

Rebuilding a culture, or raising the defences? Majorca and translation in the interwar period

Richard Mansell
University of Exeter

The role of translation in building and rebuilding cultures is a well-researched theme in Translation Studies. Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury's work on translation and the rebirth of Hebrew language and literature gave rise to two dominant research paradigms of Polysystem Studies and Descriptive Translation Studies, highlighting how translations form part of literary systems and affect their evolution and how translation can be used to provide new models in literary systems. In Catalan Studies, the role of translation, particularly in early twentieth-century Catalonia as part of the school of *Noucentisme*, is well documented too. Less attention has been paid to Majorca, however, despite the fact that the interwar period saw 'una labor de traducció fins aleshores insòlita en les nostres lletres' (Rosselló Bover 1997b: 316). Consequently, the aim of this article is two-fold: firstly to identify translation policy in early twentieth-century Majorca; and secondly to analyse the links between Majorcan and Catalan translation practice in order to determine whether Majorcan and Catalan translators can be defined as part of one cohesive movement or whether different strategies are at play. To do this I shall first identify the links between the politics and practice of cultural reconstruction in Catalonia and Majorca in the early twentieth century, analysing the translation and its function. In this context, I shall calibrate initially the number of translations in the main Majorcan literary publications. Thereafter, consideration will be given to the main authors translated and translators themselves, and this information will be compared to the contemporary discourse on translation identified previously. From these data conclusions will be drawn regarding the objectives of translating in Majorca as opposed to mainland Catalonia.

In Translation Studies, the 1970s and 1980s saw the definition and development of the research methodology named Descriptive Translation Studies, led by Gideon Toury. In his justification of a

descriptive approach, Toury states that the discipline of Translation Studies is needed 'to tackle fully and systematically three types of issues which differ in scope and level' (Toury 1995: 15). These three issues are: '(1) all that translation CAN, in principle, involve; (2) what it DOES involve, under various sets of circumstances, along with the reasons for that involvement, and (3) what it is LIKELY to involve, under one or another array of specified conditions' (Toury 1995: 15). Descriptive studies address the second issue, from which insights would inform any theory with a predictive power (issues one and three), giving the description of translations and the consideration of the reasons for their creation the pivotal role in translation studies (Toury 1995: 16), taking the discipline away from such prescriptive aims as determining 'appropriate translation methods' (Newmark 1981: 19),¹ and classifying translations as 'good' and 'bad'.

The field to which Toury primarily applied his methodology is the evolution of Hebrew literature, and the role of translation in this particular case. Toury approached 'translations as facts of the target culture' (Toury 1995: 29) and, as such, translations should be viewed as part of the target literary system. This developed Itamar Even-Zohar's notion of a polysystem, where the literary system is seen as 'dynamic and heterogeneous' (Even-Zohar 1990a: 12), where literary objects compete for dominance and each object has a part to play in the evolution of the whole, including translations:

To say that translated literature maintains a central position in the literary polysystem means that it participates actively in shaping the center of the polysystem. In such a situation it is by and large an integral part of innovatory forces, and as such likely to be identified with major events in literary history while these are taking place. (Even-Zohar 1990b: 46)

Translations can thus be used for innovation, to bring new ideas and models to a literary system to increase its repertoire,

¹ It should be noted that Toury does not preclude Translation Studies from informing translation practice; this is, however, part of the 'applied' rather than 'pure' branch of Translation Studies (see Toury 1995:10 for a development of James S. Holmes' map of the discipline).

particularly in the case where a literature is '[i]n the process of being established' benefitting from 'the experience of other literatures, and translated literature becomes in this way one of its most important systems' (Even-Zohar 1990b: 47).

