

CLANDESTINE TRANSLATIONS DURING FRANCO'S DICTATORSHIP: *POESIA* (1944-1945) AND *ARIEL* (1946-1951)^{1 2}

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Abstract

After the Spanish Civil War, Francisco Franco's dictatorship banned Catalan translations for a decade. But in 1948, Carles Riba's translation of the *Odyssey* and Josep Maria Sagarra's translation of the *Divine Comedy* were published, albeit with severe restrictions. These restrictions remained virtually unchanged until 1962, when the regime began allowing the publication of Catalan translations without prior censorship. In the 1940s, when the repression was at its fiercest, two clandestine journals in Catalan, *Poesia* (1944-1945) and *Ariel* (1946-1951), regularly translated a portion of one of the classics of Western literature, and also published contemporary and avant-garde material as well as the most recent works to be published.

Resum

Acabada la guerra civil, la dictadura de Francisco Franco va prohibir les traduccions al català durant una dècada, fins al 1948, en què van aparèixer l'Odissea de Carles Riba i la Divina Comèdia de Josep M. de Sagarra en condicions molt restrictives. Aquestes condicions es van mantenir pràcticament inalterables fins al 1962, quan va deixar de practicar-se la censura lingüística prèvia davant la demanda de publicar qualsevol traducció catalana. En la dècada dels quaranta, quan la persecució era més severa, van sortir a llum dues revistes clandestines en català, *Poesia* (1944-1945) i *Ariel* (1946- 1951), que van traduir regularment una selecció de l'obra dels noms canònics de la literatura occidental, sense negligir l'aportació de la contemporaneïtat, les avantguardes i les novetats més recents.

Keywords: Catalan translation. Franco. Clandestine publishing. *Poesia*. *Ariel*.

Paraules clau: Traducció catalana. Franquisme. Clandestinitat. *Poesia*. *Ariel*.

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Throughout history, many political regimes have sought to control the publication of translations. As a potent weapon to modernise cultures, translations have been closely monitored or banned outright throughout the world and throughout history. Dictatorships of various flavours have often required published material to be in line with its single, dominant school of thought. The prospect of dissent is too much of a risk for an omnipresent power.

Much research has been conducted into the two-fold censorship exerted by Franco's dictatorship: on the one hand there was a general, permanent ideological censorship of all publications in Spain, and on the other, for more than 20 years there was a linguistic censorship of publications in the "other" languages, i.e. Spain's languages other than Spanish. As part of the latter, it is widely known that until 1962 translations were subjected to harsh persecution. For instance, while in Spanish one could publish or perform the works of playwrights who were all the rage at the time, such as Jean-Paul Sartre and Tennessee Williams, such publications and performances were not allowed in Catalan, Galician and Basque until much later. Consequently, in January 1939 "an entire literature went underground" (Triadú 1978: 13). The position of intellectuals who remained faithful to the Catalan language throughout the storm is usually described as "internal exile". The true exiles, in the literal, physical sense, were the leaders of the Catalan Republic. Their influence spread to many countries, but rarely reached Catalonia, a country under military occupation.

When the regime began to persecute the slightest expression of Catalan identity or culture, it was not long before people reacted. In literary circles, the first private "reading" sessions were immediately organised. These informal gatherings, or *tertulias*, served to commemorate important events, pay homage to important people, listen to lectures or concerts, stage plays, and most importantly to read recent works that writers who were excluded from a whole range of platforms could not disseminate in any other manner. Held as discreetly as possible in the privacy of the homes of intellectuals and prominent well-to-do people, they would bring together participants ranging from restless youngsters making their first steps in literature to highly revered writers. All were united by a single purpose: "to maintain the sacred fire of the Catalan spirit" (Gassó 1982: 31), to quote one of the founders of *Estudi*, which was one of the most active and longest-lasting of the *tertulias* (1939-1955). Josep Palau i Fabre started up another group, *Amics de la Poesia* (Friends of Poetry), in 1941. It was in the context of this group that Palau i Fabre created *Poesia*, the journal of which he would be the sole editor between March 1944 and November 1945. He created the journal out of fear that the closed-off nature of these *tertulias* could cause them to become "distorted" and because he felt a need to "steer in a new direction" (Palau i Fabre 2008: 157). The twenty-issue journal was described as "the first [journal] with solid cultural substance" (Samsó 1995: 32), with a "fertility level that was unimaginable at the time and under the circumstances" (Balaguer Pascual 1995: 36); Ribé simply described it as "one of the best [journals] ever published in Catalan" (Ribé 1977: 37).

