

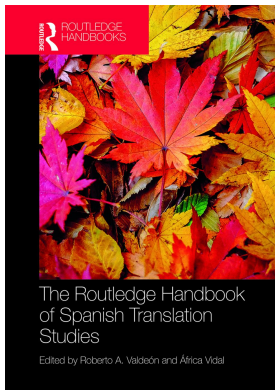
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SPANISH TRANSLATION HISTORY

Luis Pegenaute

Spanish translation history and historiography

In a much-cited phrase, Antoine Berman (1984, 12) stated that the constitution of a history of translation is the first task of a modern theory of translation. Verdicts of a similar nature have been presented by Bassnett (1980, 38), D’Hulst (1991, 61; 1995, 14), Lambert (1993, 22), and Delisle (1997–1998, 22). If we accept Berman’s words, we should acknowledge that researchers, both inside and outside Spain, seem to have applied themselves diligently to laying the foundations of a modern theory of Spanish translation, as works of a historical nature – be they the study of a past translation, a past translator or a past translation theorist – constitute a bibliographical corpus whose dimensions are certainly of note. A query on keywords “History” and “Spain” provides 2750 hits in *BITRA* (a Spanish free and online bibliography on translation and interpreting which includes more than 75,000 references, far exceeding those of other bibliographies such as, for example, John Benjamins’ *Translation Studies Bibliography*). Although those 2750 hits constitute quite an impressive amount of references, the specialized bibliography compiled by Francisco Lafarga on the history of translation in Spain – continuously in progress and available at <http://hte.upf.edu/> in Lafarga and Pegenaute’s website on this topic) – triples that figure, providing the amazing figure of 8000 references, which bears testimony to the tremendous activity undertaken in this particular field of research. It is legitimate to consider, therefore, that the study of translation throughout the history of Spain (or, if you prefer, the study of the history of Spanish translation, or the study of the Spanish history of translation) has experienced a boom worthy of attention, even if research is still too often scattered or fragmented, as a consequence of a certain lack of cooperation among research teams, and even if enough attention has still not been paid to certain issues (see the following).

Although an interest in studying the history of Spanish translation is highly appreciable, there still is, however, a shortage of historiographical contributions taking a systematic and integrated analytical approach to the difficulties and problems implicit in the specific study of Spanish translation history, with a clear definition of the field of study and sharp methodological precision. By translation historiography, Woodsworth understands “the discourse upon [translational] historical data, organized and analysed along certain principles” (2001, 101), which must clearly be differenced from translation history, which is the actual narration of the

events of the past. A similar position is adopted by Apak (2003), Fernández (2016) or Lambert, who states that “we have to distinguish between the object of study and the discourse on the object of study, although such a discourse can also be itself part of the investigation” (1993, 4), as opposed to, for example, Pym (1998, 5) and Gürçaglar (2013, 132), who make no distinction between both concepts. D’Hulst (2010), for his part, introduces a tripartite classification between history, historiography, and metahistoriography, the latter category coinciding with Woodsworth’s and Lambert’s notion of historiography. According to D’Hulst, history is the “proper sequence of facts, events, ideas, discourses, etc.,” while metahistoriography is “the explicit reflection on the concepts and methods to write history and also on epistemological and methodological problems that are related to the use of these concepts and methods” (D’Hulst 2010, 397). Within this terminological scheme the concept of historiography acquires for D’Hulst a new meaning, namely, “the history of histories, i.e., the history of the practices of history-writing” (2010, 398). However, in this chapter, I shall understand history and historiography in Woodsworth and Lambert’s terms, and conceptualize metahistoriography as both (1) the history of histories and (2) the discussion upon the historiographical sources, as it involves a “discourse which is concerned or alludes to other discourses” (definition of ‘meta-discourse’ in the *Oxford English Dictionary*).

The historiography of Spanish translation history is still a field very much in need of academic development. Bibliographical references of interest come from different sources: general historiographical studies on translation, with occasional attention to Spain, such as those by Lepinette (1997), Pym (1998), López Alcalá (2001), Sabio (2006), Vega (2006), and Lafarga and Pegenaute (2015b); specific historiographical studies on Spanish translation (sometimes biased towards metahistoriography), such as Pym (2000b), Santoyo (2004, 2012, 2014), Lafarga (2005), Pegenaute (2010, 2012, 2017), Navarro-Domínguez (2012), Sabio and Ordóñez (2012), Ordóñez and Sabio’s edited volume (2015), Pérez Blázquez (2013) and Ordóñez (2016); and introductory studies to the history of Spanish translation, such as Lafarga and Pegenaute (2004, 1–18) and Ruiz Casanova (2018, 31–61). The majority of the aforementioned studies have revealed – albeit not always explicitly – how historical studies of translation display several shortcomings: firstly, an indeterminacy in the conceptualization of the object of study, such as the – not always obvious – concepts of translation and translator; secondly, certain problems of a methodological nature (most prominently, the segmentation of time and space), which are largely a consequence of not paying enough attention to Lambert’s admonition to avoid two extremes when studying the history of translation, namely: (1) simply borrowing historical and historiographical frameworks derived from other disciplines (as, for example, literary studies, history, linguistics, etc.); (2) considering that translation (whether viewed as process or product) constitutes something intrinsically unique which has nothing to do with the general characteristics of a culture or society (Lambert 1993, 4).

Translations

The scholar carrying out research in translation history depends, of course, on catalogues documenting bibliographical information on existing translations. There are different resources which are particularly useful, the most evident of which is the *Index Translationum*, UNESCO’s database of book translations, which contains indexes of authors, publishers, and translators. This database contains cumulative bibliographical information on books translated and published in about 100 of the UNESCO Member States since 1979 and totals more than 1,800,000 entries in all disciplines. The references before 1979 can be found in the printed

editions. Although the following are not specific resources for translation, it is also useful to check Dionisio Hidalgo's *Diccionario general de bibliografía española* (1862–1881), Antonio Palau's *Manual del librero hispanoamericano* (1948–1977), the *Catálogo general de la Librería española e hispanoamericana, 1901–1930* (1932–1951), the *Catálogo general de la Librería española, 1931–1950* (1957–1965), and – in the case of eighteenth century works – Aguilar Piñal's *Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII* (1981–1995). In electronic form it is available at the database *Proyecto Boscán. Catálogo histórico crítico de las traducciones de la literatura italiana al castellano y al catalán desde 1300 a 1939*, www.ub.edu/boscan, coordinated by María de las Nieves Muñiz and Cesáreo Calvo, which incorporates detailed information on the translations of not only Italian literary works but also of other pieces in the field of social sciences (see Muñiz 2007). The research group *TRILCAT (Traducció, recepció i literatura catalana)* has made available in its website <http://trilcat.upf.edu> a catalogue of translations of literary works into Catalan (nineteenth century–2000) and of Catalan literary works into Spanish (from the end of the nineteenth century). The research group *BITRAGA (Biblioteca da tradución galega)* presents in its website <http://bibliotraducion.uvigo.es> a catalogue of the translations of literary works into Galician from 1980 (see Montero 2010 and Galanes 2012).

A book series is specialized in these kinds of catalogues: *BT: bibliografías de traducción*, directed by Francisco Lafarga, which has hitherto published eight volumes on topics such as the translations of Balzac and Hugo, English novelists translated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, etc. This series, restricted to translations published in book form, presents onomastic indexes of translators, prologuists, editors, etc. Other – also partial – catalogues worth mentioning include the ones by Portnoff (1931) on the translations of Russian novels until 1930; Montesinos (1955) on the translations of novels in the first half of the nineteenth century; Beardsley (1970), on the translations of Greek and Latin in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; Lafarga (1983, 1988) on the translations of French dramas between 1700 and 1835; Garulo (1988) on the translations from Arabian between 1800 and 1987; and Ballester (2007) on the translations published between 1918 and 1936. Some websites have collected the translations themselves: the research group *Traducción y Lenguajes Especializados* grants access to translations of literary works and essays, some of which have been edited and annotated, together with specific studies on these translations (see Zaro 2007); the website *BITRES (Biblioteca de traducciones españolas)* www.cervantesvirtual.com, directed by Francisco Lafarga and Luis Pegenaute, presents numerous translations – otherwise, of rather difficult access – and specific studies on them, fifty of which have been collected in Lafarga and Pegenaute (2011) and another thirty-one in Lafarga and Pegenaute (2015c).