Central to this are the oppositions of the canon versus non-canonised forms, the centre versus the periphery, and primary versus secondary activities. Within this model, the canon is seen as 'those literary norms and works (i.e., both models and texts) which are accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles within a culture and whose conspicuous products are preserved by the community to become part of its historical heritage' (Even-Zohar 1990a: 15). This canonicity tends to go hand in hand with the centre of the system, since '[a]s a rule, the center of the whole polysystem is identical with the most prestigious canonized repertoire. Thus, it is the group which governs the polysystem that ultimately determines the canonicity of a certain repertoire' (Even-Zohar 1990a: 17). Literary evolution in this model is a process of the periphery challenging the centre, thus challenging the concept of what are legitimate models and repertoires, and the extent to which this happens is accounted for by the third opposition of primary versus secondary:

When a repertoire is established and all derivative models pertaining to it are constructed in full accordance with what it allows, we are faced with a conservative repertoire (and system). Every individual product (utterance, text) of it will then be highly predictable, and any deviation will be considered outrageous. Products of such a state I label "secondary." On the other hand, the augmentation and restructuration of a repertoire by the introduction of new elements, as a result of which each product is less predictable, are expressions of an innovatory repertoire (and system). (Even-Zohar 1990a: 21)

Translation practice, as part of the literary system, can be primary or secondary: it can aim to introduce new ideas, concepts and models from abroad, or it can reinforce what already exists in a culture. In a situation where translation is an 'integral part of innovatory forces' as Even-Zohar described previously, it is to be expected that translation is innovatory and thus a primary activity.

Although Catalan literature was by no means young in the early twentieth century, it had suffered a history that did not allow it to develop in the same way as neighbouring languages that were aligned with state power. It was, however, in the situation of re-establishing itself as a literary language, and the importance of translation in this is well established. Talking of the *Biblioteca Literària de l'Editorial Catalana* publishing initiative from the early twentieth century, Castellanos states that it 'confia a les traduccions la tasca de crear la nova literatura' (Castellanos 2002). Translation was 'una eina d'apropiació lingüística i cultural dels fruits d'altres països' (Cabré 2001: 121), and Josep Carner demonstrated that Catalan intellectuals were well aware of this role at the time, affirming in 1907 that 'perquè el català esdevingui abundós, complexe, elàstic i elegant, és necessari que els mestres de totes les èpoques i tots els països siguin honrats amb versions a la nostra llengua' (Carner 1986: 56).

At the same time, Manuel de Montoliu implored writers to take on this 'deure sagrat, l'anar alternant la producció original ab el treball de traducció' (Montoliu 1908 in Cabré 2001: 120). This was at the First International Conference on the Catalan Language, held in Barcelona in 1906, and organised by the Majorcan priest Antoni Alcover, where Parcerisas believes this vital role of translation is brought to the forefront as an 'eina de desenvolupament dels ideals futures i d'ünguent de les nafres passades' (Parcerisas 2009: 31). Eleven years later his contemporary Carles Riba commented on the ongoing work of translators, praising that 'els tresors de les races i de les èpoques es renovellen en català, i en ells trobem els catalans una plenitud d'història' which 'ultra compensar-nos dels segles de silenci, pot fer-nos obirar un nostre futur imperi de cultura' (in Murgades 1994: 95).

In 1911, Eugeni d'Ors (writing under the pseudonym Xènius) stated that '[n]o cal dir com se pot ésser imperial traduït. Ara traduïm volent incorporar el món de la Cultura a la nostra petita cultura. I sabent que aquest és el millor camí per a incorporar aviat la nostra petita cultura a la Cultura del món' (in Malé 2006: 62). This sense of imperialism is one of expansion and civilisation of Catalan, but not at the cost of others; Helena Buffery explores this notion of imperialism, considering it an attempt to reshape power relations between cultures

(Buffery 2007: 116) and thus redress the marginalisation of Catalan language and literature through the *Decadència* and elevate Catalan onto the world stage. And this will be thanks to translation. By the time of the *Mancomunitat* and *Noucentisme*, and a coordinated political and cultural programme, this role is even greater:

En el context històric de la Catalunya contemporània, tot i la decisiva empenta primerenca propiciada en aquest sentit pel modernisme, és evident que correspon també al noucentisme la consolidació d'un tal programa d'enriquiment i de legitimació político-culturals per mitjà d'una activitat traductòria conscientment planificada i consegüentment duta a terme. (Murgades 1994: 93)

It is clear, then, that translation is held to be a vital element in the recuperation of a Catalan culture and creation of a differential identity and, at the same time in this context, there are significant translation projects creating a corpus of translations in Catalan that form an important part of the literary system.