Palau i Fabre, who had already contributed to various publications before the war, went on to play a vital role: "Among the latest university graduates I was the only one who knew all the Catalan writers, enabling me [...] to act as a mediator between us and them" (Palau i Fabre 2008: 151). He made several controversial attempts at infiltrating the Falange Española nationalist-syndicalism movement before realising it was a futile strategy and focusing on clandestine activity, even if it meant acting unilaterally, as he did when producing *Poesia*. Nevertheless, he did benefit from the support of the most prestigious authors that had returned to or remained in Catalonia (Salvador Espriu, J. V. Foix, Josep Maria López-Picó, Marià

Manent, Carles Riba and Josep Maria de Sagarra) and acquaintances he had made in secret meetings, *tertulias* and at university (Rosa Leveroni, Joan Perucho, Josep Romeu and Joan Triadú), literary figures who were beginning to explore paths and publish their first texts.

The physical look of *Poesia* caught people's attention. The journal was as big as the printing press would allow, had the "most splendid, extravagant pages", and was "printed very carefully" with an "exuberant typography" (Colomines 1963: 25). The journal had such an impressive, classical-like visual aspect that it must have clashed with the restrictions of the period. It was a style that harked back to an era of cultural "normality" that could only be yearned for; a much-desired and distant "continuity". Palau i Fabre had taken *Quaderns de Poesia* (1935-1936) as his model, retaining even the seemingly minor feature of including some material in different languages. *Poesia* thus contained poems in languages that a learned Catalan reader of the time could easily understand: several in Spanish and French and one in Galician. However, as we shall see, most of the translations in the journal were from French.

This revival of the *noucentisme* movement of the early 20th century was in sharp contrast to the desire to bring about a very tangible change. The journal made the two objectives – continuity and change – overtly manifest, without a shadow of contradiction, publishing Shakespearean works alongside those of André Breton. No compromise could be made in expressing a "rich and full" (Triadú 1978: 9) literary heritage that the official regime opposed so vehemently. Nor could one compromise in the struggle against conformity, clichés and the endless repetition of the same old agreeable forms and motifs. Palau i Fabre held poetry in too high esteem to be complacent. He attached great significance to poetry, some might feel too much, issuing a kind of declaration of principles in the very first article of the first issue, arguing that "Poetry is Metaphysics" (Palau [n.d.]: 1). In doing so, he positioned himself as the diametric opposite of hollow Romanticism and the poetry-festival mindset. Meanwhile, the avant-garde had changed the concept of poetic creation, desanctifying it and giving it a new role in which it could not be separated from the poetic subject. An "alchemist", "medium" or "seer" of Poetry, Palau i Fabre also felt subjugated to this other legacy.

The sense of collective construction and integration was also evident in the fact that the journal included translations in almost every issue. It was surprising how "original" poetry would intertwine naturally and decisively with translated poetry. A Joan Llacuna poem might come before one by Paul Éluard, or Salvador Espriu might be followed by Petrarch. This approach consistently conferred value and excellence on the former while making the latter a part of a memorable tradition of translations. The new and the old, the national and the foreign, fused together and reinvented themselves at a time when the very survival of the Catalan language was at stake. Clearly this was one of the most potent weapons to shore up the language.

The repertoire of translated authors was relatively broad, comprising pillars of the Western canon (Sappho, Shakespeare and Petrarch), ground-breaking pre-Romantics (William Blake), neo-Romantic vitalists (Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Rilke), heterogeneous Symbolists (Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Rimbaud, Valéry and Comte de Lautréamont), and avant-garde authors (Apollinaire, André Breton, Jean Cocteau and Paul Éluard). However, the journal was clearly dominated by the Symbolist and avant-garde authors. Indeed, Palau i Fabre dedicated to these two trends either monographic issues (issue 6 – "Què és la poesia" [What is poetry?] – and 13 – "Textos del *vident*" [Texts of the seer] – for example) or a special focus across the hundreds of pages of the entire collection of issues. As one might expect, the editor put forward a vision of poetry as knowledge, as an absolute, and even as redemption.

He translated many of the authors himself, including Apollinaire, Breton, Cocteau, Éluard, Lautréamont and Rimbaud, often without signing them. The works of Rimbaud, the "enlightened" one whom years later Palau i Fabre translated more extensively (Rimbaud 1966), appear more than those of any other author. Lluís Gassó-Carbonell also showed interest in Rimbaud, publishing a translation of "Le bateau ivre" (sometimes known in English as "The Drunken Boat"), one of the young poet's most famous and most striking poems (issue 18).

