and Edwin Rolfe, the German Ludwig Renn, the Pole Szymek Krajewski, or the Italian Teresa Noce, all of whom contributed their texts and translations. Along with articles of a strictly military nature, the publications of the International Brigades portrayed Generals Kléber and Lukacs as the new antifascist heroes, and paid homage to the foreign "martyrs" who gave their lives for the freedom of the Spanish people. These newspapers and pamphlets not only informed readers about the international political situation—devoting special attention to the spread of Nazism in Europe, the policies of the Committee of Non-Intervention, the economic and military progress of the Soviet Union, or the leading role of the Communist Party of Spain (PCE) in the Republican army—but also warned recruits of the threats of Trotskyist conspiracies. Furthermore, they tried to counterbalance the pro-Franco propaganda in the British and American media, which portrayed Republicans as bloodthirsty and anticlerical (Núñez Díaz-Balart 2004, 2006).

Sometimes these publications were a cover for their own blatant propagandistic purposes, but on other occasions they tell us about the worthy humanitarian and solidarity work carried out, such as organising medical services for the Brigades. *A.M.I. Ayuda Médica Internacional*, a multilingual magazine edited by the Medical Service of the International

Brigades, focussed on the work undertaken by different international organisations in creating health services, a children's nursery, and hospitals. The Canadian Blood Transfusion Service—organised by surgeon Norman Bethune, an officer in the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion—appeared on the front pages of many Brigade publications as a result of the heroic work of the mobile blood transfusion teams which, with the assistance of linguists, saved the lives of hundreds of soldiers. Travelling in his own ambulance, Bethune would span the frontlines accompanied by two interpreters, Henning Sorensen, a communist militant and member of the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy which supported the Republic, and Kajsa Rothman, a Swedish brigadier whose command of English, French, German and Spanish along with her embeddedness in the conflict helped to increase the number of blood donors. Sorensen and Tim Buck, secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, later sent a report to the PCE accusing Bethune of allowing his liaison with Rothman to interfere with his political commitment, and of not providing the necessary funds for a new blood transfusion unit. Under threat of arrest, the surgeon attended an interview with Colonel Cerrada at the headquarters of the Military Sanitary Corps, with Sorensen acting as his interpreter. The meeting consisted of a series of hostile exchanges between Cerrada and Bethune in which Sorensen was forced to soften the latter's biting remarks when he tried to explain that their differences resulted from his failure to receive messages, his professional involvement in the aftermath of the Battle of Guadalajara, and the ever-present problem of the language barrier (Stewart and Majada 2014).

Bethune's unwillingness to incorporate his blood transfusion service into the Republican military sanitary corps resulted in him leaving Spain. Rothman had to face allegations from the secret service of being a spy, perhaps because of her old connection to the 'Iron Column', an anarchist militia unit. Even though she would be neither the first nor the last translator to be subjected to various degrees of ostracism, she continued to accompany famous writers and reporters from both Europe and the USA visiting Spain, in her capacity as a translator in the Department of Press and Censorship of the Republican government (Preston 2009: 137–138).

Translators and Interpreters in a Complex Battleground

When they perform frontline duties to support dangerous battlefield operations, interpreters often share the burden of the responsibility carried by professional military personnel, and their involvement in such operations raises complex issues regarding the moral justification of their presence in the war zone (Inghilleri 2010: 183). In the particular case of the Spanish Civil War, international volunteers firmly believed in the justness of their contribution to the Loyalist cause, as torchbearers leading a major confrontation in the fight against fascism. The roles and status of a number of translators and interpreters can be traced in some of the memoirs and biographical accounts of the Spanish conflict, which recount the significance of their invaluable language skills in the organisation of the Internationals. Jason Gurney, of the 14th Brigade, calls them "one of the most remarkable collections of human beings in history" (1974: 171). Ludwig Renn thought his translator was "tireless" (1956/2016: 165) and "always willing to work, day or night" (484). Alexander Szurek praised the Polish interpreter Jeannette Oppman for translating General Walter's speech, full of vulgar Varsovian slang, after the fall of Bilbao in June 1937, and disapproved of Marty's abusive behaviour towards a German female translator who was simply talking to an old friend of hers. In June 1938, it was Szurek himself who translated the speeches delivered by Pole Bolesław Mołojec, known as "Edward", and by Russian Mikhail Kharchenko, at the celebration of the anniversary of the Palafox Battalion. He judged the speeches to be bad and repetitive, but after translating them into Spanish—a language in which he was not fully competent—he was ordered to translate another speech by Hungarian Commander Chapayev, of the Rakosi Battalion, who afterwards came over to him, shook his hand and said in Russian: "Thank you. You spoke better than I" (Szurek 1989: 155, 251).

Despite general recognition of the importance of their task, some brigadiers thought translators were a privileged caste who avoided the real dangers of battlefront duties. John Murra, for instance, revealed to Captain Wintringham of the British Battalion that he was seriously

considering joining the front after a drunken American soldier had called him "a rear guard coward". Murra, an American of Jewish descent, had rendered John Dos Passos' *U.S.A Trilogy* into Romanian by the age of seventeen, and had become a translator in the central political command because of his fluency in several languages (Rowe 1984). Wintringham assured Murra that his task was of vital importance, and that he was anything but a coward (Wintringham 2009: 159).

A friend of Federico García Lorca, Gustavo Durán, a prestigious composer himself and film translator at Paramount Pictures in Madrid, was chosen by Kléber to act as his interpreter due to his organizational efficiency and because the General did not trust Colonel Vicente, his own French chief-of-staff previously appointed by Marty. In November 1936, Durán's language skills were challenged both in an interview with Largo Caballero, in which Klébler advised the Spanish premier to transform the non-professional militias into a regular army, and in the inspection of the defences then being built to stop the advance of the Nationalist troops on Madrid (Juárez 2009: 148–156).

Alexei Eisner was the translator for the Hungarian General Paul Lukács, Commander of the 12th International Brigade. Kléber sent Lukács a message in French which was translated by Eisner, in which he ordered Lukács to deploy his battalions in the University City of Madrid, where, as Regler (1959: 284) remembers, Kléber's men had been firing from behind barricades of bookshelves, cellar-windows, and the rooftops of a modern uncompleted centre of learning. Kléber had signed the message as Chief of the International Brigades, which Lukács took as an insult. He further feared that without further instructions and more weapons, his troops would end up being slaughtered. After consultation with political commissar Longo (Gallo) and Chief of Staff Lukanov (Belov), Lukács sent Eisner to the Palace of El Pardo where, in the presence of Kléber and his translator Durán, he delivered his official communication, in which Lukács agreed to send his men to the battlefront and requested new artillery. Eisner recalls in his memoirs that Lukács was later approached by the Spanish General Miaja, who wanted to sound out his opinion about Kléber. In Lukács's opinion, the 11th International Brigade under Kléber's command achieved a historic

victory by stopping the enemy at the gates of the capital. Miaja finally interrupted the female interpreter who was rendering Lukács's unexpected reply, and abruptly put an end to the conversation by pointing out that Kléber's role as the saviour of Madrid had been unfairly exaggerated by the international press and the propaganda, to the detriment of the Spanish generals (Eisner 1972: 130–171).

Among the translators operating within the English-speaking battalions there were also volunteers from former Spanish colonies, such as the Cuban Rodolfo de Armas, who was killed in combat at Morata de Tajuña; and Filipino Manuel Lizárraga, liaison interpreter between General Lister's troops and the English Battalion at the battle of Jarama (Merriman and Lerude 1986: 89; Wintringham 2009: 287). As for the performance of interpreters, we also learn that, at this same battlefront of Jarama in February 1937, Captain Wintringham (2009: 250–262) had to rely on them to stop a Spanish Loyalist battalion of Maxim machine guns firing against his own men. Various linguists, including New York City court translator David Jarett (Zorat), delivered General Gal's controversial orders to Wintringham to resist at all costs at Suicide Hill, which prolonged the tragic massacre of three companies. On the other hand, in one of the few Republican victories of the time, Dave Doran, an American commissar of the 15th Brigade, called in an interpreter to render into Spanish a speech he addressed to the fascist forces defending Belchite, which succeeded in returning the city to Loyalist hands in August 1937 (Landis 1967: 301).

In spite of the publishing efforts of the political commissariat noted earlier, most brigadiers continued to ignore the intricate politics of the Spanish Republic, with a government composed of liberals, socialists and communists, not to mention other powerful groups of anarchists, Trotskyists, and Basque and Catalan separatists. As such, upon his arrival at the military fortress of Figueres, Eisner was surprised by the welcome speech given by the anarchist officer in charge of the garrison and translated into French by Bolek, a Russian of Jewish descent, in which he made it clear that only death and the curse of the proletariat awaited those who had travelled to Spain with the purpose of installing a communist dictatorship (Eisner 1972: 40). It was also through the testimony of a translator that Renn got to know how anarchists

repeatedly challenged the Loyalist military authority in Barcelona. Once in Madrid, the communist Wenceslao Roces,[3] translator of Karl Marx and undersecretary at the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts in the Republican government, blamed the anarchists for spreading the worst rumours about the situation in the city. He invited Renn to visit whatever he wished in Madrid, including the Royal Palace, which the communists hadn't looted, as had been claimed (1956/2016: 105). At the Brigades' headquarters, another translator revealed to Renn (1956/2016: 149) that Marty, later to be remembered as the "Butcher of Albacete", had arrested the head of the French-Belgian battalion for spying, as he was convinced that many of the volunteers who came to the base were fascist secret agents (Renn 1956/2016: 105, 149).

The Communist International attempted to recruit a significant number of the brigadiers among a widespread network of fellow travellers from the communist parties worldwide. In Paris, they were subjected to strict interrogations, aimed at eliminating possible "deviationists". However, the different nationalities and political ideologies of the volunteers, who were inspired in many cases by simple idealism, made it essential for political commissars to reinforce discipline. Despite the reluctance of the Republican government, the International Brigades ended up being controlled by a secret police force under the direct supervision of Soviet NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs] agent Alexander Orlov, the man behind the death of Andreu Nin in June 1937. As the leader of the Workers' POUM and founder of the Spanish communist movement, Nin had spent a decade in Moscow, where he worked in the Secretariat of the Communist International, until his sympathy for Trotskyism led him to be ostracised and deported. Back in Spain in 1930, Nin embarked on a prolific career as a journalist, literary critic and translator of classical and modern authors of Russian literature into Catalan—translations which are still published and read today (Figuerola 2016).

At the outbreak of the conflict, the Soviet Union had organised the secret Operation X, which cemented their solidarity with the Republican government by sending fuel, food, clothes, weapons, an expeditionary force of military specialists, and a support staff of translators, medics, engineers, maintenance workers, and sailors (Kowalsky

2004b). Such was the sympathy aroused in many Spaniards on the Loyalist side by the Russian people that, in November 1936, when the Brigades marched along the Gran Vía in Madrid on their way to their first battle with Franco's troops, they greeted them with clenched fists, hailing "Viva! Viva! The Russians have come!"

In politically polarized contexts, translators' performance is constantly under surveillance and, as Tymoczko and Gentzler note (2002: xix), many find themselves caught between the institutions in power and those seeking empowerment. In the case of the International Brigades, translators faced the dilemma of maintaining strict obedience to the ruling communist ideology, or becoming the victims of an obsessive spy hunt. As noted earlier, the presence of Soviet advisors in Spain made it necessary to rely on translators, some of whom were White Russians who had been in exile since the Revolution and were eager to return to their homeland. One such outcast, Eisner (1972: 148), writes bitterly about being under constant suspicion, as Soviet Chief of Staff Belov cared to remind him near the battlefront. German novelist Gustav Regler's own blind faith in communism was shattered when news of the execution of influential international communist leaders in Stalin's purges reached Spain in 1937. Regler warned Mishka, a White Russian he had appointed as General Lukács's orderly and translator, of the risks of returning to the Soviet Union: "He was intelligent and understood this; but at the sound of the workers' hymn all his longings awoke like a wound. He saluted as he listened, and I saw tears in his eyes" (Regler 1959: 309).

According to Beevor (2006: 220), in December 1936 the battle of Lopera, crucial for pegging back the advance of the Francoist troops, resulted in a complete disaster for the 14th International Brigade. During a visit to the battlefield, interpreter Szurek accompanied General Walter, who watched Major Delassale, head of La Marseillaise Battalion, retreat from the front. After finding out that the French officer had abandoned his unit, Walter, assisted by Szurek, interrogated his soldiers, who declared strike action as they had not eaten in three days (Szurek 1989: 100). Szurek was also interpreting for Walter when Marty informed them that Delasalle would face a court-martial on January 1937 at the Brigade's headquarters in Arjonilla. Given the

linguistic and legal complexities of the trial, Dutch polyglot Piet Jansen was called into interpret the proceedings into English and German for the president of the court, Joseph Putz, Commander of the Barbusse Battalion; prosecutor André Heussler, political commissar of La Marseillaise Battalion; and defence attorney Aldo Morandi. Charges of sabotaging the British Battalion's offensive at Lopera and deserting were sufficient for Delasalle to be condemned to death, but Marty found the French officer, who was not a communist, to be the perfect scapegoat for this military disaster and presented the court with an additional dossier, identifying him as an anti-Soviet intelligence agent in Romania and Bulgaria and a spy for the Francoists (Castells 1973: 62; Skoutelsky 2006: 146).

The bias demonstrated by interpreter Jansen in siding with those in favour of a verdict of treason rather than one of incompetent command is an example of how translators are often confronted with decisions charged with ethical, political and ideological implications. As Baker maintains, "there is no place in war for fluid, shifting identities, for split or even strained loyalties" (2010: 200). Alcofar (1973: 288) points out that, in an article he later published in the pro-Soviet weekly *Reynold News* in July 1961, Jansen further declared that Delasalle had betrayed his men by leaving his post while on night duty to go into Lopera, where the fascist commander was waiting for him. Baxell also refers to an account by Maurice Levine, political commissar at the British Battalion, who was told by Jansen that the French major had confessed to having spied against the Russians in Bucharest (2004: 62).

The International Brigades officially ceased to exist in September 1938, when Loyalist premier Dr. Juan Negrín announced at the League of Nations his government's unilateral decision to retreat them from all war zones. In the Battle of Ebro, Patricio Azcárate—liaison interpreter between the Spanish divisions and the Brigades, who would later on work with the League's international commission to organize their withdrawal from Spain—witnessed the loss of hundreds of brigadiers in what was meant to be their last theatre of operations before returning to their homelands. On 15th November 1938, when a farewell parade in the presence of Manuel Azaña, President of the Spanish Republic, was held for the volunteers in Barcelona, Dolores Ibárruri, the communist

leader known as 'La Pasionaria', delivered a speech widely translated and long remembered among the Internationals, in which she respectfully claimed, "You are history. You are legend. You are the heroic example of democracy's solidarity and universality".

Concluding Remarks

Although translation turned out to be of strategic relevance for the deployment of the International Brigades in Spain from 1936 to 1938, it was only when the high command acknowledged the Brigades' cultural hybridity and multilingualism by organizing the units according to nationalities that they began to articulate and understand what Footitt calls their real "identity" and the basis of their "legitimacy" (2012: 6). The lack of professionally trained war linguists made it necessary for the Brigades to recruit translators and interpreters mainly among bilingual and polyglot volunteers. They would make a decisive contribution, sometimes under very precarious conditions, to the organization and administration of the high staff command, military training, medical services, legal procedures, and battlefront operations. Translators and interpreters in the Brigades, similar to most military personnel, were both praised and abused by their officers and respected by their comrades, although some of them were criticized for "avoiding" frontline action. Many of them also found themselves caught between high-ranking officers issuing conflicting orders, and witnessed the resentment which certain Spanish generals felt for their International Brigade counterparts.

A network of multilingual newspapers and periodicals, published by different Brigades under the strict control of the political commissariat, became powerful instruments for military indoctrination and propaganda. New war heroes and martyrs were born in the pages of these publications, which also encouraged brigadiers to establish stronger links with the Spanish population and counterbalance Francoist accounts of Loyalist religious persecution and brutality in the foreign media. However, more attention needs to be paid in further research to

the role played by translation in book publishing, theatre performances, and audiovisual productions commissioned by the International Brigades, as well as to the intense collaboration between interpreters and foreign correspondents and to the contribution of literary translators to different wartime editorial projects.

While the International Brigades firmly believed in the justness of the Loyalist cause, which was to be the prelude to a colossal battle against fascism in many of their native countries, many international volunteers who arrived in Spain learnt from translators in their units about the entangled political disagreements which divided the ruling Loyalist coalition, as well as the challenges posed by anarchism, Trotskyism and regional nationalism to central government. Translators and interpreters also suffered the consequences of working within a polarized power structure in which political commissars were obsessed with eradicating any departures from Communist International doctrine. Translators became the victims of spy hunts, and were tools to serve political ends in interrogations and court-martials, which challenged their neutrality and called into question their reputation and status within the Brigades.

Biographical testimonies of translators are a primary source of information about the ethical dilemmas they encountered throughout the conflict. Fresh insights into their professional backgrounds may also increase our knowledge of the role played by translation in their political agendas during the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath. Ludwig Renn, for instance, commander of the 11th International Brigade, after more than a decade living in Mexico, returned to East Berlin in 1952, where he worked as a translator of Spanish literature for state-funded publishing houses. Renn's war memoirs, as McLellan (2004: 153) recalls, were entirely rewritten as a result of East German official censorship to remove references to both his homosexuality and to Soviet military advisers in Spain. Alexei Eisner, General Lukács's interpreter, became a victim of the Stalinist purges and was not allowed to return to Moscow until the late 1950s, where he worked as a translator and a journalist. Eisner's personal account of the Spanish conflict, *La 12ª Brigada Internacional* (1972), would be the first book about the International Brigades published in Franco's Spain by an author with no connections

whatsoever to the dictatorship. It was translated by Arnaldo Azzati, a Spanish communist who had just returned to Valencia in 1971, after his own long exile in Moscow following the end of the Civil War.

Notes

1. Castells (1973), Álvarez (1996), and Cordón (2008) mention other minor military units, such as Brigades 86, 129, and 150.
2. Laspra-Rodríguez (2017: 201–231) has described a similar situation in a pivotal moment of Spanish history when the multinational and multilingual character of the armies fighting in the Peninsular War turned translation and interpretation into indispensable tools for communication.
3. By 1936, Wenceslao Roces held the Chair of Roman Law at the University of Salamanca. He was the chief editor at influential publishing houses such as Cénit, mainly financed by the Soviet Union, and the translator of Engels, Lenin, Marx, and Stalin, among others. During his long exile in Mexico, he continued to be closely connected with the Communist Party of Spain (PCE) and to pursue his career as a university lecturer and translator.

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Part IV

Translation and Censorship During Franco's Dictatorship

5

Depicting Censorship Under Franco's Dictatorship: Mary McCarthy, a Controversial Figure

Pilar Godayol

Introduction: Mary McCarthy in Spanish (1967–1977)

Always a tool for totalitarian regimes, censorship was one of the most effective and destructive instruments of cultural repression during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939–1975). It was not an improvised, haphazard system of control but a thought-out and organized instrument aimed at an unprecedented destruction of letters.

This chapter is the result of work by the consolidated research group "Gender Studies Research Group: Translation, Literature, History and Communication" (GETLIHC) (2017, SGR 136) of the University of Vic–Central University of Catalonia (UVic-UCC) (C. de la Laura, 13, 08500, Vic, Spain), and the R&D project "Traducción y censura: género e ideología (1939–2000)" (ref. FFI2014-52989-C2-2-P), financed by the Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad. Author's ORCID number: 0000-0003-2513-5334. Email: pgodayol@uvic.cat. Translated from the Spanish by Sheila Waldeck.

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This situation was especially acute in the case of feminist women writers who deviated from the ideology of the regime. The history of Spanish translation is replete with cases of censored translations that had to struggle against the ideological barrier erected by Francoism to prevent the subversive feminine Other from entering the country. Though translating is, or should be, a free, multidirectional experience in constant movement and interaction, obviously subject to provisional contingency, here we shall follow the course, by no means smooth, of some of the Spanish translations of the North American writer Mary McCarthy (Seattle, Washington, 1912—New York, 1989), which came up against the censorship apparatus of the Francoist regime, a cruel Checkpoint Charlie for foreign ideological literature written by women.

Mary McCarthy was a novelist, political activist and critic writing regularly for publications such as the *Partisan Review*, *The Nation*, *The New York Review of Books*, and *The New Republic*. She married four times, her second husband being the famous critic Edmund Wilson. In 1963, she visited Madrid and gained the support of some Spanish intellectuals and publishers, who worked to introduce her work to Spanish readers in the second half of the 1960s.

McCarthy's works reached Spain in a historical context that was deeply hostile to foreign cultural discourses that were not in tune with National Catholicism, such as anarchism, atheism, communism, existentialism, feminism, liberalism, republicanism, etc. But her books came with testimonials. Given that behind every title that was chosen there is a person and a reason, we shall see that McCarthy was able to penetrate the last years of Francoism thanks to the left-wing intellectuals whom she met at the "International Seminar on Realism and Reality in Contemporary Literature" held in Madrid in (1963) and who promoted her and her translations in their circles, in spite of the vigilance of the censors. Josep Maria Castellet (1926–2014) was one of the first Barcelona publishers to be seduced by the Dark Lady of New York, a nickname McCarthy had earned on account of her majestic but virulent style (Showalter 2001). After Castellet (Edicions 62 and Península), other eminent publishers such as Carlos Barral (Seix Barral) and Joan Oliver (Aymà), and later Ester Tusquets (Lumen), Jorge Herralde (Anagrama) and Juan Grijalbo (Grijalbo), all became rapidly infected by

the McCarthian virus and fought for the right to translate her works—nine in ten years—during the great expansion of Spanish publishing in the 1960s after so many years of drought.

The translations of Mary McCarthy into Spanish can be divided into two main periods: on the one hand, there was the prolific early period of the '60s and '70s, the result of the supposed "liberalization" of the censorship and of a social and historical context that encouraged interest in her political and feminist works; on the other hand, there were the timid reappearances of her works in the '90s and the 2000s, marked by the re-translation of her novel *The Group* (2004). This article concentrates on the first period and the following Table 5.1 provides essential data relating to the translations into Spanish and Catalan of those years.

Between 1967 and 1977, nine translations of works by McCarthy were published in Barcelona—eight into Spanish and one into Catalan—all of which were subject to the state censorship from Madrid. Using a methodology that takes its lead from the notion of "microhistory", which Jeremy Munday applies to translation (2014: 64–80), an approach that vindicates primary sources (archives, manuscripts, correspondence, etc.) that supply the details and movements of the actors and institutions that influence the process and reception of texts, this article investigates the censors' files on the Barcelona publishers who wished to translate McCarthy's novels in the 1960s. We will analyze specifically the archives of the three novels translated into Spanish during this period: *The Group*, *A Charmed Life*, and *Birds of America*. Analysis of the translations of McCarthy's essays will be left for a later date.

Having consulted the censors' files on McCarthy's novels in the General Archive of the Administration (AGA) in Alcalá de Henares, we may pose the following questions: Why did publishers wish to publish translations of Mary McCarthy at the end of the Francoist period? What mentors and allies did she have? What relationship did the author have with the host country? What attitude was adopted by the Francoist regime with regard to requests for permits to translate McCarthy's works, given that she was regarded by the regime as a Communist and feminist? Who were the censors from the Ministry of Information and Tourism (MIT) responsible for producing the reports? What arguments did they put forward to defend or oppose her ideas? And finally, what type of cuts, prohibitions and delays were imposed?

Table 5.1 Mary McCarthy translations into Spanish and Catalan between 1967 and 1977

Original title	Year original	Title of the Spanish/Catalan translation	Year translation	Translator	Collection/Publisher
On the Contrary (essay)	1961	*Al contrario*	1967	Ebbe Traberg	"Biblioteca Breve" Seix Barral (Barcelona)
Vietnam (essay)	1967	*Vietnam*	1968	José Antonio Aguilar	"Testimonio" Seix Barral (Barcelona)
The Company She Keeps (novel)	1942	*Aparadors per a una dona* (Catalan)	1969	Ramon Folch i Camarasa	"El Balancí" Edicions 62 (Barcelona)
A Charmed Life (novel)	1955	*Una vida encantada*	1971	Gabriel Ferrater	"Palabra en el Tiempo" Lumen (Barcelona)
The Writing on the Wall and Other Literary Essays	1970	*Escrito en la pared y otros ensayos*	1972	Gabriel Ferrater	"Palabra en el Tiempo" Lumen (Barcelona)
Birds of America (novel)	1971	*Pájaros de América*	1973	Andrés Bosch	"Palabra en el Tiempo" Lumen (Barcelona)
The Mask of State: Watergate Portraits (essay)	1973, 1974	*Retratos de Watergate*	1974	Antonio Desmonts	"Documentos" Anagrama (Barcelona)
The Group (novel)	1963	*El grupo*	1976	Carmen Rodríguez de Velasco and Jaime Ferrán	"Best Sellers" Grijalbo (Barcelona)
Memories of a Catholic Girlhood (essay)	1957	*Memorias de una joven católica*	1977	David Casas	"Palabra en el Tiempo" Lumen (Barcelona)

Foreign Women Writers and the Second Period of Francoism (1959–1975)

During the first two decades of Francoism, the regime imposed traditional National-Catholic family values, and women became the silent and silenced protagonists of Spanish intellectual life. Literary creation and translation were dominated by masculine discourses, in accord with the regime. In the 1960s, a supposedly more relaxed censorship period, some publishers began to bring out clearly ideological translations with the aim of inserting into the social system a critical literary subsystem open to international tendencies. By creating new collections and stimulating others, they promoted foreign classic and contemporary works and authors, motivated by the need to combat the lack of literary mothers resulting from the earlier policies of the dictatorship.

Amongst the intellectuals who promoted the translation of women writers, Josep Maria Castellet and Carlos Barral were particularly active. Operating on the edge of a system corrupted by the dictatorship, they exercised an ambitious patronage in opposition to the prevailing orthodoxy. At the end of the 1950s, they attended meetings of international publishers, who advised them as to authors and titles to be published and, despite being under the eye of the regime, they organized congresses in Spain and invited outstanding national and international intellectuals. When they wished to translate these authors, they often made themselves personally responsible for visiting the censors' offices at the MIT.

Mary McCarthy was one of the first foreign women writers to be invited to a Spanish congress during the second period of Francoism. Before the "International Seminar on Realism and Reality in Contemporary Literature" held in Madrid, Carlos Barral had already invited the French writer Monique Lange to the "International Colloquium of the Novel" held in Formentor, Majorca, in 1959. Marguerite Duras was also invited to the fourth congress, as was Doris Lessing, though finally she was unable to travel to Mallorca. Some titles by Lange, Duras and Lessing figure in the catalogue of Seix Barral's collection "Biblioteca Breve" during the 1960s and 1970s, though some of their writings were banned by the MIT, as was the case with works by Françoise Sagan or McCarthy.

In tandem with the importation of novels by foreign women writers, the last period of Francoism saw the arrival of the first translations of feminist essays. Not having symbolical mothers at hand, emerging reformist or radical Spanish feminist groups needed models with which they could revive and modernise.