In the Balearic Islands the Catalan language underwent a significant revival too. Throughout the late nineteenth century articles in Catalan begin to appear in newspapers and journals (*El Àncora*, *Museo Balear*, *La Almudaina*), there are mixed language journals (*Nova Palma*, 1898) and in the early twentieth century Catalan-language titles appear; *La veu de Mallorca* (1900, 1917-1919, 1931), *Mitjorn* (1906-07), *Correu de les lletres* (1920-1922), the *Quaderns mensuals* of the *Associació per la cultura de Mallorca* (1923-1925), the *Almanac de les lletres* (1921-1936) and *La Nostra Terra* (1928-1936). The links with Catalonia and common aims are clear; the editor of *Mitjorn*, whilst talking of the need for a Majorcan literary journal, is quite clear how Majorca stands with Catalonia:

La fraternal acullida dispensada als mallorquins en les revistes més importants de Barcelona, ha refermat verament els llaços qui'ns uneixen a-n aquells bons germans y ha contribuït a la difusió del pensament y del sentiment mallorquí en aquella terra. (Mitjorn 1906: 5)²

² Here and elsewhere, I have not normalised pre-Fabrian texts.

Majorca stands with Catalonia, but also has its own identity ('pensament' and 'sentiment') which it wishes to promote. The links with Catalonia are demonstrated through regular news on politics, particularly latest events in Barcelona relating to Republican and Nationalist aims. In July 1906 there is a five page article on the Enric Prat de la Riba, leader of the Catalan cause, and his foundational text in Catalan nationalistic politics, *La nacionalitat catalana*. In aligning themselves with Prat de la Riba, the editors of *Mitjorn* do not simply indicate nationalistic intent but importantly Prat de la Riba's proposal that it is language that distinguishes a nation and is, in fact, the purest expression of a nation: 'Pera coneixer un poble s'ha de posseir sa llengua, pera apreciar sa literatura s'ha de coneixer la llengua en què està escrita. Cada nació pensa com parla y parla com pensa' (Prat de la Riba 1906: 80). In this linguistically-based nationalism, Majorca is clearly located within the Catalan Nation.

Equally, translation (particularly the translation of poetry) has a long and proud history in Majorca and the Balearics. In 1875, Mateu Obrador Bennàssar is clear that the translations from Balearic authors are of high quality:

Los poetas balears del nostre temps abundan en belles mostres de imitacions y traduccions: Quadrado, hymnes de l'Esglesia; Rosselló (el primer de Mallorca qui doná á conixer la poesia alemana moderna), balades de Burger, Uhland y de W. Scott; Pons, odes d'Horaci; Amer, psalms, hymnes de Manzoni; Forteza Th., elegia de Tibullus; Ferrá, *La campana* de Schiller, y altres; no citam la major part, sí la millor. (1875: 530)

Not only are these translations of classics but there is also an introduction of contemporary foreign literature. And by 1960, Joan Pons i Marqués, in his prologue to a collection of poems and translations by Miquel Forteza, proudly declares the place of Majorcan translators:

Avui és ja tanta la poesia traduïda, a Mallorca, sense anar més lluny, on l'afició i la pràctica de les traduccions ha tingut sempre plètora d'adeptes i on, sense exageració, podem pretenir de comptar amb més d'una de les millors mostres del gènere. (Forteza i Pinya 1960: 7-8)