Previously (in issue 15), Gassó had published a brief selection of modern French poetry, with poems by Baudelaire, Mallarmé and Valéry. In a remarkable display of intellectual coherence, in *Poesia* Palau i Fabre translated another author whom he would later translate again: Mariana Alcoforado, also known as “the Portuguese Nun” (*Cartes*, 1986). He also translated his contemporary Colette, producing what was probably the first Catalan translation of her work. Palau i Fabre also translated the numerous aphorisms dotted around many issues of the journal (especially issues 6, 10, 12, 13 and 14), which in some cases became the issue’s sole focus. For instance, issue 6, devoted entirely to defining what poetry is, provides definitions of poetry in Catalan by Apollinaire, Aragon, Lautréamont, García Lorca, Brunetière, Cocteau (two), Amiel, Valéry, Aubourg, Garrod, Salinas, Marinello, Maritain, Eliot, Wordsworth and Ortega y Gasset (alongside others by Maragall, Riba and Foix). The selection promotes the idea that – to quote Pedro Salinas – “poetry is an adventure towards the absolute”. As often happens, the anthologist uses other voices to express himself or to lend authority to his own voice.

Other translators also contributed to *Poesia*, starting with the most prolific of all, Marià Manent, whose writings appeared in the very first issue. He translated three of the four English poems published in the journal: an anonymous ballad, an excerpt from Blake’s “Visions of the Daughters of Albion”, and a sonnet by Barrett Browning (these two compositions were published in issues 13 and 20, which were special issues devoted entirely to “visionary” poetry and female poets, respectively). The other translator of English poetry was Josep Maria de Sagarra, whom Palau i Fabre had known before the war and had invited to Amics de la Poesia to read excerpts from Dante’s *Divine Comedy*. Sagarra contributed with “Dues cançons de Shakespeare” (Two Shakespeare Songs). With remarkable careers behind them, Manent and Sagarra were forced into a terrible exile in their own land, leaving them with “no choice” but to translate to earn a living. One translated into Spanish, while the other clandestinely translated into Catalan (specifically, Shakespearean theatre). Perhaps an even worse plight befell Josep Maria López-Picó (as revealed in *Dietari, 1929-1959*), who had published “Temes de la rosa, de Rilke” (About the Rose and Rilke) in issue 5 of *Poesia*. However, Osvald Cardona, three years Palau i Fabre’s senior, only had time to contribute to *Mirador* before the Spanish Civil War broke out. Cardona’s first major contribution to the literary world was a large extract from Petrarch’s *Canzonieri* (published in 1955), of which he provided an initial sample in issue 8 of *Poesia*. The journal’s other translators, Lluís Gassó-Carbonell, Lluís Soler (known under his pen name Lluís de Rialp) and Joan Triadú, were all younger than Cardona – about the same age as Palau i Fabre. Soler translated a poem by Rilke (issue 14) and Triadú translated one by Sappho (issue 20). All had been baptised into the literary world in the secret *tertulias*, but they had published very little. This contrasted with *Poesia*’s only female translator, Rosa Leveroni (born in 1910), who in the midst of conflict had already published her first book of poems, *Epigrames i cançons* (1938), with a foreword by Carles Riba. In issue 10 she reappeared with her “Interpretació de Teixeira de Pascoaes” (Interpretation of Teixeira de Pascoaes).

As we can see, *Poesia* conceived translation mainly as a creative art form, as a way of appropriating like-minded foreign voices that were to a certain extent interpreted and interpretable. For this reason the journal relied on the “classics” – ancient and modern – as the only plausible models in times of extreme hardship. This was the only way the journal’s poetry could bond with the art of Poetry, forming an infinite spiral and recovering the imperishability that had been snatched away.

The two-year period during which *Poesia* was published coincided with the two sessions held by Amics de Rosselló-Pòrcel (Friends of Rosselló-Pòrcel), a literary circle set up by Palau i Fabre. The first session was devoted to the Majorcan poet Rosselló-Pòrcel, while the second, in October 1945, was devoted to Paul Valéry to mark his death. We have a record of the details of the second session: “Carles Riba gave the introductory remarks; Josep Palau i Fabre read some “Notes on Valéry”, Maurice Molho [...] read some of Valéry’s poems, and Lluís Gassó read some translations of the French author” (Samsó 1995: 30).³ Around the same time, between

³ One of these translations – of the sonnet “Hélène” – was published in issue 15 of *Poesia*.