In many instances the translation historian comes up against an ontological problem, as it is not always possible to clearly establish the dividing line between writing and rewriting, that is, between creation and the different forms of re-creation, such as imitation, adaptation, parody, and translation. We should be aware that different practices of rewriting are very much determined by changing ethical and aesthetic codes (that is, by norms, in Toury's terms). The difficulties of ascertaining when a text is a translation increase when dealing with early texts, inscribed in a manuscript tradition. Santoyo (2014), for example, draws attention to the exigencies of constituting a corpus of medieval translations in the Iberian Peninsula, distinguishing those in book form from those presented in documents and glosses, and occasional translations inserted in original texts. In the Middle Ages, when the poetics of (re)writing was so unanimously different from ours, texts were translated from a variety of sources, in many instances from texts to which numerous glosses had been added, and which may not have

survived (see Rubio Tovar 1997). Very often, the translator would add his own commentaries, correcting or amending the text. These interpolations and switches in meaning were in many instances perpetuated when the translations became the source texts for new translations (for example, when Latin authors were translated from French and Italian intermediary texts). In other instances, the agent manipulating the text was the amanuensis. Some of these manipulations might certainly be involuntary, due to the circumstances under which the task was being carried out, but others were very much premeditated; for example, when domesticating into Christian terms pagan texts from Classical sources.

The problem of drawing a clear borderline between translation and adaptation/imitation is not restricted to medieval times. Quite often the plot of the source text would be transposed from one locale to another, in a process of cultural transposition: for example, the translation/adaptation of Machiavelli's *Arte della guerra* into Spanish by Diego de Salazar in 1536 (*Tratado de re militari. Tratado de caballeria*) displaced the dialogue from Italy to Spain and turned the speakers into two Spaniards, while converting the political language of civic humanism into that of theological rights, which allowed this piece of work not to be prohibited by the Inquisition (Botella 2000). One century later, still within the limits of the Spanish Renaissance, the version of Garzoni's *Piazza universale* (1615) by Cristóbal Suárez Figueroa was described in its title page as 'parte traduzida del toscano y parte compuesta' (Burke 2007, 31). In the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century numerous examples can also be produced. Tomás de Iriarte, in 1789, in his prologue to his translation of *Robinson der Jungere* by Joachim Heinrich Campe – which he did from the French – openly admitted that “lejos de ceñirme a una traducción rigurosa y literal, me he tomado la libertad en suprimir, aumentar o alterar en no pocos lugares” (in García Garrosa and Lafarga 2004, 240). Cándido María Trigueros, for his part, asserted in very clear terms his poetics of translation in *Mis pasatiempos* (1804), stating that “cuando traduzca lo haré libremente, y jamás al pie de la letra; alteraré, mudaré, quitaré o añadiré lo que me pareciere a propósito para mejorar el original, y reformaré hasta el plan y la conducta de la fábula cuando juzgue que así conviene” (in García Garrosa and Lafarga 2004, 360). These procedures were implemented, for example, in his translation of *Galatée: roman pastoral*, by Floran (itself an imitation of *La Galatea*, by Cervantes) in 1798: “con los materiales ajenos, agregando algunos propios que no se hallan en el original [. . .], he procurado levantar un edificio nuevo que sea en algún modo original y mío propio, esto es, otra imitación que tenga algo nuevo”. His creative interventions gave him the right, he considered, to compete with the author in terms of recognition: “solo aspiro a competir con el original, ya sea por la regularidad de la disposición, ya por la propiedad y gracia de la expresión” (in García Garrosa and Lafarga 2004, 338). Félix Enciso Castrillón (1808) drastically abridged the *History of Bruce and Emily, or, The Amicable Quixote*, reducing the long three-volume source work that he was working with (Chanin's French intermediary translation) to two short volumes, in an attempt to facilitate for the reader a better understanding of the English culture that it depicted. He retained little but the names of the protagonists and wrote an ending very different from that of the original. He considered, however, this procedure absolutely legitimate, justifying it for moral and ethical reasons: “Miro esta obra como un manojo de rosas: yo la he quitado las espinas que podían dañar a las buenas costumbres de mi nación, y he dejado las flores que no pueden menos de divertir a todos” (in García Garrosa and Lafarga 2004, 375). Finally, by way of example, in order to illustrate the occasionally fragile frontier between translation and creation, we can cite the case of well-known Spanish author Mariano José de Larra, who presented as his own 'original comedy' a piece which he had adapted from the French, as was the case of his *No más mostrador* (first performed in 1831), an

imitation/adaptation/translation of *Les adieux au comptoir*, by E. Scribe. When an anonymous columnist objected to his supposed plagiarism, Larra replied in the following terms:

tendré mi comedia por mía y por original, a pesar de las escenas que he creído deber y poder *robar* a Scribe. Es de advertir que siempre que escriba sobre un asunto que haya tratado otro escritor, al cual yo me crea inferior, pienso hacer otro tanto, y seguir llamando original a lo que de aquí resulte.

(in Lafarga 2016, 139)

Translators

When studying the relation between translation and creation it is possible to conceive the translator as author or the author as translator (Flynn 2010, n. p.). Understanding the translator as author equals to understanding translation as creation, in that it presupposes that translation can imply a large degree of creativity (see Bassnett and Bush 2006; Loffredo and Perteghella 2006; Buffagni, Garzelli, and Zanotti 2011), despite Pym's (2011) opposing arguments, based on Habermas's formal pragmatics and Goffman's definition of authorship. On the other hand, conceiving creation as translation implies recognizing – as Walter Benjamin's epigones and, in general, poststructuralist theoreticians would do – that the former can never be totally original, paying homage to the debt that all writers have to other writers, and recognizing that intertextuality is an intrinsic feature of literature. Considering – albeit metaphorically – the writer as translator implies agreeing with Paul Valéry, when in the prologue to his translation of Virgil's *Bucolics* he says that

Écrire quoi que ce soit, aussitôt que l'acte d'écrire exige de la réflexion, et n'est pas l'inscription machinale et sans arrêts d'une parole intérieure toute spontanée, est un travail de traduction exactement comparable à celui qui opère la transmutation d'un texte d'une langue dans une autre.

(1957, vol. I, 211)

In a similar sense, for George Steiner, any activity implying an understanding of a linguistic utterance is always some kind of translation: “A human being performs an act of translation, in the full sense of the word, when receiving a speech-message from any other human being” (1975, 47). For Octavio Paz, finally, “aprender a hablar es aprender a traducir” (1975, 9).

In his manual on translation history methodology, Pym (1998) gives translators a privileged place in historical research, while Chesterman (2009) underlines that a number of recent research tendencies in Translation Studies – mostly of a sociological nature – focus explicitly on the translator in some way, rather than on translations as texts. In his opinion, these trends might be grouped under the term ‘Translator Studies’. In later papers, Pym (2000b, 2009) proposes two fundamental principles: to study translators before translations; and to consider them intercultural mediators who cannot be placed in just one social or geographic context. This calls into question Toury's assertion (1995), held unquestioningly by so many descriptivist researchers, that translations, and, by extension, translators, can be only located within the target context. It is important to point out that there is a need for a real history of translators, and in fact, translators can constitute as valid an organizing principle as original authors, original texts or target texts. The work of translators is largely invisible, as Venuti (1995) has rightly made clear. With the aim of creating the illusion of a work which can be read as an original, translations are often subjected to a process of domestication through which

all trace of the translator's work is erased. Tradition has more often than not rewarded those translations which do not read like translations, which is the same as saying that, paradoxically, translators have to be unnoticed in order to be appreciated. This may well be the reason why translators are not always awarded the recognition they deserve (which in the case of female translators can lead to an invisibility often heightened by questions of gender), despite their importance as crucial agents in cultural development. Moreover, translators are sometimes difficult to locate or identify due to their very condition as intermediaries, whose existence is sited metaphorically on the frontier between various cultures, playing a role in more than one. It is no surprise that there have been so many translators among exiles, deportees, expatriates, refugees, émigrés and displaced persons. The difficulties of ascribing a certain translator to one specific cultural context – such as the Spanish one – can be exemplified by making reference, for example, to the translational activity undertaken by the numerous liberal intellectuals forced into exile in 1814 and 1823 as a consequence of Ferdinand VII of Spain's absolutist repression, and who found refuge in France (Francisco Altés y Gurena, Juan Florán, Luis Lamarca, Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, Eugenio de Ochoa) and England (José María Blanco White, José Joaquín de Mora, Telesforo de Trueba y Cossío and José de Urcullu); or, in more recent times, those who settled down in countries such as Argentina, Cuba, Chile and Mexico, after the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) (such as, Francisco Ayala, Rafael Alberti, Ricardo Baeza, Agustí Bartra, Xavier Benguerel, Josep Carner, Luis Cernuda, Rosa Chacel, Enrique Díez-Canedo, José Gaos, León Felipe, Wenceslao Roces, Tomás Segovia and many others).