Indeed, the dominant literary group in early twentieth-century Majorca, the *Escola Mallorquina*, is often credited with introducing many foreign authors to the islands through translation and, indeed, to Catalan literature in the wider sense. Rosselló Bover, in his study of the Majorcan poet-translator Miquel Forteza Pinya states that '[p]otser la raó primera que el va portar a traduir fou, com deia ell mateix, assimilar correctament els poetes estrangers. Però, tot i això, cal dir que, en realitat, aquest vessant és molt característic dels poetes de l'Escola Mallorquina' (Rosselló Bover 1997a: 44). Gavagnin states that the first translations of Leopardi in Catalan were carried out by Majorcan poets whose work was available outside of the Balearics (Gavagnin 2001: 14). Upon first glance, then, it would seem that this 'responsabilitat intel·lectual i social' (Gavagnin 2001: 15) was assumed in the in similar terms in the Balearic Islands as in Catalonia.

Yet the Catalan and Majorcan situations are very different: Catalonia is attempting to cope with the strains of industrialisation, the advent of workers groups, the increasing influence of anarchist groups, and the increasingly explosive events which culminated in the Tragic Week riots. Majorca was a long way from the industrialisation and the social disturbances in Barcelona. Perhaps it is this that Miquel Ferrà is aware of when he comments on Miquel Costa de Llobera's collection *Horacianes* in 1906. Costa had published many translations of classical Greek and Latin authors in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and built on this to create his own collection attempting to recreate classical metres in Catalan, and Ferrà proudly proclaims its importance and reception in Catalonia:

Avui, la nostra literatura sofreix la invasió d'escoles modernes i perilloses per la morbositat y desorientació de llur esperity pel poder sugestiu de llurs procediments, rès més oportú qu'aquest llibre per contrarrestar les noves corrents desequilibradores. Sembla que Catalunya, ansiosa de vida sana intelectual y moral, ho haja comprès així, y li ha fet una esplèndida rebuda. (Ferrà 1906: 161-162)

Majorca's perspective is a conservative one, and conservatism dominates the choices of source texts in *Mitjorn*: issue three begins with an article 'Pro Lusitania' by Costa highlighting the values of

Portuguese literary culture; but the only translation included is one of a Portuguese folk song, in prose to accompany the source. There are translations of Jasmin (1798-1864), Paul Verlaine (1844-1896), numerous Frederic Mistral translations from Maria Antònia Salvà, single works from Tennyson, the Comte de Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Emile Verhaeven, Saint Augustine, Schiller, Huysmans, the Brothers Grimm and also anonymous folk tales. Chekhov is translated, but his name is only mentioned in a footnote - the word *translation* does not appear anywhere - and the translations are labelled as 'Contes russos' by Joan Rosselló. These short tales discuss Russian everyday scenes: simply put, Chekhov is presented as a writer of *costumbrista* fiction; he writes quaint tales of Russian life. In issue six there is a translation of a contemporary work from Henryk Sienkiewicz, the Polish winner of the 1905 Nobel Prize in Literature. Six of the eighteen issues feature no translation at all, and only four feature more than one translation.

Once *Mitjorn* ended in 1907 it took another ten years for a regular publication in Catalan to appear in Majorca. The absence was filled by *La veu de Mallorca*, which took its name and mission from *La veu de Catalunya*, the Barcelona based nationalist paper. Its first issue explains the need for a new publication, and its reasoning, grounded in '[u]n patriotisme constructiu i un amor fermíssim a la cultura nostra renascuda' (*La Veu de Mallorca* 1917: 1). By 1918 though, the paper claims that literature is no longer one of its points of focus: the creation of a new party, *Centre Regionalista*, 'trobarà el natural ressó en aquestes columnes, les quals, per lo tant, hauràn de minvar en caràcter literari lo que augmentaràn en caràcter polític' (*La Veu de Mallorca* 1918: 3). This is a clear divide between politics and literature and indicates an overt shift from the aims and methods of *noucentisme*. Yet the level of translation barely develops from what we see before; and the names and styles throughout are eerily reminiscent of those from *Mitjorn*: Tennyson, Leopardi, Alphonse Daudet (surely included given his own particular emphasis on his links with Provençal), Wordsworth, Ronsard, with the odd classical Latin poet included too. The paper suspends its publication in 1919 and re-emerges in 1931, and despite the change in time and an evolution in publication in Catalan, *La Veu de Mallorca* still publishes

more translations of Frederic Mistral than any other writer, with Maria Antònia Salvà as his translator.