1943 and 1946, Palau i Fabre published some poetry books in numbered editions of a hundred copies. Published by La Sirena, the books included Carles Riba's *Versions de Hölderlin*. Since they were translations, Palau i Fabre had to take other measures, inserting a false imprint (Buenos Aires instead of Barcelona) and a false date (1943 instead of 1944). As the publisher himself explained, he decided to print Riba's *Versions de Hölderlin* in recompense for the author's continued generosity towards the journal; any small profit would go "entirely to him" (Palau i Fabre 1976). It was the first translation of a purely literary work published in Catalonia by a "modern" author. Palau i Fabre once again ignored the plethora of prohibitions.⁴

He moved away from front-line activism when the French Institute awarded him a grant in December 1945 to go to Paris, where he lived in self-exile for sixteen years, until 1961. But not before he attended the first meetings of the new journal he was publishing with four other young university students, who had also studied alongside him in the *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* (Catalan university studies) after the programme was relaunched following the Spanish Civil War: Josep Romeu, Miquel Tarradell, Joan Triadú and Frederic-Pau Verrié. They named the journal *Ariel* after the character in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, a spirit of the air that personifies freedom. The first issue was published in May 1946 and the last (issue 23) in December 1951. Almost two years went by between issues 18 (July 1948) and 19 (June 1950), following the investigations that took place and the arrest of Josep Romeu. The investigations were partly in response to two issues of the Supplement published in August and September 1948, which, like a normal periodical publication, printed information about cultural activities in Catalonia, in what was a conspicuous "desire to work alongside an increasingly broad range of sectors" (Triadú 1995: 151).

Like its predecessor (by then in the hands of Verrié), *Ariel* had a superb visual presentation, maintaining the classical, elegant, consistent style. There was very little to distinguish between the different sections, but the publishers experimented more with different typographies, which "also represented a desire to force the return and recovery of normality" (Verrié 1996: 19). Unlike *Poesia*, each issue of *Ariel* was dated, and from issue 3 the final page gave the names of the five "writers" and stated who was the editor, which followed a strict rotational system. Eight additional writers joined the team from issue 10: Joan Barat and Rosa Leveroni in the "Literature" section, Alexandre Cirici and Jordi Sarsanedas in the "General Reviews" section, and Francesc Espriu, Enric Jardí, Joan Perucho and Manuel Valls in the "Visual Arts" section. After the forced hiatus, the names of the journal's creators disappeared (led mainly by Triadú and Verrié), as did the title (the issue number appeared instead, in the same position and font previously used for the title), and for the first time Paris and Oxford addresses were printed. These were, of course, false addresses: "Editorial and Business Offices: 78, rue Mazarine. París, VIème. France. Distribution centre in Great Britain: 14, Fyfield Road. Oxford". These measures did nothing to prevent another shutdown of the journal's publication, this time permanently. Those in power were no longer willing to turn a blind eye to these "private," monolingual, uncensored publications that were not published by any religious institution, even if they were only available by subscription, like *Ariel*, which never had more than 700 subscribers. When issue 24 was about to go to press, "all printing proofs were destroyed" (Ribé 1972: 63). The magazine that, despite everything, "had become the most genuine and authoritative exponent of Catalan culture" (Samsó 1995: 60) was closed.

Poesia and *Ariel* were launched with different purposes in mind. *Poesia* was a literary journal focused on a single genre, while *Ariel* bore the subtitle *Revista de les Arts* (Arts Journal), and aptly so, as it dealt with all art forms. While *Poesia* reflected a homogeneous, fixed school of thought, *Ariel* was, according to Triadú, "the result of a pact between trends, currents and people" (Triadú 1978: 32), because in the end they were "united by policy, but an aesthetic [...] would have torn us apart" (Triadú 1979: 27). Josep Romeu was more sceptical

⁴ In an extensive interview he said, "I had an incredible instinct for knowing just how far I could push the boundaries" (García Ferrer 1993: 39).

regarding *Ariel*'s coherence and cohesion, saying "the artistic trends, experiences and volitions were very distinct, and sometimes very different" (Romeu i Figueras 2003: 88). Both journals were clearly forged by "a minority acting above a minority" (Rosselló 1966: 51), but *Ariel* aspired to attract the interest of the "minority" interested in cultural journals. Poetry and the arts had to serve to help achieve the coveted objective: continuity. And continuity could only be ensured through the collective premise of an "orderly desire" and a "revitalising impetus" (Samsó 1995:51), of classicism and the avant-garde. According to one of the other founders, Frederic-Pau Verrié, "our obsession was to expand, to bring together, but also to innovate without thematic or ideological constraints" within the "relative possibilities" (Verrié 2002: 37 and 25) of their circumstances. Jordi Sarsanedas firmly believed that "the idea behind the journal" was "to try to combat defeat by ignoring and denying it" (Sarsanedas 1996: 28).

