Leabhar Gabhála, Yeats, and Joyce:
The Reception and Translation of Irish Literature
in *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra* in Galicia (1918-1936)

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D.Phil. Thesis, 2003 [i.e 2004]

Shorter Abstract

In Galicia, translation slowly emerged as part of a cultural program during the 1920s, primarily through the activities of the *Xeración Nós* and the *Irmandades da Fala*, two intellectual and political groups seeking to recuperate and defend Galician language and culture through two magazines, *A Nosa Terra* and *Nós*. This aspect of nationalism is deserving of study because few scholars have addressed how the appropriation of literary texts, via translations, impacts nationalists' agendas.

Nineteenth-century Galician scholars had claimed to establish ethnic and cultural links in early history between Galicia and Ireland and other alleged Celtic nations. The *Xeración Nós* and the *Irmandades da Fala* continued this legacy by researching Celtic and Irish history as well as introducing Irish writers, discussing their contributions to literature, and translating their works in journals. Their main intention was to demonstrate the Galicians' distinctiveness from Spain and to establish a common link with a nation struggling for its national rights. Therefore, for both journals, the subject of Ireland and the Irish was an obligatory and ideologically imperative reference.

This thesis examines the role of translation in *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra* and its impact on Galician cultural nationalism. Working within the parameters of translation theory, nationalism, and post-colonialism, I consider why literary works by authors such as W.B. Yeats (1865-1939), James Joyce (1882-1941), and Terence MacSwiney (1879-

1920), and the Irish epic, *Leabhar Gabhála* (The Book of the Conquests of Ireland), are discussed and later translated into Galician and what these translations seek to achieve within the re-emerging culture. On this basis, my objective is to show that as translated literature assumes a new role by providing invigorating models in the target culture, it regenerates national culture, language, and literature.

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Longer Abstract

Translation has often been marginalised and degraded for its lack of originality, of creativity, and of faithfulness to the original author and source language. Many have overlooked its role in introducing foreign cultures, presenting new literary styles and techniques, and developing national languages and literature. Today, translation is improving its status as both a respectable intellectual activity and a legitimate artistic pursuit, while it is becoming increasingly beneficial as a medium for the study and assessment of cultural and literary history.

In Galicia, translation slowly emerged as part of a cultural program during the 1920s, primarily through the activities of the *Xeración Nós* and the *Irmandades da Fala*, two intellectual and political groups seeking to recuperate and defend Galician language and culture. Vicente Risco (1884-1963), Ramón Otero Pedrayo (1888-1976), Alfonso Daniel Rodríguez Castelao (1886-1950), Florentino López Cuevillas (1886-1958), and Antón Villar Ponte (1881-1936), amongst others, pursued their interests by founding and contributing to two nationalist magazines, *A Nosa Terra* and *Nós*. While *A Nosa Terra* primarily focused on political issues regarding nationalism inside and outside of Galicia, *Nós* addressed academic and cultural themes, including literature, ethnography, archeology, and history.

Earlier scholars, such as José Verea y Aguiar (1775-1849), Benito Vicetto (1824-1878), Manuel Murguía (1833-1923), and Alfredo Brañas (1859-1900), had claimed to establish ethnic and cultural links in early history between Galicia and Ireland and other alleged Celtic nations. Eduardo Pondal (1835-1917) then reinforced these romantic accounts of history by mythologising Galicia's past and immortalising various Celtic heroes in his poetry. The *Xeración Nós* and the *Irmandades da Fala* continued this legacy by researching Celtic and Irish history as well as introducing Irish writers, discussing their contributions to literature, and translating their works in the journals. The groups' main intention was to demonstrate the Galicians' distinctiveness from Spain and to establish a common link with a nation struggling for its national rights. Therefore, for both journals, the subject of Ireland and the Irish was an obligatory and ideologically imperative reference.

Despite extensive material regarding Ireland in *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra*, no scholar has addressed its presence and role in Galician cultural nationalism. Although some research on translation in Galicia has been done, it has relied on Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory and Gideon Toury's norms, as demonstrated in Carmen Millán-Varela's and Lourdes Lorenzo García's doctoral dissertations. While the research of Even-Zohar and Toury has been valuable to developments in the field, their empirical approaches underestimate the cultural implications associated with translation. My research, however, will be innovative because it will explore the connections between translation activity and cultural nationalism by applying Lawrence Venuti's theory on domesticating and foreignising strategies and incorporating theory on postcolonialism. While translations are the core of my research, I also will take into account the numerous

articles dedicated to Irish literature, history, and culture and their influence in the journals.

My purpose is to examine the role of translation in *A Nosa Terra* and *Nós* and its impact on Galician cultural nationalism. I consider why literary works by authors such as W.B. Yeats (1865-1939), James Joyce (1882-1941), and Terence MacSwiney (1879-1920), and the Irish epic, *Leabhar Gabhála* (The Book of the Conquests of Ireland), are discussed and later translated into Galician and what these translations seek to achieve within the re-emerging culture. On this basis, I demonstrate that as translated literature assumes a new role by providing invigorating models in the target culture, it regenerates national culture, language, and literature. Although this thesis focuses on the impact of the translations of Irish literature in Galicia, the study illustrates how developing national cultures look beyond their frontiers to find artistic inspiration and models of national legitimacy in order to inject life into their culture and to re-assess their identity and role in the world.