With exceptions such as that of the "progressive" Catholic intellectual María Laffitte (1902–1986), who had published *La secreta guerra de los sexos* (The Secret War of the Sexes) (1948) and *La mujer como mito y como ser humano* (Women as Myth and as Human Beings) (1961), there were few national women writers to create a bridge between the feminisms currents from before the Civil War and those of the end of the dictatorship. Coinciding with the second wave of Anglo-Saxon feminism, Simone de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan were the writers whose theories formed the basis of the first academic feminist discourses. During these years, the most-read texts at the universities, apart from Marxist manuals, were de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe* (*The Second Sex*) (1949) and Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). *The Feminine Mystique* was translated into Spanish and Catalan in 1965 and *Le deuxième sexe* into Catalan in 1968 (Godayol 2017a). The Argentinian translation of *Le deuxième sexe* (1954) circulated illegally in Spain after the MIT prohibited its importation in 1955. A peninsular Spanish version of this work was not available until 1998, when it appeared in the collection "Feminismos" of the publishing house Cátedra. It so happens that Castellet was also one of the most prominent promoters of these and other translations of feminist essays to appear in Spain (Godayol 2016).

In the second period of Francoism, the importation of foreign literature written by women was crucial to providing access to the major foreign writers that the regime's discourse had attempted to make invisible (Godayol and Taronna 2018). Despite censorship, translation became one of the components of social change, backed by various anti-Francoist left-wing publishers. In the years following the dictatorship, the rise of women's movements led to the arrival of literature by foreign women authors and the creation of collections and specialist publishing houses, such as the collection "Tribuna Feminista" (1977–1982) brought out by the Madrid publishers Debate or the Barcelona feminist publishing house laSal, Edicions de les dones (1978–1990) (Godayol 2017b).

Mary McCarthy in Madrid (1963): Contexts and Actors

After presenting the novel *The Group* in New York, Mary McCarthy was invited, in October 1963, to the 'International Seminar on Realism and Reality in Contemporary Literature', organized in Madrid by intellectuals concerned with social realism.[1] On 24th October, McCarthy wrote to her friend and confidant Hannah Arendt describing her impressions of the seminar:

> The writers' conference was curious. Surreptitiously backed by the Congress for Cultural Freedom and under the semi-protection of the French Cultural Institute, it was mainly peopled by Communists and their sympathizers. Some of the young ones were extremely nice – touching and provincial. […] Nearly everyone one talked to had been in prison, usually three times. The only foreign literature they knew was French, though some were aware of neo-realism in Italy. [141 Rue de Rennes, Paris 6, 24th October 1963] (McCarthy in Brightman 1995: 154)

The Group had been published in the United States a few weeks before, causing a furore amongst the critics, while in Madrid the work of McCarthy went generally unnoticed, except for those attending the congress. As we see in her letter to Arendt, McCarthy concentrated on the lectures and the lecturers, whom she identified as philo-communists or communists. She was aware of the deficiencies in the literary system—the result of twenty-five years of dictatorship, the need to find symbolical fathers and mothers outside the country, the scanty reception of contemporary Anglo-Saxon literature, etc.; in short, the intellectuals' urgent need to open up to the entire world and immerse themselves in the diversity of literary and philosophical sources.

We have evidence that one of the intellectuals with whom she spoke was the Barcelona publisher Josep Maria Castellet. McCarthy and Castellet met on 15th October 1963, in the Hotel Suecia in Madrid, where the seminar was being held. The event gathered together an unusual number of eminent national and foreign writers and critics.[2]

McCarthy had been invited to give her opinion on the social realism that, at that time, was dominating Spanish literature, and of the theory of which Castellet was an exponent. Speaking frankly and provocatively in French, McCarthy totally opposed social realism, which aroused the indignation of some of those present who labelled her as "a reactionary in the service of the CIA" (Castellet 1988: 213).

Twenty-five years later, Castellet paid tribute to McCarthy with a beautiful literary portrait in the book *Los escenarios de la memoria* (1988: 225–247) ('Memory's Scenarios'), which complements, from another angle, the brief, paternalistic and Americanised version of her epistle. He recalled McCarthy's dialectical vitality and that of other intellectuals invited to the seminar, around which he situated the crisis of social realism. Castellet also admitted, however, that they were all mistaken in their positioning due to the historical and collective circumstances they were immersed in. When referring to some of the foreign guests, such as McCarthy, he added that they had arrived without really knowing what was happening and without taking into account how powerful censorship was in Spain. The confrontation with the group of distinguished foreign intellectuals invited to the event was painful for the Spaniards present, since the seminar was a battle lost before it had begun: "We were *kamikazes* who wanted those from outside to recognise what it meant to be living an impossible situation between the desire for free literary creation and the distressing, boring and daily aberration of censorship and repression" (1988: 236).

The openness, feistiness and charming personality of Mary McCarthy made a great impression on the public and from that moment on some of the intellectuals present at the seminar maintained contact with her. Not only was she invited to be a member of the jury for the "International Literature Prizes" initiated by Carlos Barral and Giulio Einaudi, but also, in the second half of the 1960s, some publishers such as Barral himself, Castellet and Oliver promoted translations of her work into Spanish and Catalan. McCarthy was thus able to experience at first-hand "the powers of censorship" (Castellet 1988: 235).

The Context and Criteria of Francoist Censorship

For years, the Francoist regime (1939–1975) thwarted the work of the country's publishing houses. From 1938 onwards, all printed texts were subject to the procedure of "obligatory previous censorship". Books, translations, newspapers, magazines, leaflets and even personal correspondence were subject to continuous inspection by the body of censors of the central, provincial and local administrations. During the first two decades of the dictatorship, Spanish books that deviated from the Francoist policy of National Catholicism were persecuted, but books in Catalan, Galician, and Basque were completely banned (with some exceptions, such as poetry or religious texts). In 1962, the new minister of Information and Tourism, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, altered the regulations controlling the publication of books in Spain and opened the door to translations into the other languages in the country. It was not a complete opening, but it meant a certain "liberalization" of the censorship, coinciding with the economic growth and the expansion of international tourism of the 1960s. In 1966, the Press and Printing Law, known as the Fraga Law, was passed, invalidating the much more repressive law of 1938. The "obligatory previous censorship" became a "voluntary consultation", an undercover censorship that was in force until the Transition (1975–1978) (see, amongst others, Cisquella et al. 1977; Abellán 1980; Merino 2008; Montejo 2010; Bacardí 2012; Rojas 2013; Larraz 2014). A first step towards dismantling administrative censorship was the passing of the Royal Decree 24/1977 concerning the freedom of speech (known as the Anti-Libel Law) on 1 April 1977. Later, in 1978, Article 20 of the new Constitution, proclaimed freedom of speech and prohibited previous censorship or confiscation of publications by the Administration.

Francoist censorship was always vague and arbitrary and the criteria used were never compiled systematically. Manuel Abellán (1980: 88–90) distinguishes two basic blocks of strategic principles: on the one hand, the untouchability of the system and the obligatory respect for the ideological principles of Francoism, which continued throughout the dictatorship; on the other, the subjection of the people to a

Catholic moral code which, with the evolution of Spanish society, gradually lost influence. Abellán also explains that state censors were organized on three levels. On the first level were the simple "lectores", the readers "who did the initial spadework"; on the second were the "dictaminadores", those who pronounced the verdicts and with whom "the writer or publisher could argue and negotiate as far as was possible" (in Madrid this was the head of Ordenación Editorial (Control of Publishing), and in the provinces it was the provincial delegate); the third level consisted of "those responsible for executing the censorship policy", who were normally inaccessible (ibid.).

When the publisher's request to translate a book reached the MIT, a file was opened, numbered and distributed to the censors of the first level. The form that had to be filled in, and which remained more or less the same throughout the dictatorship, raised the following questions: (a) Does the book attack dogma? (b) the moral code? (c) the Church and its Ministers? (d) the regime and its institutions? (e) people who collaborate or have collaborated with the regime? (f) Are the passages to be censored typical of the whole work? (g) It concluded with a report and other comments.

The censors (usually two or more, depending on how controversial the work was) read the original book and produced the report, which included a summary of the book, an evaluation in which the passages or pages hostile to the regime were marked, and a verdict. The final decision was taken by the head of the section and, if it was a difficult case, by the head of the Control of Publishing. The verdict could be to approve, approve with cuts, or reject. If the MIT's decision was negative, the publisher could present an appeal, which was usually unsuccessful, or try again some time later, as in the case of *The Group*, as we shall see. If the verdict was positive, the translation was carried out and sent in for review. The official administrative procedure ended with the sending of six copies to be deposited in the MIT.

With the Law of 1966, consultation with the MIT could be carried out in two ways, either before or after the production of the book. The deposit of six copies prior to publication was mandatory whether or not the book had been submitted for a previous voluntary consultation.

Books that were presented for voluntary consultation might be authorized, suppressed or be subjected to administrative silence, but in all cases they were delayed. Books that were only deposited, but not subjected to censorship at that time, could be published much more quickly but risked being withdrawn as the result of a later report.

The Censors' Files on Mary McCarthy

The arrival of Mary McCarthy's works in Spain was hastened by the eagerness of publishers to introduce and spread new ideas and the works of women writers at a time when the Francoist dictatorship had slightly lowered the guard of its censorship, and was further encouraged by the friendships Mary McCarthy had formed with intellectuals in the country.

The AGA of Alcalá de Henares, near Madrid, houses the 12 censors' files on the Barcelona publishing houses that wished to translate McCarthy between 1967 and 1977. Of the twelve, the first three requests were rejected and the other nine succeeded. The reports are shown in Table 5.2 in order of the date of opening of each file:

The order of the dates relating to the opening of each administrative procedure for obtaining authorization does not correspond to the order of the final dates of publication. Since on occasion the permits were held back or rejected, we will refer to the three novels studied (*The Group*, *A Charmed Life*, and *Birds of America*) in the order in which the publishers requested permission from the MIT.

In spite of the complexities of the system, the publishers did not desist: they never lowered their guard and, being familiar with the arbitrariness and unpredictability of the censorship system, they tried to deal with it patiently and insistently (Castellet in Miralles 2012: 8). With regard to the importing of foreign literature, the aim was clear: to retrieve perennial international classics and spread the specifically ideological ideas of international contemporary writers. Each original or translated title "was politically and ideologically loaded" (Castellet in Miralles 2012: 8). Carlos Barral, in an interview for CBS News in

Table 5.2 The censors' files on Mary McCarthy

Date of opening	File	Book (original title)	Title and year of Spanish/ Catalan translation	Publisher	Authorized (A)/Rejected (R)
17 October 1964	AGA 21-15571, file 6033 (1964)	*On the Contrary*	*Al contrario* (1967)	Seix Barral	R
8 January 1965	AGA 21-15792, file 155 (1965)	*The Group*	*El grupo* (1976)	Seix Barral	R
20 December 1965	AGA 21-16900, file 9409 (1965)	*The Group*	Not published (Catalan)	Aymà	R
7 May 1966	AGA 21-17341, file 3507 (1966)	*On the Contrary*	*Al contrario* (1967)	Seix Barral	A
9 December 1967	AGA 21-18610, file 9976 (1967)	*The Company She Keeps*	*Aparadors per a una dona* (1969) (Catalan)	Edicions 62	A
26 June 1968	AGA 21-19059, file 5626 (1968)	*Vietnam*	*Vietnam* (1968)	Seix Barral	A
26 January 1970	AGA 66-5294, file 0794 (1970)	*A Charmed Life*	*Una vida encantada* (1971)	Lumen	A
7 March 1972	AGA 73-1706, file 2921 (1972)	*The Writing on the Wall and Other Literary Essays*	*Escrito en la pared y otros ensayos* (1972)	Lumen	A
2 April 1973	AGA 73-2991, file 4178 (1973)	*Birds of America*	*Pájaros de América* (1973)	Lumen	A
20 December 1974	AGA 73-4549, file 13365 (1974)	*The Mask of State: Watergate Portraits*	*Retratos de Watergate* (1974)	Anagrama	A
7 May 1976	AGA 73-5481, file 5371 (1976)	*The Group*	*El grupo* (1976)	Grijalbo	A
30 December 1977	AGA 73-6426, file 14847 (1977)	*Memories of a Catholic Girlhood*	*Memorias de una joven católica* (1977)	Lumen	A

1966, summarized the general censorship guidelines of those years, which are in tune with the censors' arguments with regard to the works of McCarthy: "There are two criteria on which prohibition is based. On the one hand there are books that treat political problems differently to the orthodox politics of the present Government. And on the other hand, there is censorship of a moral, clerical nature, which aims to eliminate all reference to sexual intimacy or to moral freedom" (2000: 31).

The Group (8 January 1965, Seix Barral; 20 December 1965, Aymà; 7 May 1976, Grijalbo)

The Group recounts seven years in the lives of eight women who graduated in 1933 from Vassar College, where Mary McCarthy had studied. Founded in 1861, the year in which Abraham Lincoln was elected president of the United States, Vassar was the first feminine and feminist university college in the country. After studying at Vassar, the protagonists face adult life: work, love and sex.

The Group appeared in the United States in August 1963 and, after its great success, translation rights were sold to twenty-three countries. Josep Maria Castellet, a member of the readers' committee for the initial catalogue of Seix Barral (1954–1967), recalls in his memoir how he strongly recommended that Seix Barral translate *The Group*, and authorization was requested from the MIT on 8 January 1965, for a print-run of 4000 copies (Castellet 1988: 229–231). In spite of revisions and appeals, the request was rejected definitively on 2 July the same year (Godayol 2017a: 86–93).

To begin with, the MIT required the opinions of two censors. The first, Manuel María Massa, who had refused permission for *On the Contrary* in 1964, issued a devastating report on 15 January 1965. He concentrates on the indecency of the work: "A very well-written novel, but of immoral and repugnant substance in numerous passages". He adds: "From contraceptions to the dirtiest methods of erotic stimulation, Miss McCarthy (who incidentally shows her Republican sympathies in Spanish matters) narrates lives that are far from being in accordance with

the Catholic moral code".[3] On 4 April 1965, the head of the section signed another equally catastrophic report, which underlined the total incompatibility of the work "with the Spanish mentality".[4]

The rejection reached the publishers on 5 April. Immediately, on 14 April, Seix Barral appealed the decision, for which the MIT requested another report from Father Saturnino Álvarez Turienzo, a censor who enjoyed an excellent academic reputation and was an unquestionable authority in the eyes of the MIT. His verdict of 26 April was again negative: "Frivolity, lack of moral sense and disoriented principles are the characteristics that define all its pages".[5] Undaunted, on 24 May, the publishing house sent an appeal signed by Carlos Barral, in which he pointed out, using arguments to lessen the risks, that the text was "of a strictly literary nature", which could not "be considered harmful to the principles of the Spanish State nor to any of its Institutions", that it was not "offensive to the Catholic religion, the official religion of the State, nor to public morality", and that it could not be considered "propaganda for immorality or crime".[6] The appeal was finally rejected on 2 July with a transcription of a communication by the Minister of Information and Tourism himself, Manuel Fraga Iribarne.[7]

The censors' justification for prohibiting the novel was that it was to protect Spanish women. Adhering to the social and cultural canons of Francoism, they vetoed not only the erotic descriptions but also, and more importantly, the behavior that the protagonists accepted as normal, such as "free love, adultery, birth control, etc." The censor Álvarez Turienzo cites various passages, such as: "She and Mother had talked it over and agreed that if you were in love and engaged to a nice young man you perhaps ought to have relations once to make sure of a happy adjustment" (McCarthy 1963: 24).

Five months later, on 20 December 1965, the Barcelona publishing house Aymà presented the MIT with a request to translate *The Group* into Catalan. Having undoubtedly been informed of Seix Barral's failure, the publisher considered that the readership of a Catalan version would be smaller, a fact that sometimes favored authorization at that time. The only report produced, dated 7 January 1966, ratifies the rejection conclusively.[8]

Ten years later, on 7 May 1976, some months after the death of Franco, Grijalbo again requested permission to publish McCarthy's novel in Spanish, and deposited the six copies required for the voluntary consultation. This title was to be included in the collection of "Best Sellers", with a print-run of 3000 copies. On 14 May, the unidentified censor stated that, even though the novel had previously been rejected "for reasons of eroticism", at this time "it would be difficult for an accusation to prosper".[9]

The Spanish translation of *The Group* appeared in (1976), in a version by Carmen Rodríguez de Velasco and her husband Jaime Ferrán, a poet and friend of Barral and Castellet, who lived in the United States. This version had previously been published in Mexico in 1966 by the publishing house Joaquín Mortiz, but had never circulated legally in Spain, where only the occasional clandestine copy brought from the Americas could be found. That same year, 1966, *The Group* had been made into a film, directed by Sidney Lumet and with a script by Sidney Buchman. In the USA the film was released on 4 March 1966; in Spain, after Franco's death, it was released on 11 June 1976. The publication of the translation and the arrival of the film coincide with the end of the dictatorship.

In 2004, the Barcelona publishing house Tusquets commissioned Pilar Vazquez to do a new peninsular translation of *The Group* (2005), with the idea of adapting the work to modern times. Three years later Vazquez also re-translated *Birds of America* for the same publishers. At that time the American television series *Sex and the City* (1998–2004) was popular, based on the work by Candace Bushnell and published under the same title in 1998. Bushnell always said that the inspiration for her best-seller was *The Group* (2009: vii). Even today, however, there is still no Catalan version of *The Group* for commercial reasons.

A Charmed Life (26 January 1970, Lumen)

A Charmed Life was published in (1955). It is largely autobiographical and describes the life of a group of writers and artists in a small coastal town in New England. The protagonist of this heartrending drama is Martha Sinnot who, while married to her second husband, becomes pregnant by the first, decides on an abortion, and finally dies in a road accident.

On 26 January 1970, Lumen initiated the voluntary consultation procedure to publish the translation of *A Charmed Life* with a print-run of 3000 copies and a suggested title of *Una vida deliciosa*, which was finally changed to *Una vida encantada*. It was to be included in the mythical collection "Palabra en el Tiempo". Reader No. 32, whose signature is illegible, considered the plot to be "conventional with an absurd conclusion" and that, in general, the work was not "immoral". He advised cutting passages that were "pornographic or, at least, containing descriptions that are excessively erotic". He asked to receive the translation for more "eliminations of details".[10]

On 10 November 1970, the publishing house presented the translation with the cuts included and this was passed to the censor Gómez Nisa, who recommended many further cuts of erotic phrases such as the following:[11] "'Sorry,' he muttered as he dove for her left breast" (1974 [1955]: 200); "'You want it, say you want it,' he mumbled in her ear" (1974 [1955]: 201); "…if she did not come to climax. […] She was nice enough about it; she went through all the motions, trying to give him a good time. But he could not really rouse her, and it took the heart out of him. […] He detected that she was trying to hurry him, which made him stubborn. […] Her movements subsided; her limbs became inert. […] Compunction smote him; he ought not to have done this, he said to himself tenderly. Tenderness inflamed his member" (1974 [1955]: 202); "…his tongue was sour in her mouth. Slowly, he took her clothes off and told her to lie down on the studio couch. But then, when he was naked, nothing happened; he could not get up an interest, though she did as he directed" (1974 [1955]: 248).

With the incorporation of these cuts, which reduced the erotic intensity of the novel and neutralized the protagonist's lack of sexual pleasure, the translation was finally authorized on 5 January 1971 and the six copies were deposited on 4 February. The translator was the poet and linguist Gabriel Ferrater, who once met McCarthy when he was on the jury for the "International Literature Prizes" organized by Barral (Castellet 2009: 127–143).

Birds of America (2 April 1973, Lumen)

Birds of America (1971) tells the story of Peter Levi, a North American philosophy student who travels to Europe and offers a typically American view of the Old Continent. Instead of sending the novel for voluntary consultation, Lumen chose a procedure that was more risky for publishers: to deposit the six copies of the final translated work at the MIT on 2 April 1973. The designated censor comments that it is a story "of little interest, in spite of its presumptuousness, and the result is no more than pedantry".[12] He adds that "it offers nothing new" and finds it "dull literature". He criticises some indecorous aspects such as "the insinuated incest" or "the masturbation", as in the following fragments:

> His stepfather, teasing, used to call him 'young Oedipus'. But he did not think that, on balance, he would like to sleep with his mother, only to be with her where there were no other people. (1971a: 16)
>
> That year, he did not masturbate. He had kicked the habit, temporarily, because of her. It did not seem to him democratic to give himself that solitary bang when she was all alone in her bedroom or downstairs in the kitchen getting things ready for his breakfast. (1971a: 33)

Nevertheless, in spite of the censor's criticisms, the complete print-run was not confiscated, a censorship measure that always meant heavy losses for the publishers. The deposit was accepted but administrative silence was advised, hand-written in the left lower margin, because the work contained "expressions of bad taste". The translator was Andrés Bosch, a writer who had won the 1959 Premio Planeta Prize for his novel *La noche* (The Night). Thirty-four years later, Pilar Vázquez retranslated *Pájaros de Amèrica* (2007) for Tusquets.

Conclusions: "A Different Memory, a Different Tradition"

In the second period of the dictatorship, various Spanish publishers who were not in agreement with the regime and wished to play a more social role, took on the challenge of creating "a different memory, a different

tradition" (Marçal 2004: 142) by introducing texts by foreign ideological women writers. These translations became the basis of the emerging feminine and feminist discourses of the time, along with the texts of national writers that began to appear (amongst others, *La mujer en España* (Women in Spain) (1963), by María Laffitte; *Feminismo y espiritualidad* (Feminism and Spirituality) (1964), by Lilí Álvarez; or *La dona a Catalunya* (Women in Catalonia) (1966), by Maria Aurèlia Capmany).

The diverse, vindicatory feminine role models presented in these translations were gradually accepted by the censorship apparatus of the MIT. This is clear from the censors' reports on the three novels of Mary McCarthy studied here: *The Group* was banned twice in 1965 and could not be published until (1976), *A Charmed Life* was published in 1970 with considerable cuts, and *Birds of America* was tolerated by administrative silence, without cuts, in (1973).

As time went on, McCarthy was no longer vetoed because her public reputation and her contacts with intellectuals and the international press gave her some protection against ideological persecution. The first censors' reports of works by McCarthy, completed according to the Press Law of 1938, were negative and were commissioned to academics of the Church or of specialist supporters of the regime, such as Father Saturnino Álvarez Turienzo. After 1966, it was not in the interests of the regime to hear accusations from the opposition within the country or from the foreign press, or to be seen to persecute outstanding contemporary women authors. Over the years, the censors' reports of the works of McCarthy, as of those of other feminist writers such as de Beauvoir or Friedan (Godayol 2014, 2017a), evolved towards positions that were more tolerant of feminism and women's rights. Nevertheless, for the censors there existed two insurmountable barriers right up until the last days of the dictatorship: national unity and moral freedom.

It is for this reason that McCarthy's highly successful novel, *The Group*, did not arrive before the Transition (1975–1978). A novel addressed to a wide readership, a best-seller throughout the world, with frankly modern content that vindicated the economic, social and physiological rights of women… this could not possibly pass the barrier of the MIT's censors. Labelled pornographic and frivolous, *The Group* was considered to be incompatible with the Spanish mentality and

a *bête noire* from which Spanish women were to be protected. In the absence of the, after 1975, these arguments could no longer be defended because, as the last censor wrote when authorizing the text, "according to today's criteria it could hardly be considered punishable".[13]

During the last years of the dictatorship, the publishing world fought against the "defeat of 1939" (Capmany 1978: 8) that Francoism represented for Spanish women. Foreign 'ideological mothers' were imported in an attempt to (re)construct "a different memory, a different tradition" (Marçal 2004: 142) in order to combat the androcentrism and misogyny imposed by the regime. During those years, literary translation became a political act, essential for leaving behind the cultural ostracism to which Spaniards were condemned during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco.

Notes

1. The "International Seminar on Realism and Reality in Contemporary Literature" was held in spite of the controversy over a possible boycott in defense of "The letter of the 102" against the tortures inflicted on the Asturian miners. The letter, signed by those same intellectuals, was sent to minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne, who had declared that the reports of events were untrue.
2. From Jean Bloch-Michel, Nicola Chiaromonte, Mary McCarthy or Nathalie Sarraute (Italo Calvino and Elio Vittorini had been invited but had decided not to attend in solidarity with Giulio Einaudi, prevented by the Francoist government from entering the country), to Consuelo Berges, Miguel Delibes, Luis Martín Santos or Gonzalo Torrente Ballester.
3. Typed reader's report by Manuel María Massa, dated in Madrid, 15 January 1965 (AGA 21-15792, file 155).
4. Typed reader's report by an unidentified author, dated in Madrid, 4 April 1965 (AGA 21-15792, file 155).
5. Typed reader's report by Saturnino Álvarez Turienzo, dated in Madrid, 26 April 1965 (AGA 21-15792, file 155).
6. Typed administrative appeal by Carlos Barral, dated in Barcelona, 24 May 1965 (AGA 21-15792, file 155).

7. Typed report by Manuel Fraga Iribarne, dated in Madrid, 2 July 1965 (AGA 21-15792, file 155).
8. Typed reader's report by an unidentified author, dated in Madrid, 7 January 1966 (AGA 21-169000, file 9409).
9. Typed reader's report by an unidentified author, dated in Madrid, 14 May 1976 (AGA 73-05481, file 5371).
10. Typed reader's report by an unidentified author, dated in Madrid, 25 February 1970 (AGA 66-05294, file 794).
11. Typed reader's report by Gómez Nisa, dated in Madrid, 17 November 1970 (AGA 66-05294, file 794).
12. Typed reader's report by an unidentified author, dated in Madrid, 4 April 1973 (AGA 73-2991, file 4178).
13. Typed reader's report by an unidentified author, dated in Madrid, 14 May 1976 (AGA 73-05481, file 5371).

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6

Censorship and the Translation of Children's Literature: *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in Franco's Spain (1939–1975)

Julia Lin Thompson

Introduction

This chapter examines the translation of children's literature produced under the influence of Francoism, the ruling ideology of Franco's dictatorship (1939–1975), with specific reference to the Spanish translations of Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885). In his study of school textbooks used during Franco's regime, Carlos Sánchez-Redondo Morcillo notes that "we have to bear in mind… that our current situation is the result of the history of our immediate past; without understanding the latter, we cannot fully understand the former"[1] (Morcillo 2004: 14). In other words, a good understanding of Spain's present largely depends on a good knowledge of its immediate past. In this case, the immediate past is Franco's dictatorship that lasted for nearly forty years and only ended with the dictator's death in 1975.