Ariel is much less infused with translated foreign literature than *Poesia*. But *Ariel* is awash with notes on foreign works and authors, particularly contemporary ones who for some reason were in the spotlight at the time. In the very first issue, for instance, J. V. Foix analysed the poetry of Max Jacob; in issue 5, Josep Romeu drew a portrait of Comte de Lautréamont, Palau i Fabre reported on René Char's latest works, and Joan Perucho reviewed Paul Éluard's latest book; in issue 15, Palau i Fabre presented Antonin Artaud and Joan Triadú elucidated a recent Aldous Huxley novel; and in issue 21, Joan Triadú paid homage to George Orwell following his death. Some of these critics offered samplings of the work discussed, and in doing so became accidental translators. Foix, Palau i Fabre and Triadú actually became the first Catalan translators of Jacob, Char and Orwell respectively. The desire to become worthy successors of the "rich and full" heritage was made manifest in scholarly yet vindictory articles on the legacy of the translated work. Rosa Leveroni recalled the "English poetry in Catalan" published before the Spanish Civil War that remained unpublished after the war.

On other occasions, news of foreign works reached *Ariel* in the form of translations. These contributions were often made by teachers at the British Institute and French Institute in Barcelona. Some of the journal's writers worked with the two institutes, especially Rosa Leveroni with the British Institute and Jordi Sarsanedas with the French Institute. In issues 9 and 10, Leveroni translated "Una nota sobre D. H. Lawrence" (A note about D. H. Lawrence) by Derek Traversi, who was director of the British Institute at the time, and in issue 12, Sarsanedas translated a reflection on existentialism entitled "Què és l'existencialisme" (What is existentialism?), by Maurice Matet, who was a teacher at the French Institute. As early as issue 9 of *Ariel*, Sarsanedas, in the more journalistic section, reported on the activities of the recently founded "Cercles de l'Institut Francès" (French Institute Clubs), which were "an island of freedom in a Catalonia under the shackles of Franco" (Manent, 1997: 21); in the literature section, for which Sarsanedas was responsible, foreign literature and translation were prominent, including "works of such great and diverse interest as J.-P. Sartre's *Huis Clos* and Vercors's *Le silence de la mer* from French, and the later poems of Leveroni and J. V. Foix, as well as T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*" (Sarsanedas 1947: 30). Vercors's novel, translated by Sarsanedas, was published clandestinely in 1947 by the book-publishing project of *Antologia dels Fets, les Idees i els Homes d'Occident*, another furtive journal that was embarking upon what would be a brief voyage. Eliot's drama was translated by Lluís M. Aragó, and still remains unpublished, like some of his other translations of English poets.

One factor that distinguished *Ariel* from *Poesia*, making it more like a regular publication, is that it introduced "utilitarian", pragmatic translation for purposes other than mere aesthetic pleasure. In other words, *Ariel* was not only interested in translating poetry, but also non-creative prose, i.e. brief "essays". This kind of functional translation was usually done by the journal's writers, including not only Leveroni and Sarsanedas, but also Manuel Valls and the English scholar of Catalan culture Paul Russell-Gebbett (who translated an article by C. M. Thompson published as "La literatura anglesa d'avui" (Contemporary English literature) in issue 17).