The culmination of the Associació per la Cultura de Mallorca's literary journal project takes the form of two publications: *La Nostra Terra*, which started in 1928 and ran up until the outbreak of civil war in 1936; and *Almanac de les Lletres* which began in 1921 and ran to the same date.³ These two journals together 'vertebraven l'espina cultural de l'illa en els anys vint i trenta' (Pons 1998: 21) and will form the object of this study. The *Almanac* clearly demonstrates its belief in the role of literature in saying that it wants to achieve 'una més íntima compenetració de la poesia amb el poble, i un reflexe del que deuria esser la literatura com a funció social' (Pons i Marquès 1921: 23). This vital role of literature in society allies the Majorcan position with that of mainland Catalonia. *La Nostra Terra* builds on this to become a consolidated attempt to provide a literary point of reference in and for the Balearic Islands:

Dins la múltiple activitat intel·lectual de Mallorca mancava una publicació que fos el fogar comú dels qui estimen les nostres coses i, d'una manera especial, les nostres lletres. [...] Coordinar els esforços dispersos, passar revista a l'activitat literària, artística i científica d'aquí i de fora d'aquí, encoratjar-nos mútuament, aportar la nostra cooperació, en fi, a l'edifici de la nostra cultura: heus aquí lo que voldríem. (*La Nostra Terra* 1928: 1, my emphasis)

La Nostra Terra is thus an attempt also to bring the outside world to Majorca; and translation is a vital part of this. It is also an attempt to raise the profile of Majorcan culture in Catalan: note that *nostra* is a common word, but 'Catalan' is not mentioned once. The statement ends with the following: 'LA NOSTRA TERRA es complau avui [...] a enviar la seva salutació cordial a les publicacions d'aquí i de les regions germanes, especialment a les que, com nosaltres, treballen pel ressorgiment cultural de les nostres terres' (1928: 1). The link with Catalonia (and Valencia) is suggested, as is a single Catalan

³ It is important to remember that unlike mainland Catalonia, Majorca was under Nationalist control from the outbreak of the war.

culture: *La Nostra Terra* and *Almanac de les Lletres* become thus an example of the cultural imperialism of Riba, d'Ors and Carner.

However there is also an emphasis on Majorca culture, letters and, in the issues themselves, politics: when Catalonia gains its autonomy during the Second Spanish Republic, it is in the pages of *La Nostra Terra* that calls are made for autonomy for the Balearic Islands, that reports of meetings appear, and drafts of planned statutes are printed.⁴ Yet the question that is raised is this: do *La Nostra Terra* and *Almanac de les Lletres* work as part of a whole Catalan culture, or do we see a different Majorcan culture emerge that is differentiated both from Catalonia and Spain, yet somehow part of Catalan culture too?

Translations in both poetry and prose appear throughout *La Nostra Terra* and *Almanac*, although as the table below demonstrates, their distribution is by no means uniform.

Year	<i>La Nostra Terra</i>		<i>Almanac de les Lletres</i>		Total
	Poetry	Prose	Poetry	Prose	
1921			1	0	1
1922			7	0	7
1923			3	1	4
1924			5	0	5
1925			3	0	3
1926			5	1	6
1927			7	0	7
1928	2	4	7	2	15
1929	4	4	4	1	13
1930	9	7	1	2	19
1931	12	4	1	4	21
1932	39	10	0	3	52

⁴ The 'Avantprojecte d'Estatut de les Illes Balears' appears in *La Nostra Terra*, June 1931 (no. 42) (204-212). The following issue (July-August 1931, no. 43-44) sees the 'Projecte d'Estatut Autonòmic de Mallorca i Eivissa' (244-253), after the Menorcan representatives abstained from the discussion.