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With the purpose of understanding this dictatorship and Francoism, Morcillo's study focuses on school textbooks used during Franco's rule as "a means by which a society of a certain period transmits what it considers most important to be taught to readers" (Morcillo 2004: 15). This is in keeping with John Stephens's suggestion that "the values espoused by a society and its supporting ideologies are often quite overtly expressed in the literature produced for its young people" (1990: 180). Nevertheless, ideology, according to John Thompson, "not only 'expresses' but also 'represses'," in the sense that it "allows only certain things to be communicated," while simultaneously excluding other topics from discussion and "creating a 'public unconsciousness'" (1984: 85). The repressiveness of Francoism is evident in its state censorship system which aimed to exclude information judged to be ideologically incompatible, in other words, to protect Francoism from its ideological "others." Therefore, to achieve a comprehensive understanding of Francoism, a knowledge of what it withheld from children is of equal importance to a knowledge of what it attempted to inculcate. The aim in the present paper will be to investigate this issue by examining texts translated for children during the period of Francoist state censorship.

Translation, according to Mona Baker, "is central to the ability of all parties to legitimise their version of events" (2006: 1). Marisa Fernández-López suggests that "children's literature translation studies are particularly interesting when they can highlight the differences between cultural behaviours by comparing contrasting treatments of a specific text" (2000: 30). In this regard, translation for children can provide an arena where we can clearly observe the conflict between Francoism and foreign ideological "others," between what Francoism judged to be good children's literature and foreign texts that did not satisfy the regime's expectations. Of the texts translated for children in Spain at the time of Fernández-López's study, "nearly two thirds … (have been) translated from English" (2000: 34), hence the privilege of texts written in English over those written in other languages, when it comes to the selection of texts to be translated for children in the Spanish context.

Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, published in 1885 as the sequel to *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), has become an American children's classic and has gained recognition around the world.

The popularity of *Huckleberry Finn* and the literary fame of its author, Mark Twain, have guaranteed the availability of this novel in Spanish translations that were produced and distributed during the different periods of Franco's regime. While it has been cherished, *Huckleberry Finn* is, nevertheless, a controversial children's story. In the US, ever since its publication, the novel has attracted constant criticism that largely focuses on "Clemens's use of irony and satire, his attacks on conventional religiosity, and his romanticising of escape from 'sivilization'" (Murray 1998: 130),[2] and more recently, Twain's ambiguous stance on racism in the novel.[3] Despite the fact that the controversies concerning the reception of the novel in its source-culture system do not necessarily guarantee its censorship in the target-culture system, Mark Twain's satirical treatment of religion and his contemptuous attitudes towards authority and conventional social norms, as expressed through the voice of his protagonist Huckleberry Finn, did clash with ideas of what was deemed good children's literature under Francoism, and thus the translations of this novel were subject to censorship.

Above all else, good children's literature had to conform to what the dictatorship upheld as an image of the ideal Spanish child. Children's literature, according to Riitta Oittinen, "tends to be adapted to a particular image of childhood" (2006: 41). This image of the child, as Oittinen suggests, is also "a central factor in translating children's books", since translators direct their words "at some kind of child, naïve or understanding, innocent or experienced" according to their ideologies (2006: 41–42). Therefore, in order to contextualise and to better understand the censorship of translations of *Huckleberry Finn*, the first section of this chapter will provide an account of what was deemed to be the ideal Spanish child under Francoism, before proceeding to the analysis of the Spanish translations of *Huckleberry Finn* and the state censorship activities inflicted on the translations.

In addition to state censorship, texts written or translated for children under the dictatorship also tended to be subject to a level of self-censorship, a phenomenon discussed by Fernández-López (2008: 20). Self-censorship imposed by authors or publishers themselves often consisted in "purifications of texts that did not conform to the pedagogic

or ethical-moral principles that were in force" (2008: 20). In the case of translations of *Huckleberry Finn*, a certain degree of self-censorship can also be discerned.[4] However, due to the difficulties in establishing contact with the translators and publishers and the impossibility of obtaining an in-depth understanding of their decisions for imposing self-censorship, it is beyond the scope of the current chapter to analyse the self-censorship activities to which the translations have been subjected. Analysis will, therefore, focus exclusively on the state censorship activities inflicted on the translations of *Huckleberry Finn*. For an accurate portrayal of the censorship applied to the translations of *Huckleberry Finn*, the relevant censors' records have been retrieved from Archivo General de la Administración del Estado (General Archive of the Administration) in Alcalá de Henares and are used here as references. In this way, by juxtaposing the source text with its translations, along with the censors' decisions regarding the translations, the role of the translation of children's literature under Francoism can be examined with a view to providing valuable insights into tensions within Francoism, in terms of what Francoism wished to express and what it wished to repress.

The Image of the Ideal Spanish Child Cultivated Under Francoism

The image of the ideal Spanish child is perhaps most clearly reflected in school textbooks used under the regime. In addition to Morcillo's observation that textbooks often transmit to their readers what a particular society upholds as its most important values (2004: 15), textbooks used under the Franco regime, according to Ian Craig, also "constituted an active instrument of control, in the sense that they sought to influence the child directly, and could be written to the precise specification of [the regime's] Nationalist-Catholic ideology" (2001: 10). The image of the child constructed in school textbooks can thus illustrate clearly what Francoism visualised as its ideal Spanish child for forming its future citizens. So, what essential qualities did this image of the ideal Spanish child possess?

First, the ideal Spanish child must have a strong religious faith. Due to the prestige that it enjoyed in Franco's regime, the Spanish Catholic church exerted a remarkable influence on the education system under the dictatorship, to the extent that the church's religious principles were often taught to children as essential moral norms. For example, *Cursos de religión* (*Religion: A Course Reader*), a textbook used under the regime, specifies that "morality teaches and explains the precepts of Jesus Christ, namely, what we should do to please God so that we go to Heaven … A good deed is one that conforms to what God demands, and an evil deed is one that contravenes what God asks" (Los Padres Escolapios 1940: 133). In a similar manner, *La doctrina de nuestro Señor Jesucristo: lecciones breves de religión* (*The Doctrine of Our Lord Jesus Christ: Short Lessons on Religion*) also affirms that "moral virtues are those that can guide one's actions and help one to approach God through the formation of good habits or the adoption of good moral standards" (García 1951: 166). Secondly, besides a strong religious faith, the regime's image of the ideal Spanish child was also of someone who could demonstrate a deep love for the *Patria* (Fatherland). More specifically, in order to show his/her love for the *Patria*, the child was expected to be willing to serve the *Patria*:

> If Spain is poor, we are all poor. And if Spain is rich and happy, we are all rich and happy… Spain needs me to be a good Christian, to work, to study, and to love all Spanish people in the same way as I love my brothers. And if Spain needs my life, I will give my life to Spain. (Serrano de Haro 1957: 77, 92)

Next, to demonstrate his/her love for the *Patria*, the child was expected to support its unity. In history textbooks used under the regime, the Spanish Civil War is often depicted as a war of "brothers against brothers", caused by dissensions among different sectors of Spanish society. Below is a passage about the Second Republic and the outbreak of the Civil War, taken from *Yo soy español: el libro del primer grado de historia* (*I Am Spanish: A History Textbook for Students in the First Year*):

> There were many socialists and many Masons, all with little fear of God. The socialists were turning the poor against the rich. The Masons wanted revolution. With little fear of God, these people showed little compassion and did not comply with the Commandments. Then came the Second Republic. With the arrival of the Second Republic, peace was lost: churches and convents were burnt down and once again, the Spanish people were fighting amongst themselves. (Serrano de Haro 1957: 83)

An important lesson learned from the miseries of the Civil War was that the unity of the Spanish people was deemed to be key to the nation's prosperity, while internal dissension would only bring about the country's downfall:

> To be strong and powerful, a nation has to be united, so that it does not waste its energies in dealing with domestic conflicts … Greatness, the Empire and glory, these were all the immediate consequences of the unity of our nation, once that unity was achieved. Conversely, when Spanish people were divided by dissension, Spain declined so pitifully that it almost disappeared. (Sospedra 1954: 20, 27)

Lastly, the Spanish child's love for the *Patria* also implied a love of its history and tradition which had forged a unique Spanish identity. In the preface of *Escudo Imperial*: *libro escolar de lectura* (*The Imperial Coat of Arms: A Course Reader*), a history textbook used under the regime, the author Antonio Juan Onieva states:

> With these pages, we hope that children will be proud of their Spanish identity and will understand that being Spanish and Catholic enjoys a rare, if not unique, prestige on earth today. (1952: 4)

In addition to a strong Catholic faith and a deep love for the *Patria*, absolute obedience was also an essential quality that the ideal Spanish child was expected to possess:

> We the Spanish people have the obligation to accustom ourselves to Holy Obedience. No comments, no hesitation, no discussions… Do what we are told! This should be our motto. (Anonymous 1940: 21)

In summary, the image of the ideal Spanish child promoted through education under Franco's regime was one with a strong Catholic faith, hardworking, obedient, loyal to the *Patria*, willing to renounce his or her personal interests for the benefit of the common national good and who, in Morcillo's words, was "half religious and half soldier" (2004: 31).

In his study, Craig observes that "effectively indoctrinating the young was a particularly pressing political necessity in the context of post-Civil-War Spain since the adult population was already irremediably polarized into winners and losers," and that "if the regime was to secure its perpetuation, the 'New Race' had to be ideologically homogenised" (2001: 9). Based on the textbooks used under the regime, the regime's projection and enforcement of the image of the ideal Spanish child was therefore an important way of realising its project of homogenising the "New Race" and forming the future citizens that it desired. Consequently, this image of the ideal Spanish child, firmly upheld and defended by the regime, also became the yardstick against which translations of foreign works produced for children under the dictatorship were to be gauged, to the extent that any deviations from this image in the translations would be deemed unacceptable and banished through the regime's state censorship system. This will be further illustrated in the following analysis of censorship of Spanish translations of Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

The Censorship of *Huckleberry Finn* in Franco's Spain

In order to obtain an accurate and comprehensive picture of the censorship of Spanish translations of *Huckleberry Finn* under Franco, the translations have been examined along with the relevant censors' records. Here, a question arises: who were the censors? Jo Labanyi suggests that "the practical work of censorship was mostly farmed out to freelancers" (1995: 209). However, "freelancers" does not mean that this job would be given to anyone who wished to work as a censor. In the regime's selection of its censors, candidates with a sound track record of fighting for the Nationalist front during the Civil War, namely "ex-servicemen or

disabled veterans, or ex-prisoners of war, or those economically dependent on the victims of the war" were largely given preference over those without such a background (Lorente 1941: 2098–2099). A candidate's loyalty to the regime was thus an important consideration. Regarding its censors for children's literature, the regime was even more rigorous. Besides the candidates' loyalty to the regime and readiness to defend its principles and ideology, censors for texts written for children and young readers were also required to be well-educated, as "posts in reviewing publications for children will be designated to persons with recognised achievements in psychology, education and literature for children and young readers" (Salgado 1955: 843). Once selected, the censor's primary task would be to evaluate and determine the suitability of the submitted works for publication, through a process of *consulta previa*, based on requirements established in the regime's censorship legislation. Two censorship laws created during Franco's dictatorship are of particular relevance to children's literature and its translation: the 1955 "Decreto sobre ordenación de las publicaciones infantiles y juveniles" ("Decree on the Regulation of Publications for Children and Juvenile Readers"), which was later replaced by the 1967 "Estatuto de publicaciones infantiles y juveniles" ("Regulation of Publications for Children and Juvenile Readers"), also known as "Decreto 195/1967" ("Decree 195/1967").[5] The latter continued to be applied until the end of Franco's dictatorship. Both censorship laws were established with the purpose of regulating the production and publication of children's literature, including its translation, in accordance with the regime's ideology and the image of the ideal Spanish child. In general, depending on the extent to which the submitted work conformed with the regime's censorship legislation, there were three possible outcomes for each *consulta previa*: approval for publication, given that the submitted work fully met the requirements established in the censorship legislation; conditional approval, if the work did not fully meet the established requirements and certain modifications needed to be made before final approval could be granted; and rejection, that is, the work submitted was not considered suitable for publication.

The censors' records consist of single numbered folders, each containing details of a *consulta previa* conducted on a submitted work, details that usually include: (1) *An index card*, showing the file number,

the book title, the book author or translator (in the case of a translated work), the publisher that submitted the work, the date of submission, the censor's identification number,[6] and the outcome of the *consulta previa*; (2) *An application form*, filled out by the publisher, specifying details such as the name of the publisher, its business address, the book title, the author's name or the translator's name in the case of a translation, the total number of pages, the format of the book, the total number of copies intended for publication and the expected readership of the work; and (3) *An evaluation form*, filled out by the censor, whose evaluation was based on answers to questions such as "Does the work attack Dogma? Does it attack Morality? Does it attack the Church and its representatives? Does it attack the regime and its institutions? Does it attack those who collaborate or have collaborated with the regime?" If the answer to any of the listed questions was "yes", the censor would then be required to specify the page number where the offence was detected and explain why the listed section was judged inappropriate.

The translations of *Huckleberry Finn* and the relevant censors' files examined in this study are shown in the following table, along with the outcome of each *consulta previa* conducted on the submitted translations (Table 6.1).

Upon submission, if a publication was intended for a child or juvenile readership, the publishers were required to specify this on the application form. If no specification was made, then adults would be identified as the primary readership by default. Based on the outcomes of the censors' evaluations of the translations of *Huckleberry Finn*, it can be observed that the censors tended to adopt a more critical stance when children or young readers were specified or perceived as the target readership of the translations. Ramón Sopena's 1967 submission of Amando Lázaro Ros's translation, for example, was initially rejected, due to the censor's decision that "this work, along with the other works of this author, is entirely negative for young readers" (b.21/18072, f.3053-67),[7] despite the fact that the publisher did not specify children as the intended readers of the translation. Eventually, the publisher had to send a letter to the censorship department, arguing that "given that this book is included in our collection 'Biblioteca Sopena', of a purely literary character, we would implore you not to consider it as literature

Table 6.1 The translations of *Huckleberry Finn* and the relevant censors' files

Title	Translator	Year of publication	Folder number	Intended readership	Outcome	Publisher
Huck Finn- Continuación de las aventuras de Tom Sawyer	F. Elías	1943	7206-43	Unspecified	Approved	Ediciones Náusica
Las aventuras de Huckleberry Finn: el camarada de Tom Sawyer	Amando Lázaro Ros	1949	2297-49	Unspecified	Approved	Aguilar
		1961	456-61	Unspecified	Approved	Editorial Ramón Sopena
		1967	3053-67	Unspecified	Initially rejected, then approved	
Aventuras de Huck Finn	María Teresa Monguió	1957	501-57	Children	Approved	Editorial Juventud
		1968	6326-68	Juvenile readers	Initially approved conditionally, then approved	
		1976	3791-76	Juvenile readers	Approved	
Aventuras de Huckleberry Finn	Bárbara Viu Raluy	1959	3266-59	Unspecified	Approved	Bruguera
		1967	5847-67	Juvenile readers	Conditional approval	
		1970	6902-70	Juvenile readers	Conditional approval	
		1972	2115-72	Juvenile readers	Conditional approval	
		1974	5238-74	Juvenile readers	Approved	
Las aventuras de Huckleberry Finn	Guillermo López Hipkiss	1972	2545-72	Juvenile readers	Rejected	Editorial Molino
Huck Finn- clásicos de la juventud	José Félix	1975	12559-75	Juvenile readers	Conditional approval	Edival

for children or juvenile readers, as it is intended for an adult readership" (b.21/18072, f.3053-67). Approval was then granted one week later without the censor making any further comment. Also, José Félix's translation, intended as juvenile literature, attracted the following comments from the censor:

> This novel by Mark Twain, along with his other novels, is one of the many works that were originally written for adult readers, but later came to be adapted, sometimes improperly, for juvenile readers and even children. The fact that such adaptation is considered acceptable according to the publisher's standards should not, in my opinion, be the reason that we allow it, without reservation, to be published for children. (b.73/05196, f.12559-75)

In contrast to the comments on the translations of *Huckleberry Finn* with a stated or perceived young readership, the censors' comments on the translations that were regarded as literature for adult readers demonstrate a much more tolerant attitude. In this case, the censors' comments often read "there is nothing to object to in this story by the popular American humorist, in which we learn about the adventures of Huck Finn, full of extraordinary incidents and funny stories" (b.21/12468, f.3266-59). Alternatively, "This novel comes with a healthy sense of humour, in a similar style to that of our own picaresque novel. The story is very amusing and there is nothing to censor" (b.21/07282, f.7206-43), or simply, "Approval recommended" (b. 21/13138. f.456-61). The censors' different reactions according to their perceived readership of the translations thus become apparent.

Due to the censors' general critical stance towards *Huckleberry Finn* as children's literature, translations of the novel that were specified or perceived to be aimed at children were thus more likely to suffer from censorship. A detailed examination of the censors' records shows that their objections seem to be directed particularly at the religious and moral issues in the translations. Guillermo López Hipkiss's translation, for instance, was rejected with the censor's comment: "This is an integral translation of the original work, in which the author's harsh criticism of North American society in his time promotes, in an

ironic tone, the most destructive ideas about religion and morality" (b.73/01674, f.2545-72). In a similar manner, the censor who evaluated José Félix's translation also suggested that "through this novel, M. Twain launches, not without ingenuity, his criticisms, at times in a form of cruel irony, not only against the society of his day but also against what were considered to be religious beliefs" (b.73/05196, f.12559-75). The next section will demonstrate in detail the censorship imposed on the grounds of religious and moral issues in the translations of *Huckleberry Finn*.

The Censorship of Religious and Moral Issues in the Translations of *Huckleberry Finn*

Based on the archival documents, Mark Twain's satirical and ironic treatment of religion in *Huckleberry Finn* received constant objections from the censors, which often led to the removal of the relevant sections in the translations of the novel. Table 6.2 below lists some typical examples of Twain's satirical treatment of religious issues that suffered from censorship in the translations.

Regarding the presentation of religion and religious issues in publications for children, Article 14 of the 1955 decree prohibited "attacks on the Catholic Church, its Sacraments, its Cult or attacks on its representatives through any form of mockery" (Salgado 1955: 842). However, when the 1955 decree was later replaced by "Decree 195/1967", the new decree prohibited "the demonstration, admission or inducement of atheism, or the treatment or presentation of topics that could involve or provoke mistakes, misunderstandings or depreciations of any religion or religious confession, its cult, its representatives or its followers" (Iribarne 1967: 1965). In other words, compared to the earlier decree that had only condemned attacks on the Catholic religion, "Decree 195/1967" condemned attacks on *any* religion, hence the application of stricter regulation on issues concerning religion in publications for children and young readers. This perhaps explains the censors' tendency to adopt a more critical attitude towards those matters related to religion after this decree came into effect, as seen in the above examples, regardless of the

Table 6.2 The censorship of translations of Twain's satirical references to religion

Source text	Target text	Censor's action	Folder number
So I slid out and slipped off up the road, and there warn't anybody at the church, except maybe a hog or two, for there warn't any lock on the door, and hogs likes a puncheon floor in summer-time because it's cool. If you notice, most folks don't go to church only when they've got to; but a hog is different. (Twain 1985: 169)	Salí, pues, de casa a hurtadillas, y me alejé sin ser sentido carretera adelante; no había nadie en la iglesia; es decir, había uno o dos cerdos, porque la puerta no tenía cerradura y el cerdo gusta de tumbarse en verano en sitio fresco. Si bien se mira, la mayoría de la gente sólo va a la iglesia cuando no tiene más remedio que ir; pero los cerdos no obran así. (Ros 1967a: 141)	The censor recorded the page number of this section and commented: "Cynical and sarcastic mockery of religion"	3053-67
	Así que me escabullí de la casa y enfilé el camino. No había nadie en la iglesia, exceptuando ~~uno o dos cerdos~~, porque la puerta no tenía cerradura y ~~a los cerdos les gusta mucho el suelo de la iglesia~~, porque en verano está frío. Si se fijan, la mayoría de las personas van a la iglesia sólo cuando deben ir, pero ~~un cerdo~~ ya es diferente. (Félix 1975: 80)	The censor crossed out all references to "hogs" in the translation, using a red pen	12559-75
After supper she got out her book and learned me about Moses and the Bulrushers; and I was in a sweat to find out all about him; but by and by she let it out that Moses had been dead a considerable long time; so then I didn't care no more about him; because I don't take no stock in dead people. (Twain 1985: 4–5)	Después de cenar sacó un libro y me habló de Moisés y los juncos, y me entraban sudores para entenderla, pero poco a poco ella me hizo comprender que Moisés había muerto hacía muchísimo tiempo, ~~de modo que dejé de interesarme por él, porque los muertos no me hacen mucha gracia.~~ (Félix 1975: 12)	The censor crossed out the last sentence in the translation with a red pen	12559-75

(continued)

Table 6.2 (continued)

Source text	Target text	Censor's action	Folder number
"Yit dey say Sollermun de wises' man dat ever live', I doan't take no stock in dat." (Twain 1985: 106)	– Diseng que Salomong era e hombre má sabio que ha esittido. Pero a mí no hay quieng me convensa. (Monguió 1968: 64)	The censor recorded the page number of this section and commented: "Mockery of King Solomon"	6326-68
She told me to pray every day, and whatever I asked for I would get it. But it warn't so. I tried it. Once I got a fish-line, but no hooks. It warn't any good to me without hooks. I tried for the hooks three or four times, but somehow I couldn't make it work. (Twain 1985: 16)	Me aconsejó que rezase todos los días, y que así se me concedería todo lo que yo pidiese. Pero esto no resultó como ella decía. Lo intenté. Una de las veces conseguí una caña de pescar, pero no conseguí los anzuelos. ¿De qué me servía la caña sin los anzuelos? Recé pidiendo anzuelos tres o cuatro veces, pero, yo no sé por qué, no marchaba aquello como era debido. (Ros 1967a: 26)	The censor recorded the page number of this section and commented: "Cynical and sarcastic mockery of religion"	3053-67
Sometimes the widow would take me one side and talk about Providence in a way to make a body's mouth water; but maybe next day Miss Watson would take hold and knock it all down again. I judged I could see that there was two Providences. (Twain 1985: 17)	Muchas veces la viuda me llamaba y me hablaba de la Providencia de una manera como para que se le hiciera la boca agua a un chico. Pero luego, la señorita Watson me cogía por su cuenta al día siguiente y echaba por tierra todo lo que la viuda me había dicho. (Raluy 1967:16)	The censor recorded the page number of this section and commented: "Mockery of the Providence"	5847-67
"Blame it, do you suppose there ain't but one preacher to a church?" "Why, what do they want with more?" "What! — to preach before a king? I never see such a girl as you. They don't have no less than seventeen." (Twain 1985: 253)	– ¡Caramba! ¿Cree usted que no hay más que un predicador en cada Iglesia? Tienen nada menos que diecisiete. (Raluy 1967: 153)	The censor recorded the page number of this section and commented: "Mockery of religious people"	5847-67

fact that it was the American Protestant Church that Mark Twain was targeting in the source text, and not the Spanish Catholic Church.

The effects of the regime's tightened regulation on themes related to religion were clearly manifest in the case of María Teresa Monguió's translation. Based on the censors' records, Monguió's translation, when submitted by the publisher, Editorial Juventud, in 1957 as children's literature, did not encounter any censorship problem. The censor's comments read: "There is nothing to object to in this edition for children, although we think that the readers could be bored by a few episodes that are more appropriate for juvenile readers" (b.21/11616, f.501-57). However, when the same publisher intended to publish Monguió's translation as juvenile literature in 1968, the publisher's application was only conditionally approved, due to the censor's decision that the translation of issues related to religion—i.e. Jim's challenging the authority of King Solomon as shown in the example above—would have to be modified (b.21/19119, f.6326-68).

Aside from religious issues, moral issues in translations of *Huckleberry Finn* also tended to be a source of concern for the censors. Through the examination of the translations and the censors' records, the following issues are found to attract the censors' constant objections (Table 6.3).

In a similar manner to the censorship of the religious issues, the censors' decisions to suppress these moral issues should be first understood as their responses to requirements of the censorship legislation, by which their practices were guided. "Decreto de 24 de junio de 1955" ("Decree of 24 June 1955") stressed that good children's literature should "pay due respect for the religious, moral and political principles of the Spanish state" (Salgado 1955: 4509). Later, "Decree 195/1967" reiterated this statement and highlighted the importance for children's literature to "demonstrate due respect for the religious, moral, political and social values that inspire the Spanish way of life" (Iribarne 1967: 1965). In addition, "Decree 195/1967" also prohibited "attacks on, or the misrepresentation of the values that inspire the Spanish tradition, history and the Spanish way of life, specifically, values concerning the people, the nation, the family and the society that is based on the order established among the Spanish people" (Iribarne 1967: 1965, Article 9). In the first two examples listed above, Huck Finn's disobedience and

Table 6.3 The censorship of moral issues in the translations

Source text	Target text	The censor's activity	Folder number
Then she told me all about the bad place, and I said I wished I was there. She got mad, then, but I didn't mean no harm. (Twain 1985: 5)	A continuación, le dio por explicarme con pelos y señales cómo era el infierno y yo le dije que me gustaría estar allí. Miss Watson se puso furiosa; pero yo no había querido decir nada malo. (Monguió 1968: 6)	The censor recorded the page number of this section and commented: "Mockery of education and of the adult educators"	6326-68
She said it was wicked to say what I said; said she wouldn't say it for the whole world; she was going to live so as to go to the good place. Well, I couldn't see no advantage in going where she was going, so I made up my mind I would't try for it. (Twain 1985: 5–6)	~~Dijo que era muy malo por decir aquello, que ella no lo diría por nada del mundo y que viviría como era debido para ir al cielo. Bueno, no encontré ninguna ventaja en ir a donde iba ella, de modo que decidí no imitarla~~. (Félix 1975: 12)	The censor crossed out the whole sentence with a red pen	12559-75
"Did you want to kill him, Buck?"…"What did he do to you?" "Him? He never done nothing to me." "Well, then, what did you want to kill him for?" "Why nothing- only it's on account of the feud". (Twain 1985: 165–166)	– ¿Querías matarle, Buck? ¿Qué te ha hecho? –¿El? Nunca me ha hecho nada. – Pues, entonces, ¿Por qué querías matarle? – Por nada…, es sólo por la *vendetta*. (Raluy 1967: 109)	The censor recorded the page number of this section and commented: "Explanation of 'feud,' given in a tone of indolence that is inadequate and harmful for young readers"	5847-67

(continued)

Table 6.3 (continued)

Source text	Target text	The censor's activity	Folder number
I cried a little when I was covering up Buck's face, for he was mighty good to me. (Twain 1985: 176)	Al cubrir la cara de Buck lloré un poco, pues el chico había sido muy bueno conmigo. (Monguió 1968: 85)	The censor's comment reads: "An act of revenge that causes a few people to die, including a child"	6326-68
	~~Lloré un poco al taparle la cara a Buck, porque él fue muy bueno conmigo~~. (Félix 1975: 90)	The censor crossed out the whole sentence and commented: "In the opinion of the current reviewer, this work can only be approved for publication as juvenile literature, given that the recommended corrections are attended to thoroughly"	12559-75
"Well, that's what I'm a saying; all kings is mostly rapscallions, as far as I can make out." (Twain 1985: 226)	–Eso es, precisamente, lo que estoy diciendo: la mayoría de los reyes son unos maleantes, según yo he sacado en consecuencia. (Ros 1967a: 192)	The censor commented: "An attack on the authority as represented by the kings"	3053-67
	– Pues eso es lo que te estaba diciendo. Tú lee algo de ellos y ya verás. (Raluy 1967: 134)	The censor commented: "Sarcastic and generalising comments on the kings"	5847-67
	– ~~Pues es lo que yo digo. Casi todos los reyes lo son~~. (Félix 1975: 118)	The censor crossed this sentence with a red pen	12559-75

failure to show due respect to Miss Watson, his benefactress and his educator, can thus be understood as a failure to comply with the social norms supported by Franco's regime, particularly, the rules concerning the way a child was expected to treat his or her educators. Huck's generalisation that all kings are "rapscallions" (Twain 1985: 226) in the final example can be perceived as an indirect criticism of Spanish history and tradition, since "all kings" would include Spanish monarchs. Besides the prohibition of criticism of important Spanish values, Article 9 of "Decree 195/1967" also forbade "the exaltation or encouragement of whatever emulation or incentive that could possibly bring forward hatred, jealousy, resentment, distrust, lack of solidarity, desire for revenge, hostility, deceit, injustice or any personality cult that is deemed disproportionate and ambitious" (Iribarne 1967: 1965). Thus the episode in which the inimical circumstances between the Grangerford and Shepherdson families eventually result in the murder of a child, Buck, as translated by Monguió, Raluy and Félix, can be interpreted as breaching Article 9 of "Decree 195/1967.