Serving as an introduction, Chapter One offers a survey of the history of translation theory and the evolution of its field of study by discussing the major scholars – spanning from Saint Jerome to the German Romantics to the theorists of the "cultural turn" – who shaped and extended its foundations. It is imperative to trace the history of this discipline in order to demonstrate how scholars have struggled with and have attempted, yet failed, to resolve the ubiquitous and elusive predicaments associated with translation. Furthermore, this background will provide an understanding of the theoretical developments and divergences recognised as the turns – from the linguistic to the systemic to the cultural to the national – in translation studies. After these

adumbrations, I engage with the German philosopher and translator Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and his seminal work, *Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens* ("On the Different Methods of Translating") (1813), and its updated reformulation in the monographs, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (1995) and *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference*, by the contemporary American scholar Lawrence Venuti. As well as summarising each scholar's contribution to translation theory, I assess how the approaches to translation that they defined and refined will play a role in the evaluation of translated texts in Galicia. After describing the strategies of domestication and foreignisation, I then consider why a post-colonial culture would (or would not) employ such methods. Recent writings on cultural nationalism and post-colonialism, such as those of Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Miroslav Hroch, Michael Hechter, and Homi Bhabha, will also be crucial to examining how literature is translated in post-colonial nations, in general, and Galicia, in particular. Following this discussion, I will explain how early twentieth-century Galician intellectuals, particularly Evaristo Correa Calderón, Risco, Villar Ponte, and Otero Pedrayo, viewed translation and implemented it in their cultural project. By taking a closer look at the translators' and their contemporaries' own ideas about translation activity, I attempt to show the influence that the German Romantics had on the *Irmandades da Fala* and the *Xeración Nós*. The main objective of this chapter therefore is to establish how I will use translation theory as well as theory on cultural nationalism and post-colonialism to evaluate and analyse the Galician translations of Irish literature.

Chapter Two first details the origins of *Leabhar Gabhála* and its emergence in Ireland. Then I explore both James Macpherson's (1736-1796) and the Romantic movement's impact in Ireland and Galicia and the subsequent presence, contribution, and reception of Celtic folklore in Galician history and literature. In particular, I will concentrate on examining the Galician historical accounts, especially Vicetto's *Historia de Galicia* (1865-1873) and Murguía's *Historia de Galicia* (1865) and *Galicia* (1888), which constructed the foundation for Galicia's alleged Celtic ancestry, and the poetry of Pondal, who infused his writing with a political, particularly a nationalist, message. By highlighting Pondal's literary influences and output, I intend to demonstrate how he initiates the process of "writing the nation". After examining the legacy that these men left, I dedicate particular attention to the reiteration of these historical links, especially in the *Xeración Nós*'s programme of *atlantismo* and their fascination with Celticism. The principal task of this chapter is to assess how Celtic history and literature became intrinsic to the identity and affiliations of the *Irmandades da Fala* and the *Xeración Nós*.

In Chapter Three I consider why Irish scholars associated with the Gaelic Revival and later Galician intellectuals, in particular the men of the *Rexurdimento* and the *Xeración Nós*, were attracted to the Celtic historical epic, *Leabhar Gabhála*. I begin with an initial survey of the political and social demands to translate Irish ancient literary tradition, and argue that MacNeill's and Macalister's translation was not only a response to the fake translations of Macpherson, but also a carefully calculated endeavour to reclaim Irish history. I then examine why it became necessary for the Galician elite to appropriate Chapters Eleven, Twelve, and Thirteen of *Leabhar Gabhála: The Book of Conquests of Ireland* for their own literary and historical tradition. I concentrate on the

introductory article, which exemplifies the precedent of other European Celtic scholars and their influence on the *Xeración Nós*'s project. Other paratextual details, such as footnotes and the text's presentation, also are essential to the discussion given that they illustrate how the translator established links between the myth and Galicia's supposed heritage. Following this, I look at the English text and its Galician translation and offer a close textual analysis. Through this, I demonstrate what the implications of the translator's strategies are. Subsequently, I attempt to show through an examination of the translation's orthography and the style which *Xeración Nós* member translated the myth, and then offer conclusions as to why he remained invisible. Altogether the purpose of this chapter is to elucidate why the *Xeración Nós* selected *Leabhar Gabhála: The Book of Conquests of Ireland* for their translation project and what its translation ultimately accomplished for the Galician nation.

The fourth chapter of my thesis is by far the most groundbreaking with respect to the fact that I show, contrary to what most Yeats's scholars claim, that Yeats was not completely unknown on the European continent and that the Galician translations of Yeats's works in *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra* mark an important achievement regarding his reception in the Iberian Peninsula. I begin by explaining Yeats's appeal to post-colonial nations, and then consider his impact outside of English-speaking countries. Of intrinsic interest to this chapter are the influences of Simone Téry's *L'île des bardes. Notes sur la littérature irlandaise contemporaine* (1925) and Emmanuel de Thubert's and Jeanne Lichnerowicz's contributions to the French literary magazine, *La Douce France* (1919-1923), on Risco and his colleagues. I show how the former played a major role in Risco's own study on modern Irish literature and how the latter guided the intellectual's

translating choices and impacted Yeats's popularity in northwestern Spain. Following these discussions, I compare the translated texts – both French and Galician – to the English source texts and expose how the French ones served as either mediating, or primary, sources for the translations of Yeats's poetry and short stories. Subsequently, I address the origins of Yeats's earliest and most nationalist play, *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, its impact in Ireland, and later its appropriation by the Galician elite. I examine how the hunger-strike and eventual death of Terence MacSwiney inspired a nationalist outpouring in the Galician press and led to the *Xeración Nós* dedicating an entire issue of *Nós*, including a translation of *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, to his memory. Following this, I compare and analyse Yeats's play and Antón Villar Ponte's translation, considering how much domestication or foreignisation the text undergoes. Finally, I conclude the chapter by assessing *Cathleen ni Houlihan*'s reception in Galicia and whether or not it achieved the objectives which its translator, Villar Ponte, originally expected.