But, in many instances, writers are also translators, in a very literal sense of the word. Studying the double facet of the author/translator (the writer who translates and the translator who writes) contributes to a better conceptualization of the relationship between both activities and to better reconciling their respective status in a not hierarchical relationship, that is, it invites us not to exclusively associate literary creation with production, originality and innovation, and not to relegate translation to a mere imitative and derivative reproduction (Pegenaute 2013). Writers have often been prolific translators, although this aspect of their biography tends to be somewhat silenced in literary histories, as if it was considered some kind of petty crime contradicting their capacity for originality or just a means of acquiring literary apprenticeship. In Spain, as in any other geographical environment, the list of writers/translators is quite impressive. So is the list of self-translators, as it so often happens in multilingual territories (being it necessary, of course, for the writer to be bilingual in order to translate himself/herself). The dominance of a specific language in terms of cultural prestige may encourage self-translation from a minority language to the dominant one, just like the author's desire to reclaim his/her capacity to express himself/herself in a minorized language can prompt translation into it. Independently of the reasons that may encourage self-translation, it may occur either some time after the original has been completed or during the process of creation – that is, there can be consecutive or simultaneous self-translation, in Grutman's words (2009, 258–259). For a comprehensive overview of the history of self-translation see Santoyo (2005, 2013) and, more extensively, Hokenson & Munson's edited volume (2007). In particular, the history of self-translation in the Iberian Peninsula has been studied by Santoyo (2003, 2010), Gallén, Lafarga and Pegenaute's edited volume (2011), and Dasilva (2013). According to Santoyo, self-translation has been practiced in the Iberian Peninsula very extensively from the twelfth century, with early practitioners such as “Pedro Alfons, Ramon Llull, Berenguer Eimeric, Arnau de Vilanova, Abner de Burgos, Alonso de Cartagena, Alonso de Madrigal el Tostado o Alfonso (Fernández) de Palencia” (Santoyo 2010, 369). In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, self-translation has been prominent among Basque writers, such as Gabriel Aresti, Bernardo Atxaga, Carmelo de Echegaray, Juan Kruz Igerabide, Koldo Izaguirre, Felipe

Juaristi and Nicolás Ormaechea ‘Orixe’ (see Manterola 2011); Catalan writers, such as Agustí Bartra, Roser Caminals, Narcís Comadira, Flàvia Company, Pau Faner, Feliu Formosa, Pere Gimferrer, Llorca, Antoni Marí, Francesc Mira, Terenci Moix, Baltasar Porcel, Valentí Puig, Carme Riera, Josep Riera, Pep Subirós and Lluís Maria Todó (see Arnau i Segarra 2016); and Galician writers, such as Eduardo Blanco-Amor, Xurxi Borrazán, Ramón Cabanillas, Carlos Casares, Alfredo Conde, Rosalía de Castro, Álvaro Cunqueiro, Luis Pimentel, Eduardo Pondal, Manuel Rivas, Eduardo Rosal and Suso del Toro (see Dasilva 2009).

Despite the obvious fact that translators are the creators of translation, only recently have they been the object of systematic study. Two volumes are worthy of special note: those by Lafarga and Pegenaute (2009) and by Bacardi and Godayol (2011), as they cover vast panoramas and involve the collaboration of large teams of scholars. The former, presented as an encyclopaedic dictionary, was prepared by 400 specialists covering 800 entries. Its focus is both on foreign literature (with entries on foreign authors and foreign national literatures translated into Spanish) and on the target system (with entries on the best-known Basque, Castilian, Catalan, and Galician translators, from the Middle Ages to the present time). The latter dictionary, prepared by eighty specialists, presents some 1000 entries on Catalan translators, with systematic accounts of their translations. Other studies are more specific, restricted to certain periods or genres: Cobos Castro (1998) presents a biobibliographical catalogue of the translators of French drama between 1830 and 1930; Bautista Riera and Riera Climent (2003) present an exhaustive catalogue of 126 Spanish translators of scientific works in the Spanish Enlightenment (more in particular, between 1700 and 1808); Alvar (2009) presents a total of 103 translators dating from the end of the fourteenth century to the early sixteenth century, a fair amount of whom had already been dealt with in previous studies (Alvar and Lucía 2001, 2003, 2004).

The segmentation of space: cartography

One of the main methodological problems to be resolved in the historiography of translation is the conceptualization of geographical space. When literary translation is under scrutiny, the concept of national literature turns out to be particularly ineffective, since it is based on the establishment of literary maps which confuse geographical boundaries with linguistic territories, both of which are unstable, heterogeneous and subject to persistent alterations: different countries speak the same language and the same country speaks different languages. The concept of national literature is also regulatory, given that it excludes what is not canonized, and tends to homogenize cultures (Lambert 1991). Just as Delabastita, D’Hulst and Meylaerts point out in their introduction to Lambert (2006), “the near monopoly of the romantic ‘national’ paradigm – one territory, one nation, one language, one literature – leads to anachronistic views of the literary world” (xiii), which makes it necessary to adopt a more dynamic and flexible concept, such as that of polysystem, for example. For his part, Mario J. Valdés (2004) has pointed out that the concept of national literature bears implicit numerous ideological connotations related to the presence of national identity, in that it is exclusively associated with creative writing and the reading habits of a specific linguistic group in a particular geographical area, most often in connection with one political state. National literatures have been the axes around which most literary histories have been articulated, stressing diachronic change in time. In recent times, however, the discussions of space in literary and cultural studies have advocated for a spatial, topographical or toponymical turn. Drawing on Foucault’s notion of heterotopia (in a lecture delivered in 1967, but not published until 1986) and Lefebvre’s (1974) considerations about the cultural production of space, geographer Edward J. Soja

(1989) and literary theorist Fredric Jameson (1992) coined the term ‘spatial turn’ in the context of their respective diagnoses of the postmodern condition. In Jameson’s terms, the valorization of spatiality implies a reaction against the “canonized rhetoric of temporality of the critics and theorists of high modernism” (1992, 365). Areas such as literary and cultural studies, sociology, anthropology, political science and history have become increasingly spatial in their methodological orientation. In their introduction to a recent comprehensive volume on the plethora of interdisciplinary approaches to this spatial turn, Barney Warf and Santa Arias stress how these perspectives assert that “space is a social construction relevant to the understanding of the different histories of human subjects and to the production of cultural phenomena”, stressing the fact that “geography matters, not for the simplistic and overly used reason that everything happens in space, but because *where* things happen is critical to knowing *how* and *why* they happen” (2009, 1). Just as Cabo (2004, 22) has pointed out, in literary studies the spatial orientation has quite often been associated with a comparatist model, while a teleological temporality has been associated with a more traditional model of literary history, often rooted in the concept of national literature.

This methodological dichotomy has been expressed in clear-cut terms by Valdés:

Comparative literary history [. . .] can be described as a collaborative interdisciplinary study of the production and reception of literatures in specific social and cultural contexts. Instead of writing a historical narrative of one language in one geographic area, comparative literary history examines literature as a process of cultural communication within one language area or among a number of them without attempting to minimize cultural diversity.

(Valdés 2002, 75)

This conception renders itself more easily, of course, to a conceptualization of literature as a real means of conveying cultural identity, without submitting itself to the arbitrary structures of political power that separate and agglutinate social conglomerates. National literature has been, quite obviously, the object of study of traditional Hispanism. In recent times, however, the rise of Iberian Studies has brought about an increasing interest in creating a comparative supranational space characterized by linguistic and cultural diversity. In this respect, the Iberian space can be understood as a polysystem. Joan Ramon Resina, for example, has advocated for a disciplinary reformulation, capable of fighting back tendencies deeply rooted in Spanish philology, such as the condemnation into oblivion of non-Castilian cultures – with its subsequent reinforcement of monolingualism – and the atomization of Iberian cultures into mutually exclusive national philologies. In his own words,

the innovative idea behind Iberian Studies as a discipline is its intrinsic relationality and its reorganization of monolingual fields based on nation-states and their postcolonial extensions into a peninsular plurality of cultures and languages pre-existing and co-existing with the official cultures of the state.