Huckleberry Finn Versus the Ideal Spanish Child in Franco's Spain

Apart from legislative violations, the fundamental reason for the suppression of religious and moral issues in the translations of *Huckleberry Finn* was that the presence of such material threatened to undermine the image of the ideal Spanish child that was cultivated under Francoism. As noted earlier, the model Spanish child was expected to demonstrate a strong religious faith. However, given Mark Twain's ironic treatment of religion, such a strong faith is a quality that Twain's protagonist, Huckleberry Finn does not possess. The ideal Spanish child under Francoism was also someone who was ready to obey and follow orders. In contrast, Huck is disobedient, unwilling to cooperate, and even upsets his educator Miss Watson by talking back to her, which contravened an important value that Franco's regime aimed to inculcate in its future citizens, namely, "la Santa obediencia" ("the Holy Obedience"). The proper attitude expected from the ideal Spanish child

towards his or her educator, instead, was taught in *Así quiero ser: el niño del nuevo estado* (*I Want to Be Someone like This: The Child of the New State*) in the following way:

> [At School] the teacher represents authority; some children are so reliable and attentive that the teacher often entrusts them with charges of responsibility; finally, there are the rest who have an obligation to obey them all. Like all society, the School is also maintained through order, discipline and work. (Anonymous 1940: 117)

The depiction of the school as, primarily, a hierarchical organisation thus justified the need for students to respect the established order, obeying the educator who was at the top of this hierarchy, so that teaching at school could be conducted smoothly. At the end of this section there was a maxim which was to be copied and memorised by the students: "I promise to be a good student at the school that I am attending" (Anonymous 1940: 117). In Franco's Spain, showing due respect and obedience to the educator was thus a moral value to be inculcated among school children, and Huck's behaviour towards Miss Watson obviously contravenes this.

In the meantime, the feud episode that involves gunfights and killings propelled by personal hatred and resentfulness was, above all else, incompatible with Catholic religious principles. In *La doctrina de nuestro Señor Jesucristo: lecciones breves de religión* (*The Doctrine of Our Lord Jesus Christ: Short Lessons on Religion*), it is affirmed that "God asks us to love our neighbours in the same way as we love ourselves" (García 1951: 167). In *Camino: libro de lectura comentada* (*The Path: A Guided Course Reader*), the same point is made in the first lesson, "Mis amores" ("My Love"): "I love God more than I love anything else… I also love my fellow people. My fellow people are all human beings, because we are all brothers, since we are all offspring of Adam and Eve" (Maíllo 1942: 9). A brotherly love for all human beings was thus a "divine precept," confirmed by Catholic religious principles, to be taught to children. In this regard, the hate-fuelled feud episode in the translations of *Huckleberry Finn* was deemed a moral corruption from a religious stance. Apart from breaching religious principles, the feud episode also subverts the

regime's image of the ideal Spanish child in that it contravened another significant value that Franco's regime aimed to inculcate among Spanish children of post-Civil-War Spain, that is, love for the *Patria*, more precisely, love for the unity of the *Patria*. The unity of the *Patria* was primarily guaranteed through the unity of its people. With lessons learnt from the Spanish Civil War, and in order to achieve the unity of the people in post-Civil War Spain, a fraternal bond among all Spanish people was thus emphasised: "All Spanish people are brothers… as brothers we should love each other and sacrifice for each other" (Serrano de Haro 1957: 82). Following this was the dilution of individual identity in the forging of a collective identity, during the process of which each person's needs should succumb unconditionally to the needs of the nation: "If 'I' am everything to myself, to the Spanish state, 'I' am no more than its servant…I cannot desire anything for myself that is at the cost of other people's benefits: this is *individualism*. Individualism promotes greediness, selfishness and disintegration: everything that is contrary to what Spain needs" (Anonymous 1940: 33). In the translations of *Huckleberry Finn*, the feud episode, propelled by personal hatred, was thus regarded as an instance of individual selfishness, contrary to what the regime expected from its ideal Spanish child, and was, therefore, bound to be suppressed.

Finally, Huck's insult that "all kings is mostly rapscallions" (Twain 1885/1985: 226) also threatened to disrupt the ideal Spanish child's love for the *Patria*, particularly his/her love for Spanish history and tradition. Under Franco's regime, the great Spanish kings such as Ferdinand II, Isabella I, Charles I and Philip II were not only presented as great monarchs in Spain's history, but also as representatives of the glorious imperial past of the nation. King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella I, also known as the Catholic Monarchs, were recognised as "the real builders of the complete unity of Spain" (Sospedra 1954: 24). Later, during the reigns of Charles I and Philip II, "Spain became the Empire on which the sun never set" (Escuela Española 1962: 193). Teaching the younger generations about Spain's glorious past was, above all, an important means of legitimating and justifying the authority of Franco's dictatorship. David Herzberger contends that the primary function of Francoist historiography was that of revelation: "tradition forms part

of the natural and divine order of things", and the primary task of the historians was to "reveal the pertinent meanings of the past" and then, to appropriate such meanings for the purpose of sustaining the regime's authority in the present (Herzberger 2007:13–14). In this sense, teaching the younger generations about the great Spanish kings and the nation's glorious, imperial past was, in fact, a simultaneous process of passing on a carefully pre-selected history and tradition to the Spanish children, with the aim of justifying and perpetuating the dictatorship. Huck's generalisation of all kings as "rapscallions" was therefore deemed unacceptable in this picture.

Arbitrariness Underlying the Censors' Decisions

Despite the fact that the censors' activities were conducted in compliance with the regime's established censorship laws, a certain degree of arbitrariness underlying their decisions has been revealed in the examination of censors' records. In addition to their different reactions according to the perceived readership of the translations of *Huckleberry Finn*, arbitrariness underlying the censors' activities is also manifest in that entirely different conclusions could be reached by the censors regarding the same translation. This is the case with Editorial Juventud's 1968 submission of María Teresa Monguió's translation (b.21/19119, f.6326-68). Initially, the translation received only conditional approval, based on the censor's objection to Mark Twain's satirical treatment of religion in the translation. Nevertheless, records reveal that a second censor, who was presumably a superior of the former, later reviewed and rejected the first censor's decision. The second censor, identified as Pedro Borges, argued that "the conversations as much as the mischievous behaviour of the characters… happen in such an exaggerated manner that they are unlikely to be imitated" (b.21/19119, f.6326-68). It thus becomes apparent that, for Borges, the primary concern was whether or not readers were likely to imitate the characters' behaviour after reading the text. From his point of view, the negative depictions of religion in the narrative were so exaggerated that the readers were unlikely to perceive these as realities, let alone imitate them.

Subsequently, Monquió's translation was "Approved without reservation" (b.21/19119, f.6326-68). This evaluation process demonstrates that although the censors were in principle expected to conduct their activities according to instructions established by the censorship laws, in practice they were in fact allowed a certain amount of freedom to interpret the established legislation according to their own understandings, hence the arbitrary nature of the censorship practices.

Lastly, the arbitrariness underlying the censor's activities is also evident where the censors sometimes suppressed individual words without considering the context in which such terms were applied. Below are two examples from the censors' records (Table 6.4).

Based on the context of the story, neither Mark Twain's use of "Sunday school" nor "ripping" in the source text in any way ridiculed religion. Instead, in the "Sunday school" incident, it is Tom Sawyer's insane imagination that the author wishes to communicate, while "ripping" serves to highlight Huck's father as a "good-for-nothing" drunkard. Correspondingly, Félix's translation of "Sunday school" as "escuela

Table 6.4 Two instances of the censor's suppression of individual words

Source text	Target text	The censor's activity	Folder number
I reckoned he believed in the Arabs and the elephants, but as for me I think different. It had all the marks of a Sunday school. (Twain 1985: 22)	Supuse que él creía en los árabes y los elefantes, pero en cuanto a mí, opino de otro modo. Me pareció que aquello tenía todos los síntomas de una ~~escuela dominical~~. (Félix 1975: 20)	The censor crossed out the words "escuela dominical" with a red pen	12559-75
While I was cooking supper the old man took a swig or two and got sort of warmed up, and went to ripping again. (Twain 1985: 37)	Mientras yo hacía la cena, el viejo echó un par de tragos, se acaloró y empezó de nuevo a ~~blasfemar~~. (Félix 1975: 27)	The censor crossed out the word "blasfemar" with a red pen	12559-75

dominical" and "ripping" as "blasfemar" in the target text, when considered in the context of the story, does not express any derogation of religion. The censor's decisions to suppress these words in the translation seem to suggest that what the censor disapproved of was the mere presence of words that might, potentially, create negative impressions about religion, regardless of the context in which the vocabulary was used. In the censorship of children's literature, such practices seemed to be common. For instance, in Editorial Litúrgica Española's 1969 submission of a Spanish translation of one Grimm Brothers' fairy tale, *Hansel and Gretel*, the censor objected to all appearances of the word "bruja" ("witch") in the translation and ordered complete eradication of the term before the story could be approved for publication (Grimm and Grimm 1969a). However, in the translation of *Sleeping Beauty* that was submitted by the same publisher on the same day as *Hansel and Gretel*, and even evaluated by the same censor, the use of "la mala hada" ("the evil fairy"), in the translation did not give rise to any objection (Grimm and Grimm 1969b). Also, in *Molino*'s 1955 submission of *The Water of Life*, the censor objected to all uses of "milagrosa" ("miraculous") in the translation and, subsequently, instructed that "the word 'miraculous' should be substituted with 'marvelous'. There are too many miracles" (Grimm and Grimm 1955). The subjectivity underlying the censors' decisions is thus revealed.

Conclusion

This examination of the censorship of Spanish translations of *Huckleberry Finn* under Franco uncovers the extent to which translations of children's literature were subject to repression, in the regime's efforts to defend a certain image of childhood. The image of the ideal Spanish child that Francoism had visualised, as emphasised in school textbooks that were used under the regime, was thus intended as a model according to which the regime wished to homogenise and mould its future citizens for the purpose of perpetuating its power. If homogenization of the new generations was deemed to be key to the perpetuation of Francoism, the regime's efforts to homogenise were, however,

also what rendered its ruling ideology vulnerable. Ideologies, according to Terry Eagleton, "exist only in relation to other ideologies," and "for a governing ideology to be 'monological'—to address its subject with authoritarian certitude—it must simultaneously be 'dialogical'" (2007: 45–46). This dialogical relation between the governing ideology and its ideological "others" will then "prevent [the ruling ideology] from achieving any kind of pure self-identity … forcing it to recognise an 'other' to itself and inscribing this otherness as a potentially disruptive force within its own forms," making it "internally heterogeneous and inconsistent" (Eagleton 2007: 45). In the case of censorship of translations of *Huckleberry Finn*, when the image of the ideal Spanish child was perceived as being under the threat of the foreign other, the censors tended to adopt a repressive posture in order to protect the regime's upheld image of childhood. However, their sometimes arbitrary and inconsistent decisions also revealed internal tensions and contradictions within Francoist ideology, particularly tensions between what Francoism would like to defend in principle, as expressed in its censorship laws, and how that could be achieved in reality as evident in the censors' activities. The regime's insistence on the need to continuously protect and justify the image of childhood which it held so dear, simultaneously confirmed the fragility of that image: the fact that this image required protection also meant that it could be defeated.

Notes

1. All translations of the Spanish quotations in this chapter are my own.
2. Mark Twain's real name was Samuel Langhorne Clemens.
3. For a comprehensive overview of the censorship history of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in the US, see Sova (1998: 3–5).
4. For instance, in María Teresa Monguió's translation of *Huckleberry Finn*, the title of Chapter One was translated as "Capítulo primero: la viuda, Moisés y los presagios en la noche" (Chapter One: The Widow, Moses and the Omens During the Night) (Monguió 1957: 5), whereas the name "Moisés" was not mentioned anywhere in the rest of the chapter: all references to Moses were simply deleted in the translation. Also, in Bárbara Viu Raluy's version, a number of cases that demonstrate Twain's

satirical treatment of religion disappeared in the translation, including the episode in which Huck comments that hogs prefer going to church more than people do (Twain 1985: 169). Through comparing the translations with the censors' records, it can be observed that the aforementioned deletions, instead of being the direct consequences of the official censors' instructions, were most likely the translators' or the publishers' own decisions to self-censor.

5. "Decree 195/1967" was created in compliance with Article 15 of "Ley de prensa e imprenta de 1966" (The 1966 Law of Press and Print). The 1966 Law replaced the previously compulsory *consulta previa* with a new *consulta voluntaria* for most publications (Article 4), hence the regime's increasing tolerance of freedom of expression. Nevertheless, such tolerance did not extend to publications for children, as texts written or translated for young readers would continue to be subject to *consulta previa*, according to Article 22 of "Decree 195/1967".
6. It has been established that the censors all remain anonymous in the records, and are known only by their assigned identification numbers, e.g. *Lector Núm*. 22, *Lector Núm*. 10 etc.
7. For parenthetical citations to archival materials, b. = box and f. = file (see listing in references).

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Adventures of a Young Man vs. *Las aventuras de un joven*: John Dos Passos's Fictional Enunciation of the Spanish Civil War in Franco's Spain

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Introduction

The study of translation and censorship under Francisco Franco's regime (1939–1975) has generated growing interest among Spanish translation scholars in recent years.[1] Indeed, it is a fascinating area of research that may be approached from different perspectives. Censorship files kept at the Spanish national archives offer abundant research opportunities, with many of the archival materials remaining unexplored.

From a descriptive perspective, and along the lines of research proposed by scholars of the so-called Manipulation School (Hermans 1999: 32), the study of translated literature involves looking at the effects of history, power (political, social, religious etc.), and dominant poetics in the shaping of the target polysystem at any given time (Even-Zohar 1990: 9–13). Furthermore, from this perspective translation becomes a

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powerful vehicle for cultural construction in that it helps to create the image of a nation's own identity in contrast with those of other nations, and can also offer refracted images of foreign authors (Marinetti 2011: 26). There is no doubt that the study of rewritings in their historical context (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990; Lefevere 1992) contributes to our understanding of how ideology, economics, and status contribute to the manipulation of literature. The patronage exercised on the translated work, as well as the resulting manipulation of the texts, are more visible and easier to track in scenarios where government censoring has been an integral part of the publication process and meticulously documented. Yet not only do external agents exercise their power on translated works. Translators whether consciously or unconsciously—use their own ideologies to manipulate the text, or to adapt to the 'norms' defined as the "general values or ideas shared by a community—as to what is right or wrong, adequate or inadequate" (Toury 1995: 63). The study of works within the Spanish polysystem under Franco provides valuable case studies of the norms that operated on the publishers and on the translators' work, determining the books that could enter the country's cultural system and the constraints under which these were to be translated.

Beginning in 1991 with Douglas Edward LaPrade and his book *La censura de Hemingway en España*, the number of scholars writing on the translation of foreign literature and censorship under Franco has gradually increased. The work of Rabadán (2000), Lázaro (2004), LaPrade (1991, 2011), and Merino (2007) have been particularly inspiring for my research. Meseguer (2015) and her approach to censored translation as a propaganda tool in George Orwell's *1984* was also a valuable reference. Regarding John Dos Passos and censorship, the results of my own research on *Manhattan Transfer* were published in 2013. The field of research is vast. From the findings in the literature so far, it can be concluded that every translated work was manipulated and/or mutilated to some extent; even worse, in some cases it is only the censored works that have been available to Spanish readers, with the novel examined in the present article being a case in point.

In this context, I will analyze the effects of censorship on the political references to the Spanish Civil War in the 1962 Spanish translation of *Adventures of a Young Man* (published in English in two different

editions in 1939 and 1952a). A fictional account of Dos Passos's personal experience as a direct witness to the conflict, the novel was written shortly after he travelled to Spain in 1937. It was an expression of the American writer's belligerence after the execution of his dearest Spanish friend, Pepe Robles, the translator of *Manhattan Transfer* (1925; Spanish translation 1929).

Adventures of a Young Man tells the story of Glenn Spotswood, a disillusioned middle-class American Communist who joins the International Brigades; critical of party politics and Soviet control, Spotswood is imprisoned on suspicion of being a Trotskyist, and later sent on an extremely risky mission on which he gets killed by Franco's men. The novel was banned between 1947 and 1957; it was not published in Spain until 1962 by Planeta, one of the major Spanish publishers. Translated by José María Claramunda Bes under the title *Las aventuras de un joven*, it was included in the trilogy *Distrito de Columbia* as part of a luxury, three-volume set of Dos Passos's works. After a second edition by Planeta in 1974, the novel was never again published in Spain. The translation examined here is the only one available to date.

Adventures of a Young Man—written by one of America's foremost writers of the 1930s, whose insider knowledge of Spain made him a unique observer—has received little critical attention in Spain in comparison with other works by Dos Passos of Spanish inspiration. *Journeys Between Wars* (1938), his non-fictional writings on Spanish politics, history, and culture which include *Rosinante to the Road Again* (1922b), "Introduction to Civil War" (1937), along with other essays, is still available to Spanish readers and has attracted some scholarly attention. However, Dos Passos's *Las aventuras de un joven* has long been out of print and seems to have been forgotten, unlike Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), and Orwell's non-fictional *Homage to Catalonia* (1938). In my opinion, Dos Passos's book is a thought-provoking work that deserves consideration, not just from a strictly literary point of view. As a fictional narrative of the Spanish conflict, Glenn Spotswood's futile death at the end of the novel reminds us of the cruel absurdity of the war; it is a warning against the dangers of party politics and power. Interestingly, when Franco's censors eventually authorized its translation, the Spanish version was manipulated and mutilated.

The Events Behind the Story: Dos Passos in the Spanish Civil War

Dos Passos's Loyalist Commitment

In order to better understand the state of mind in which Dos Passos wrote *Adventures of a Young Man*, one must consider the strong bonds he had forged with Spain, together with his lifelong activism in defence of individual freedoms. As Dos Passos recalled in his memoir *The Best Times* (1966), he travelled to Spain for the first time in 1916.

As a young writer he immersed himself in Spanish literature and art, popular culture and flamenco; also he met Juan Ramón Jiménez and went to cafés and literary gatherings or *tertulias*, where he met Valle Inclán (Dos Passos 1966: 30). After a period as an ambulance driver in World War I, he came back to Spain in the summer of 1919. His stay was longer this time, and he collected more materials for the completion of the writings he had initiated during his earlier visit: *A Pushcart at the Curb* (1922a) and *Rosinante on the Road Again* (1922b). Among the writers he had the opportunity to meet on this second trip were Ramón J. Sender, Maurice Coindreau, and Antonio Machado. He developed an admiration for the writers of *Generación del 98*, particularly Pío Baroja. In those years, Dos Passos saw Spain as an unspoiled land of hope, where individuals could still lead simple, honest lives away from the systems that oppressed ordinary people in more industrially advanced societies.

In Madrid, he made lifelong friends. One of them was José Robles Pazos, "Pepe," his closest Spanish friend who translated *Manhattan Transfer* into Spanish in 1929, while his wife, Márgara Villegas, translated *Rosinante to the Road Again* in 1930; both translations were published in Spain by Cenit, a Communist publishing house.

In 1933, Dos Passos travelled to Spain once more and "obtained interviews with Manuel Azaña, then the Prime Minister, and with the famous philosopher [sic] Miguel de Unamuno" (Ludington 1980: 319). Although, partly due to illness, he did not manage to write a monograph on the *Segunda República* as he had planned his impressions of the political situation in Spain were collected in "The Republic of

Honest Men," included in a lengthier volume, *In All Countries* (1934), which contained other markedly political travel writings. Worried about the political developments in Europe with fascism looming, his view of the situation in Spain was not particularly positive.

In August 1936, John Dos Passos appeared on the front cover of *Time* magazine as one of the most influential American writers, after the success of the third novel of the *U.S.A* trilogy, *The Big Money*, published earlier that year. However, Dos Passos was distressed with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. He became an activist in defence of the Spanish Republic, and took part in the *American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy*.[2] Shortly afterwards, Dos Passos, Hemingway, Lillian Hellman and Archibald MacLeish among others set up "Contemporary Historians, Inc." Their aim was to produce a documentary film about the Spanish Civil War and thus raise funds towards the Loyalist cause. Dos Passos was convinced that "unless the American government intervened, the country was, in effect, handing Spain over to fascism as well as to Communism" (Spencer and Pizer 2004: 357–362). For the project that later resulted in the film *The Spanish Earth*, they hired Dutch filmmaker Joris Ivens, a Communist. But when Dos Passos joined Hemingway in Spain for the filming of the documentary, he learned of the disappearance of his oldest Spanish friend, Pepe Robles.

Disillusionment

The tragic circumstances surrounding Robles's case have been told by various authors and from various perspectives (Baggio 1978; Martínez de Pisón 2005; Preston 2009; Tercero 2014; McGrath 2017). Robles, who had been a professor at Johns Hopkins University since 1920, returned to Spain for the summer holidays with his family in 1936. A Loyalist, he did not hesitate to enlist with the Republican army when the war broke out, although he could have chosen to return to the United States. He worked as a translator with the Soviet delegation in Madrid and later in Valencia, where one day having returned home after work, he was arrested by a group of men in plain clothes who took him away (Martínez de Pisón 2005: 32). Although his execution was

never confirmed officially, it has become accepted that he was killed by the Russians on suspicion of espionage. His family insisted on his innocence. Like the fictional hero in *Adventures of a Young Man*, Robles was killed by executioners from his own side, on a suspicion of treason that could never be proven.

When it seemed obvious that Robles was dead, Dos Passos became distressed to the point that he totally changed his plans in Spain, and reacted against the political 'cause' that he had passionately supported up to then. Upon his return to the United States, he expressed his disillusionment in his famous piece "Farewell to Europe" (Ludington 1980: 375–399). In this 1937 article, despite his non-equivocal sympathies towards the Loyalists and his acknowledgement of the major role played by the Communist party in awakening people's consciousness, Dos Passos also denounced the Communists for having "brought to Spain along with their enthusiasm and their munitions, the secret Jesuitical methods, the Trotzky witchhunt and all the intricate and bloody machinery of Kremlin policy" (Pizer 1988: 185).

The Novel as a Reaction Against Communism

Dos Passos wrote *Adventures of a Young Man* as a fictional recreation of his ideological diatribe. The idealism of the protagonist, Glenn Spotswood, echoes Dos Passos's own youthful radicalism. Spotswood joins the Communist party, only to be eventually expelled after voicing his disagreement with the treatment of striking miners in Harlan County[3] (reflecting Dos Passos's own objections to the party's treatment of the strikers). Furthermore, Spotswood's manipulation by the Communists during the Spanish Civil War that takes place in the final chapter of the novel "merges Dos Passos's own perceptions of the Communists' covert action with what he had learned of Robles's fate at the hands of the party" (Nanney 1998: 214).

Adventures of a Young Man was initially published in 1939, and later included as the first part of the *District of Columbia* trilogy in 1952b. It must be noted that the two English editions of *Adventures of a Young Man* (1939 and 1952a) are not identical. In the 1952 edition, brief,

non-fictional pieces are added before each chapter and at the end of the novel. The content of these fragments is political, and they provide a historical context for the events in the novel. They reflect Dos Passos's search, in his mature years, for a form of government that would respect individual freedoms. Critical of both capitalism and Communism, the theme is the oppressive power exercised by institutions.

American critics often refer to *Adventures of a Young Man* as a turning point in Dos Passos's career, illustrative of his ideological journey from radicalism to conservatism. Whereas early criticism of this novel dismissed it both on political and literary grounds (with rare exceptions, such as James T. Farrell's review in *The American Mercury*) some critics have recently contested the widespread idea that it is one of Dos Passos's weakest works. Indeed, as critic Samuel Hux puts it, the novel is "as close as Dos Passos ever got to real classic tragedy, and deserves much better treatment than it has ever received" (Hux 2015).

While the novel is still available in the U.S., and has received some scholarly attention in recent years, *Las aventuras de un joven* is largely unknown in twentyfirst-century Spain. Apart from Catalina Montes's work on the image of Spain in John Dos Passos, in which she briefly dealt with this work, no further research has been published to date on the novel.

Las aventuras de un joven (1962) and Censorship

Liberalization of Publishing Policies Under Franco

The publication of *Las aventuras de un joven* in Spain by Planeta took place in a cultural context of intense publishing activity. After twenty years of hardship in post-war Spain, in the 1960s culture and books became symbols of social status and were highly valued; publishers, among them Planeta, found a lucrative business opportunity. Founded by José Manuel Lara in 1949, the business vision of this publisher was extraordinary. Taking advantage of the regime's desire to appear modern and open to international influences, Lara managed to publish previously censored authors together with more conservative ones, in an

illustrative example of the ideological and commercial complexity of the Spanish publishing world during these years (Vega 2004: 542). Thus, after being banned for years by Franco's censors, Dos Passos re-appeared for Spanish readers in 1959, in a de luxe, leather-bound collection titled *Clásicos Contemporáneos*, which went on to become a bestseller in the 1960s (Cordero 2013: 152–156).

In the 1960s, major socio-economic changes were taking place in Spain; Franco's government realized they needed external support from international organizations, and thus started an information and communication campaign in order to improve the image of Spain abroad, particularly in the U.S. (Rojas 2006: 78–79). Thus, through the translation of foreign works, the regime showed signs of apparent tolerance and, at the same time, exerted a control on the content of those works. Given Dos Passos's immense popularity in Spain as a friend of the Republic in the 1930s, lifting the ban on *Adventures of a Young Man* and other works by the American writer provided the perfect opportunity to showcase the regime's outward liberalization in the 1960s.