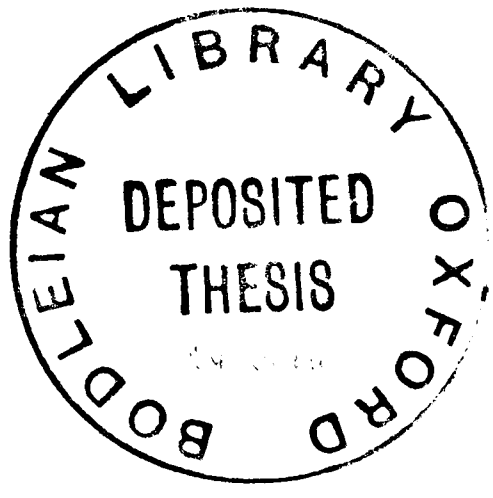
Chapter Five deals with the importation of Joyce and his literature in Galicia. I again examine the role of the French writer Téry as well as her contemporary Valery Larbaud and Parisian cultural and literary revues, like *La Nouvelle Revue Francaise* and *Commerce*, in bringing Joyce to the attention of the Galician intellectuals. I trace the events surrounding the reception of Joyce's *Ulysses* in Paris – from the first encounter between Joyce and his French translator, Larbaud, in 1920 to Larbaud's presentation of Joyce in Paris in 1922 to the 1924 partial publication of *Ulysses* in French – so as to establish which materials were available to the *Xeración Nós* in the mid-1920s. Concurring with Xoán González Millán, Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos, and Carmen Millán Varela, I argue that Otero Pedrayo relied on the original English text for his

translation project. However, I also take into account María Camino Noia Campos' views that Otero Pedrayo utilised Larbaud's 1924 French translation. Consequently, I dedicate particular attention to the French translation and its minor role in Otero Pedrayo's text selection and translating strategy. Certain features of the English source text and the French and Galician translations are highlighted, identified, and evaluated in order to illustrate how Otero Pedrayo referred to both the English text and the French translation. After this discussion, I proceed to expand my close textual analysis of Joyce's "Ithaca" and "Cyclops" and Otero Pedrayo's translation. I conclude the chapter by assessing how Joyce's literature impacted upon Galician intellectuals and subsequently contributed to advancement of their linguistic and cultural agenda. I end my thesis by formulating broad conclusions on the use of translations in "writing the nation" and constructing a national identity as well as a literature for post-colonial cultures.

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This thesis is dedicated to:

my parents, John and Mary McKevitt,

and

Craig Patterson for everything once imagined "between the moon and Jersey City".

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"But let us suppose that our language remains a living and a literary language and so preserves its literature; what sort of literature can that be, the literature of a people without political independence? What does a sensible writer want, and what can he want? Nothing else but to influence public life and the life of all, and to form and reshape it according to his vision; and if he does not want to do this, everything he says is empty sound to tickle the ears of the indolent."

Johann Gottlieb Fichte (trans. by R.F. Jones and
G.H. Turnbull), *Addresses to the German Nation*

"Literature is, to my mind, the great teaching power of the world, the ultimate creator of all values, and it is this, not only in the sacred books whose power everybody acknowledges, but by every movement of imagination in song or story or drama that height of intensity and sincerity has made literature at all."

W.B. Yeats, "To the Editor of the *United Irishman*,
10 October 1903"

"Nós or irlandeses, temos de sere pra os galegos un eisempro."

Alvaro das Casas, *Sabel*

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The task of recognising and thanking all of the people and institutions that have assisted me in my research during the past three years is not an easy one. First and foremost, this thesis is dedicated to my parents, whose love and support have been unconditional. I record my largest debt to them. To my brothers, Patrick and John, for looking after their older sister and always offering good advice. To Patrick Callaghan, for writing a letter which made my coming to Oxford possible. To the McKevitt and Callaghan families, for fostering a love for all cultures and literatures.

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PREFACE

Over the past thirty or so years, the Galician language has been undergoing radical changes with respect to its orthography and grammar. Given that the time period in which I work – the 1920s and 1930s – represents a critical phase in the use and development of written Galician, I have chosen not to conform the writing of the members of the *Rexurdimento*, the *Irmandades da Fala* and the *Xeración Nós* to modern-day standards of normalisation. I believe that by preserving the unique variations of writers like Vicente Risco, Ramón Otero Pedrayo, and Antón Villar Ponte, amongst others, we honour the diversity of the Galician language in the early twentieth century as much as we pay homage to the difficult task of establishing what was considered a dialect of Castilian as a literary language in its own right. Consequently, I have respected both the orthography and the punctuation of all cited texts.

With respect to the order of the thesis chapters, I have opted not to discuss the translations in chronological order. Hence I study the reception and importation of the Irish myth, *Leabhar Gabhála* (translated in 1931), then William Butler Yeats's poetry, short stories, and *Cathleen ni Houlihan* (translated between 1920 and 1926), and lastly James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1925). Given that I examine the cultural and historical import of the Celts to Galician identity as related by late nineteenth century historians in Chapter Two, I believe that it is more suitable to the cohesion of this thesis that I immediately consider the Galician translation of the Celtic myth.