1933	0	3	2	2	7
1934	3	1	1	2	7
1935	1	5	3	2	11
1936 ⁵	3	5	3	3	14

Table 1: Distribution of prose and poetry translations per year in
La Nostra Terra and *Almanac de les Lletres*, 1921-1936⁶

Overall, there is a greater tendency to translate poetry than prose, although in the *Almanac* there is clearly an increase in translated prose once *La Nostra Terra* is also published: it should also be mentioned that in the first few years of the *Almanac* the number of works in verse, both translated and non-translated, vastly outnumbered those in prose. Looking in more depth at *La Nostra Terra*, there is a visible increase in the number of verse translations from 1928 to 1932, from two to thirty-nine. This growth, however, stops dead in 1933; no verse translations are published, with few to follow in later years. Likewise, prose translations fall in number too. These figures show a clear trend; but why such rise and fall? The elevated figure from 1932 is perhaps an anomaly; thirty-one of these are part of a series of translations of Chinese poetry by Josep Carner, mostly via English versions from Arthur Waley (Prado 2001: 110), much like Marià Manent who had published his own translations from Chinese, *L'aire daurat*, in 1928. Yet there are still eight other translations, four of these in a single issue dedicated to the figure of Göthe. The *Almanac*

⁵ *La Nostra Terra*'s final issue is May 1936 (no. 99).

⁶ Although both publications are provided with a contents (*La Nostra Terra* with the final issue of the year, and the *Almanac* with the annual issue itself), not all translations are listed as such: see, for example, Antoni Pons, 'Lletres llatines' (*La Nostra Terra*, June 1934 (no. 78), 210-217); Miquel Forteza, 'La Utopia de Thomas More' (*La Nostra Terra*, Aug.-Sept. 1933 (no. 68-69), 328-344) which includes a short introduction to the work and More himself, but then produces a lengthy translation from it; Josep Carner, 'Un sonnet de Boccaccio' (*Almanac de les Lletres*, 1934, 88) where there is no overt reference to the work being a translation (as opposed to a poem inspired by Boccaccio). The classification here of poetry and prose follows the original publications: where a piece of verse is translated with prose, it has been included under the heading of prose.

de les Lletres demonstrates a more consistent number of translations than *La Nostra Terra*, but there is still a fall in the early 1930s. Although again many of the same source authors are present as in *La Nostra Terra* (such as Göthe and Horace) there is also more presence from English through Cristòfol Magraner's translations of Tennyson and single translations from Marià Manent of Yeats and Shakespeare. The dominant authors are either historical 'classics', or Romantics.

One of the most curious and enlightening examples of translation in *La Nostra Terra* regarding the usage of translation as a tool to create prestige is in the February 1934 issue, where there is a French translation by J. J. A. Bertrand of Costa i Llobera's 'Mediterrània'. This is accompanied by a footnote: 'A la gentilesa de Mr. [sic] Bertrand agraïm el poder oferir aquí un tast de la versió justalineal francesa que prepara dels grans poetes catalans' (Costa i Llobera 1934: 54). This volume was actually released the previous year –*La littérature catalane contemporaine: 1833-1933*, published in Paris by Belles Lettres. The inclusion of a French text in a Catalan language journal is clearly not to introduce new literature to the Majorcan public— indeed, it is not to facilitate comprehension in any way. Rather, it is the most tangible demonstration that Catalan –and specifically Majorcan Catalan– is being translated into a prestigious language; and so certain prestige is conferred upon Costa i Llobera's work. Occurring in such a volume, Costa i Llobera clearly forms part of the Catalan canon.