Censorship Files on *Las aventuras de un joven*

The Archivo General de la Administración (AGA) has over a hundred references for John Dos Passos between 1946 and 1981. Of them, five are related to *Adventures of a Young Man*, involving one import request from Editorial Sudamericana S.A. for a foreign edition of the book (File 3184-47), and four print requests: one from Hispano-Americana de Ediciones (File 1957-47), and three from Planeta (Files 127-62, 3429-62 and 1865-74). Since the last two files deal with purely administrative matters and do not refer to any censored content, I will focus on the other three.

The application to import the Argentinian translation of *Adventures of a Young Man* was made in July 1947 by Editorial Sudamericana, Buenos Aires. The Spanish version of the novel which was the subject of the request had been translated by Clara Diament and titled *Hombre joven a la aventura*; the application was denied one month later. Earlier that year, in May, the Spanish publisher Hispano—Americana de Ediciones had requested the publication of a translation to be titled

Aventuras de un joven. Their application was eventually authorized, though censored: "Autorizado con tachaduras" (File 1957-47). In the censor's report, there are references to the passages in the text deemed to be problematic with regard to publication,[4] stating page numbers. Surprisingly, the content of these fragments had no political references; instead they were related to women and sex, and were censored on "moral" grounds. In this case, I have concluded that the novel had not been published in Spain up to then, since there is no evidence of any editions by this publisher.

Some years later, in January 1962, Planeta requested permission to publish the Spanish translation of the trilogy *District of Columbia* that included *Las aventuras de un joven* (File 127-62). This time, the censor's report refers to the trilogy as a whole. The *Informe* confirms that some parts of the novel were critical of the regime and its institutions, whilst no moral or religious objections were made. In his report the censor describes the *Distrito de Columbia* trilogy as a series of never-ending, boring—"*pesadas como el plomo*"—repetitive stories. The censor adds that Dos Passos criticizes the Nazis, fascism, Communism, and the trade-unions, and recommends the deletion of all allusions to our "*guerra de liberación*" and the Americans who came to fight fascism. Censor Manuel Sancho Millán refers to page numbers where deletions are required (File 127-62). However, the pages mentioned in the censor's report do not correspond to the text that has been discussed in *Aventuras de un joven*, but to the second and third parts of the *Distrito de Columbia* trilogy, namely *El número uno* and *De brillante porvenir*. Therefore, I turned to a textual analysis of the source and the target texts in order to trace the fragments that might have been manipulated in *Las aventuras de un joven*.

For the purpose of my analysis, I focused on Chapter 5 of *Adventures of a Young Man* in the 1952 English edition of *District of Columbia*, by Houghton Mifflin (307–340), and the Spanish 1962 translation, by Planeta (306–337). The reason for concentrating on this chapter, titled "Enemies of the Human Race," is that it is set during the Spanish Civil War.

In order to find evidence of censorship based on "attacks against the regime," in the Spanish version of the text, I looked for explicit political references, and more specifically at the way in which Franco, the

Republicans, and the International Brigades were portrayed; I also looked at the translation strategies used for references to fascism and Communism, as well as to Italian, German, and Russian interventions. It was interesting to see that while references to fascism and Communism in the original were respected in the Spanish version, references to Franco, and to Italian and German support for Franco's army, were eliminated in every case. As the analysis below will show, the resulting text in Spanish dissociates Franco from fascism, and fascism from Italian and German intervention in the war. However, references to the International Brigades and to the Americans that came to fight were respected, contrary to what the censors had recommended (File 127-62).

The first censored passages that were examined appear in the nonfictional opening fragment of Chapter 5. In it, Dos Passos blamed the capitalists for the rise of fascism in Europe: "They [capitalists] thought Hitler would keep the trade unions in order and wages low: they thought it smart not to intervene when Franco brought his mercenary Moors across the straits to ravage Spain" (307–308). The Spanish rendering, however, omits and reformulates this to the point that Dos Passos's political opinion on the matter is skewed. It reads as follows: "Creyeron que Hitler mantendría a raya a los sindicatos y conservaría bajos los salarios. Creyeron todos que no era de buen tono intervenir en la guerra de España." As we can see, the Spanish version ignores the final part of the sentence, omitting any criticism of Franco or his army. Even worse, Dos Passos's criticism of Franco's war, which is made explicit in his words "when Franco brought his mercenary Moors (…) to ravage Spain," is absent from the Spanish version, this blunt anti-Franco statement being replaced with a neutral "la guerra de España" (the war in Spain).

In the next paragraph, Dos Passos claims that the American administration avoided intervening in the war in Spain so as not to antagonize American Catholics. He writes: "When Hitler and Mussolini tried out samples of their war machinery against the Spaniards the administration in Washington thought it regrettable, but what could you do against the Catholic vote?" (308). In the Spanish translation, the words "Spaniards" and "Catholic" are replaced by "foreign soil," and "certain voters," respectively. It reads as follows: "Cuando Mussolini e [sic]

Hitler probaron sus ingenios de guerra en tierra ajena al Gobierno de Washington le pareció lamentable. Pero ¿se podía prescindir de determinados votos?" (307).

There are further instances in which the Spanish dictator's name was excised from the target text. Franco appears on two more occasions in the English original, but never in the target text. In the scene below, Spotswood is talking to Frankie, whom he had known when they were both involved in the American Communist party. Critical of party politics, Frankie is in Spain supporting the Loyalist side as a Trotskyist. The Table 7.1 shows the English and the Spanish versions:

The translation strategy used in the first instance is substitution: by replacing Franco's name with "los nacionales"—a euphemistic form meaning "the patriotics," used by Franco's supporters to refer to their insurgent army—Frankie's statement is softened; the result is that the dictator is not expressly identified as the enemy. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the segment "you mustn't let them fight us" becomes in Spanish "no les dejes que luchen con nosotros" (don't let them fight *with* us). Whether intentionally or otherwise, the translator altered the meaning of Frankie's words.

In the second example in Table 7.1, again the translation fails to adequately render the meaning of the source text. By deleting Franco's name, his methods are not equated with those of the Communist secret police, as Frankie had stated.

Table 7.1 Franco's name censored

Source text (Houghton Mifflin 1952)	Target text (Planeta 1962)
Frankie was watching his face narrowly: "Friend" he went on. "Here several kinds of war. We fight Franco but also we fight Moscow…if you go to the Brigada you mustn't let them fight us.	Frankie no quitaba los ojos del rostro de Glenn. Prosiguió así: -Son varias clases de Guerra las que sostenemos aquí, no solamente contra los nacionales, sino también contra Moscú…Si tú vas a la Brigada, no les dejes que luchen con nosotros
They want to institute dictatorship of secret police just like Franco. We have to fight both sides to protect our revolution."	Quieren implantar una dictadura de policía secreta. Hemos de luchar en dos frentes para defender nuestra revolución

In the next set of censored fragments, we can see how references to Italian and German forces fighting in the Spanish Civil War to support Franco were manipulated in the Spanish version. In the first instance in Table 7.2, the "double fascist invasion" used by the Government delegate in the English original becomes "invasores fascistas," avoiding specific reference to the intervention of Spain and Germany to assist Franco's troops. In the second and third instances, the Italian and German forces are referred to as "the wops and the squareheads." In English, the name *wops* stands for "without papers" and was used to refer to Italian immigrants to the U.S.; *squareheads* is a late nineteenth-century slur directed at German immigrants. In Spanish, I cannot think of slang equivalent to these;

Table 7.2 German and Italian support of Franco censored

Source text (Houghton Mifflin 1952)	Target text (Planeta 1962)
At the end of the table sat a bland little round faced man in khaki who said in somewhat slippery English that he was the governmental delegate and had come to greet the brave American fighters for democracy in the name of the Spanish Republic and the workers of hand and brain of the Spanish masses who were fighting for their lives against a double fascist invasion and the perfidy of the other so called democratic states of Europe	A la cabecera de la mesa se hallaba un hombre de corta estatura, cara redonda que expresaba que su dueño era persona afable, vestido de caqui, el cual explicó, en bastante buen inglés, que había sido delegado por el Gobierno para dar la bienvenida a los valientes norteamericanos que venían a luchar por la República española y por los obreros manuales e intelectuales que se jugaban la vida para echar del suelo patrio a los invasores fascistas y para acabar con la perfidia de algunos Estados europeos que se decían democráticos
"My, this is the beautifullest damn country," said Jed. "And the greatest people in the world… By God, we can't turn this place over to the wops and the squareheads… that's why we got to win this war"	—¡Es hermosísima esta tierra! –exclamó Jed—. Y su gente es la más valiente del mundo… ¡Vive Dios! Que no podemos entregar esta tierra a los sodomitas y a los cabezas cuadradas… Por eso tenemos que ganar la guerra
Well, there are some of our boys with two machine guns in a pillbox to the left of hill 14. They got to have water. You got to take it to 'em. They are the only thing that's keeping the wops out of this dump	Bueno; pues hay algunos de los nuestros con dos ametralladoras en un blocao a la izquierda de la loma 14. Les hace falta agua. Tú la llevarás. Son los únicos que estorban el avance del enemigo

Claramunda must also have had difficulties trying to find an adequate rendering. One possible translation strategy would have been to clarify the meaning in the Spanish rendering, i.e., to use the standard terms to refer to those nationalities: Italians and Germans. However, Claramunda chose to use "sodomitas" (sodomites) for "wops", a rendering which leaves Mussolini's soldiers out of the scene. On the other hand, the Spanish rendering "cabezas cuadradas" for "squareheads," whilst literal and more easily associated in Spanish with a German stereotype, does not specifically signal that the Germans are the enemy, particularly when used in the pair "sodomitas y cabezas cuadradas." The use of both terms in this context perverts the whole purpose of the International Brigades' fight in Spain.

It is worth mentioning that the first fragment in Table 7.2 includes a reference to "the Spanish masses." This reference was omitted in the target text, possibly to avoid the political connotations of the word "masses." On a humorous note, it is also interesting to see how the reference to the "slippery English" spoken by the Government delegate becomes "bastante buen inglés" ("quite good English") in Claramunda's translation.

To conclude the analysis of manipulation strategies, I will refer to the scene in which the hero, Glenn Spotswood, is identified as a Trotskyist. In this fragment, the sentence "the bastard turns out to be a Trotzkyist" becomes in Spanish "resulta que no es trotskista," i.e. exactly the opposite. Table 7.3 shows both texts.

The above translation strategy misleads the Spanish reader as to the hero's ideology; the Communist garage owner who is temporarily employing Spotswood wishes his mechanic were a Trotskyist. The English-language reader, on the other hand, understands that the man is regretting the fact that Spotswood is a Trotskyist. This difference is crucial to the storyline: Spotswood is not a Trotskyist but is under suspicion. Based on that suspicion, he is eventually imprisoned and later killed at the end of the novel.

Table 7.3 Trotskyist hero turned into a non-Trotskyist

Source text (Houghton Mifflin, 1959)	Target text (Planeta, 1962)
First time I get a guy who's a mechanic and not a muledriver, the bastard turns out to be a Trotzkyist	La única vez que me dan un mecánico de verdad, en vez de un mulero, resulta que no es trotskista

The results of my analysis provide some interesting observations. As illustrated in the examples above, the translation of thirteen politically-sensitive fragments showed signs of censorship. Regarding the translation strategies used, in five instances 'critical' elements were deleted, whereas in the remaining eight, various reformulations took place, including substitution, reduction, or amplification. These findings are similar to those recorded by Meseguer in her analysis of the effects of Franco's censorship on Orwell's *1984* (Meseguer 2015: 113), again a novel with a high level of political content, written by a sympathiser of the Spanish Republican side in the war. Quantitatively, the manipulated segments may not seem representative, but they are significant from a qualitative perspective. They show that the Spanish version of the novel was subtly manipulated, by avoiding references to Franco, and to Italian and German intervention to support Franco; by blurring the ideological motivations for the hero joining the International Brigades, the Spanish Glenn Spotswood appears naïve and equivocal: he is an international brigadier who is an anti-Communist, but is fighting fascists who have nothing to do with Franco. At the end of the novel, his old comrades free him on the condition that he takes water to "their boys in a pill-box." They know they are sending him to his death. Glenn somehow knows this too, but nevertheless he goes anyway, saying "What do you think I came here [to Spain] for?" Finally, he gets killed by bullets from a generic "enemigo," (and not the fascist bullets from the *wops*): The enemy that kills the Spanish Spotswood is left unnamed.

Conclusions

The hero in *Adventures of a Young Man*, Glenn Spotswood, is a fervent anti-fascist who, after taking part in radical workers' movements in the U.S., enlists to fight Franco in Loyalist Spain. As the novel progresses, the hero is determined to retain his integrity as an individual and this causes friction with intra-Communist party politics. Eventually, his individualism leads to his death at the hands of the fascists. His gradual disillusionment with party politics is based on Dos Passos's own experience as a radical activist close to the Communist party in the 1920s.

However, despite this presumably 'inconvenient' plot for the dictatorship's standards, the censors authorized *Las aventuras de un joven*. This might be considered surprising because the hero joins the International Brigades to fight Franco, but also the fact that the book was penned by a writer who had been banned for years in Spain, and whose Spanish Communist publishers, Cenit, had gone into exile in Mexico. Why then was it eventually authorized? The censored, skewed Spanish translation of *Adventures of a Young Man* served a double propagandistic purpose: criticism of the Communist party on the one hand and apparent liberalization, on the other. Through the publication of foreign works of a 'progressive' political tone, the regime could make believe that it was opening up to the world, with the strategic and economic advantages that this entailed. Paradoxically, this faked liberalization, which began as a vicarious propaganda campaign, triggered a slow but gradual cultural change in Spanish society that could not be stopped.

Dos Passos's political views on the Spanish conflict as depicted in *Adventures of a Young Man* are close to George Orwell's in his *Homage to Catalonia* (1938); both writers shared their commitment to stand up for the rights and freedoms of the ordinary people rather than to party politics, both were definitely anti-fascists, and both were critical of Russian intervention. As American critic George Packer has argued, *Adventures of a Young Man* was never as popular as Hemingway's Spanish Civil War novel *For Whom the Bells Toll* (1940), although it was Dos Passos's that, in his "dispirited and unblinking realism, was the one to convey what it meant to be alive in the nineteen-thirties" (Packer 2005).

Notes

1. An illustrative example is the TRACE (Traducciones Censuradas/censored translations) Project, led by researchers at the Universidad de León, which began in the late 1990s and has produced valuable research on various authors and genres.
2. This movement aimed to raise funds, medical help and refugee aid for Spain. Among its members were communists, though also Christians and ordinary citizens.

3. The Harlan County War was a series of coal mining-related skirmishes, executions, bombings, and strikes that took place in Harlan County, Kentucky during the 1930s.
4. Unfortunately, book censorship files kept at the AGA are not always complete; the most comprehensive ones include the publisher's request, plus a report from the authorities noting whether the book has been submitted for inspection before. Secondly, the "Informe" or censor's report itself, consisting of six questions that translate as follows: Is the work (i) against the [Catholic] Dogma?; (ii) against the Church?; (iii) against Church Ministers?; (iv) against moral principles?; (v) against the Regime and its Institutions?; and (vi) against the persons that have cooperated with the Regime?. Below, there is space for further comments. The third part of the report is the Resolución or pronouncement, stating whether the work may be authorised. At times, there is a fourth document stating the number of copies that remain under custody, plus perhaps galley proofs, book covers, etc.

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Part V

Framing Translation and Memory of the Spanish Conflict

8

The Translation of Memory Through Television: *El tiempo entre costuras* and the Spanish Civil War

Kyra A. Kietrys

Introduction

This chapter examines the Spanish television series *El tiempo entre costuras* in light of the evolving social, cultural, and political discourses in twenty first-century Spain around memories of the Spanish Civil War. It also explores the impact of Netflix's expanding international programming on perceptions of Spanish history outside of Spain. This approach relies on a fourfold understanding of translation as (1) the transmission of collective memory from one generation to another—victims of the Spanish Civil war and their grandchildren and great-grandchildren; (2) the adaptation from one medium to another—novel to screen; (3) inter-cultural translation, or the transmission of cultural memory from one culture to another—Spanish to U.S. American; and (4) inter-lingual translation—or

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"translation proper" as defined by Roman Jakobson (1959/2000: 114)—here, Spanish to English. What does *El tiempo entre costuras* tell us about how people in twenty first-century Spain continue to reconcile with their painful past of the twenty first century? What messages does its subtitled version, *The Time In Between*, send to people outside of Spain?

A Note on Terminology: Historical, Collective, and Trans-Cultural Memory

Humanists and social scientists alike write about the differences and lack of interchangeability between the terms "historical memory" and "collective memory."[1] Given the lack of clarity, it is worth defining how I use the terms in this chapter. "Historical memory" refers to the legal and political initiatives of the *Asociación para la recuperación de la memoria histórica* (Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory) founded in 2000 and the *Ley de la memoria histórica* (Historical Memory Law) passed in 2007 under the Socialist Party, PSOE. Both of these initiatives aim to recover the physical bodies and recognize the political voices of Franco's victims, as well as reclaim the rights of their families. "Collective memory," in contrast, refers to the multiple, and sometimes competing cultural narratives in Spain about the twenty first century conflicts. Collective memories are visible in cultural products, whether fiction or non-fiction, that reflect a shared, but not necessarily lived, past and shape how the past is remembered. Finally, "trans-cultural memory" refers to the carrying over of one culture's collective memory into that of another culture. This chapter examines how Spain's past is represented in both the Spanish miniseries *El tiempo entre costuras* and the U.S. Netflix subtitled version *The Time In Between*, arguing that these representations engage multiple types of memory through various dimensions of translation.[2] Furthermore, as a result of Netflix's expanding international programming, this new discourse is no longer limited by national or linguistic boundaries, nor confined to academic circles.

El tiempo entre costuras and International Visibility

María Dueñas's novel *El tiempo entre costuras* (2009) is both a national and international success. The story is one of rapid-paced adventures that the protagonist, Sira, faces when she leaves Madrid just before the Spanish Civil War breaks out. Sira overcomes a series of challenges and unfortunate circumstances to emerge ultimately as a successful international spy posing as an haute couture seamstress for the wives of European politicians. Dueñas's historical novel was a best-seller in Spain and its rights have been sold for translation to more than 25 languages.[3] The television adaptation, in the form of a one-season television mini-series, has been equally successful. The series premiered on Antena 3 in Spain, breaking viewership records and reaching more than five and a half million viewers from October 2013 to January 2014 (Migelez 2014). It soon became available for streaming in the U.S. as *The Time In Between*, first on DramaFever and Hulu beginning July 2014 (Terrero 2014), then on Netflix from October 2015 to the present.[4] The program has brought international, pop-cultural visibility to the fictional protagonist Sira Quiroga, to Rosalinda Fox—the real-life British spy who befriends Sira—and, more broadly, to the latest cycle of fiction from Spain that deals with the Civil War.

The present analysis focuses on the screen adaptation of the novel *El tiempo entre costuras* and its subtitling on U.S. Netflix. The rationale is three-fold: first, when considering the reach of cultural products broadly speaking, television simply reaches a greater audience than literature and thus has greater potential to contribute to the formation of collective and trans-cultural memory; second, the television adaptation of *El tiempo entre costuras* in particular adds a key subplot, pointing to a post-Spanish Civil War conflict; and, third, the binge-watching nature of Netflix shapes the audience's experience of the text, as affirmed by television scholar Jason Mittell (2015). It is indisputable that television, and here I include streamed television, plays a role in influencing society, as noted by media scholars on both sides of the Atlantic.[5]

Collective Memory Across Generations: Intra-cultural Translation

As the tragedies of Spain's painful twentieth century recede into the past, the relationship between collective memory and that past evolves accordingly. Each successive generation, as Holocaust Studies scholar Marianne Hirsch elucidates in her work on postmemory, becomes less traumatized than its predecessors (2014: 339). The same can be said of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), though the creation of Spanish Civil War postmemories was delayed because the Franco dictatorship (1939–1975) that followed the war affected multiple generations of Spaniards. Hispanist Ángel Rodríguez Gallardo proposes that both the 1977 Amnesty law—which imposed the transition to democracy's policy to silence memory—and the 2007 Law of Historical Memory were still driven by fear-based discourses (2015: 27, 31). He explains that, while the Law of Historical Memory aimed to reclaim Leftist voices, it left the Francoist perpetrators unpunished—thus revealing a persisting fear on the part of the lawmakers (31). Currently, however, generations of grandchildren and great-grandchildren in Spain are no longer marked by the trauma, despair, and silence that characterized its victims and children of the victims (26). For example, the younger generations are no longer afraid of the threat of a return to a dictatorial regime and are free to usher in a new politic that challenges the hegemonic one (35). *El tiempo entre costuras* offers an example of this evolving social, cultural, political discourse.

Having already established what is meant by collective memory for the purpose of this chapter, we can examine how collective memories are created. Literary and cultural theorist Bella Brodsky regards the creation of collective memory as a type of translation that occurs between groups *within* a single language (2007: 6). In this sense, we can consider the re-presentation of the Spanish Civil War by Spaniards who did not live through it as a translation of their grandparents' original wartime and dictatorship memories. What is striking about *El tiempo entre costuras*'s representation of the Spanish Civil War is indeed not its historical authenticity, but rather its place as fiction and the spectacular glamour that dominates the series. Intra-cultural translation, then, becomes

an act of transmutation. The lush and vibrant mise-en-scène contrasts starkly with images in the Spanish public imaginary of the post-war period known as the "*años de hambre*" [years of hunger]. For example, when the war breaks out in Spain, Sira is in Tangier, living decadently in the Hotel Continental and dancing the Charleston in international clubs with her suitor. He betrays her, and her personal tragedy takes her to Tetouan, where a more somber tone defines the next few episodes. However, in contrast to the reality in Spain during the war and despite the dark turn of personal events in Sira's life, she is always safe and cared for by the people she meets in Morocco—Spaniards and a Moroccan servant. Moreover, the Spanish Civil War itself is represented non-diegetically; the viewer is spared the explicit war imagery of demolished cities and dismembered bodies. This is not to say that shell-shocked characters do not exist. Towards the end of the war, Sira's mother is smuggled out of Madrid and arrives in Tetouan traumatized and in shock.[6] There are no words to express the intense and confusing emotions the reunited mother and daughter feel, and hence there are no subtitles. This powerful representation of the war's aftermath is beyond language. Overall, it is this kind of intimate tragedy that defines the memories recovered in *El tiempo entre costuras*. The viewer does not witness the catastrophic world of *Guernika*. Rather something smaller and personal, yet equally universal and raw with emotion, like Picasso's *The Weeping Woman* (1937). The trauma has not disappeared in *El tiempo entre costuras*, but it is not center stage. Rather the trauma bears its imprint on the secondary female characters, while the female protagonist triumphs gloriously on both the personal and professional fronts.

El tiempo entre costuras is not about war as trauma, nor does it *focus* on the traumatic effects of war; rather it is about individual memories both great and small. In the closing scene, Sira looks back on her life and says, "That was my story, or at least the way I remember it".[7] Sira's conclusion leaves room for discrepancy between the past and how we *remember* the past. A stand-in for the viewer at this point, Sira recognizes that memories of the past may differ from the past itself. Consequently, our memories take on greater value than possible truths because our memories are the stories we tell. Nonetheless, Sira continues with a recognition of a truth:

> What happened to those characters and the places that had to do with those turbulent times, can be researched in libraries or the memories of the elderly. People like Beigbeder, Rosalinda or Hillgarth went on to the history books. People like Marcus and me didn't. But that doesn't mean our lives were less important. Because, in the end, we all play a part in the world's fate.[8]

In this sense, the program promotes the idea that the past is more complex than what either history books or memories of survivors offer us. While not focusing on the trauma of war, *El tiempo entre costuras* expresses a desire to give voice to unrecognized figures. Similar to the proliferation of literary works in the twenty first century that also aim to give voice to those that have been forgotten (Orejudo 2004: 9), particularly women, so too does *El tiempo entre costuras*. Like Emilio Martínez Lázaro's Goya award winning film, *Las 13 rosas*, and Dulce Chacón's now classic *La voz dormida* (2002), *El tiempo entre costuras* also extols the value of communities of women and portrays women as active players in Spain's history. However, unlike these earlier representations in which the women lose their lives in their attempt to defend their ideals, *El tiempo entre costuras* offers a protagonist who fights fascism and emerges victorious, despite the war having been lost. In this way, the work extends a message of hope for continued female agency. Laura Lee Kemp suggests the series reclaims the traditional seamstress figure to empower the protagonist (2016: 172–173). *El tiempo entre costuras* celebrates many different kinds of women—women who are not mothers, women who are politically active, women who are survivors, and the traditional mother as well.[9] It also extols the value of communities of women.

El tiempo entre costuras also works against earlier insular narratives by connecting Spain's history to the history of Europe through Sira's role as an international spy. This new feminist, international discourse places women at the center of history and Spain squarely within Europe, offering two traditionally understated perspectives—a female viewpoint and an international connection. As the work around historical memory demonstrates, Spain's society in general is concerned with the past. In addition to exhuming graves and discovering documents, there

has been a proliferation of literary works in the twenty first century that also aim to give voice to those who have been forgotten (Orejudo 2004: 9). Moreover, in addition to those marginalized by the Franco dictatorship because of ideology, are those who were doubly marginalized because of gender. *El tiempo entre costuras* affords productive agency to its female characters. The hegemonic system is combatted in subversive ways: Sira is a spy, after all, and she even defies orders from her British boss to recover the son of her childhood friend, Paquita. After the war, when Sira returns to Madrid as a spy, she poses as an exotic seamstress. She lives in luxury and enjoys uncommon economic privilege.[10] Historically, we know the Siege of Madrid lasted from November 1936 to March 1939 (Graham 2005: 160, 166), making the city the site of bombings, scarcity, and despair for almost the entire duration of the war. The contrast between historical reality and this twenty first-century representation immediately begs questions regarding what appears to be a whitewashed, presentist portrayal of the past. One might wonder if such a representation does not point towards fascist undertones. Who but a supporter of Franco would present the post-war years with such glamour? I argue that the subtext of the series, where multilingual and culturally competent women participate in international espionage of great consequence, complicates this seemingly ahistorical representation of the Civil War period. The new discourse takes on an increasingly powerful dimension when we consider that its reach is not limited exclusively to Spaniards but rather circulates in an international market. The program now has the platform to shape non-Spaniards' understanding of Spain.