Finally, all first references for the primary sources are cited within the body and/or footnotes of the thesis. Thereafter, in the sections comparing the original English

texts and their translated texts (in Galician and, if applicable, in French), I have opted to use abbreviated parenthetical notes instead of footnotes so as to facilitate the reading of this work.

Chapter One
Translation Theory and the Post-colonial Nation: The Paradigm of Galicia

Translations have been often undervalued and overlooked notwithstanding the roles that they have played in the crystallisation and articulation of cultural identities. Depicted negatively for an alleged lack of originality and artistry, both translators and translations have been hidden behind authors and original texts. However, the situation is changing as translations are earning a place in academia. Translation studies today intertwines various disciplines including, but not limited to, linguistics, modern languages, comparative literature, literary criticism, history, cultural and ethnic studies, anthropology, feminist studies, and post-colonial studies. For the most part, translation studies is still an "emergent interdiscipline", overlapping into and amalgamating with other fields and depending on their resources and research, yet lacking its own academic and institutional autonomy.[1] Despite its emerging status, translation studies is producing a strong impact in academia by demonstrating how "translations, rather than being a secondary and derivative genre, [are] instead one of the *primary* literary tools that larger social institutions – education systems, arts councils, publishing firms, and even governments – had [and have] at their disposal to 'manipulate' a given society in order to 'construct' the kind of 'culture' desired."[2] Finally, translations are gaining attention for their contributions to developing and refining languages, introducing and renovating literary canons, and inventing and constructing cultures as well as nations.

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[1] Lawrence Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 8.
[2] Edwin Gentzler, "Foreword", in *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 1998), pp. ix-xxii (p. x).

In Galicia, translation slowly emerged as part of a cultural program during the 1920s and 1930s, primarily through the activities of the *Irmandades da Fala* and the *Xeración Nós*, two intellectual and political groups seeking to recuperate and defend Galician language and culture. Vicente Risco (1884-1963), Ramón Otero Pedrayo (1888-1976), Alfonso Daniel Rodríguez Castelao (1886-1950), Florentino López Cuevillas (1886-1958), and Antón Villar Ponte (1881-1936), amongst others, pursued their interests by founding and contributing to two journals, *A Nosa Terra* and *Nós*. Through their writings, both groups intended to recuperate the Galician language from its inferior position in comparison to Castilian and to promote Galician nationalism.

In this chapter, I shall discuss the history of translation theory and the evolution of its field of study by discussing the major scholars who shaped and extended its foundations. It is imperative to trace the history of this discipline in order to demonstrate how scholars have struggled with and have attempted, yet failed, to resolve the ubiquitous and elusive predicaments associated with translation. Furthermore, this background will provide an understanding of the theoretical developments and divergences recognised as the turns – from the linguistic to the systemic to the cultural to the national – in translation studies. After these adumbrations, I shall engage with the particular works of the German translator Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and the contemporary American scholar Lawrence Venuti and address how the approaches to translation that they defined and refined will play a role in the evaluation of translated texts in Galicia. Following this discussion, I shall explain how Galician intellectuals viewed translation and implemented it in their cultural project. Finally, I will conclude

by discussing how texts translated in Galician and published in *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra* during the 1920s and 1930s will be considered.

From antiquity until the present day, scholars involved in translation – be it in practice, in theory, or in criticism – have contemplated the (im)possibility of translation. Consequently, they have grappled with the complex relationships between the source text and the target text as well as the author and the translator and the implications of such relationships. Many have sought definitive answers to disputed questions such as the following: how, and in what degree, a translator should be true, or faithful, to the author and the source text?; what does faithfulness entail?; to whom is the translator obliged: the author or the audience?; does a translation deserve to be considered an autonomous work?; and, finally, is there a correct way to translate a text? These questions, although apparently straightforward, have elicited numerous and quite diverse responses given that even the fundamental concepts, particularly faithfulness – also referred to as equivalence – and function are "variable notions".[3] Until the late twentieth century, the concept of equivalence has dominated critical inquiries and commentaries as the most important criterion for judging translations. The concept of equivalence often has been interchanged with variable concepts such as faithfulness, in which a translator conveys the text literally in word choice and meaning and attempts to mirror the author's writing; correspondence, in which a translator communicates the text using familiar, but not necessarily identical, images; and adequacy, in which a translator adheres to the original

[3] Lawrence Venuti, "Introduction", in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 1-8 (p. 5).

text and culture more than those of the target in order to create a satisfactory translation. More importantly, equivalence, whether it is recognised under the guise of faithfulness, correspondence, or adequacy, refers to the translated text's relationship with its source text. On the other hand, the concept of function, which has emerged within the past fifty years as an integral element in translation and is now deflecting the focus from equivalence, indicates the role of the translated text in the target culture, language, and literature. Together, these concepts, regardless of their cultural context, have been and still are the central dilemma of translation theorists, yet they also have shaped the history of translation due to their central position in the understanding and investigation of translated texts.