In terms of the varying numbers, the data correspond to the politics of the time; 1931-33 was the time of reform, and optimism in the Spanish Second Republic. In the pages of *La Nostra Terra*, side by side with literature, there is page after page of political commentary and reports on attempts for the Balearics to gain autonomy like their Catalan counterparts. Yet 1933 sees an end to this; the majority party is the far-right CEDA, and the Spanish political scene becomes increasingly polarised. Events in Catalonia headed in one direction with a short-lived half-day long Republic declared in October 1934; in Majorca, sympathisers had to be wary. Their seemingly self-imposed ban on translations foresees the explicit censorship that came into force on translations into Catalan once Franco emerged victorious from the ravages of war –a ban that would remain in place until the

1950s, attempting to impede direct relations between Catalan culture and the outside world.⁷

The source languages are indicative of Majorca's translation project too.

Source Language	<i>La Nostra Terra</i>		<i>Almanac de les Lletres</i>		Total
	Poetry	Prose	Poetry	Prose	
French	15	14	13	9	51
Chinese	31	0	0	0	31
Italian	6	6	9	2	23
English	1	10	8	0	19
Latin	0	3	8	7	18
German	4	5	3	0	12
Occitan	5	0	4	0	9
Spanish	8	1	0	0	9
Greek	0	0	4	0	4
Japanese	0	0	3	0	3
Albanian	0	1	0	1	2
Basque	0	0	1	1	2
Hungarian	2	0	0	0	2
Russian	0	1	0	1	2
Unknown	0	1	1	0	2
Catalan	1	0	0	0	1
Esperanto	1	0	0	0	1
Romanian	0	0	0	1	1
Sanskrit	0	1	0	0	1
Swedish	0	0	0	1	1

Table 2: Stated or inferred source languages of translations in *La Nostra Terra* and *Almanac de les Lletres*, 1921-1936
(in order of total number of translations, greatest first)

⁷ See Gallofré Virgili for an account of the change in censorship policy that allowed the re-edition of older translations (but not the edition of new translations barring exceptional cases) from 1951, which did not change significantly until 1962 (Gallofré Virgili 1991).

If we remove the anomalous figure of the Chinese translations (that only appear in one issue of *La Nostra Terra*), the most translated languages are French and Italian; with English, Latin and German all also in double figures. In the case of poetry, apart from Chinese, French and Italian are the most translated languages with twenty-eight and fifteen translations respectively. In terms of prose, French is again the most translated language with twenty-three translations, although it is English and Latin that tie for second place with ten translations a piece.

There are some languages that are only, or mostly, translated in verse: Occitan, Greek, Spanish, Japanese (with three haikus in the same volume). Some of the lesser-translated languages in fact use intermediate languages for translation: the Hungarian poetry is translated through Esperanto; the Romanian and Albanian folk tales bear information of publications that are actually in French, reinforcing the dominant position of this language in terms of it being a source of much of the foreign material in Majorca.⁸ Although there are translations from Chinese, English, Esperanto, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Occitan and Spanish, only French, Italian, Occitan and Spanish are repeated in more than one year, and the only Spanish verse translations are from one Cuban and one Argentine poet. The Majorcan writer Llorenç Villalonga was having a relationship with the Cuban, Emilia Bernal (Ferrà Ponç 1997: 146-147) and the other writer is a relatively unknown Argentine, Clementina Isabel Azlor.

It is also noteworthy that these are some of the only cases of translation of contemporary authors (the translations from Esperanto are another). The overwhelming majority of texts are pre-twentieth century, with roughly half from the nineteenth century and half earlier than that. This is in stark contrast to the origins of texts appearing in Catalan journals at the time. Roser i Puig, for example, analyses the English presence in *Revista de Poesia* and *Quaderns de Poesia*, where

⁸ See Pere Rosselló Bover's study of the links between Majorcan and French poetry, where he gives a short history of French studies on Majorca (1997b: 297-300), and also Sílvia Coll-Vinent's 1998 study on how many translations came into Catalan via French in the interwar period, where she looks at the case of the English novel.