Television and Collective Memory Across Cultures: Inter-cultural Translation

Through the mechanisms of both digital media and subtitling, the projection of Spain's collective memory is now taking on a mainstream, international dimension heretofore unknown. Netflix and similar companies have changed our access to media from around the world. Gone are the days when we need to wait for art-house theaters to screen foreign films or travel to Spain to watch Spanish television, or hack a

region-free DVD player. For scholars and hispanophiles, online streaming from RTVE, Antena 3, and other channels has become an integral part of our television viewing habits. *The Time In Between* is now accessible not only to the Spanish-speaking audience in the U.S., but also to an English-speaking public thanks to the subtitles. What are the implications of this new availability? Because the medium has greater reach, its programming will have greater impact in transmitting transcultural memories. Whereas the twentieth-century isolationist policies of the Franco dictatorship and, then, the Transition's *Pacto del olvido* [Pact of Forgetting] ensured that representations and criticism of the fascist crimes in Spain would be overshadowed by the atrocities committed by Hitler, the twenty first century has brought an upsurge of both Spanish Holocaust Studies and Memory Studies.[11] Representations of the Spanish Civil War are crossing academic and national borders. Yet, it is difficult to determine just how widespread the viewership of *The Time In Between* is because Netflix, Hulu, and DramaFever do not readily share their ratings (VanDerWerff 2015).[12] On one hand, we can assume that subtitled foreign language programs draw more of a niche audience in the U.S. than do programs produced in English. For example, if we use the number of reviews posted on Netflix as an admittedly imperfect indicator of popularity, we can conclude that the subtitled *The Time In Between*, with 134 reviews in its nine months on Netflix, is less popular than, for example the British series, *North & South*. This single-season, English-language, romantic period piece has nearly ten times the number of reviews than *The Time In Between*.[13] Granted *North & South* had four years to accumulate its approximately 1300 reviews, but the numbers of reviews per month still calculate at a higher rate.[14] On the other hand, *The Time In Between* may be expanding beyond the foreign film niche audience. The series is not only featured on *IndieWire*, a site that reviews independent cinema, but also on *Decider*, a site that advertises itself as "the first entertainment and pop culture destination site created to help today's on-demand generation discover the best streaming content".[15] Both sites review the program favorably: a series that will "cure your hankering for *Downton Abbey*" writes Casey Cipriani on *IndieWire* (2014); and, a program "you need to binge watch" declares Megan O'Keefe on *Decider* (2016). Such coverage reveals that *The Time*

In Between is itself between niche and popular culture. Regardless of exactly how many viewers Netflix garners, the simple fact is that the program is *available*; access to primetime television from Spain is more possible *and* more convenient for than ever before; and subtitling allows the programming to play a role in informing a non-Spanish speaking public about Spain. This international transmission of *The Time In Between* adds a greater dimension to its message in that, now, it takes on the role of creating collective memories not only within its own culture, but also across cultures and thus creating trans-national memories or, in other words, *translating* memories.

This international availability is particularly relevant when we consider the currency of Memory Studies in Spain and this program's role in post-Civil War memory construction. Given the impact the series had in Spain, we might predict success in the U.S. as well. In fact, as early as the airing of the first episode in Spain, which drew 25.5% of the market share—or five million viewers—speculation of an American airing was already underway.[16] What is at stake when the subtitles further obscure the few historical references in the program?

Translation scholar Siobhan Brownlie proposes that "The combination of translation with the internet has contributed to the creation of communities bound by a similar vision of the world that are unhindered by linguistic and national boundaries" (2007: 140). For the purposes of my argument, we can consider Netflix equivalent to the internet in this regard. And, while the goal of Netflix is not to create communities, it accomplishes the same effect. Television—or for the purpose of my argument here, Netflix—serves as what Paul Adams describes as a gathering place: "(1) a bounded system in which symbolic interaction among persons occurs (a social context), and (2) a nucleus around which ideas, values, and shared experiences are constructed (a center of meaning)" (1992: 118). In this regard, Netflix plays a critical role in creating transcultural and trans-temporal collective memory around the Spanish Civil War. As Adams notes, a foreign audience will have "very different readings of the same visual images" (Ibid.: 127). For example, where the Ritz Hotel, the spacious and well-decorated interiors, and Louis Vuitton luggage—discussed in greater detail in the section below—might strike the Spanish viewer as extraordinary

vis-à-vis the years of hunger that followed the war, the impression on the American viewer is that this opulence is the norm. One anonymous Netflix review states, "Despite not knowing Spanish I found this to be an engrossing and thoroughly enjoyable series set in the time of the Spanish Civil War (anti-Franco) and the early phases of WW II".[17] This same reviewer also states that the program offers a "high degree of authenticity".[18] Other reviewers describe it as "historically interesting" and a production "made for people who can still feel the Spanish Civil War burned into their souls".[19] The lack of historical knowledge among the average American viewers and their reliance on fiction to construct historical knowledge make the call for accurate subtitling that much more urgent.

So, while translation and the internet may very well contribute to the creation of communities as Brownlie proposes, they also open the door to cultural misreadings, whether *because of* or *independent of* the quality of the inter-lingual translations. With no one to unpack visual signs, the role of the translator is that much more significant. Foreign audiences rely on the efforts of a translator to mediate the linguistic signs. So, if translators do not deliberately make choices that allow viewers to "experience" other cultures to the fullest extent possible, the result is a globalized world where each sector acquires a superficial knowledge of another, believing it to be more representative of the culture than it actually is. Before moving to an analysis of the inter-lingual translations of the subtitles, we must first consider a significant addition to the screen adaptation of the novel that deals specifically with the Spanish Civil War.

El tiempo entre costuras and Adaptation

The adaptation of the novel of over 600 pages to a 14-hour television series involved a handful of significant changes made to the overall plot and characters.[20] One such change is the addition of the character Paquita, a childhood friend of Sira's. Psarticularly relevant to the Spanish Civil War is the scene in Madrid after the war when the two women are fortuitously reunited. Paquita's storyline affords a significant

opportunity to portray a contemporary interpretation of the effects of the Spanish Civil War at a personal level. The overall narrative around Paquita reveals political underpinnings and serves as a historical anchor in a series whose portrayal of history is otherwise distorted, as examined below. When we consider that Paquita lives only on the screen, the political message becomes more powerful given the previously discussed numbers of viewers versus readers.

Paquita is a communist who remained in Spain throughout the war, fighting against the fascists from whom she is currently in hiding. Her husband, also a communist, was killed during the war, and her son was taken from her by her husband's fascist brother so that the boy could be raised "properly".[21] The now impoverished and ailing Paquita recognizes the profound disparity between herself and the elegant and well-groomed Sira, who was not in Spain during the war.

While her story is far from central to the overall plot—it is one of the subplots in a 14-hour series that is framed by beautiful Moroccan cityscapes and countryside, stunning shots of Lisbon, the Hotel Ritz in Madrid, and the beautiful bourgeois interiors and exteriors of the grand neighborhood of Chamberí—it is powerful. We can draw on a thematic connection between Paquita's story and earlier Spanish films. After the war, Paquita lives in hiding in a windowless, secret room, reminding us of the protagonist in Alberto Méndez's novel *Los girasoles ciegos* [*The Blind Sunflowers*] (2004) and film of the same name directed by José Luis Cuerda (2008). However, there is a noticeable contrast between the two overall cinematographic contexts. The visual grandeur of *El tiempo entre costuras* contrasts starkly with the simple interiors and cold stone exteriors of *Los girasoles ciegos*. This same idea also plays out in the endings: Paquita's eventual permanent reunion with her young son differs greatly from the outcome of the protagonist in *Los girasoles ciegos*, who commits suicide by jumping out a window to flee the fascist Civil Guard. Again we see this new narrative working against the despair so prevalent in earlier cultural productions representative of collective memory. In other words, although also heralding an anti-fascist message, Paquita's narrative is less about the recovery of actual historical memory and more about the creation of a new kind of collective memory around this particular historical moment. While María Dueñas

herself confirms that she did, in fact, conduct research to craft the historical framework for the story, the work itself is indisputably fiction (2009: 609).

Furthermore, we can consider the international airing of *The Time In Between* as part of a process that translates collective memories across cultures. As memory scholar Astrid Erll reminds us, a recent development in Memory Studies has been to move from a national optic to "remembering *across* nations and cultures" (2011: n.p., emphasis in original).

The Time In Between and Inter-Lingual Translation

The question of translation proper merits a brief mention as it arises beginning with the title itself. The translation to *The Time In Between* was used for both the U.S. publication of the novel and the Netflix series. This title obscures the relation to the very profession—seamstress—that propels the entire premise of the narrative by dropping the word "costuras" [seams]. As Paula de la Cruz-Fernández points out, sewing offers important access to women's experiences of the war and post-war periods (2013: 251). This allusion to an important aspect in Spanish history is lost on the non-Spanish speaking audience. Curiously, *The Time In Between* was changed to *The Seamstress* for the British title of the novel despite having been translated by the same translator, Daniel Hahn (Dueñas 2012a, b). While the U.S. title erases the allusion to the female protagonist and her profession, the British title erases the connection to time—elements both integral to the storyline and to my analysis of translation.

Overall, the mini-series is well-subtitled, though regrettably, some of the dialogue is mis-translated. While subtitles need to take into account timing and readability in addition to meaning and tone, these considerations do not explain some of the mistranslations in *The Time In Between*. It could be argued that these less-than-ideal translations represent minor errors and, as such, nothing of great consequence. However, minor issues become problematic in political terms. For example, the woman caring for Paquita, doña Manuela, who was Sira's pre-war

employer and is currently her assistant at the dress shop, demonstrates the political tension present in the newly recovered relationship of the three women. When Sira discovers Paquita in hiding, Doña Manuela chuckles, "Ahora Sira es nuestra cómplice," which is correctly translated as "Now Sira is our accomplice".[22] This response nods to the political tension that still existed between the Communists (and Republicans) who lost the Civil War and the fascists who came to power and for whom Sira is now designing dresses. The viewer who is not familiar with the idea that communists were the fascists' enemies, and that Paquita is in hiding because of her political affiliation, will not receive any clarification from the translations of doña Mañuela's next utterance that, in Spanish, highlights this tension. After calling Sira their accomplice, doña Manuela proceeds to say, "De perdidos al río," an idiomatic phrase equivalent to "In for a penny, in for a pound." However, the expression is subtitled as "Welcome to the river".[23] The translation makes no sense to the non-Spanish speaking viewer, who is likely left wondering, "What river?" and misses the degree of intensity around the political climate.

In this same scene, the imperfect subtitles move from confusing to problematic when they obscure the connotation of the original utterance. Paquita brings Sira up to date on what happened during Sira's absence from Spain during the Civil War: Paquita and her husband fought against fascism, and he was killed. Paquita says, "Le hirieron en el frente" [He was wounded on the front line] which is subtitled as, "They gave him a head injury"; and, "Si no hubiéramos ido al frente" [If we hadn't gone to the front lines], is translated as, "If we hadn't gone forward".[24] The deep political commitment implicit in choosing to fight on the frontlines is lost for the English-speaking viewer. In contrast, to a Spaniard, the mention of the frontline immediately conjures up images of the Republicans staving off the Nationalists in the battles of Jarama and Brunete as well as Madrid's slogan, "*¡No pasarán!*" [They shall not pass!] that embodied anti-fascist resistance. This incongruence between the original and the translation is more than a simple error. It is a missed opportunity for transcultural translation. Brownlie reminds us of translation scholar Mona Baker's affirmation that translators are never politically neutral, they are not:

> detached, unaccountable professionals whose involvement begins and ends with the delivery of a linguistic product. Like any other group in society, translators and interpreters are responsible for the texts and utterances they produce. Consciously or otherwise, they translate texts and utterances that participate in creating, negotiating and contesting social reality. (Brownlie 2007: 138)

In sum, these mis-translations represent a missed opportunity for the English-speaking audience to engage with a transcultural memory of this significant memory of Spain's past. Memory scholar Astrid Erll reminds us that a recent development in Memory Studies has been to move from a national optic to "remembering *across* nations and cultures" (n.p., emphasis in original). In an age where the internet plays a primary role in globalization, and languages continue to be a barrier to greater cross-cultural understanding, it is increasingly incumbent upon translators to convey the nuances of the texts they translate. It is their ethical responsibility to understand and convey not just the words, but the meaning, and more crucially the cultural sensibility, bound up in each utterance. That said, might we say that such errors in subtitling are to be expected when subtitle translators are paid by the minute?[25] Does this high-pressure wage system come at an ethical cost? In March 2017, Netflix released a testing tool that will ensure the quality of their translators.[26] Hopefully, the more rigorous screening will eliminate the already infrequent—yet significant—number of incidents of mistranslation, such as those found in the scene I analyze here.[27]

Conclusions

To conclude, let me close the loop between translation and collective memory. Simply put, translation is the engine of dissemination—whether across languages, cultures, generations, or mediums. As Brownlie affirms in her work on history, memory and translation, "Translation is a very important means of creating transcultural memory, that is, creating shared knowledge of the past in different countries

and cultures" (2013: 25). She points out the practical dimension of making it possible to share narratives about different countries. Without the translation into English, conversations around *El tiempo entre costuras* would be limited to personal venues in Spanish and academic conferences, as has been the fate of the works of many Spanish authors—particularly women, from Carmen de Burgos to Lucía Etxebarria—authors well-known to Hispanists, yet all but unknown among non-Spanish speaking laypersons and academics alike. This lack of critical acclaim is due simply to the fact that the authors are women, as writer and public scholar Laura Freixas points out.[28] Freixas aims to correct the lack of attention women authors and artists receive in the Spanish cultural sphere through her activism. Here, I suggest that television and translation are additional tools that serve to bring greater visibility and, consequently, distinction to women's contributions to the arts and to society.

Brownlie underscores the importance of narrative itself (2007: 141) as understood by social narrative theorists—that is, narrative as "strategy for coming to terms with fundamental elements of our experience".[29] Cultural translation of the Civil War narratives provides the younger generations in Spain with a new narrative to which they can relate. Linguistic translation of a narrative enables an understanding of an unfamiliar human experience to the non-Spanish speaking public. Writing in an American context, Alison Landsberg argues that mass media allow us to "take on" the experiences and memories of other people and cultures "like an artificial limb" (2004: 20). This new kind of discourse about the Spanish Civil War, through television and subtitling, has the potential to shape both the Spanish and international public imaginaries regarding Spain's past. *The Time In Between* represents an opportunity for the North American audiences to "experience" Spain's collective memory around the Spanish Civil War and the historical distortions that go along with it, just as *El tiempo entre costuras* represents these same opportunities for the younger generations of Spaniards. While both the novel and the television series address the physical, emotional, and financial hardships of the conflict, neither medium displays explicit war scenes or characters *during* the war. The portrayal of wartime devastation and post-war trauma is not central

to the new discourse, rather *El tiempo entre costuras* is a period-drama-*Bildungsroman* that foregrounds passion, espionage, and personal and professional triumph. The projected collective memory shifts from the once-traumatic representations to the triumphant. We can explain this shift by employing Brodzki's assertion that it is normal to continually reconstruct the past in the memorialization process of one's own traumatic past (2007: 188–189), and by applying Rodríguez Gallardo's affirmation that narratives develop from generations to the next (2015: 35).

If, on one hand, the American public misses a critical opportunity to learn about Spain's Civil War and its history of fascism because it is distracted by the beautiful cinematography, on the other, it is afforded the opportunity to better understand Spain's role in World War II, despite the commonly understood position of neutrality. And, if within Spain, *El tiempo entre costuras* represents a translation of collective memory, we see that the fabric of collective memory for Spain's youngest generation is being re-woven in a way that distances the trauma and looks forward with a feminist message of hope for a glamorous, Europeanized Madrid in which women have the agency to effect change.

Notes

1. See Maurice Halbwachs's foundational study on the difference between history and memory, *The Collective Memory* (Halbwachs 1950/1980; also Olick et al. 2001; Boyd 2008).
2. I will refer to the series with its original Spanish title when discussing content and issues pertaining to memory as intra-cultural translation; I will use the English translation of the title when referring to inter-cultural and inter-lingual translation as illustrated in the English subtitles in Netflix.
3. María Dueñas biografía. (n.d.). http://www.mariaduenas.es/maria-duenas.php?op=biografia. Accessed 25 June 2017.
4. The Hollywood Reporter. 2015. "Netflix New Releases Coming in October 2015." hollywoodreporter.com/lists/netflix-october-2015-new-releases-movies-tv-828455/item/oct-1-2015-netflix-new-828457. Accessed 25 June 2017.

Summary:

Novel		Publisher	Author
El tiempo entre costuras	2009	Temas de Hoy	María Dueñas—Author
The Time In Between	2012	Atria Books, New York	Daniel Hahn—Translator
The Seamstress	2012	Penguin, London	Daniel Hahn—Translator
Television Adaptation		**TV Station/ Distributor**	**Director or Subtitles**
El tiempo entre costuras	October 13–January 14	Antena 3, Spain	Iñaki Mercero—Director
DVD	2013©	Divisa Home Video, Spain	Subtitle information unavailable
The Time In Between	July 14—no longer airing	Hulu USA	Subtitle information unavailable
The Time In Between	July 14—no longer airing	DramaFever USA	Subtitle information unavailable
The Time In Between	October 15—currently airing	Netflix USA	Unnamed Netflix subtitlers

5. See Sánchez Aranda (2011), Danesi (2002), and Tryon (2009, 2013).
6. Episode 7, Mercero, Iñaki, Iñaki Peñafiel, and Norberto López Amado. (Directors). 2013. *The Time In Between* [Streaming].
7. Ibid.
8. Episode 17.
9. For an analysis of a feminist reinterpretation of the role of hero, see Kietrys (2014/2015).
10. Episode 9, Mercero, Iñaki, et al.
11. For works relating to the Spanish Holocaust, see Baer and Sznaider (2016), Cate-Arries (2004), Corbalán (2017), Preston (2013), Rueda Laffond (2013, 2015), and, multiple publications by Mary S. Vásquez, including (2008, 2009, 2011). There are nearly one thousand studies on memory and the Spanish Civil War, including non-fiction studies and studies of fictional works that deal with memory. Some of the most compelling works include Davis (2005), Herrmann (2010), Jerez-Farrán and Amago (2010), Luengo (2012), Moreno-Nuño (2006), and Renshaw (2011).

12. Much information needed by media scholars to assess viewing tendencies—such as date of release on Netflix, numbers of viewers, average number of stars awarded by reviewers, and names of translators—is not readily available on Netflix.
13. Member reviews of *North & South*. (n.d.). In *Netflix*. netflix.com/search?q=North%20and%20Sout&jbv=70202593&jbp=0&jbr=0. Accessed 25 June 2017.
14. Netflix does not post the release date of their programming, but television sites point to *North & South* having been released in summer 2013. foreveryoungadult.com/2013/05/23/netflix-fix-north-south/. Accessed 25 June 2017.
15. *Decider*. (n.d.). *Decider* about page. http://decider.com/about/.
16. *El tiempo entre costuras* podría adaptarse para Estados Unidos. 2013. *La Vanguardia*. http://www.lavanguardia.com/television/series/20131023/54392324366/el-tiempo-entre-costuras-estados-unidos-adaptacion.html. Accessed 25 June 2017.
17. Member reviews of *The Time In Between*. (n.d.). In *Netflix*. netflix.com/browse?jbv=80004614&jbp=4&jbr=1. Accessed 25 June 2017.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., para. 7 and 53, respectively.
20. For informative studies regarding the semiotic relationship between adaptation and translation, see Raw (2012) and Gambier and van Doorslaer (2016), particularly the chapter by van Doorslaer and Raw (2016).
21. Episode 10, Mercero, Iñaki, et al.
22. Episode 10, Mercero, Iñaki, et al.
23. Episode 10, Mercero, Iñaki, et al.
24. Episode 10, Mercero, Iñaki, et al.
25. Netflix. Partner Help Center. FAQ How much do subtitlers get paid? backlothelp.netflix. com/hc/en-us/articles/115005104727-How-much-do-subtitlers-get-paid-. Accessed 25 June 2017.
26. Fetner and Sheehan (2017a).
27. See also Fetner and Sheehan (2017b).
28. See, for example, Freixas (2000). Also http://www.clasicasymodernas.org/ and https://twitter.com/laurafreixas/. Accessed 25 June 2017.
29. The Ohio State University. (n.d.). "What Is Narrative Theory?" *Project Narrative*. projectnarrative.osu.edu/about/what-is-narrative-theory. Accessed 25 June 2017.

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9

Voices, Whispers and Silence: Translating Defeat and Building Memories of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism

Inês Espada Vieira

To Beatriz Puertas Hernández

Introduction

In this chapter, I propose to embark on a journey with Alberto Méndez's novel *Los girasoles ciegos* and its Portuguese translation. This journey starts with an overview of the context of historical memory in Spain. After providing some background to the book, I will introduce some linguistic aspects of the translation, comparing the Spanish and the Portuguese texts and giving an account of various nuances that could interfere with the reception of the novel. An analysis of the level of readers' awareness of the Spanish Civil War in Portugal and their familiarity with languages and cultures will demonstrate how these

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helped to overcome shortcomings in the translation. I will contend that in Portugal this memory is a "travelling memory", having migrated into Portuguese culture through literature in particular—a field that is well acquainted with traumatic memories.

The Context: From the Transition to the "Historical Memory Law"

A genealogy of Memory Studies may trace the field back to initial approaches focused on the individual. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, however, with the seminal work of Maurice Halbwachs, memory has also been acknowledged as a collective phenomenon operating at different levels, from the small family group to the larger social group, encompassing the nation.

Traumatic memories in particular play an important role in different memory dynamics. The case of the memory of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and the long dictatorship that followed (1939–1975) can serve as an example of this. During this latter period, the prevailing discourse set in motion a complete erasure of the public memory of the Second Republic (1931–1939) and the Republican cause during the Civil War, as well as imposing a silence on intimate (individual and familiar) memories of the same conflict during Francoism.

Franco died in November 1975 and a period that became known as the Transition[1] immediately ensued. Understanding the Transition is key to understanding how and why the great debate about memory only emerged at the beginning of the twenty first century (Hansen 2016).

The Spanish Transition from an authoritarian state to a modern democracy has been regarded as a singular case, given the way former Francoists (conservative right-wing and filo-fascist) and former Republicans (including communists, socialists and other left-wing forces) managed to secure an informal pact to establish a new democratic regime. Dialogue and peace were made possible through a strategy of *amnesty and amnesia*, supported by the Amnesty Law of October 1977 and a consensus of political silence regarding the experiences of the victims of the Civil War and the Dictatorship. It was a period of silence, though not of oblivion, that lasted for the first decades of democratic

rule, in direct contrast to the academic research into its history (Juliá 2003). The contributors to Hansen and Cruz Suárez's (2012) edited volume present various reasons for the "recovery" of the historical memory of the Civil War and Francoism at the dawn of the new millennium, highlighting the political polarization and the changes in Spanish society, set in a broader European and Western memorialist context.

In the mid-2000s Spain enacted legislation that was to become known as the "Historical Memory Law". This law emerged in the context of a national "year of historical memory", declared by the Parliament to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the Second Republic. Prepared and submitted to parliament in June 2006 by the leftist Government of the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) led by prime-minister Rodríguez Zapatero, an explanation for its *raison d'être* was provided in its title: "Law recognising and extending rights and establishing measures in favour of those who suffered persecution or violence during the Civil War and Dictatorship." In her book on the politics of memory, Aguilar (2008a) refers to this law as a "ley de reparación" (restoration law), highlighting the civil motivation behind this political act: to restore the rights of the forgotten and unacknowledged victims of the Civil War and Francoism.

Assman (2010) examines how trauma is dealt with by national communities whose borders do not always match those of a country. She identifies four models of dealing with a traumatic past. The first, *dialogic forgetting*, is perhaps the oldest. Oblivion was used by societies as a pragmatic resource to re-establish balance after trauma: "[…] self-imposed dialogic silence is a model for peace designed and agreed upon by two parties that had engaged in violence in order to keep an explosive past at bay" (2010: 10). This strategy of oblivion is often associated with an amnesty that allows those involved to bury past hates and achieve new social and political stability.

The second model, *remember in order to never forget*, is precisely the reverse and understands remembering as a conscious strategy to fight oblivion. The example given is that of the Holocaust memory, which has been addressed within this model not only because it may provide a therapeutic solution to deal with the trauma, but also because it implies acknowledging a moral obligation to the victims.

In the third model, *remembering in order to forget*, the act of evoking is defined, not as a way of looking at the past, but as a way of looking into the future, leaving the past behind. This memory policy, as evidenced in South Africa with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, is not based on a contrast between remembering and forgetting, but rather on an alliance between these two sides of the memorialist process.

While the three aforementioned models result from her analysis of reality, Assman's fourth and final model is a proposal to be considered between states or between groups within one state. *Dialogic remembering* should allow for the acknowledgement of guilt. According to Assman, the European Union stands as the ideal framework for this strategy of dealing with traumatic experience through a dialogue that envisages the future.

Assman reflects on how Spain has dealt with memories of the Civil War and Francoism as a complex example of the first model, *dialogic forgetting*—one that bears an "asymmetric memory" in maintaining the victor's narrative. She considers that the "Historical Memory Law" presented the Republican version of the war memory for public discussion, bringing it into the public memory while triggering an "abrupt end" to what she sees as the "unilateral" pact that prevailed during the Transition (cf. 2010: 11); this contrasts with the mainstream idea of a unique consensus between the two sides prevailing during the Transition.

Almost three decades later, the passing of this law is therefore pivotal in the history of historical memory in Spain. Moreover, the "year of historical memory" was not born only out of a political decision or as a cabinet narrative. It represented, explained and contributed to a *crescendo* of voices trying to be heard on an experience that had been silenced (though again, not forgotten) over a very long period. Despite the institutional and social silence about the Civil War and Francoism, there were whispers, "underground memories" that fought forgetfulness: "Far from leading to oblivion, the protracted silence regarding the past represents the resistance of a powerless society in the face of many official discourses" (*my translation*, Pollak 1989: 5). These latent memories, crossing time in silence, frequently relate to trauma as the history of memory is often a history of the wounds opened up by memory (Rousso 2002: 95).

The "Industry of Memory"

After the silence, the sound, and even the noise. Throughout the 2000s, the Spanish national media focussed considerable interest on every aspect of the Civil War and Francoism, both in terms of news and reportage, or as source material for entertainment and drama.[2] The spotlight from the print media—and especially the two major national newspapers representing the left (PSOE) and the right (PP, conservative party), *El País* and *El Mundo*—also demonstrates the weight of twentieth-century history on the public space in the early years of the twenty first century. Cercas (2014) defined this ambience as the "memory industry," with an accurate sense of self-criticism, as he is a writer and intellectual who has himself written extensively on the issue of historical memory. From Cercas' point of view, the growing interest in memory during the 1990s in Europe coincided with the generation of the "grandchildren of war" in Spain reaching maturity (a generation that did not experience the War personally and with faint memories of Francoism), and this prepared the way for the "apotheosis" of historical memory during the 2000s. Thus, it seems that one of the problems with historical memory in Spain is that it became an industry that delivered moral, political and artistic revenues, instead of focusing on responding to victims' claims.

Literature, as art and testimony, is also a place for the work of memory, since "every artistic mode is simultaneously an *ars memoriae* relating to the past through citation, copy, appropriation, dissimulation or denial" (Gil 2004: 16). Therefore, the first decade of the 2000s saw the appearance of various novels set in wartime and post-war scenarios. Simultaneously, there was a rapid growth in the publication (and re-publication) of historical, literary, sociological and political essays. Memory sold (and sells) books, TV shows, tourist destinations, fashions, concepts of identity, and many other products. Given this scenario, it may come as a surprise that during the parliamentary debates preceding the approval of the Amnesty Law "not once did the expressions *memory* and even less *historical memory* come to light" (*my translation*, Aguilar 2008b: 770).