(2013, vii)

Besides Resina’s contribution (2013), other edited volumes contributing to the consolidation of the discipline of Iberian Studies include those by Abuín and Tarrío (2004), Perez Isasi and Fernandes (2013), Muñoz-Basols, Lonsdale, and Delgado (2017) and, most notably, Cabo, Abuín, and Domínguez (2011) and Domínguez, Abuín, and Sapega (2016). Other volumes underlining the cultural diversity of the Iberian Peninsula and advocating for a new approach

to Hispanism are the one by Cabo (2012) and those edited by Epps and Fernández Cifuentes (2005) and Martín-Estudillo and Spadaccini (2010). In the specific realm of translation, an Iberian approach is undertaken in Gallén, Lafarga, and Pegenaute's edited volume (2010), which pays attention to intrapeninsular translation and self-translation in the Iberian Peninsula. It is also worthy of note here Pym's (2000a) attempt to construct a historical approach to Hispanic translation, rather than to Spanish translation.

The segmentation of time: periodization

Finally, the division of time, or periodization, is also challenging. Different global periodizations have been suggested, such as those by Steiner (1975), Santoyo (1987), and Ballard (1992), all of which are examined by Foz, who criticizes the fact that

[the] different ways of (re)presenting translation history and of analysing its objects in the wider sense [...] appear as preconstructions which accommodate the object of translation to and present translation (process, products, and actors) as part of a teleological movement, as a practice that moves towards a determined and essential end.

(2006, 141–42)

National translation histories, on the other hand, are generally far too derivative from literary history. There does not seem to be any particular objection to using literary periodization when undertaking a history of literary translation (thus, carrying out a descriptive, target-oriented analysis), but we should admit that it has little applicability when studying the translation of non-literary texts. On the other hand, we should be aware that, even if we restrict ourselves to literary translation, there is not a chronological overlap in the literary traditions of the different countries (a problem which is exacerbated, quite obviously, when studying the whole foreign literary output being translated in a particular period). So, for example, Renaissance Humanism was born, quite naturally, in Italy, where the humanist educational programme inspired in the study of classical antiquity was evident as early as the later years of the thirteenth century. The first major representative was Francesco Petrarca, who exerted a tremendous influence on Florentine disciples, such as Giovanni Boccaccio and Coluccio Salutati. The latter contributed to promoting the growth of Humanism by employing Manuel Chrysoloras, who taught Greek in Florence between 1397 and 1400. From Florence Humanism spread rapidly throughout Italy in the fifteenth century and established itself as the most prototypical expression of the Renaissance. It was not until the fifteenth century that the movement established itself in France, England, Germany, and also Spain, where it took a definite impulse in 1492, in close relation with sociopolitical factors such as the unification of the Christian kingdom, the discovery of America and the publication of the first grammar of a vernacular language, the *Gramática de la lengua castellana* by Antonio de Nebrija.

The Neoclassical and Romantic movements also provide good examples. The former settled in Spain when it was already in decline in France – where it had originated – and then, in turn, lasted so long that it affected the arrival of Romanticism. It is difficult to find discussions on Romanticism in Spain before Monteggia's and López Soler's discussion of the topic in the short-lived journal *El europeo* (1823–1824), mainly as a response to the stimulus caused by Juan Nicolás Böhl de Faber's decision to publish “Reflexiones de Schlegel sobre el teatro” (excerpted from A. W. Schlegel's *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, 1809–1811) in *Mercurio gaditano* in 1814. Faber was one of the first in Spain to focus attention on ancient folk poetry and seventeenth-century drama, exhorting a return to national traditions,

inspired by Herder and Grimm, and, most notably, by A. W. Schelegel himself. Although there had been translations of pre-romantics such as Young, Ossian, Goethe, Rousseau, Chateaubriand, and Lamartine in the last years of the eighteenth century and the first years of the nineteenth century they had not really exerted a tremendous influence. It was not until 1834, after the return of Spanish liberal exiles, that Romanticism took its roots in Spain. This delay, when compared with the situation in other European countries, becomes evident if we consider that by that date some of the most archetypical Romantic authors, such as Walter Scott, lord Byron or Goethe, were already dead. Realism also arrived relatively late in Spain, especially in comparison with France, the home country of its main precursors, including Stendhal and Balzac. Besides this lack of synchrony in the development of literary/cultural movement, it is noticeable that opposing tendencies coexisted in the movements mentioned, which in some cases led to eclectic works.

If a division of translation history according to the traditional parameters of literary history proves to be problematic, the division into centuries is equally challenging: historically, the eighteenth century in Spain finishes in Spain in 1808, with the events associated with the Peninsular war (in literary terms, the Neoclassical aesthetics associated with this century was not superseded by Romanticism until a much later date, until the death of king Fernando VII in 1833 allowed the coming back of the intellectual liberals who had fled the country). The year of 1898 also marks a boundary, since the so-called Generation of 1898 was a group of *fin de siècle* intellectuals and writers active in Spain at the time of the Spanish-American war and the end of the Spanish colonial empire. In any case, it should be obvious that division into centuries means joining the mathematical convention based on the decimal system with the astronomic calendar, these being matters that have little to do with the historical development of humanity, and in this respect, affecting culture in no way (except in the psychological effect that the end of a century or the beginning of another may exert on us).

Metahistoriography: a history of the histories of translation in Spain

We still lack a history of the histories of translation in Spain. The first attempt was probably the work of Valencian priest and professor of Rhetoric Joaquín de Lorga, who in his unpublished *Memories* – currently lost – supposedly included many of the notes he had taken for a prospective *Biblioteca de traductores españoles*. The project did not reach conclusion, as a consequence of Lorga's untimely death in 1769, but it provided material for bibliographer and Cervantist Antonio Pellicer y Saforcada's well-known *Ensayo de una biblioteca de traductores españoles* in 1778 (see Marco García 1999; Verdegal 2001, 2004; Ruiz Casanova 2009). In the prologue to his *Ensayo*, Pellicer acknowledged his debt to Lorga's work, and mentioned that Lorga had drafted informal but valuable studies on a number of translators of ancient pieces – although there were many significant absences and no references were made to the translators of the Holy Scriptures – and on many translators of modern works, adding sporadically insightful meditations on the relative value of some specific translations. Pellicer y Saforcada relied not only on Lorga, but also on Nicolás Antonio's *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (1667–1696), which he himself aimed to complete in his *Adiciones a la Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (1783–1788). His *Ensayo de una biblioteca de traductores españoles* is divided into two parts, not bearing any connection whatsoever between them, since the first one consists in three studies on three authors from the Spanish Golden Age: Cervantes, Bartolomé Argensola, and his brother Lupercio Argensola. The second part consists of thirty-six studies on Spanish translators, arranged alphabetically. A good number of them are translators of the Bible – in some instances medieval translators –, but the largest part corresponds to secular translators

from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A few years later, in 1795, Juan Pablo Forner, a relevant figure in the Spanish Enlightenment, produced his *Exequias de la lengua castellana*, in which he devoted some attention to a number of exemplary Spanish translators (see Lafarga 1998b). However, the most significant contribution was, of course, that of Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, one of the greatest literary critics and scholars in Spanish history, a specialist on the history of ideas and Spanish philology, who also cultivated poetry, translation, and philosophy, and who was nominated for the Nobel Prize five times. Besides other relevant works in the field of translation – *Horacio en España* (1877), *Traductores españoles de La Eneida* (1879), *Traductores de las Églogas y Bucólicas de Virgilio* (1879), *Bibliografía hispano-clásica* (1902) – he is the author of the monumental *Biblioteca de traductores españoles* (written mostly in 1873–1878, published in four volumes in 1952–1953), which consists in a systematic compendium of 293 studies with biobibliographical information on translations and translators from Greek, Latin, and other languages into Spanish, together with excerpts from the translations and numerous critical observations (Gargatagli and Catelli 1998–1999; Ruiz Casanova 2006; Fillière 2016). Besides his own scholarly contributions, mention must also be made of his own translations (Zarandona 2016).