there where translations of, amongst others, Yeats, T.S. Eliot, MacLeish and Spender, frequently with the involvement of Marià Manent (Roser i Puig: 2008). In Majorca, however, the emphasis is on poets who correspond to the aesthetic tendencies of the dominant literary movement of the time, the *Escola Mallorquina*. Rosselló Bover summarises these as ‘elements classicitzans [sic], el descobriment del paisatge en els seus valors simbòlics i elegiacs i una recerca d’equilibri, tant en l’aspecte emocional com pel que fa a l’harmonia formal del poema’ (1997b: 296-297). These are the same foreign poets who were an influence on Miquel Costa i Llobera and Joan Alcover, the Majorcan poets who were the accepted examples for the *Escola Mallorquina* to follow (Rosselló Bover 1997b: 295).

The translations of *La Nostra Terra* and the *Almanac* reinforce Majorcan literature rather than Catalan literature as a whole and are distanced from the literary scene (including the translations) in Barcelona. For Rosselló Bover, the motivation for the translations, and particularly the verse translation, are two-fold: on the one hand, it allowed the poets of the *Escola Mallorquina* a way out of the cul-de-sac that their restrictive idea of poetry had led them into; on the other ‘permetia connectar la nostra literatura amb els grans corrents i amb els autors més importants de la literatura universal’ (1997b: 306).

However, does the word ‘nostra’ stand here for Catalan, or for Majorcan? Since the choice of source texts reinforces the models of the *Escola Mallorquina*, such a translation policy reinforces the position of its members as determining the centre of the Majorcan literary system. Majorca has a separate identity; it certainly sees itself as part of some sort of Catalan culture or nationality; but whereas Catalonia’s project is attempting to build a Catalan identity that functions at the level of other great European nations, Majorca’s attempt is to establish an identity that is not Spanish, but not Catalan either. If Catalonia connected with the outside world then Majorca was happy for them to do that for the good of the language and the greater identity; but their own project was very much about defining what Majorca should be at home, but not elsewhere. When Rosselló Bover states that ‘els seus coneixements [i.e. those of the *Escola Mallorquina*] de la poesia francesa no foren suficients per a impedir les limitacions a què els havia conduït el seu cànon literari’ (1997b:

316), the reason is that they had no interest in doing so: in simple terms their position of power would be compromised.

Thus the Majorcans were translating authors and works from the canon, which also corresponded to their own ideas of what the canon and the centre of their literary system should be. Furthermore, poetry dominates (and particularly from certain source languages, such as Occitan), leading to the conclusion that poetry is seen as a more prestigious and more important literary form. Translation at that time and place is not 'an integral part of innovatory forces', to return to Even-Zohar's consideration of the role of translation in the evolution of literary systems, but rather it bears more in common with a 'secondary' practice, where deviation from the centre is considered 'outrageous' and output is predictable.

In this way, translation is secondary but not, in that sense, derivative. Although it is not used to help Majorcan literature to evolve with new models, it is used as a tool to legitimise the literary practices of the time and reinforce a sense of identity that was implicit in Catalan, but not a copy of mainland Catalonia. For that reason we see little change in the types of texts translated from the times of *Mitjorn* to that of *La Nostra Terra*, since the dominant group, the *Escola Mallorquina*, remained dominant until the rupture that was the Spanish Civil War prevented a free and open literature in Catalan. The conservative translation policy remained (see for example Miquel Forteza's formally accomplished translation of Edgar Allan Poe's 'The Raven' published in 1945, with a false date of 1935 to evade censorship)⁹ but the *Escola Mallorquina* could not dominate clandestine activity in the same way it had dominated the early twentieth century. Without the *Escola's* close control over both which texts were to be considered as prestigious models for literary output as well as the channels of circulation, the island's literature could 'desprendre's del llast de l'Escola Mallorquina' (Pons 1998: 5) thanks to new models and influences that emerge.

⁹ The choice of this text bears the hallmarks of many of the features identified above: there is French mediation through Baudelaire's influence in the reception of the text; the translation is in rhyming verses praised for their rigid form (Forteza 1960: 11); the source text is from the nineteenth century.

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