The traditional definition of translation originates with Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.), who, according to Robinson, theorises translation as "a process for achieving the best possible semantic equivalence between two texts in different languages".[4] Cicero's methods foreground the importance of semantic equivalence, or the employing of words and phrases that express best the idea of the source text, as opposed to linguistic equivalence, or the rendering of the source text one word at a time. In his pursuit of semantic equivalence, Cicero, who freely translated speeches written in Greek, inaugurated a translation practice that would gain prominence and dominance in the West. Consequently, Cicero has been regarded as the first translation theorist.[5] Following Cicero's exhortations, Horace (65-8 B.C.) proposes a similar approach and advises in *Ars Poetica*, "Do not worry about rendering word for word, faithful translator,

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[4] Douglas Robinson, *Translation and Empire: Postcolonial Theories Explained* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 1997a), p. 46.
[5] Ibid, p. 46.

but render sense for sense".[6] This technique allows Horace to be "fidus interpres", a trustworthy interpreter, who is faithful not to a text, but to his readers.[7] Saint Jerome (345-420), noting that he learned from Cicero and his work, also confesses to translating sense for sense rather than word for word in his "Letter to Pammachius". Citing a fellow translator's preface to a book on Saint Antony, Saint Jerome provides evidence to his reader that he is not alone in his translating technique:

> A literal translation from one language into another obscures the sense in the same way as the thriving weeds smother the seeds. Since language depends on cases and images you sometimes have to waste time and make a detour to express what could be said with a few words, and often to express it with great imprecision at that. I have skirted this danger and at your request I have translated the life of Saint Antony in such a way that the whole sense is there, even if I have not always kept to the sound of the words. Let others stick to syllables, or even to letters, you should try to grasp the sense![8]

Saint Jerome, like his predecessors, decided to translate sense for sense in order to convey the message in familiar words and syntax to his readers, rather than "obscure" and "smother" it in the "thriving weeds" of incoherent language, which only would distract and confuse the reader. As attested by Cicero and Horace, the shortening and lengthening of phrases and sentences, or "making detours", in order to express clearly the meaning are both necessary and acceptable since readers entrust translators, or "trustworthy interpreters", to understand the original author's work and to make it

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[6] Quintus Horatius, "Extract from the *Epistula ad Pisones* ("Letter to the Pisones")", trans. by André Lefevere, in *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*, ed. by André Lefevere (London and New York: Routledge, 1992b), p. 15. Robinson erroneously claims that Saint Jerome coined the phrase "sense for sense" in the "Letter to Pammachius" written between 405-410; however, Horace's work preceded Saint Jerome's (dated around 10 B.C.). See Robinson, *Translation and Empire*, p. 50.

[7] Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, "Introduction – Where are We in Translation Studies?", in *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 1998), pp. 1-11 (p. 3).

[8] Hieronymus (Saint Jerome), "Extract from the 'Letter to Pammachius' ", trans. by André Lefevere, in *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*, ed. by André Lefevere (London and New York: Routledge, 1992b), pp. 47-49 (pp. 48-49).

accessible to them. Word-for-word renderings prevent this accessibility by interfering with meaning. Upon these premises, Saint Jerome, along with Cicero and Horace, established the basic foundation of translation theory, which would be tested and scrutinised by later scholars.

Due to the conflict between sense-for-sense translation and word-for-word translation, scholarly output regarding translation practices amplified. Quite frequently, translators who also were theologians, linguists, or philosophers, amongst other professionals, reflected upon their work by explaining their translating style, offering insights, and comparing their own translation to those of others. These statements on translation are not distinct theoretical tracts; instead, they are prefaces, essays, commentaries, lectures, or letters attached to or related to their translated texts. Furthermore, these statements are prescriptive; they provide guidelines and rules on translating.

Of those who translated and commented on translating methods, St. Augustine (354-430), Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), Martin Luther (1483-1546), Etienne Dolet (1509-1546), John Dryden (1631-1700), Dillon Wentworth, Earl of Roscommon (1633-1685), Voltaire (1694-1778) and Alexander Fraser Tytler (1747-1814) are some of the most influential and quoted men in the history of translation. While St. Augustine, a contemporary of Saint Jerome, questions Saint Jerome's style, he accepts his translating decisions. However, others, such as Erasmus, disapprove of the sense-for-sense translation advocated by Cicero and his followers. Erasmus directly criticises Cicero and the freedom allowed in his translating as he defends his own style, noting that he

"prefer[s] to sin through excessive scrupulousness rather than through excessive license".[9]

By the end of the eighteenth century, numerous references to the dichotomies associated with translating methods including sense-for-sense and word-for-word, spirited and faithful, and free and literal abound and persist in the literature on translation. However, in the early nineteenth century, several German academics suggest another binary combination to describe translating according to a cultural, more than a linguistic, perspective. These academics envision translation as an instrument to preserve and improve the German language as much as to introduce foreign literatures and cultures to a German audience. Their work, as I will show later, will influence Galician intellectuals and their views on translating activity in the early twentieth century. The most vocal proponents of translation are German scholars and writers, including Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767-1845), and Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), all of whom were involved in philosophy, history, literature, and theology and reacting against the encroaching cultural presence of the French. Of these voices, the most assertive and expressive is Schleiermacher, whose lecture, *Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens* ("On the Different Methods of Translating", 1813), is seminal in the German Romantics' and Post-Romantics' approach to translation.

Schleiermacher informs his audience that in translation there are only two paths to follow. Schleiermacher's options have been articulated in various formulations, before

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[9] Desiderius Erasmus, "Extract from the 'Letter to William Warham' ", trans. by André Lefevere, in *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*, ed. by André Lefevere (London and New York: Routledge, 1992b), p. 60.

and after him, but none has been as decisive as his.[10] He argues, "Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader toward him. Or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author toward him".[11] By sending the reader to the author, the translator exposes the reader to a foreign people and culture and allows the author to maintain his identity. Yet, by bringing the author into the reader's culture, the translator naturalises the author and turns the author into the reader's fellow countryman. Schleiermacher's assertion that only two choices are available to a translator overlooks the fact that translation is not a simple either/or choice, as I will argue later in this chapter. Despite this, for Schleiermacher such choices depend on the translator's cultural and national agenda and his expectations for the translation, but his acknowledgement of this and his contribution would remain overlooked outside Germany by most for more than 160 years.