Spanish translation theory: anthologies

According to Lepinette (1997, 24), translation anthologies constitute the documentary basis of the historical metadiscourse of Translation Studies. Sabio (2011) and Sabio and Ordóñez (2012, 109–18) point out the main defining features in the anthologies of the historical discourse on translation, while Sabio and Ordóñez (2012, 119–99) and Sabio (2013) revise Iberian anthologies, and Ordóñez (2016) compares the selection of authors included in anthologies of translation discourse published in the Iberian Peninsula with those included in anthologies published abroad. Five anthologies – not discussed here – have been published in Spain, covering authors from the European tradition, with scarce presence of Spanish authors (with the exception of Santoyo 2011, which probably represents the most fully documented anthology of medieval discourse on translation to date, in any language). Santoyo (1987) had previously gathered the first anthology devoted exclusively to Spanish-speaking authors, which includes one hundred essays, the vast majority (ninety) of which were written by Spaniards between 1367 and 1984. Catelli and Gargatagli (1998) present and comment on a plethora of texts written in the Iberian Peninsula from the tenth century and, later on, in Spanish America. Theirs constitutes an exceptional treasure of information, since they have included not only essays in the strict sense of the word, but also epistles, prologues, official dispositions, etc. Other anthologies are devoted to a specific particular period, such as the ones by Cartagena (2009) on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, García Rolán and López Fonseca (2014) on the fifteenth century, García Garrosa and Lafarga (2004) on the eighteenth century and Lafarga et al. (2016) on the nineteenth century, all of them with substantial and comprehensive introductory studies. Other anthologies focus on particular combinations of languages, such as the one by Dasilva (2006) on Portuguese literature translated in Spain, and Dasilva (2008) on Spanish literature translated in Portugal. Others are devoted to the translations of a particular foreign author, such as Lafarga (2008) on Víctor Hugo, with texts written between 1834 and 1930; Pujante and Campillo (2007) on Shakespeare, with texts written between 1764 and 1916; Pujol (2007) on Catalan translations of Shakespeare; and Fontcuberta (2007) on Catalan translations of Molière. Other anthologies are devoted to non-Castilian writings, such as the ones by Dasilva (2003) on Galician theory between 1869 and 1999 and Bacardí, Fontcuberta, and Parcerisas (1998) on Catalan theory between 1891 and 1990. More restricted in scope – albeit with

extensive introductory studies – are the ones by Malé (2006) on Catalan translator Carles Riba and by Marrugat (2009) on Catalan translator Maria Mànent. Finally, Toro Santos and Cancelo López (2008) compile fifteen articles on translation theory and twenty-seven articles on translation criticism published in the Spanish press between 1900 and 1965.

Histories of Spanish translation

Van Hoof (1998) and Pym (1998) offer very brief panoramic views on the history of translation in Spain. The first study in book form – albeit also rather brief, only eighty pages long – was that by Sánchez Montero (1998), written in Italian. Pym (2000a) presents twelve case studies on Hispanic history (not specifically Spanish), ranging from the Toledo School of Translation to the task of translators during the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona, designed to test his hypothesis that translators belong to professional intercultures rather to the source or target cultures. Ruiz Casanova (2000) published the first book-length work in Spanish, which presents five lengthy chapters – on the Middle Ages, the Golden Age, the eighteenth century, the nineteenth century and the twentieth century – together with an introductory chapter on the role attributed to translation in Spanish literary history. Each chapter is preceded by a study on the linguistic and literary variety of each period. This book was later updated by Ruiz Casanova (2018). Lafarga and Pegenaute (2004) gathered a number of specialists to cover the different periods and linguistic/cultural fields. Their edited collection pays attention not only to translation in Castilian, but also in Basque, Catalan and Galician. The chapters dealing with Castilian are divided thus: the Middle Ages (written by Santoyo), the Renaissance and the Baroque (Micó), Romanticism (Pegenaute), Realism and the *fin de siècle* (Pegenaute), the period from the literary *avant-garde* movements to the Civil War (Gallego Roca), the years from the Civil War to the restoration of democracy (Vega), and a final chapter on contemporary Spain (Pegenaute).

In the following pages I will refer mostly to books, leaving out chapters and articles. Due to space constraints, most of the works referred to here will deal only with Castilian. I will focus on the most significant contributions, but I will also try to rescue from oblivion some very valuable works produced in earlier times, that is, before systematic research started to be attempted in the 1970s. I will not discuss, on the other hand, two major Spanish treatises on translation – José Ortega y Gasset's *Miseria y esplendor de la traducción* (1937) and Francisco Ayala's *Breve teoría de la traducción* (1946–1947) – since, essential as they are, they do not deal specifically with the history of translation in Spain.

The Middle Ages

In strict terms, it is not possible to speak of Spain – a word deriving from “Hispania”, the Roman name for the Iberian Peninsula – until the marriage of Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon in 1469, when their respective kingdoms were reunited. The centralization of royal power, together with the relinquishment of the sovereignty of the Moorish Emirate of Granada in January 1492 (founded five centuries earlier) to the Catholic monarchs of Spain, and the discovery of the New World in that same year, contributed to reinforcing the unification of the crown. Navarre was annexed in 1512, and Portugal in 1580. It was after the independence of Portugal in 1640 – which led to the restoration of the House of Braganza – when the concept of Spain started to be applied to the entire Peninsula except Portugal. According to Santoyo (2017, 93), “tracing the history of medieval translation in Iberian Peninsula is an extremely complex task, especially because a degree of periodization is rendered necessary,

the broad time span involved, and the existence of texts and documentation from different stages within it⁷. Despite the difficulties, however, the Middle Ages remain one of the periods more extensively dealt with by scholars devoted to the history of translation in Spain, most notably by Carlos Alvar and Julio-César Santoyo (see the following).

Medieval translation was a topic frequently treated in the 1940s and 1950s. José María Mil-lás Vallicrosa, for example, studied the translation of Arabian scientific texts in the Late Middle Ages in a long series of studies published in scholarly journals such as *Al-Andalus* or *Sefarad*, but he was also responsible for an early study in 1933 on the translations undertaken under the patronage of King Alfonso X. In 1942 Arabist and literary critic Ángel González Palencia published a study on *Don Raimundo y los traductores de Toledo*. José Llamas, for his part, produced numerous studies on the translations of the Holy Scriptures into Castilian, which he published in journals such as *Estudios Bíblicos*, *Sefarad* and *La ciudad de Dios*. These studies enabled him to successfully complete his well-known edition of the *Biblia medieval romanceada judeo-cristiana. Versión del Antiguo Testamento en el siglo XIV, sobre los textos hebreo y latino* (1950–1955). Philologist and historian Ramón Menéndez Pidal, one of the most respected Spanish scholars in the field of Romance Studies, devoted some attention to the so-called Toledo School of Translators in his *España, eslabón entre la cristianidad y el Islam* (1956), while Italian hispanist Margherita Morreale published from the mid-1950s a number of studies on medieval translation in journals such as *Sefarad* and *Revista de Literatura*, besides specific studies on the translations of Virgil and Dante, and a monograph on Spanish Renaissance poet Boscán, well-known for his 1534 translation of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* and for his role as introducer of Petrarchism in Spain (see below). Morreale also authored a volume on Humanist translator Pedro Simón de Abril in 1949. Bible translation as a topic was developed in the 1960s and 1970s thanks to the contributions of the best-known specialist on the subject, Luis Alonso Schöckel, professor at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome. He combined research and translation practice in *Salmos y cánticos del Breviario* (1966) and – together with Juan Mateos – in *Nueva Biblia Española* (1975). In the second part of *La traducción bíblica. Lingüística y estilística* – written with Eduardo Zurro (1977) – Alonso Schöckel presented an overview of the history of Bible translation into Castilian. Valentín García Yebra has probably been one of the most erudite Spanish scholars in the field of translation history. He is also very well known for his contributions on the linguistic aspects of translation – mainly from the point of view of Contrastive Linguistics – and for his translations of Aristotle, Caesar, Cicero, and Seneca. When he became a member of the Royal Spanish Academy he delivered his speech *Traducción y enriquecimiento de la lengua del traductor* in 1985 (published in expanded form in 2004), where he makes numerous references to translation history. Some of his most important contributions to translation history are included in *En torno a la traducción. Teoría. Crítica. Historia* (1983) and *Traducción: historia y teoría* (1994).