Thus, the debate about Spain's historical memory is specifically a debate about the memory of the Civil War and of Francoism, featuring

two different narratives about that past. As I have examined elsewhere (Vieira 2012), from a cultural point of view, this memory has two different sides, duplicity being part of its essence. It includes, therefore, two versions of the past, both written under the auspices of "historical memory": one anchored in it, and the other running against it.

Different novels have brought this narrative into literature and hence into readers' lives and into communities. Simultaneously, novels have also gathered and reinterpreted the experiences of life. Literature—and translated literature—can act as a witness that gives voice to those whose voice is otherwise unheard, or that gives coherence to voices otherwise not understood. As noted by Brodzki, "literature in the late twentieth century reflects an almost global obsession with transmission, preservation, repression, and potential effacement of memory as an instrument of historical consciousness" (2007: 101). Hansen (2016) also identifies this "globalizing memory culture" as an operative framework for the comprehension of modes of remembrance.

This is the context of historical memory in which the novel *Los girasoles ciegos* was published, a twenty first-century context that finds its roots in the last quarter of the twentieth century. The book immediately gained plaudits from the public and critics, eventually being awarded some of the most important literary prizes in Spain, as well as appearing in reprints and in translation. In the next part, I will take a closer look at the novel and at its Portuguese translation.

Los girasoles ciegos

Los girasoles ciegos [*Blind Sunflowers*] by Alberto Méndez was published by Anagrama in 2004. It comprises four subtly connected short stories, referred to by the author as "defeats", set in Spain at the end of the Civil War and in the immediate post-war period. The first defeat, "1939 or If the Heart Could Think it Would Cease to Beat"[3] tells the story of Captain Alegría, a soldier of the rebel army who surrenders on the eve of victory; the second is "1940 or Manuscript Found in Oblivion", the story of a young poet who fled to the mountains with his pregnant girlfriend, who dies giving birth to a boy. The third defeat is "1941 or The Language of the Dead", which recounts the last days of the prisoner

Juan Senra, a cello teacher, who is summoned to appear in court before Colonel Eymar, where he finds out that, as long as he keeps telling tales about the Colonel's son, he will not be killed. Finally, the last short story, "1942 or The Blind Sunflowers", chronicles the history of a family—mother, father and son—whose secret life (the supposedly dead father lives hidden in a closet) is threatened by the boy's teacher, a deacon who falls in love with the mother and starts stalking them.

"Defeat" is the common word in all four titles and it is also the common ground for these narratives that make up a novel about the relentless and multifaceted collective defeat of the Spanish Civil War. The fact that there is always defeat in war is, of course, not an original idea. Yet, the way Méndez depicts the other conflicts that take place against the backdrop of the larger military conflict is unique, particularly because of the distinct voices he uses as narrators and/or as protagonists in the book, presenting a "multiperspectivist enunciation or focalization" and a "dialogic alternative" to the mainstream novelistic discourses (Hansen 2016: 280).

All the four sections are interconnected by these characters, and by details that discreetly engage with each other: the girlfriend of the poet in the second story is the daughter of Elena and Ricardo, from the last defeat; Carlos Alegría, from the first defeat, is a friend of Juan Senra, imprisoned with him, in the third story.

The book bears the title of the last short tale, "Blind Sunflowers", disoriented, incapable of seeing the sun. The title connotes an image of an extended plurality, a large field of many sunflowers, which is in keeping with the wide range of different voices that rise from the text. The complexity of this text gives shelter to the distinct voices of seven narrators, conveying different narrative styles: one in the first defeat; two in the second defeat (the author of the manuscript and the editor who found it); one in the third, and three in the fourth (the deacon, the boy, and a third-person narrator), often indicated by the use of different fonts. Besides the narrators, there are other voices, written or spoken: these include the (invented) report Juan Senra makes on the life of the son of Colonel Eymar, the letters Alegría or Senra write to their families, or Ricardo, a man of words, gradually dominated by silence. These voices enact a sophisticated understanding of the dynamics of memory

through distinct sources: witnesses, autobiographical narratives, private letters or military records, for example.

Although it was published in the context of historical memory, Méndez's book is not just another product or a pamphlet. It is a narrative about memory, but it does not present a homogenised version of the past with one Republican hero. *Los girasoles ciegos* is not an account of the Civil War that ended in 1939. Rather—as is indicated by the successive dates that the author includes in the title of each short tale—it is centred on what the end of this conflict brought for survivors, from 1939 to 1942. Hence, what this novel entails is the re-enactment of feelings of defeat that followed the military conflict, spreading into people's lives, Republican or not: a defeat ruled by fear. By displaying the vital subjectivity of traumatic experiences, this novel proves that literature can be an opportunity to resist simplification and generalization.

Before going deeper into details of the translation, I propose to look at along some intersecting elements of Memory Studies and Translation Studies.

The Memory of the Spanish Civil War and the Dictatorship: A Travelling Memory

At present, writing about memory within an academic context presents one major challenge: the possibility of repetition and little original thinking. Nevertheless, thinking, reading and writing about memory is never tedious or futile, as work conducted in the field of Memory Studies is always a step further in the direction of a common understanding of ourselves and our cultures. It helps us arrive at a better knowledge of our past and offers the opportunity to reflect more deeply on our experiences that may lead—we hope—to a better future.

Brownlie has called Translation Studies and Memory Studies the humanities' "boom disciplines", due to the amount of academic research currently being conducted in both areas. We, scholars, when studying memory, are all simultaneously witnesses to, and agents of, this process, this "immense and somewhat nebulous field" (Brownlie 2017: 1–2). The subjects and insights offered by Memory Studies are proof of the dynamic characteristic of memory.

There is an extricable bond between language and memory. As a language act, translation is also bonded with memory. Bassnett (2003) has argued that every translated text carries with it a memory of the source text, although being unfaithful, "because no absolutely perfect memory or absolutely perfect translation can exist. But translation, like memory, writes the future, and it does so through re-writing the past" (308–309). She uses the established metaphor of the bridge between cultures and between time to describe the act of translating. This bridge also stretches between memories of texts written and the desire for new texts, a permanent dialogue between the past and the future. Therefore, each translated text is an object of memory: the immediate memory of the source text and the memory of the culture from which it was born. Translation is a type of afterlife of memory, not only in another time and space, but also in another linguistic and cultural environment, bearing a crucial cultural and symbolic dimension, and hence contributing to the survival of a certain memory (Brodzki 2007).

In this section, I use Brownlie's concept of transnational memory (2017: 3), understanding it as a memory that transcends the geographical and cultural boundaries of one country, and that does so by being propagated into other spaces and contexts, or by the recognition of a common history and historical experiences. Brownlie (2013, 2017) emphasizes the dynamic dimension of memory (which does not exclude its stability) and the dialectic between the past and the present, noting that transnational memory is a notion similar to the concept of "transcultural memory" proposed by Erll. Nonetheless, what I would emphasise in Erll's (2011, 2014) analysis is memory's dimension of "travelling". According to Erll, fluidity and fuzziness are characteristics of memory in culture. Instead of conceiving memory as national bond or propriety, studying memory involves paying attention to the "movements, connections, and mixing of memories […] across spatial, temporal, and social, but also linguistic and medial borders" (2014: 178). Transcultural memory has a history of travel and translation across, and mostly beyond, borders. Travelling, moving, is the way to keep cultural memory alive, having a real impact on individuals and communities. Following Erll's (2011) proposal of five dimensions of movement—*carriers, media, contents, practices* and *forms*—I argue that the memory

of the Spanish Civil War and the Dictatorship moves within Portuguese culture, through *carriers* (a notion that is close to Jan Assman's (2007) *speziellen Träger*), as a *content* (a shared image of fighters for freedom and a narrative of resistance) and also as *form*. This last dimension can be found in the cover of the Portuguese translation of Méndez's book. By using a Republican propaganda poster, the editor calls for a mnemonic *form* that repeats an iconic image, a carrier of meaning. I will come back to this issue later.

The memory of the Spanish Civil War and the Dictatorship has "travelled" to Portugal and across Portuguese culture in different ways, and has been present in Literature and the Arts, as symbolic patrimony of Portuguese artists and intellectuals since the Estado Novo dictatorship (1933–1974) and into Democracy. This travelling idea also refers to some real experiences of crossing the border, namely the long journeys to and through Spain of Miguel Torga (1907–1995) and Jorge de Sena (1919–1978), or José Saramago's (1922–2009) life in Lanzarote. Border experiences (real life in the villages along the political border and also the contacts between writers during the two dictatorships, for example) have built a sense of familiarity and empathy towards the Republican memory of the Spanish Civil War.

The Portuguese Edition of *Los girasoles ciegos*: An Analysis of Some Aspects of the Translation

In 2009, Sextante Editora published *Os girassóis cegos*, the Portuguese translation of Méndez's book, by Armando Silva Carvalho (1938–2017). The decision to translate the novel was the Portuguese editor's personal choice, partially resulting from the fact that the author was a well-known editor, but also from the personal intervention of Anagrama's editor Jorge Herralde, and the announcement of a screen adaptation by film director José Luís Cuerda, which was released in 2008.

Two different styles of cover design for the book can be distinguished from the various editions around the world. On the one hand, there is one that we can describe as a sober kind of cover (that of the Swedish and Arabic editions), with an almost bucolic character (German and

English editions), featuring sunflowers (English edition, with the Bulgarian edition displaying a graphic design in which the stems have knots of barbed wire). On the other hand, there is a cover that I would define as "explicative" or "militant", which uses photographs or other commonly identifiable images of the Republican cause in the Civil War (the Brazilian, Dutch, French, Romanian, Serbian, Russian, Italian and Israeli editions, for instance).

The cover of the Portuguese edition falls into the second group and contrasts with the Spanish cover. While the latter displays black lettering over a beige background with a black-and-white photograph of a man in the country—graphically in line with the rest of the book series—the Portuguese edition stands out with vivid blue and red colours. The designer took a Republican propaganda poster as her inspiration, displaying a militiaman wearing blue overalls with a grenade in his right hand, depicted in a low-angle frame. The poster's slogan—NO PASARÉIS—is absent from the book cover, replaced instead by the title and the name of the author.

In her seminal study of images of the liberation of Nazi concentration camps, *Remembering to Forget*, Zelizer argues that "[m]uch of our ability to remember depends on images" (1998: 5). Collective memories (Zelizer uses the plural) are not subjects that we think *about*, but are memories *with* which we think. That is why the choice of a catchy poster with such colours for the cover of the Portuguese edition is significant, and displays an obvious ideological point of view from the editor that contributes to contextualizing this translation.

The cover also features two other pieces of relevant information to the reader: in the upper right corner "four stories from the Spanish war" and, in the lower right-hand corner, "National Narrative Award [Spain]". The back cover features a summary of the book, repeating the title and the author, as well as details about the National Narrative Award, adding the date and the other two prizes received (Setenil de Cuentos 2004 and Crítica 2005).

The information about the prizes correlates with a certain Portuguese "tradition" of translating award winning Spanish novels. A survey of the winners of the Planeta, Alfaguarra, Narrativa and Crítica awards between 2001 and 2016 reveals that the majority have been translated

into Portuguese. The overall data suggest that the criteria for translation are both the notability of the novel and the reputation of the author, rather than the theme of the novel (see Maia and Vieira, forthcoming).

The 2009 Portuguese translation had a print run of 2000 copies. So far, the only data available from the publisher (the small Sextante publishing house was incorporated in 2010 into the larger publishing group Porto Editora) record sales of 45 copies in 2014, 2 copies in 2015, and 17 copies in 2016. In April 2017, there were a total of 498 copies in stock. Although incomplete, these figures indicate a general trend regarding the reception of the novel in Portugal, which is also supported by a relative paucity of interest from both the general and specialist press (7 references, each no longer than a column). There is no obvious justification for this apathy towards Méndez's book; nevertheless, it is interesting to see how this work remains in print and is still available in retail outlets, which I would claim is an obvious indicator of an ethical-political position of the editor (as presented by Hansen 2016).

Looking at the translation itself, let us begin with the first defeat: the story of Carlos Alegría set in 1939, in the days immediately before and after the declaration of victory, "Si el corazón pensara dejaría de latir" ["If the Heart Could Think It Would Cease to Beat"], translated into Portuguese as "Se o coração pensasse deixaria de pulsar". In the text we learn about the heart of Carlos Alegría, and to understand the reasons why it beats. Everything creates fear, except the dead (cf. 32).[4] When Alegría becomes aware that he is still alive after being executed, he realises that he lived because the earth had cauterised his wounds. Earth and fear kept him alive: "mientras estuvo inconsciente su corazón tuvo una razón para latir además de la del miedo" (32) ["his heart had nevertheless found a reason to beat other than fear"]. It is this sentence—centred on the verb *latir* (to beat or pulsate)—that connects the text and the title. Although the semantic connection remains in the Portuguese translation, the lexical dimension disappears since the verb chosen by the translator, *latejar*, is a synonym and not the same as the title, *pulsar*: "enquanto esteve inconsciente o seu coração tinha uma certa razão para *latejar* para além do medo" (6). This quote is representative: throughout the text, the translator is less interested in providing

a literal and close translation than in capturing the overall meaning, which is not questioned. Let us consider another example of this.

The captain's surname, "happiness" in Spanish and Portuguese, certainly carries a tragic sense of irony, as there is neither memory nor hope of any happiness in this story. Alegría is not, however, a deranged, lost or desperate character. Surrendering is not an isolated action, as we come to learn that he is gradually surrendering over time and that this process, planned with dignity, transformed him into *the surrendered*. Thus, the adjective *rendido* (surrendered) or the verb *rendirse* (to surrender) are replaced by the word *rendido* (surrendered) and the verb that precedes this is the verb *ser* (to be), with the same meaning of a quality of permanence and not a contextual state, both in Spanish and in Portuguese. Again, the translator does not always translate literally, for example opting for "quem se havia rendido" (someone who had surrendered) or "pessoa rendida" (a surrendered person) (22 and 25). These different lexical choices do not affect the overall meaning but represent a subtle loss of impact.

The moral dimension of the symbolic and factual defeat of Captain Alegría is well conveyed in the Portuguese translation of the novel: the reader feels the calculated gestures of Alegría, the certainty of death, the nausea and the suffocation of the solitary hours before passing. Thus, the story of Captain Alegría is shaped by the notion of a dysphoric dignity, of a contrary morality, of a war lived out with a shining weapon, triggered, but never fired (see 16).

The Portuguese translation seems to exhibit a certain liberty in the choices made, and I would go so far as to point to the agility of the prose, always elegant and fluid, even if incurring some avoidable misjudgements, for example, in the translation of vocabulary and expressions. There are also various instances of isolated words or fragments getting "lost" in the translation.

We encounter a certain freedom taken in the translation of verbal tenses, modes and grammatical persons. The next example is taken from the second story: "El niño está enfermo. Casi no se mueve. He matado la vaca y le estoy dando su sangre. Pero apenas logra tragar algo" (54). ["The boy is ill. He hardly moves. I've killed the cow, and am giving him her blood, but he can barely swallow any."] In the Portuguese

translation, this is what we read: "A criança está doente. Praticamente nem se mexe. Matei a vaca e dou à criança o seu sangue. Pouco consigo comer" (63). This is an example of several mistranslations we can find in the book and their consequences. In the Spanish source text, the character who is not able to take the blood is the baby (*he* cannot drink), whereas in the Portuguese translation it is said that it is the father (*I*, the narrator) who cannot drink the blood. Evidently, this conveys an inaccuracy on the linguistic level, although the overall dimension of thriving is there and ultimately the reader (similar to the narrator) knows that those characters have the same destiny, since death is inevitable.

Despite such cases, the concepts of memory, the global narrative and each story's structure (moral and literary) are not affected. Only a close contrastive look into the source text and the translation reveals the lapses.

While it may not be possible to explain the reason for the minor yet numerous inconsistencies in the translation, one may ask, however, why such inconsistencies do not affect the Portuguese reader's interpretation of the novel? I would argue that this has to do with a combination of different reasons. Firstly, I would point to the closeness of both Portuguese and Spanish cultures and languages. Then, it is also relevant to note the context in which the book appeared in Portugal, followed by the way readers' expectations of the text were primed by the cover design, referred to earlier. Lastly, I would draw attention to the timing of the translation's publication, coinciding with the the 70th anniversary of the end of the Spanish Civil War.

The first motive introduced above—the affinities between Spanish and Portuguese language and culture—is from my perspective the most important one as far as translation is concerned. The common geographical destiny of the Iberian Peninsula is also a common cultural ground for languages that have grown together (including Basque), circulating, especially among the elites, ever since the formation of the Christian kingdoms in the Middle Ages (interesting studies about literary and linguistic relations in the ninetieth and twentieth centuries can be read in Magalhães 2007). Ferreras Estrada (2007) uses the wordplay of "communicating languages" (as in communicating vessels), suggesting a desired Iberian community where the neighbours' language would be just a

different way to refer to a common reality. It is my contention that the linguistic and cultural familiarity between two national realities can sometimes overshadow the necessary awareness in translation, while helping to overcome potential obstacles arising from wayward translation.

Another interesting feature of the Portuguese translation is the translator's use of explanatory notes (eight in total, mainly about historical context).[5] The third defeat, "1941 or The Language of the Dead", contains the largest number of notes (six). This difference in the number of translator's notes does not seem justified by any difficulties that the contextualisation in this story may entail. Yes, the notes do give historical information, but I would even question the need for these notes (and, on the other hand, the absence of notes in the other stories), which clearly do not cover all the possible doubts the reader might hold.

The last note in the story of the second defeat, "1940 or Manuscript Found in Oblivion" is somewhat confusing. This story is narrated by two different voices, one being the voice of the editor who finds and *translates* the manuscript, the other the voice of the young poet fleeing the war. The final note—a long parenthesis written in a cursive font—closes the narrative with the same external voice that had begun it and that appears throughout the whole chapter. This voice is part of the staging and dramatization of veracity in the story, completed with plenty of "documentary evidence". However, in the translation, this last note appears as footnote, *outside* of the text, with the attribution at the end "(N. do E. espanhol)" (66) (note from the Spanish editor). This may be a case of rushed reading of the original or, on the contrary, an excess of zeal that, in my opinion, disturbs the interpretation, given that this introduces another facet, a "Spanish editor", who simply does not exist in Méndez's book. Nevertheless, again, it is proof of the translator's intent to give these stories historical context.

In a certain way, this unexpected footnote demonstrates one of the ideas pointed out in the short story: the importance of documents "certified" by a supposedly external and objective inspection, that grants credibility to the voice of the young poet kept inside a hitherto forgotten notebook. Hence, the voice of this fictional editor is somehow the voice of a kind of translator who discovers an unknown text, interpreting it, deciphering the handwriting and transcribing the manuscript

found in *oblivion*. As depicted in the title of this second narrative, oblivion is a place where words can be found, a place for memory to be born and to thrive.

"Telling" and "surviving" are two verbs fundamentally interconnected. This dynamic is present in *Los girasoles ciegos* and its Portuguese translation and it is a good example of how discourses of memory convey different voices with unique experiences, and of how the many voices of traumatic experience can be organized into one plural narrative, contrasting with the homogenised public discourse of memory. Despite the contrasts between the characters' different biographies, there is one vital common trait which their destinies share: defeat.

Literature and Defeat in Portugal

Historians have debated relations between Portugal and Spain over the centuries. As neighbouring countries (a geographical factor which has conditioned Portugal's destiny as a nation), contemporary media attention in Portugal is often turned towards Spain: its political contentions, its social controversies, and its cultural vitality. Thus, the controversy over historical memory was (and is) not unknown to Portugal. Nevertheless, it is perceived in a non-emotional way, since the memory of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism is a received memory, and not an inherited one. I distinguish between these terms, considering that an *inheritance* represents a vertical movement, the passing of things (memories, in this case) through time and down through generations, while I see *receiving* as a horizontal movement, the passing of memories travelling beyond cultural boundaries.

Conflict and defeat are not unknown in Portugal's recent history. The "Carnation Revolution" that took place on 25th April 1974 put an end not only to the Dictatorship, but also to a colonial war (a war that had led to it in the first instance) that had started in 1961 in Angola and that soon spread to Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. The *Ultramar* (the general name for the Portuguese territories outside Europe) promptly became the destiny of thousands and thousands of soldiers, and consequently a relentless reality in politics and in families' lives.[6]

Reinstädler (2011) notes how the apathy of Portuguese society towards the colonial past and the Estado Novo dictatorship is not matched by a similar apathy in the Portuguese literary community. Society does not want to "stir up the traumas of the past", whereas in literature and the arts, "the Portuguese cultural memory emerges as represented in a different manner" (Reinstädler 2011: 166). Consistently, though with less fanfare, democratic Portugal has read novels about the Colonial War that depict the destiny of individuals (dead, physically wounded, psychologically traumatized, scarred for ever), and that question in a deeper way the destiny of generations—and ultimately the destiny of a whole nation (see the work of Lobo Antunes and Lídia Jorge for crucial examples). Reinstädler puts forward the concepts of "witness literature" and "fictional literature" as examples that, contrary to the official discourse, focus on the history of twentieth-century Portugal and its memories across the individual and collective levels. Because they still run so deep in individuals and in Portuguese society, Fonseca calls the traumatic memories of the Colonial War and the return from Africa "the impossible memory" (2010).

Given the parallelism of a traumatic national war experience (notwithstanding the obvious differences of space, time and political context), we can ask ourselves whether the memory of the Portuguese Colonial War will pursue a similar path to that of historical memory in Spain: a period of initial institutional silence (though a silence that is broken by literary and scholarly voices), followed by the emergence of a national public debate on the memory of the conflict.

Conclusions

In this chapter, memory has been seen as movement, as traffic and motion. Conceived as fluid, memory flows beyond boundaries and necessarily adapts, transforms, fills and occupies a new space in another culture, often through translated literature. At its core, translation is also movement: between texts, languages, cultures and therefore memories.

In Spain, the narrative of those who lost the war, the Republican side, was doubly silenced: over the course of the long years of Francoism and

again in the early decades of democracy, in favour of the policy of "dialogic forgetting". Nevertheless, these memories, assimilated, (re)transmitted and (re)organised by time and protagonists, survived through a silence which was not forgetfulness. At the beginning of the twenty first century, there were renewed calls for a public debate about the memory of the Civil War and Francoism from politics, the intellectual space and from society at large.

The novel *Los girasoles ciegos* by Alberto Méndez has been examined in the context of the debate about historical memory in Spain, highlighting not only the plural dimension of the voices in the novel, but also the ethical connection between them: the defeat.

In Portugal, the memory of the Spanish Civil War is a received memory. Translated literature has a major role to play in the reception of memory and thus the Portuguese translation, *Os girassóis cegos*, can be considered in terms of the dynamics of transcultural memory. Similar to other novels about the Spanish Civil War, the Portuguese translation of *Los girasoles ciegos* has had no special impact in the media, or in academia. Nevertheless, if any impact is to be measured, it must be seen within the broader context of the translation of contemporary Spanish literature into Portuguese and the literature of trauma in Portugal.

In the movement of transnational memories, each book is a drop in the ocean or—to return to the metaphor of the bridge—each literary text, original or translated, is a brick or a cable that helps build and sustain a solid bridge between cultures and across time, ensuring the representative polyphony of the narrative of our shared destiny.

Notes

1. The Transition period can be considered, sensu stricto, the time between Franco's death on 20th November 1975 and 6th December 1978, the date of the referendum that ratified the democratic Constitution. In a broader sense, it extended until the failed military coup of 23rd February 1981.
2. For example, there were a variety of programs from typical infotainment round-table debates to the important TVE series, *Cuéntame cómo pasó*, which premiered in 2001, and is now (2018) in its 19th season.

The format was bought by Portuguese television and adapted. The series, *Conta-me como foi*, aired on public TV and ran for five seasons, from 2007 to 2011.

3. All English quotes from the novel are from Nick Caistor's translation (Méndez 2008).
4. The pages indicated in the quotations are from the 36th reprint of *Los girasoles ciegos* (Méndez 2004) and the pages of the Portuguese quotes are from Méndez (2009).
5. In the first story, there is one note about a Republican general and another about the rural nobility from Burgos (Méndez 2009: 19 and 22); in the second story, the footnotes are about the name of a chair referred to in text (ibid., 83), a military chief from the time of Napoleonic invasions (90), the meaning of *cenetistas* (a member of C.N.T.) (100), the meaning of *camisas viejas* (ibid.), the meaning of Rorro in Castilian (103) and the hymn of the Falange (111).
6. For a broader account of contemporary Portugal and the changes the country has undergone in the last half a century, see Pinto (2011). On the decline of the colonial empire and decolonization, see MacQueen (1997) (both in English).

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10

Memory and Translation in *La cabellera de la Shoá* [The Hair of the Shoah] (2015) by Félix Grande

María Pilar Cáceres Casillas

Autobiography is always thanatography.

(Following Jacques Derrida)

The Ear of the Other

Writing Traumatic Memory

Hauntology and Thanatography in *La cabellera de la Shoá*

In *Specters of Marx* Jacques Derrida coined the term *hauntology* which has since become a useful conceptual tool for the analysis of works of literature and other cultural phenomena produced in the aftermath of catastrophic events.[1] I will suggest that this term can

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plausibly be applied in a reading of the Jewish Holocaust poem *La cabellera de la Shoá*, by the post-Spanish Civil War poet Félix Grande (1937–2014). Grande's poems, along with much of the poetry written in Franco's Spain, cannot be disentangled from the catastrophic events of the Civil War and the dictatorship that followed. This history is recounted autobiographically in their work, which makes formalist approaches insufficient to address such poetry.[2] The past is, nevertheless, present in them in a particular way, as my discussion of the term "hauntology" will attempt to clarify in the first section of this chapter.

Derrida uses "hauntology" to refer to a situation in which the past is filtered in ways that make it difficult to trace back to an origin. The word is a portmanteau of haunting and ontology, and it points to the displacement of the idea of "being" as presence towards the idea of a ghost, "which is neither present, nor absent, neither dead nor alive" (Davis 2007: 9). Even if the Jewish Holocaust is historically grounded in archival material and well documented, as is the Spanish Holocaust,[3] the effects of these two singular but interrelated events often linger as absent presences, as spectres, over literary production of the second half of the twentieth century and over contemporary literary works in ways which are difficult to pin down to a specific temporality and spatiality.

Before Derrida's coinage of hauntology, we were familiar with the *uncanny*, the (un)concept used to express a sense of (un)familiarity and strangeness. In *The Work of Mourning* (Derrida 2001a), consisting of 14 texts in memory of his deceased friends, the uncanny is revealed as "hauntology", as the traumatic recurrence of a haunting death, of its eternal return. As Derrida points out in *The Ear of the Other*, we write for the dead:

> Perhaps not for the dead in general, as Jean Genet says when he writes something like "I write for the dead" or "My theatre is addressed to the dead." Rather, one writes for a specific dead person, so that perhaps in every text there is a dead man or woman tobe sought, the singular figure of death to which a text is destined and which signs. (1985: 53)

In a fundamental way, it can similarly be said that we "translate" for the dead, and that death can be "translated" by means of literature, an idea that constitutes the fulcrum of the following pages and one to which I will be returning after a brief detour to contextualize *La cabellera de la Shoá*. Within the landscape of Spanish poetry in the second half of the twentieth-century, Grande's work represents a landmark in the poetic treatment of memory; he was a relentless advocate of the recovery of historical memory, not only in his poetry, but also in his prolific career as an essayist and literary critic. He is the author of *Memoria del flamenco* (1999), a masterfully interwoven narrative of historical precision and memory, where he rigorously reveals the history of persecution, death and genocide suffered by the gipsies, celebrating the largely misunderstood art of flamenco, to which he does justice.