Due to the unavailability of Schleiermacher's lecture in English until the late twentieth century, his radical ideas were unknown to non-German speaking writers and translators. However, a classical scholar at Manchester New College and University College, London, Francis Newman (1805-1897), separately challenges the domesticating discourse in English translation by implementing his own foreignising methods. Newman employs an "artificially-constructed archaism", rather than a modernising fluent translation strategy, in order to signify the historical remoteness of classical texts.[12] Newman's translation practices receive little acclaim from his contemporaries,

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[10] Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 19.
[11] Friedrich Schleiermacher, "Extracts from 'Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens' ('On the Different Methods of Translating')", trans. by André Lefevere, in *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*, ed. by André Lefevere (London and New York: Routledge, 1992b), pp, 141-66 (p. 149).
[12] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, pp. 122-23.

particularly Matthew Arnold (1822-1888) who attacks his style. When Arnold deliberates "in what [degree] faithfulness consists",[13] he poses the question that thereafter would haunt translation scholars.

The transition to the twentieth century marks a change in thinking about translation. During the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, approaches to translation practice and theory shift from prescriptive accounts to a focus on linguistics. Many scholars attempt to qualify the translatability of original texts and the equivalence between source and target texts by defining and discussing new sets of terms that pertain to a translator's priorities. J.C. Catford provides a detailed description of grammatical and lexical shifts in translation and explains how they create deviations from the formal correspondence between a source language and a target language.[14] Another American scholar, Eugene Nida, whose work focuses on Bible translating and who once referred to translation as a science, defines translation according to formal equivalence and dynamic (later functional) equivalence. While formal equivalence is source-oriented, literal to the source, and revealing of the original's form and content, dynamic equivalence is target-oriented, natural to the recipient, and close, but not exact, to the original's form and content.[15] Peter Newmark contributes to translation theory the concepts of semantic and communicative translation. For him, semantic translation emphasises the author, is literal, and concentrates on meaning. On the other hand, communicative translation focuses on the audience, is free, and focuses on the message.[16] With the proliferation of

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[13] Matthew Arnold, "Extract from "On Translating Homer", in *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*, ed. by André Lefevere (London and New York: Routledge, 1992b), pp. 68-69 (p. 68).
[14] J.C. Catford, "Translation Shifts", in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 141-47.
[15] Eugene Nida, "Principles of Correspondence", in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 126-40 (pp. 129-36).
[16] Peter Newmark, *About Translation* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1991), pp. 10-13.

these dichotomies, literal versus free, formal equivalence versus dynamic equivalence, and semantic translation versus communicative translation, amongst others, scholars of translation find themselves repeating similar translating trends, but classifying them by different terms. Due to the linguistic-oriented approach's concentration on language only and the achievement of equivalence between the source text and the target text, it suggests that translation can be the replacement or transfer of words and sentences from one language into another without any cultural, political, or social implications. In this respect, the approach formulated by some linguistics scholars is myopic. The time had arrived for translation research to move in a new direction.

In 1972, James Holmes presents his paper, "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies", at the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics in Copenhagen where he alters the field of translation. Due to what Holmes perceives as the lack of communication amongst the various disciplines researching translation and as the need for an integrated field, Holmes coins "translation studies" to incorporate research on translation theory and practice. Although Toury credits Holmes with founding a "full-scale scientific discipline",[17] Holmes calls for a "a non-allied and new approach" in which he "distanced himself from 'theories' of translation, which often merely reflect the attitude and approach of the writer, and from 'sciences' of translation, which may not be suited for an investigation of literary texts".[18] In his paper, Holmes outlines the two objectives for translation studies as: "(1) to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience, and (2) to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and

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[17] Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995), p. 7.
[18] Edwin Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 74.

predicted".[19] In addition, he delineates the two branches of translation studies as pure and applied research. The pure branch encompasses descriptive translation studies, which is composed of three sub-branches, product-oriented (description of the translated text(s)), function-oriented (analysis of the translated text's role in certain socio-cultural and/or politico-cultural situations) and process-oriented (explanation of translation practice and strategy); the pure branch also includes theoretical translation studies or translation theory.[20] The applied branch, on the other hand, involves translator training and translation criticism and policy.[21] Of the two branches, the first, descriptive translation studies, reorients the focus of translation research and anticipates the development of a systemic approach to translation as articulated by Israeli scholars, Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury, and Flemish academic, André Lefevere. Holmes' pioneering work serves as a precursor to, as much as an instigator for, the systemic turn in translation.