As can be expected, the so-called Toledo School of Translation has attracted considerable scholarly attention (for an extensive bibliography, see Foz 1999). As is well known, Toledo became instrumental in the transmission of Greek knowledge from Arabian sources into Latin in the twelfth century under the religious patronage of Archbishop Raimundo, and into Romance languages in the thirteenth century under the courtly patronage of King Alphonse X. It was French historian Amable Jourdain who first described the translation activity undertaken in Toledo as a 'school' (in his *Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote, et sur des commentaires grecs ou arabes employés par les docteurs scholastiques*, published *post mortem* in 1819 and reprinted in 1843). This false conception – that there was a school as such in Toledo – has endured to this day. The journal *Quaderns de traducció* devoted one issue to this topic in 1999, which included one article by Marietta

Gargatagli, together with facsimilar reprints of pieces of work by Amable Jourdain, José María Millás Villacrosa, and Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, which had become ‘classics’ and had not been reprinted in recent times. Other important contributions are those by Gil (1974) on the Jewish translators working in Toledo, and Gil (1990) on the translators working under the patronage of Archbishop Raimundo. In recent times, Clara Foz has published very significant studies on this topic, e.g. a general characterization of the Toledo Translation School (Foz 1987, 1991); a study of the poetics underlying translation practice in Toledo (Foz 1988); and an overview of the cultural, political and linguistic features of the main periods in the Toledo Translation School, together with an analysis of the agents involved (Foz 1998). Pym (1994), for his part, analyzes the potential conflict between the foreign scientific translators working in Toledo and the clergy at the Toledo cathedral, and how translations brought with them a questioning spirit that would contest and eventually undermine Church authority. Finally, Samsó’s edited volume (1996) includes articles by Samsó himself, Márquez Villanueva, González Ruiz and Sáenz-Badillos.

Alvar (2010) compiles thirty of his previous studies on medieval translation in Castile. These contributions – written between 1987 and 2009 – focus on topics such as the translation of specific genres (technical, scientific, religious, and literary); translation under the patronage of King Alphonse X; translations from French, Provençal and Italian; the role of interpreters; the poetics of medieval translation; the different methodological approaches to translation during the period, etc. He presents a brief overview of medieval translation in Castile in Alvar (2012). For his part, Santoyo (2009) provides an exhaustive and systematic study of translation in the Iberian Peninsula from the very first and virtually unknown instances of translation in the Early Middle Ages until the progressive rise of Humanism in the fifteenth century. Some distinguishing features of his work include the adoption of an Iberian perspective, the use of a large diversity of excerpts from primary sources, and the emphasis on day-to-day practice and anonymous translation in numerous contexts, such as translation into Arabian in Muslim Córdoba in mid-tenth century; the translational activity undertaken in the monastery of Ripoll in the tenth and eleventh centuries; the role of Jewish translators and the importance of translation from Hebrew from the end of the eleventh century; the Toledo School of Translators; the role of philosopher, poet and theologian Ramón Llull as translator in the thirteenth century; intrapeninsular translation in the fourteenth century, and the progressive abandonment of Arabian as a source language in favour of Latin, Greek and Romance languages, together with the rise of Catalan as a target language; the activity of translators such as Juan de Mena, Alonso de Madrigal, the Marquis of Villena, Juan del Enzina, Alfonso de Cartagena, Antonio de Nebrija and Alfonso de Palencia in the fifteenth century. Other important contributions by Santoyo on medieval Iberian Peninsula have been compiled in Santoyo (1999), where he discusses day-to-day translations (9–34), translation theory in the fourteenth century (35–50), translator and theoretician Alonso de Madrigal (51–70); and also in Santoyo (2008), where he studies translation from the 3rd to the 10th centuries (27–41), non-Toledan translations between 1250 and 1300 (43–66), translation theory (67–83), translator Íñigo López de Mendoza (85–102), translator and theorist of translation Alonso de Madrigal, ‘el Tostado’ (103–17), and translations of religious texts in the fifteenth century (119–35). See also Santoyo (2004, 23–174, 2017) for comprehensive panoramas of translation in the Iberian Peninsula.

Roxana Recio’s edited *La traducción en España, siglos XIV–XVI* (1995) compiles thirteen contributions presented at the conference entitled *Medieval and 16th century translation in the Iberian Peninsula*, held at the University of Kentucky in 1993. The articles are distributed under the following headings: history and theoretical aspects; translation at the Crown

of Aragon; the Castilian fifteenth century; progression and synthesis (the sixteenth century). On the other hand, Tomàs Martínez Romero and Roxana Recio's collection *Essays on Medieval Translation in the Iberian Peninsula* (2001) brings together several essays devoted to translation theory and practice in the fifteenth century by authors from different countries and backgrounds, such as Carlos Alvar, Lluís Cifuentes, Peter Russell and Curt Wittlin. Both volumes focus on the period studied by Peter Russell in his seminal *Traducciones y traductores en la Península Ibérica (1400–1550)* (1985). For a brief overview on this period, see Recio (2004–2011). Finally, in his anthology of Hispanic medieval translation theory, Cartagena (2009, xi–xlili) analyzes the degree of development of Spanish translation theory in the late Middle Ages, as compared to Italian Humanism and French Renaissance.

The Renaissance

Spanish Renaissance has often been considered the historical period leading to the so-called Siglos de Oro (the Golden Age), which span the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The earliest manifestations of a cultural rebirth – the rise of Humanism – after the supposedly dark period of the Middle Ages can be dated back to the second decade of the fifteenth century, that is, much later than in Italy or France. From the point of view of translation, a most interesting process – in so many different geographical contexts in Europe – was the change in attitude towards the vernaculars, a change that, according to Recio (2012, 1990) began in the Iberian Peninsula in the fourteenth century and continued until the sixteenth century. The rise of Castilian as a vernacular force in Europe was, of course, closely associated to its imposition in the American colonies. For a clear and comprehensive overview of the debate on the vernacular and its implications for translation, see Ruiz Pérez (1987).

Probably, the most comprehensive study to date is that of Russell (1985), which provides a general overview of translation in the Iberian Peninsula between 1400 and 1550. Other important contributions on this period are those by Barrass (1978) on the function of translated literature in sixteenth-century Spain; Lasperas (1980) on translation theory and practice; Cantrelle (1991) on the paratexts of translations of French texts; Terracini (1996) on the concept of translation; Santoyo (1999, 71–83) on translation theory; Micó (2002) on the different modalities of poetic translation; and Seco (1990) on literary translations from Italian.

Other studies of note, even if not dealing exclusively with translation, include Meregalli (1962) on the relations between Italy and Spain in the Renaissance; Lawrance (1985) on the spread of lay literacy in late Medieval Castile; Darst (1985) on the concept of *imitatio*; and Lawrance (1990) on Humanism in the Iberian Peninsula. One of the most important foreign influences was, of course, that of Petrarch, who originated an innovating literary movement that would mature thanks to poets Boscán and Garcilaso (see the following). Some of the most outstanding studies on Petrarchism in Spain – mostly in book form – are Sansiventi (1902), Farinelli (1904, 1929), Fucilla (1960), Cruz (1988), Meregalli (1975), Recio (1978), Manero Sorolla (1987) and Cabello Porrás (1995). Valero Moreno (2015), for his part, provides a review of the literature on the subject.

In the field of translation, both from the point of view of theory and practice, the three most relevant personalities are probably Juan Boscán, Luis de León, and Juan Luis Vives. Boscán's translation of Baldassare de Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1534), and his collaboration with poet Garcilaso de la Vega, together with their poetics of translation and the influence of this translation in the development of Humanism in Spain have been studied – among many others – by Morreale (1959) and Torre (1987). León's translations (of religious texts, such as *The Song of Songs*, *The Book of Job*, and *The Psalms*, but also Classical authors, such as

Horace and Virgil), together with his defence of his method of translation in his version of *The Song of Songs* have been studied, for example, by Calero (1991), García de la Fuente (1994) and Codoñer (1994). Humanist scholar Juan Luis Vives' views on translation, as expressed – mainly – in the essay 'Versiones seu interpretationes', included in *De ratione dicendi* (1532), but also in *De causis corruptarum artium* (1531) have been studied by Coseriu (1977) and García Yebra (1994, 171–86).

Other important translators in this period are Pedro Simón Abril, Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, Lupericio Leonaro de Argensola, Benito Arias Montano, Juan de Arjona, Cristóbal de Castillejo, Gonzalo Correas, Francisco de Enzinas, Alonso Fernández de Madrid, Juan de Jáuregui, Martín Laso de Oropesa, Diego López de Cortegana, Vicente de Mariner, Jorge de Montemayor, José Pellicer de Ossau, Quevedo, Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, Jerónimo de Urrea, Salomón Usque, Juan de Valdés, Cipriano de Valera, Diego Vázquez de Contreras and Esteban Manuel de Villegas. Unfortunately, reasons of space prevent me from making reference to the publications on these translators, but Lafarga and Pegenaute (2009) provide the most relevant bibliographical references.