Following in the footsteps of *Poesia*, *Ariel* also fostered the translation of aphorisms, albeit in a less methodical manner, but with more prominent and attractive typography. While *Poesia* focused on aphorisms as a literary phenomenon, *Ariel* focused more on those that were life

mottoes, that is, words of encouragement from renowned authors and thinkers that were ideal to battle against the difficult times. The first such aphorisms set the tone for the rest. The editors chose a fragment from Carles Riba's unpublished Catalan translation of *The Odyssey*, in which Alcinous addresses Ulysses: "Digue també per què plores i dins el teu cor et lamentes quan sents parlar de la sort dels dànaus argius i de Troia: l'han obrada els eters, i són ells que a tants la ruïna han filat; perquè hi hagi cançons per als homes a néixer" ["Tell us also why you are made unhappy on hearing about the return of the Argive Danaans from Troy. The gods arranged all this, and sent them their misfortunes in order that future generations might have something to sing about"].⁵ The downfall of a people, if handled well, could spawn new birth and new songs; it was just a matter of persevering. Other mottoes translated into Catalan, in very large print, included Pindar (by Triadú), the Majorca-based Moorish poet Ibn al-Labbana (by Verrié), Proust, Valéry, Kierkegaard and Cocteau. Sometimes the translator's name was given; sometimes it was not. Apart from a few interludes, the aphorisms appeared throughout the early period of the journal, until publication of the journal was suspended.

In the final issue, *Ariel* also included full-page translations of literature *tout court*, especially the modern classics, using the full range of typography available. Only a couple of samples of the ancient classics appeared: the third of Pindar's *Olympian Odes*, translated by Joan Triadú, in issue 15 (his translations of all the *Olympian Odes* were published in 1953 in a limited collector's edition with only 55 copies), and in issue 5 an extract from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, a poem whose translation by Josep Maria Boix i Selva was not published until 1950-51, also in a collector's edition. The journal's critical editorial approach focused on the contemporary, so there was an emphasis on translations of contemporary authors. Perhaps even Rimbaud should be considered among these: Palau i Fabre not only translated his poem "Sensation", but also produced four other versions that moved further and further away from the original text (issue 19). Palau i Fabre also translated some extracts from René Char's final book, *Feuillets d'Hypnos* (issue 5), and it was thanks to him that Char published (in issue 14) "an unpublished poem offered as a gift to *Ariel*" in French. Also translated from French, by Triadú, the journal published an exclusive fragment in issue 2 from a hugely successful and then-unpublished play that was first performed at a time of global conflict: Jean Anouilh's *Antigone*. While in Liverpool, Triadú met Arthur Terry, who translated two cantos by Ezra Pound (issue 21), as "our way of joining in the current worldwide resurgence of interest in this poet", following the dark period of "affection" for "fascism" (Ezra Pound 1951: 34). As we have already mentioned, in the same issue Triadú translated a fragment from George Orwell's 1938 book *Homage to Catalonia* and he described the Englishman as a "remarkable, honest, revolutionary and patriotic author". The book is now famous, but is largely unknown in Catalonia. Finally, in the final issue of *Ariel*, Manuel de Pedrolo debuted as a Catalan translator with "sis poemes nord-americans" (six North American poems) from six strictly contemporary authors. Pedrolo provided a brief biographical or explanatory note of each author. The selection chosen demonstrates the extent to which the novelist followed the latest literary developments across the Atlantic.

In this final stage, *Ariel* distanced itself from the essentially pro-resistance stance that characterised *Poesia*, in which "every issue was a political statement", and "every issue [...] broke the silence" (Triadú 1978: 22). Boasting that it was "made by a generation", not by any "group" or "faction" ([Editorial], 1948), *Ariel* had, despite its many stumbles along the way, become a "normal" journal in a "normal" country. It did not even have to translate the ancient or modern pillars of the canon; instead it could focus on the latest contributions of a current tradition. After all, local literary production no longer needed measuring up against foreign

⁵ The English text is the translation by Samuel Butler, available online at http://www.chlt.org/sandbox/perseus/hom.od.butler_eng/page.78.a.php [accessed on 1 July 2013].

literature, as it had become a little more “emancipated”. The relentless pursuit of translation as a form of compensation and substitution had come to an end. In 1948, Riba and Sagarra obtained official permission to publish collector’s editions of *The Odyssey* and the *Divine Comedy*, not as translations but as “literary creations”. Despite all constraints imaginable, the thickest of layers of ice – of ignominy – had been broken. From now on, even the censors could refer to a precedent of Catalan translation. Furthermore, from the early 1950s, the clandestine journals were tenaciously prohibited, and could no longer provide shelter to translations. The road ahead – as we know only too well – was long. So long that Orwell’s *Homage to Catalonia* was not published in Catalan until 1969, and selections from Ezra Pound’s *Cathay* did not appear in Catalan until 1985, and even today, neither René Char nor any of the six poets introduced by Pedrolo has been translated. Can we even imagine how the journey would have been without the courage and sagacity of *Poesia* and *Ariel*? The very thought is enough to make one tremble.

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Appendix

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