During the 1970s, Itamar Even-Zohar, steeped in the tradition of the Russian Formalists and the Prague Structuralists, conceives of the idea of a polysystem in regard to language, particularly its various styles, dialects, and registers, and later applies it to literature and translation.[22] Breaking with previous scholars' strict adherence to theorising about equivalence in linguistic transfer, Even-Zohar argues that translation is an activity associated with language as well as culture. He suggests that not only does

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[19] James Holmes, "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies", in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 172-85 (p. 176).
[20] Ibid, pp. 176-81.
[21] Ibid, pp. 181-82.
[22] Theo Hermans, *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and System-oriented Approaches Explained* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 1999), p. 100.

translation play a role in society, but also it acts as a major impetus of change.[23] Based on these conditions, Even-Zohar introduces polysystem theory "out of the need to solve certain very specific problems (having to do with translation theory)".[24] He explains that "socio-semiotic phenomena, i.e., sign-governed human patterns of communication (such as culture, language, literature), could more adequately be understood and studied if regarded as systems rather than conglomerates of disparate elements".[25] By considering culture and literature as systems, or networks of relations for which hypotheses, and even laws, could be devised, Even-Zohar prepares and develops his empirical approach. He defines the polysystem as "a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent".[26] Hence, polysystems are "dynamic and heterogeneous" rather than static and homogeneous.[27] The polysystem hypothesis "not only (. . .) make[s] possible the integration into semiotic research of objects (properties, phenomena) previously unnoticed or bluntly rejected; rather, such an integration now becomes a precondition, a *sine qua non*, for an adequate understanding of any semiotic field".[28] Therefore, Even-Zohar includes minor and major, or peripheral and central as well as canonised and non-canonised, cultures, languages, and literatures, considering them as equals. He gives credibility to minor literatures and languages,

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[23] Susan Bassnett, "The Translation Turn in Cultural Studies", in *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 1998), pp. 123-40 (p. 126).

[24] Itamar Even-Zohar, "Introduction [to *Polysystem Studies*]", *Polysystem Studies*, Special Issue of *Poetics Today* 11:1 (Tel Aviv: The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, 1990) <http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/ps/intro.htm> [accessed 18 April 2001], pp. 1-6 (p. 1). Due to the limited publication and lack of availability of Even-Zohar's original and revised papers and lectures in libraries and bookstores, he now has made them available at his website: <http://www.tau.ac.il:81/~itamarez>.

[25] Itamar Even-Zohar, "Polysystem Theory (Revised 1997)", *New Papers (since 1993)* <http://www.tau.ac.il:81/~itamarez/papers/ps-th-r.htm> [accessed 18 April 2001] (para 1 of 30).

[26] Ibid, para 4 of 30.

[27] Ibid, para 6 of 30.

[28] Ibid, para 9 of 30.

suggesting not only that they are relevant in the polysystem, but also that they provide additional insight into the major ones, and vice versa.

Even-Zohar rejects the prevailing concept that translations are isolated activities and should be analysed individually; instead, he argues that they belong to the literary polysystem.[29] Furthermore, he asserts that translated literature is "a most active system within the literary polysystem".[30] He attributes the need for translation to the cultural deficiencies of certain communities. According to him, translation is of particular importance in the following situations: "when a literature is 'young,' or in the process of being established; when a literature is 'peripheral' or 'weak' or both; and when a literature is experiencing a 'crisis' or turning point".[31] It is a crucial instrument in developing "young" and "weak" literatures and establishing their place within the universal literary canon.

While Even-Zohar is one of the first scholars to examine the role of translations in cultural development, his creation and application of the polysystem is problematic. As one can see in his definition noted above and as Even-Zohar admits in his writing, system and polysystem are interchangeable terms. Hence, his coining of "polysystem" is redundant and unnecessary. His reliance on this abstract system or collective of literary texts also downplays and devalues the importance of examining texts on an individual basis. Furthermore, he relies heavily on the polysystem in order to explain the inter-relations and interactions between culture and literature, but fails to apply these concepts

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[29] Itamar Even-Zohar, "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem", in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 192-97) p. 192.
[30] Ibid, p. 193.
[31] Ibid, pp. 193-94.

to actual situations. In spite of the discrepancies found in Even-Zohar's theory, one cannot deny that polysystem theory made an important contribution to translation studies.

For Gideon Toury, Even-Zohar's polysystem theory was innovative, but lacked a sufficiently rigorous methodology for research in translation. Adopting the polysystem concept, Toury expands upon Even-Zohar's research. Toury analyses translation activity according to various postulates, laws, and formulas defined within his studies, particularly *In Search of a Theory of Translation* and *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, and applies them to his study of Hebrew literature. As Venuti points out, his orientation is "avowedly scientific, avoiding prescriptive accounts of translation to examine actual translation practices".[32]

Toury provides a target-oriented approach to translation, establishing that "translations are facts of target cultures; on occasion facts of a special status, sometimes even constituting identifiable (sub)systems of their own, but of the target culture in any event".[33] As "facts of target cultures", translations, for Toury, are autonomous of source texts. Translations can be neither equivalent nor adequate to source texts since they assume new meanings in a different environment. What matters, according to Toury, is the acceptability of the target text in the target culture.

Because translators "play a social role" or "fulfil a function" on behalf of the community, Toury maintains that translations have "cultural significance".[34] He further maintains, citing more general situations than the three identified by Even-Zohar that, "After all, translations always come into being within a certain cultural environment and

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[32] Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation*, p. 27.
[33] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 29.
[34] Gideon Toury, "The Nature and Role of Norms in Translation", in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 198-211 (p. 198).

are designed to meet certain needs of, and/or occupy certain 'slots' in it. Consequently, translators may be said to operate first and foremost in the interest of the culture into which they are translating, however they conceive of that interest."[35] Toury concludes that translations serve particular goals – be they literary, cultural, or national – in a community. Therefore, translators do not work in the interest of either the source culture or the source text; they initiate the project to appropriate texts, to translate them and inscribe them with domestic values, and insert them in their literary system. He adds that translators modify the source text according to the target culture's concerns by retaining certain features and reconstructing them "not because they are 'important' in any *inherent* sense, but because they are *assigned* importance, from the recipient vantage point".[36] Toury thus validates the target text's autonomy as well as its role in the target culture.