The 42-page *La cabellera de la Shoá* is a unique work in the Spanish literary context of the twenty-first century and, more significantly, the sole poem in the whole history of Spanish literature devoted to the Jewish Holocaust. The structure of the poem is quite complex. It is mostly written in blank verse and contains stanzas of both poetic prose and of rhymed lines. The prosodic pattern is very irregular—it almost looks as if the poet was experimenting with the form to accommodate the abyss-like dimension of the topic he was confronting. The title originates from a visit Grande made to Auschwitz. There, the poet saw 1950 kilos of unidentifiable female hair:

> Cuando lo vi tuve que poner las manos en el cristal porque con los ojos no me valía. Había cabello rubio, moreno, pelirrojo, todo mezclado, decolorado por el paso del tiempo. De repente, me pregunté ¿de qué color es este pelo? Era un color nuevo. No había existido antes.[4]
>
> When I saw it, I had to put my hands on the window in disbelief. There was blond, hair, black hair, red hair, all mixed and discoloured by the passing of time. I suddenly realised I couldn't say what colour the hair was. It was a new colour. A colour that had never existed before.

A poem like *La cabellera de la Shoá* had never existed before in the history of Spanish poetry. I will contend that it may be read as an attempt to "translate" the unnameable and as an example of the Derridean idea of "thanatography" (from the Greek "tanatos", death)—a dialectic with the dead.[5] Derrida's notion of "hauntology" can be applied to contextualize and place this poem within a larger historical and literary framework. Even if its topic is the Jewish Holocaust, *La cabellera de la Shoá* presents an opportunity to examine hitherto under-explored literary, historical and critical connections between the Holocaust, the Spanish Civil War, and the subsequent dictatorship.

La cabellera de la Shoá is the culminating event that gives closure to a body of works by a poet who never ceased to be haunted by death.[6] Death is not just a lyrical motif in the poetry of Grande. In *Memoria, lenguaje y trauma en la obra de Félix Grande*, I explain that the Spanish Civil War had a formative impact on the poet. It left an imprint on his work in the ways he makes sense (poetically) of the world in which he lived, developing ways of seeing from the perspective of loss and a hyperbolic sense of sadness. Grande's poetry, similar to that of other post-Civil War poets such as Antonio Gamoneda, Francisca Aguirre, and José Hierro, emerges as a sort of "textual Guernica", as a "sole" collective work of epic dimensions, one which "translates" the sense of death and the challenge of survival created by the historical background of the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath. These poets never ceased to work through their memories of such a catastrophic past (a process which can be regarded as a kind of translation), often in veiled ways. For, on one hand, they were subject to the silence imposed on them by censorship and the dictatorship. (This might explain Grande's "hermetic" style in many of his poems.) On the other, there was another silence they had to confront—one that consisted of the (impossible) narrativization of catastrophe. This latter kind of silence is intrinsic to the experience of trauma.[7] The conflation of these two types of silence makes it difficult to distinguish between opacity as a rhetorical device rooted in historical reasons, and the kind of obscurity that lies at the core of trauma.[8] In other words, we cannot know for sure whether Grande was deliberately hermetic or just struggling to find words in the face of trauma.

Despite the haunting presence of death in the works of the post-Civil War generations of poets who, like Félix Grande, wrote on the Iberian Peninsula under Franco's dictatorial regime, (un)critical reading strategies have traditionally tended to highlight the poets' rhetorical devices. However, it is important to explain how these devices relate to relevant concerns, such as how the poets make sense of war, conflict and violence in their poems and, more specifically, the multiple ways in which they come to (un)grasp the Spanish traumatic past, often seeking ways of identifying with other catastrophic events (such as the Jewish Holocaust).[9] Reading poetry through the lenses of memory and trauma can not only inform our understanding of historical events, allowing us to work through historical losses, but can also lead to the recognition that some regions of our understanding of the past are epistemologically challenging and can only be hinted at (and this is the idea implicit in the term "hauntology" when applied to poetry).

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to analyse in detail the disconnection between poetry and history in Spanish criticism, seemingly attributable to a tendency within Spanish literary criticism to rely heavily on Structuralist analysis (see Arkinstall 1993; Debicki 1982), although its ramifications extend beyond the Spanish literary world. For the purposes of the present analysis, however, it is worth mentioning the case of the poet and Holocaust survivor Paul Celan, who emblematically stands as a sort of synecdochic representation of the Holocaust.[10] Much of the reception of Celan's poetry in Spain, for example, has tended to focus on its "cryptic" nature[11] accompanied by a disavowal of its connections to the Holocaust. Two examples will suffice to illustrate this. The first is an anecdote which is nevertheless symptomatic. In a newspaper piece, Almudena Grandes, an important Spanish contemporary writer well-known for her commitment in her work to the recovery of memory, describes Celan as a "poeta rumano de lengua alemana cuya obra es un paradigma de la poesía críptica de la segunda mitad del siglo XX" ["A Romanian German-language poet whose work is a paradigm of cryptic poetry of the second half of the twentieth century"]. In a more serious piece of literary criticism some decades earlier, Jose Ángel Valente—an influential poet and founder of the Spanish literary current of the so-called "poetics of silence", who is also credited with translating

the poetry of Paul Celan—reflects on the work of Celan without any historical context. Valente (2008) seemed to have *appropriated* Celan's work within the project of a personal poetics, which conflates modernism with an embeddedness in Spanish mysticism. In Valente's essay on Celan, there is not a single word about the Holocaust, nor is there a recognition of a traumatic dimension to silence. However, Derrida, who famously asserted that "il n'y a rien en dehors du texte" ["there is nothing outside of the text (in Spivak's translation) /the trace (in Butler's translation)]" (*Of Grammatology*, 2016) implicitly avows that behind Celan's poetry there was a historical referent.[12]

If Celan's poetry is connected to the experience of the Jewish Holocaust, Grande's work in turn can be taken as contributing to an acknowledgment of and an emphasis on our collective memory of a shared experience of the Spanish Holocaust. I would suggest a link between these two poets (and this is also relevant to the discussion of the specific concept of translation put forward in this chapter): an inscription of a death mark or a wound in (the skin of) language, both German and Spanish. I understand and use translation in this chapter not in an inter-lingual manner, that is, to refer to a medium of communication between two languages and cultures, but as *the condition for the possibility* of survival through the continuing articulation of traumatic death.[13] In other words, translation also points to the endless process of attempting to name the experience of death-in-life, which in this chapter should be taken as an historical experience rather than an existential one.

We can draw a parallel between inter-lingual translation (which modifies the target language in unpredictable ways), and the writing of catastrophe, in the way the latter alters the language we use. Derrida asserts that Celan changed the German language:

> It seems to me he touches [touché] the German language both by respecting the idiomatic spirit of that language and in a sense that he displaces, in the sense that he leaves upon it a sort of scar, a mark, a wound. (Derrida 2005: 99)

Like Celan, Grande leaves a mark on the Spanish language in his encounter with death, at the intersection between death and life, creating a limit-experience in his poems. A sense of shattered personal and collective identity is found throughout Grande's poetry. But, more fundamentally, Grande's "writing of catastrophe" can be seen in the multiple *transformations* which death undergoes in his poems. In his work, the writing of catastrophe operates in and through language.

Grande and Celan can be discussed and read in conjunction with one another from the perspective of a broad crisis of the word—their poems seemingly attempt to engage with the traces left by unprecedented historical catastrophic events in modern history. I would argue that despite the different nature of the traumas confronted by these two poets—Celan was a survivor of a concentration camp while Grande was a victim among the vanquished of the Spanish Civil War—and the many ways in which their poetry differ, their project is (an attempt to) to translate into a new language an experience they could not make sense of, that is the experience of untranslatability.[14]

In her book about the memories of the Holocaust, *The Generation of Postmemory* (2012), Marianne Hirsch discusses the intergenerational transmission of memory in terms of "translation" or, to be more precise, "failed translation". In Hirsh's terminology, while Celan might be regarded the poetic carrier of the *memory* of the Holocaust, Grande, as a second-generation survivor, is an active producer of *postmemory*.[15] Both poets illustrate the ways in which the transmission of memory occurs between different generations of survivors (across cultural and geographical divides) and of how memory is *transformed* by that process.

A statement in Hirsch's *The Generation of Postmemory* can be invoked here to summarise the process of the transmission of memory. Referring to female Holocaust victims appearing in Lanzmann's documentary *Shoah*, Hirsch writes: "They tend to function as translators and as mediators carrying the story and its effective fabric, but not generating it themselves" (2012: 12). In a similar vein, *La cabellera de la Shoá* attempts to carry across a story it does not own. In this book of poetic memory, Félix

Grande interweaves his personal biography with the collective trauma of the Spanish Civil War, and the dictatorship with the Jewish Holocaust. In doing so, Grande acknowledges an unrelenting and haunting (that is, untranslatable) past in the form of "hauntology"—a spectre, a past neither dead nor alive.

Traumatic Memory and Translation

Mourning and Untranslatability

Equivalence, acculturation, naturalisation, assimilation, domestication—these are the terms that have traditionally gained currency in the theorisation of inter-lingual translation. All these terms point to the concept of translatability, that is, the idea that something can be carried across with no (or minimal) loss. However, we could also see translation from the perspective of what is lost in that process. We are not accustomed to connecting translation with terms such as exile, disruption, rupture, dislocation, displacement, and death. Derrida seems to be an exception in making such connections between translation and the above concepts. However, Derrida's ideas on the topic of translation have gone largely unexamined if compared to the more abundant criticism of other themes addressed in his entire oeuvre.[16] I would argue that Derrida's reflections on the notion of translation have a significance beyond the fields of philosophy and Translation Studies, given their relevance to the amalgamating areas of Memory Studies and Comparative Literature. My concern here is to explain some ideas about Derrida's notion of translation (in an incomplete and approximate manner) by way of introduction to my later discussion of *La cabellera de la Shoá*.

The kernel of Derrida's theory of translation is the concept of "untranslatability". When we say that a term or an expression is untranslatable we might be tempted to conclude that it is an impossible task to carry this term over to another language or that its rendering into another linguistic milieu is an impossibility in pragmatic terms. The rationale behind this assumption is that we are accustomed

to thinking of translation in terms of "accuracy" and "equivalence". But it is precisely the notion of equivalence that Derrida problematises, by removing the dichotomic and hierarchical distinction between the original and its translation, the source and its "copy".

In this respect, the status of translation used to be no different from the status of literary writing. In the Western tradition, the value accorded to literature from Plato onwards depended on the notion of "mimesis". It was only much later that the category of imagination came to play a central role. But this "ontological" foundation which formed the basis, so to speak, of literature and translation has been preserved only for the concept of translation.[17]

However, if we begin to think of translation as much more than a process involving equivalence between languages and we problematise the dichotomy of the original (be it a text or an event) and its translation, we might also begin to think about translation in terms of a continuing process of *transformation*:

> In the limits to which it is possible, or at least *appears* possible, translation practices the difference between signified and signifier. But if this difference is never pure, no more so is translation, and for the notion of translation we would have to substitute a notion of *transformation*… (Derrida 1985: 95, emphases in original)

This idea of translation makes it easier to see how it might be applied to the ways in which we work through the memories of our traumatic pasts. The *untranslatable* is then the idea of "the interminability of translating: the idea that one can never have done with translation"[18] in the same way we are never done with the past.

But "transformation" also points to a remnant, a ghost. Neither dead nor alive. Words are thus not simply in translation, not only travelling, but "in mourning". Words are debt-laden memories travelling and "travailing" (in labour). This idea of words being in mourning gives us another vision of translation as the survival of a trace, that is, the living on of something which is *always already* a loss, a ghost that can be invoked only with more words:

> Isn't this what a translation does? […] Since it is a question of a travail—indeed, as we noted, a travail of the negative—this relevance is a travail of mourning, in the most enigmatic sense of this word. (Derrida 2001b: 199)

It is in this sense that it is legitimate to establish a link between translation and memory. Translation and memory are traversed by the same moral imperative not to forget, by a question of indebtedness, but also united by the impossibility of the task—the impossibility of fully remembering, the necessary failure of all translation. Or as Derrida put it "the infinity of the loss, the insolvent debt" (2001b: 175).

In what follows, I will refer to translation as a process that allows the work of mourning, as the condition for the possibility of memory. For it is precisely this failure to seize a haunting past that sets in motion the irreducible process of its translation and the quest for a signature, an ear that bears witness.

La cabellera de la Shoá

Listening to the Past: A Translator's Ear

> *Os pregunto con toda la educación de mi cadáver*
>
> *¿Ustedes saben escuchar?*
>
> La cabellera de la Shoá

In *The Ear of the Other*, Derrida proposes a form of "authoricide" in his suggestion that the signature of a work does not belong to its author:

> In other words… it is the ear of the other that signs. The ear of the other says me to me… When, much later, the other will have perceived with a keen-enough ear what I will have addressed or destined to him or her, then my signature will have taken place. (Derrida 1985: viii)

Derrida posits the idea that the authorial signature of a text or a work resides ultimately neither in the author nor in those who read and interpret his or her work, but more fundamentally in those who read with a "keen ear", a "keen ear" being "an ear with keen hearing, an ear that perceives differences":

> The most important thing about the ear's difference […] is that the signature becomes effective—performed and performing—not at the moment it apparently takes place, but only later, when ears will have managed to receive the message. In some way the signature will take place on the addressee's side, that is, on the side of him or her whose ear will be keen enough to hear my name, for example, or to understand my signature, that with which I sign. (Derrida 1985: 50)

La cabellera de la Shoá takes these suggestions very seriously in two ways. We expect sound to play a key role in a book of poetry. Yet it is less frequent for the readers to find a poet's appeals to our sense of hearing. In this poem, the sense of hearing does not relate to an invitation to appreciate and enjoy the multiple nuances of the rhythm and the cadence of the poem's lines as a self-referential rhetorical device that calls attention to how it has been constructed. Here continuous appeals to readers to listen constitute a plea for them to take responsibility as witnesses. *¿Ustedes saben escuchar?* is the most repeated line of the *La cabellera de la Shoá*. Other variants of these calls or interjections to the reader include "¿Tenéis la valentía de escuchar?" and "¿Oís la llamada?"

> ¿Oís la llamada?
> ¿Oís el alarido?
> Vuestra oreja contemporánea
> Escucha el grito aquel del siglo XX

What is being summoned through this unabashed appeal to listen is our attention to something much more radical than merely aesthetic appreciation—we are urged to listen to an ostensibly deafening silence, one which, in a kind of synaesthesia, is also blind. We are invited to listen to what lies beneath the silence:

Esta es la cabellera de la Shoá.
Calla más que el silencio y está ciega.
¿Ustedes saben escuchar?
[…]
Hasta aquí, hasta debajo del silencio

The stanzas above are a reference to the violence that characterises the history of the twentieth century. The idea that emerges from this poem, consonant with many other poems of *Biografía* (2011), is that of an irrecoverable (*blind*) past. Grande gives a sense of unified past of brutality and horror by referring to a symbolic scream. That scream can be said to encompass the Spanish catastrophe of war and dictatorship, alongside the European history of fascism. In this, Grande implicitly recognises the ineffability of trauma and the recurring elements in all catastrophes.

In one stanza, this call to listen to a silent scream arises from the memory of the death of Primo Levi, the Italian-born Holocaust victim who survived the concentration camps of Auschwitz and Birkenau and went on to write the autobiography *Se questo è un uomo* (1947). The cause of Levi's death has never been determined, though the possibility of a suicide has not been ruled out because, when the Holocaust survivor tumbled down the empty lift shaft in his home, nobody heard him scream for help. In a terrifying image, Grande imagines that Levi's lips were sewn shut by an external force more powerful than his own will—the unimaginable damages inflicted by the sufferings of the Holocaust:

si se cosió los labios con los colmillos crematorios
si con los incisivos birkeanos dentelló su silencio
si empinó el corazón hasta la cima del estruendo
si empinó el corazón hasta la cima del estruendo
[…]
Si no gritó, si así dignó su grito …¿entonces
ese silencio fue su zemsta?
Su zemsta silenciosa, ¿no habría sido
su anhelo de invitarnos a escuchar,
Su forma de legarnos el don de oír la llamada?[19]

These lines echo Grande's own deep pain. As such, he is not only the author of these lines, but also a translator who listens to the legacy of the painful memories of others and with whose suffering he is familiar. In this call addressed to himself and his readers, Grande is not the source of remembering, but rather its mediator, the creator of postmemory, and thus the poem becomes a dialogic text with no centre but multiple, unlocatable "origins" of trauma.

La cabellera de la Shoá poses the question—¿Saben ustedes escuchar? Do you know how to listen?—which is not only ethical in nature, but which also posits readers as witness-translators of traumatic history. This interjection, which sounds like a reprimand, is a summons to initiate the process of translating the horror, the process of naming the unnameable.

The Impossibility of Naming

Another way of looking at *La cabellera de la Shoá* is as a ghostly poem, a polyphony of resounding voices that retain a trace of what history has erased. These are the voices of the infinite and endless echoes left by terrified screams, the phantasmagorical voices of the betrayed corpses rising up to demand that their deaths be accounted for; the voices of personal objects and human remains that once belonged to the inmates of concentration camps and which now lie piled up asking to be singled out as unique stories that need to be told in their own singularity. In the concentration camps of the Jewish Holocaust, each object calls for a translation—skulls, scissors, tons of hair. They are presented as part of an incomprehensible single "utterance" that requires the participation of the reader to be deciphered, understood, redeemed, translated. More crucially, these remains urge us to translate them as proper names, to give them back the dignity that was brutally taken from them in an act of barbarity.

> ¿Visteis alguna vez, jovencitas, amadísimos nombres, entre la nieve y el martirio … al desnombrado?

If the story of Babel recounts the punishment of remaining in a state of confusion, of uncommunication, and the impossibility of translating the proper name, *La cabellera de la Shoá* aims to reverse that biblical condemnation in its harrowing quest for proper names:

> AlaReginaRosaEster:
> ¿Estás aquí con cuatro nombres?
> ¿Nombres por fin para mentar el Bulto?

"El desnombrado", one who has no name or, to be more precise, one who has been, so to speak, de-named, reduced to a sonorous anonymity, stands in the poem as the symbol of the tragedy of untranslatability. Félix Grande, the supposedly lyrical voice, erases his voice in order to transform himself into one of the countless "desnombrados", the unnamed or de-named, accompanying them in an invisibility that reminds us of that of the translator. The invisibility of the translator is "an illusionist effect of discourse", in the words of Lawrence Venuti (2005).

Conversely, this anonymity is sometimes forced upon a historical figure whose name we know. In another stanza in the poem, Primo Levi becomes a "desnombrado", an anonymous figure, in the same way that some argue that Lorca's remains, a symbol of the *disappeared* in Franco's Spain, should not be located but left in the forgetful anonymity of the uncountable mass graves still unexhumed throughout Spain. The inexorability of such ignominious oblivion is a common trait of the Spanish history of forgetfulness and the Holocaust. Lorca put words to his future demise in a poem of enigmatic premonition:

> Ya no me encontraron.
> ¿No me encontraron?
> No. No me encontraron. (Lorca 2018: 19)

We find a double-bind here as the paradox of all translation, symbolised by this idea of a body that cannot be located and therefore identified and named, or given a proper place in the narrative of History.

Like the body of those made to "disappear", the proper name calls for a translation, that is to say, to be named, making it impossible at the same time. "Translate me but don't translate me".[20] This is the movement between the irreducible loss represented by the absolute singularity (the identifiable body, the proper name, the unnameable original event) and the unlocated mass graves (or the 1950 kg of hair, for that matter) as empty signifiers ready to be filled with our historical accounts.

> En estos 1950 kilos que separan en dos mitades la historia de la Historia

Grande, the translator of catastrophe, replaces this absence of names with the supplement of an affective aura, usually expressed through his use of diminutives, although not without a layer of irony. "The supplement supplements… adds only to replace… represents and makes an image… its place is assigned in the structure by the mark of an emptiness".[21]

> ¿Nombres por fin para mentar el Bulto? ¿Habéis venido a untar medicina de nombres, pelillos de lenguaje, cuatro hebritas de sedación? ¿Venís con vuestros diez gramitos de pólvora en la lengua, ahorcadas y oferentes, a servirnos una tacita de sosiego en la bandeja de nuestro suplicio?

There is more than irony in these and the following lines. Like a shaman uttering his mantra, he invokes the apparition of the words that allow the naming, making us aware of how poetry is expressed through a unique language which is essentially a translation:

> ¡Ah, los nombres, luminarias de lo misterio, grietas de luz sobre la obcecación del muro tinieblo de vivir! ¡Ah, los nombres, leche materna del crecer lo hondo, nutrición de lo mujer y de lo hombre, dese la infancia hasta la cana, calcio del Ser, vía láctea en que se nutre señorial la Conciencia!
> […]
> ¿Ois la llamada?

The Lesson of Memory

"Pero también es necesario aprender una nueva forma de mirar para ver lo que nos ciega" [it is also necessary to learn a new way of looking to be able to see what is making us blind], writes Juan José Lanz in his epilogue to this poem, a wise final remark I would propose by way of a conclusion.

Grande's *Biografía* and its final poem *La cabellera de la Shoá* show that the unearthing of memory involves learning new ways of looking at how our collective history haunts us and takes the shape of multiple spectres. This constant unravelling of the past requires a translation of traumatic meanings whose articulation can only lead to an endless deferral of signifiers. In that sense, engagement with the past through literature might adopt the form of an ongoing translation. Grande embarks on a quest to overcome insurmountable losses, searching for forms of identification with other connected histories of catastrophe (the Jewish Holocaust) on which he projects his own unnameable memories. But it is difficult not to see that he also mourns the history of violence and destruction of the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship in *La cabellera de la Shoá*. The poet creates a new site of memory—a place to mourn and endlessly retranslate one own's traumas and the catastrophes of others seeking redemption and reparation.

Final Remarks

This chapter has discussed Félix Grande's monumental poem *La cabellera de la Shoá* in the light of Derrida's concept of "hauntology" and his notion of untranslatability. It provides a critical framework and introduces some ideas which attempt to engage other scholars working in the field of Spanish poetry of the second half of the twentieth century with discussions framed by critical and/or theoretical approaches used in memory and trauma studies and translation studies. A link is proposed between the working of traumatic memory and the notion of untranslatability, which according to Derrida and other scholars

who draw on his vision of translation, is the inextricably endless process of ongoing translation. Linking Grande's poem with hauntology and untranslatability in this way aims to enrich and contribute to the existing body of criticism of Grande's works by pointing to mourning and working through memory as processes of translation. But such criticism could also be extended to the work of other poets. The main thesis presented in the chapter is that the work of Félix Grande, as vicarious witness and second-generation survivor of catastrophe, contributed to shaping ways of looking at the spectres of history. In translating his memories under the spell of the Spanish Civil War and the lingering consequences of Franco's dictatorship, Grande, alongside other Spanish poets of the second half of the twentieth century, showed a keen ear for the most traumatic aspects of our collective memory. *La cabellera de la Shoá* illustrates the ongoing work of memory and the constant process of transformation of a haunting past that seems to never cease to return, calling for new and healing "translations".

Notes

1. See, for instance, Fisher (2014) and Davis (2007).
2. See Debicki (1982) and Arkinstall (1993).
3. Paul Preston (2012) was the first Hispanist to use this term critically.
4. Félix Grande recounts what triggered the writing of *La cabellera de la Shoá*. It is worth clarifying that Grande's entire *ouevre* is implicitly devoted to memory and that he also relies on an identification with the memory of the Jewish Holocaust as a sort of emotional "container" for his own experiences. http://elpais.com/diario/2011/05/11/cultura/1305064803_850215.html. Last accessed on 21 May 2017.
5. Derrida states that "the sign's value has the structure of a testament" and that the "dialectic is a theory of death" (cited by Eugenio Donato in *The Ear of the Other*).
6. See Debicki (1982), Arkinstall (1993), and Cáceres (2013).
7. See Cáceres (2013).
8. See LaCapra (2001) for an explanation on how traumas conflate at different levels: structural, historical, etc.

9. The works of Francisca Aguirre, Antonio Gamoneda, José Hierro and others give rise to questions which are difficult to answer by merely returning to methods which draw on structuralism and philological analysis. I argue that we need to support those readings in broader theoretical frameworks.
10. The relationship between the Jewish Holocaust and Spanish literary production in the second half of the twentieth century is a good example of this sort of disconnection played out in Spanish poetry criticism. The Jewish Holocaust which followed the Spanish Civil War, has been pushed to the margins of Spanish academic research until very recently, with just a few remarkable exceptions such as the work of Reyes Mate. In this context, it comes as no surprise that literary critics failed to see, or chose not to consider, the legacy of catastrophic events and how they have impacted on our ways or understanding literary criticism. Theoretical frameworks such as Memory Studies or Trauma Theory have been used only recently in a Spanish context as legitimate approaches to the study of Spanish literature.
11. Although Almudena Grande's words must be understood within the context of a playful and ironic comment ("De un tiempo a esta parte, las informaciones sobre la crisis se parecen cada vez más a la obra de Paul Celan. Yo, por lo menos, no entiendo nada"), it seems to me that her tongue-in-cheek remark is symptomatic of a tendency to dehistoricize Celan's poetry. http://elpais.com/diario/2011/01/17/ultima/1295218801_850215.html. Last accessed on 21 May 2017.
12. "It is difficult not to think of [Celan's lines 'No one/bear witness for the/witness'] as also referring, according to an essential reference, to dates and events […]" (2005: 67).
13. See the innovative ideas on the concept of translation presented in recent works such as Bella Brodzki (2007).
14. I am referring here to the notion of "untranslatability" in the Derridean tradition of a kind of translation that never ends. For an explanation of untranslatability see also Barbara Cassin's introduction to *Dictionary of Untranslatables*.
15. For an explanation of the concept of "postmemory", see Hirsch's *The Generation of Postmemory* (2012).
16. See Ángeles Carreres's *Cruzando límites: la retórica de la traducción en Jacques Derrida* (2005).
17. See Erich Auerbach (1953) and Lawrence Venuti (2005).

18. Drawing on Derrida, Emily Apter discusses Barbara Cassin's Derridean project in *Dictionary of Untranslatables*. Princeton University Press (2004).
19. A Polish word meaning revenge.
20. Derrida refers to this paradox in his discussion of the biblical question of Babel (1985: 103–104).
21. This kind of excess, which is difficult to articulate, echoes the Derridean notion of "supplement" (Derrida 2016: 157).

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