The eighteenth century

In the eighteenth century the number of translations increased dramatically. Translations were done fundamentally from French (about two-thirds of them). German and English texts were mostly translated through French intermediate sources. In general terms, the poetics and ideology of the period were largely dictated from France. In many instances, the increase in the number of translations did not go hand in hand with an increase in their quality. Gallicisms were frequent, which, for some, was an explicit symptom of the excessive presence of France in all the spheres of social life. The ubiquity of censorship and a pronounced didacticism dictated the choice of works to be translated and how it was done (García Garrosa 2009, 2012). For comprehensive panoramas on this period, see Lafarga (2004), García Garrosa and Lafarga (2009), Pajares (2012), and Ruiz Casanova (2018, 349–440).

Pageaux (1964) bears testimony to the French influence during this period and studies the image of France in Spain, while Lafarga (1998a) provides an annotated bibliography of studies on the reception of French culture in Spain. Other studies analyse the influence of England (Effross 1962; Glendinning 1968; Pajares 1994, 1996, 2006, 9–42, 2010) and Italy (Arce 1968). Quantitative and bibliographic data about the translations in this period are offered by Fernández Gómez and Nieto (1991) García-Hurtado (1999), Buiguès (2002) and – in the case of translated drama – by Lafarga (1983–1988) and García Garrosa and Vega García-Luengos (1991). Paratexts of translations – from which a poetics of translation can be inferred – are studied by García de León (1983), Urzainqui (1991), and García Garrosa and Lafarga (2004, 3–91). García Garrosa (2006, 2016) analyzes the debates on translation during this period. On the other hand, the translation of drama has also attracted scholarly attention (Parducci 1941; Belorgey 1988; Lafarga 1988, 1996, 1997, 1998c; Sánchez de León 1993, 1999), with numerous studies on particular playwrights, such as Corneille, Diderot, Marivaux, Molière, Racine and Voltaire. Other contributions focus on the translation of novels (Álvarez Barrientos 1991, 1998).

The leading researcher in the intercultural relations between France and Spain is Francisco Lafarga, who, as a specialist in this period, has devoted numerous publications to the history of translation in eighteenth century Spain. He has studied the translation and reception of French authors, such as Beaumarchais, Diderot, Molière, Prévost and Voltaire; and numerous Spanish translators, such as Ramón de la Cruz, Bretón de los Herreros, Marchena, Sempere y

Guarinos, etc. Lafarga has also edited or co-edited volumes on the image of France in Spanish literature (1989), the reception and translation of European drama in eighteenth century Spain (1997), translation in eighteenth century Spain (1999, 2002), and an anthology of the theoretical discourse on translation in this century (2004).

The most conspicuous personalities in the field of translation in this period are José Miguel Alea, Bernardo María de Calzada, Antonio de Capmany, Cristóbal Cladera, José Clavijo y Fajardo, José Antonio Conde, Ramón de la Cruz, Félix Enciso Castrillón, Juan de Escoiquiz, Pedro Estala, Leandro Fernández de Moratín, Agustín García de Arrieta, Ignacio García Malo, Tomás de Iriarte, José Francisco de Isla, José Marchena, José Mor de Fuentes, Jesús Munárriz, Francisco Mariano Nifo, Pablo de Olavide, Rodrigo de Oviedo, José Pellicer, Antonio Ranz de Romanillos, Antonio Saviñón, Juan Sempere y Guarinos, Esteban de Terreros, Cándido María Trigueros, José de Viera y Clavijo and Gaspar Zavala y Zamora. For comprehensive overviews of them, together with full bibliographic references of secondary resources, see Lafarga and Pegenaute (2009).

The nineteenth century

From a cultural point of view, the nineteenth century in Spain can be roughly divided into three periods quite equal in length: Neoclassicism (with the persistence of the old poetics from the eighteenth century), Romanticism, and Realism. Panoramic overviews on translation in Spain the nineteenth century can be found in Zaro's edited volumes (2007, 2008), with studies on particular translations; Lafarga and Pegenaute's edited volume (2015a), on the relation between creation and translation; Lafarga and Pegenaute's edited volume (2016), on a large number of writers who practised translation; Lafarga and others (2016) on translation theory, with studies covering the different periods: García Garrosa (1800–1830), Lafarga (1830–1850), Zaro (1850–1880) and Fillière (1880–1900). Other, briefer, contributions are the ones by Álvarez Barrientos (1997), Crespo Hidalgo (2007), Hériz and San Vicente (2012, 197–217) and Ruiz Casanova (2018, 441–534).

Romanticism reached Spain when it had already reached its apex in Germany and England – where it originated –, France and Italy. It is generally agreed that the return of many exiled intellectuals, after the death of king Fernando VII, propitiated the inauguration of Romanticism in Spain. For an overview of the translational activity carried out by these exiles in England, see Durán (2015) and Pegenaute (2015). Lafarga and Pegenaute's edited volume (2006) is devoted to both foreign authors translated in this period and to the most relevant translators, while Pegenaute (2004b) presents a panoramic account of translation in this period. Other studies are restricted to particular genres, such as drama (Menarini 1982, 2002; Álvarez Barrientos 1991). Many others have paid attention to the authors most frequently translated during this period, that is, to Byron and Scott; Dumas, Hugo, Lamartine, Sand, and Sue; Goethe, Hoffmann, and Schiller; Alfieri, Leopardi and Manzoni.

The second half of the century is mainly dominated by Realism and Naturalism, two literary movements which grew out of the French impulse for a more objective description of reality, with a focus on social character. Pegenaute (2004a) provides an overview on translation practice in this period, while Zaro (2016) presents an overview on translation theory. During this period, the most characteristic means of expression was the novel, in many instances published in instalments. Balzac and Stendhal's realism led to Zola and the Goncourt brothers' Naturalism, which emphasized the scientific method in the fictional portrayal of reality. In the last decades of the century Naturalism was superseded in narrative by literary spiritualism,

imported from Russia (Dostoievski, Tolstoi) and Portugal (Eça de Queiroz), as a consequence of the fatigue of traditional literary Realism.

In poetry, the main influences came from Germany (specially the fables by Lessing; the ballads by Goethe, Bürger and Schiller; and the *lieder* – songs – by Heine) and, at a later stage, from French symbolism (Baudelaire). Symbolism also left an important imprint on Spanish drama through the translations of Scandinavians Ibsen and Strindberg, and also Belgian Maeterlinck. Numerous studies focus on the translation and reception of these authors (see Lafarga and Pegenaute 2009 for comprehensive studies on them).

The main translators in the nineteenth century were Francisco Altés, Manuel Aranda y San Juan, Víctor Balaguer, Jacinto Benavente, José María Blanco-White, Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, Manuel Bretón de los Herreros, Carmen de Burgos, Clarín, José Andrew Covert-Spring, José María Díaz de la Torre, Nemesio Fernández Cuesta, Augusto Ferrán, Juan Nicasio Gallego, José García de Villalta, Antonio Gil y Zárate, Hermenegildo Giner de los Ríos, Gorostiza brothers, Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, Jacinto Labaila, Mariano José de Larra, Teodoro Llorente, Guillermo Macpherson, Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, Milà y Fontanals, Eugenio de Ochoa, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Amancio Peratoner, Antonio Ribot, Cayetano Rosell, Faustina Sáez de Melgar, Eugenio Sanz, Dionisio Solís, Eugenio de Tapia, Juan Valera, Ramón de Valladares y Saavedra, Ventura de la Vega and Antonio Zozaya. As recommended in previous sections, see Lafarga and Pegenaute (2009) for a comprehensive view.

The twentieth century

Rabadán, Merino, and Chamosa (2012) and Ruiz Casanova (2018, 535–688) offer comprehensive panoramas of translation in twentieth century Spain. This century can be divided into three periods: up to the Civil War (that is, up to 1936), the Francoist dictatorship (1940–1975) and the restoration of democracy (1975–2000). The first period coincides, in rough terms, with what is sometimes labelled as the Silver Age of Spanish literature – due to the excellence of its writers –, comprising three generations of writers, namely, the Generation of 1898, the Generation of 1914 and the Generation of 1927. Two edited volumes focus on this Silver Age: Pegenaute (2001) and Romero López (2016), the latter being devoted exclusively to female translators. Gallego Roca (2004), for his part, presents an overview of the translation of prose, drama and poetry, underlining the role of translation in the modernization of the target literary scene. Vega's edited volume (1998b) focuses specifically on the 1898 Generation, paying attention to both the translators who might be inscribed in this group and the translations of the most celebrated authors. The most comprehensive pieces on the translators are those by Vega (1998a) and Martín Gaitero (1998). For his part, Díez de Revenga (2007, 9–56) collects the poetic translations undertaken by members of the 1927 Generation such as Jorge Guillén, Gerardo Diego, Luis Cernuda, and Rafael Alberti, with an introductory study. Gallego Roca (1996) presents an exhaustive panorama of the evolution and renovation of Spanish poetry between 1909 and 1930 as a consequence of the influence of translated literature – in journals, anthologies and books – together with a catalogue of translations. Although it does not specifically focus on translation, it is also worth mentioning Doce's (2005) study on the influence of English Romanticism in Unamuno, Machado, Juan Ramón Jiménez and Cernuda, all of them writers/translators who have received critical attention in too large a number of other studies to be mentioned here.

The Francoist period and its aftermath are covered by Vega (2004), who distinguishes four different stages: the first post-war years (until the end of the 1940s), in which the country tried to recover from the devastating consequences of the conflict, and which was characterized by

the promotion of the ideals of National Catholicism (Franco's ultraconservative amalgam of authoritarianism, nationalism, Catholicism and anti-communism); the years up to the mid-1960s, characterized by a growing economic liberalization, but few political reforms, and in which new publishing houses, such as José Janés, Plaza, Planeta and Bruguera were founded; the latter years of Franco's rule, which saw progressive economic and political liberalization and the birth of a tourism industry, and which witnessed a relative opening to foreign cultural influences thanks to the efforts of publishing houses such as Seix Barral, Taurus, Cátedra and Akal; the transition to democracy, after Franco's death in 1975, with the restoration of the royal house of Bourbon and the introduction of a constitutional monarchy, which enabled Spain to become one of the countries with the highest percentages of translations in printed form. In general terms, of course, censorship characterized the Francoist period. Censorship meant the prohibition of liberal ideas imported from abroad. This has been studied in Rabadán's (2000) and Merino's (2008) edited volumes. Both Merino and Rabadán have led research projects studying this phenomenon, in many instances making use of a corpus (see Merino and Rabadán 2002). The translation of British drama between 1950 and 1990, in particular, has been studied by Merino (1994). Some of the most conspicuous translators were, for example, Astrana Marín, who produced a translation of the complete works of Shakespeare in 1941 (Calleja 1987), and Cansinos Assnes, who published numerous translations of works by Balzac, Dostoevski, and Goethe together with the *Coran* and many others (Fuentes Florido 1979; Linares 1978; Oteo Sans 1996). A general overview of translation in contemporary Spain is provided by Pegenaute (2004c), who pays attention to the professional activity, the training of translators and the research undertaken in this field.

Future directions

According to Santoyo, one of the most renowned specialists in Spanish translation history, the research hitherto carried out has mainly dealt with Biblical translations and works written in classical languages, and languages close to the Iberian Peninsula, such as Italian, French, English and German. He also adds that studies on "children's literature, the use of translation in the audiovisual media, contemporary theatre, the role played by translators and interpreters in colonial and postcolonial processes, and the history of censorship as applied to translations" are scarce (2012, 1983). According to him, many areas remain virtually unknown, such as, for example, translation in the Roman and Visigoth periods, pragmatic translation in the Middle Ages, the work of Islamic and Jewish translators, and that of the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries in the Far East, especially in the Philippines. In another contribution, Santoyo (2006) describes what he considers to be 'blank spaces in the history of translation'. Although he is not referring specifically to Iberian or Spanish translation, his observations can be aptly applied to that particular geographical context. In his view, those 'uncultivated fields' in translation history which should be ploughed in the future include the history of interpreting, the daily practice of translation, pseudotranslations, self-translations and translated texts as survivors of lost originals. Besides, attention should be paid to the role played by translation in History and a number of errors should be corrected.

Other topics that have been scarcely treated include the translations undertaken by Spanish translators outside Spain (as in exile); the phenomenon of non-translation (in contexts of censorship or as a consequence of general translation policies); translations not published in book form (many of which have been carried out anonymously and for purely pragmatic reasons in contexts such as diplomatic offices, military expeditions, monasteries, scientific societies, etc.); the use of translation as a teaching tool (in the teaching of not only classical languages,

but also modern foreign ones); the translation tools available to translators along history (lexicographical and documentary resources); the kind of cooperation undertaken between translation teams which are not always clearly identifiable (as was the case in the so-called Toledo school of translation), etc.

In general terms, there is a clear need for models and maps which are not defined by traditional notions of country, nation or linguistic community. In this respect, an Iberian approach rather a Spanish one might be more appropriate. In the same vein, it might be interesting to pay attention to the history of translation from the perspective of Ibero-American Atlanticism, in an attempt to merge the methodological postulates of two recent theoretical alternatives to traditional Hispanism, namely, Iberian Studies and Transatlantic Studies. Zaro and Peña's (2017) and Peña and Zaro's (2018) edited volumes constitute good examples of this promising line of research, with some forty contributions studying the phenomenon of retranslation in Spain in Spanish America. Pegenaute (2018, 194–98) proposes other new methodological approaches which are worthy of consideration in the field of translation history and which can be useful in the specific case of Iberian/Spanish translation, such as, for example, the concept of translation zone, which should be understood as a hybrid and multilingual space characterized by intense translational activity. The transactions of the translation zone challenge the notions of 'foreign' and 'local', and in this respect, the notion of a source language/culture and target language/culture, questioning the idealizing monolingualism of traditional translational models and challenging radical distinctions between monolingualism and multilingualism. At the same time, these spaces also challenge the binary distinction between creation and translation, with numerous translators being prompt to practise self-translation (see Meylaerts 2004). Although no attempt has yet been made to consider whether the postulates of microhistory can prove to be fruitful in the analysis of cities as spaces of translation, Pegenaute (2018, 191) suggests that the reduction of the 'nominative' scale of study to a microspace can open new venues for research and defends that the growth of the critical scholarship in the interdisciplinary field of spatiality studies – which can be defined as to encompass geocriticism, geopoetics and the spatial humanities, among other critical approaches – can bring about a new orientation in the field of translation history. Other approaches analysed by Pegenaute (2018) are socio-narrative theory and the theory of evolution, both of which were suggested by Hermans (2011) as two possible alternatives to polysystem theory. In the former approach, which was inspired by psychology and social and communication theory, the most basic idea is that narratives do not just represent the world but also help us build it. The second approach is by its very nature intrinsically historical, in that it implies the emergence of different species – translations – as a result of variation and retention. Another recent field of research, which has emerged over the past decade, is that of 'genetic translation studies', which analyzes the practices of the working translator and the genesis of the translated text by studying translators' manuscripts, drafts and other working documents. Finally, Pegenaute (2018, 198) suggests that is desirable to study the role that media forms have played in the history and constitution of translation, and what kinds of practices of translation can be associated with different media cultures.

Recommended reading

Lafarga, Francisco, and Luis Pegenaute, eds. 2004. *Historia de la traducción en España*. Madrid: Ambos mundos.

It presents a complete overview of the history of translation into Basque, Castilian, Catalan, and Galician, with an emphasis on Castilian.

- Lafarga, Francisco, and Luis Pegenau, eds. 2009. *Diccionario histórico de la traducción en España*. Madrid: Gredos.
It includes 800 entries, prepared by 400 specialists, on Spanish translators into Basque, Castilian, Catalan, and Galician, and on the foreign authors most frequently translated, together with panoramic overviews of the translation of foreign literatures.
- Ordóñez, Pilar, and José Antonio Sabio, eds. 2015. *Historiografía de la traducción en el espacio ibérico: Textos contemporáneos*. Cuenca: Universidad Castilla-La Mancha.
It collects fifteen historiographical studies which are very valuable for historians of translation, even if the title is somewhat misleading. The texts focus either on Spain or Portugal, treating them separately. On the other hand, some texts deal with interpreting, and another with Hispanic America.
- Ruiz Casanova, José Francisco. 2018. *Ensayo de una historia de la traducción en España*. Madrid: Cátedra.
An updated revision of *Aproximación a una historia de la traducción en España* (2000), mostly on the bibliographical side. It presents a complete panorama of the history of translation in Spain. Each chapter is prefaced by a study on the linguistic and literary variety of each particular period.
- Santoyo, Julio-César, ed. 1987. *Teoría y crítica de la traducción: antología*. Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
This anthology of discourse on translation presents Spanish and Spanish-American essays, with a strong emphasis on the former, since the vast majority of them (some 90) were written by Spanish authors between 1367 and 1984.

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