Although Toury's target-oriented approach appears appealing for describing translation activity, it is too scientific for literary studies. Like Even-Zohar, Toury refuses to define translation by a priori assumptions or conditions. However, by doing so, he undervalues the role of the source texts in the creation of the target texts: he isolates the translated text from its source text and the source culture in which it was written. Toury's distinction between a translation that is adequate, adhering to a source culture's norms, and one that is acceptable, adhering to a target culture's norms, is problematic. He assumes that a translation can be one or the other, when it cannot. While translation may lean towards one pole more than the other, it still retains elements of the source culture as much as it incorporates those from the target culture. Thus, it cannot satisfy the conditions that Toury outlines. In addition, Toury's notion of norms,

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[35] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 12.
[36] Ibid, p. 12. Emphasis in original.

which he employs to examine translation behaviour, or the decision-making process occurring during translation activity, attempts to establish a framework within which data can be compiled so that universal laws can be established. However, these norms do not take into account various relevant socio-cultural factors, such as power and ideology, affecting translation activity. As a result, Toury's theoretical approach excludes the factors which, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter, are necessary for understanding and contextualising translations.

André Lefevere, like Even-Zohar and Toury, subscribes to Russian Formalism and applies the concept of the system to literature and to translation. However, Lefevere distances himself from polysystem theory and constructs an alternative paradigm, which incorporates translation as a form of rewriting. He classifies translation alongside editing and anthologising, but describes it as "the most obviously recognizable type" of rewriting as well as "the most influential".[37] Lefevere offers this reconsideration of translation in an attempt to downplay the stigma attached to translating and to acknowledge the creativity it requires. Moreover, by coining this new term for translation, he also demonstrates that translated texts do not necessarily mirror the source texts in form and content. Lefevere asserts, "[r]ewriting therefore exerts an enormous influence not only on the image one literature is given of another but also on the image members of a culture are given of their own and other literatures. It is the hidden motor behind literary evolution and the creation of canons and paradigms."[38]

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[37] André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992c), p. 9.
[38] André Lefevere, *Translating Literature: Practice and Theory in a Comparative Literature Context* (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1992a), p. 14.

Lefevere's use of the system differs greatly from that of the Israeli scholars in that he places "greater emphasis on interaction between system and environment, on the system's internal organization and on control mechanisms".[39] Affirming that literary systems and other social systems within culture influence each other, he identifies specific factors that control or affect literature such as ideology, poetics, power, prestige, patronage, authority, and the universe of discourse ("the whole complex of concepts, ideologies, persons, and objects belonging to a particular culture"[40]). Together, these factors, according to Lefevere, constrain translation more than linguistic differences.[41] By acknowledging the relevance of such factors, he offers additional concepts with which to evaluate translation activities. Although Lefevere's work is vague and inconsistent at times, his work offers translation studies another point of departure. Before his death in 1996, Lefevere initiated, but never completed, the formulation of another systemic approach to translation based on conceptual and textual grids.[42]

For the 1980s and the 1990s Susan Bassnett's seminal book *Translation Studies* is the harbinger of the cultural debate in research on translation. She, in collaboration with Lefevere, later recommends that translation scholars look beyond linguistics and literary criticism and towards cultural studies; they must take the "cultural turn". Their announcement anticipates a closer consideration of the role of translation in cultural, social, and political situations and instills an emphasis on the autonomy of translated texts.

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[39] Hermans, *Translation in Systems*, p. 125.
[40] Lefevere, *Translation/History/Culture*, p. 35.
[41] Hermans, *Translation in Systems*, p. 43.
[42] See André Lefevere, "Composing the Other", in *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 75-94.

Heeding the call of Bassnett and Lefevere, Lawrence Venuti immerses himself in the trends of culturally oriented research during the 1990s. In Venuti's rejection of the scientific methodology of Even-Zohar and Toury, which, in his opinion, "perpetuate[s] the marginality of translation studies by discouraging an engagement with the trends and debates that have fueled the most consequential thinking about culture", Venuti embraces fields previously isolated from translation, such as psychoanalysis, cultural theory, feminism, Marxism, and poststructuralism, in order to advocate a rethinking of translation and its crucial role in culture.[43] Venuti concentrates on the themes of invisibility versus visibility, fluency versus non-fluency, and domestication versus foreignisation in translation and examines how these binary oppositions interrelate. He not only revives the thinking on translation of Schleiermacher, but also promotes an experimentalism, which he explains as "innovative translating that samples the dialects, registers, and styles already available in the translating language to create a discursive heterogeneity which is defamiliarizing, but intelligible to different constituencies in the translating culture".[44]

To translation theory Venuti introduces the concept of "invisibility" in order to describe the translator's traditional situation and activity and explores how this factor affects translation practice. He attributes a translator's invisibility to the use of familiar and fluent language in the target culture and the audience's – both the critic's and the general reader's – ignorance of and/or reluctance to acknowledge the translation as a rewriting of the original. He observes, "Under the regime of fluent translating, the translator works to make his or her work 'invisible,' producing the illusory effect of

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[43] Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation*, p. 29.
[44] Lawrence Venuti, "1990s", in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 331-42, (p. 341).

transparency that simultaneously masks its status as an illusion: the translated text seems 'natural,' i.e., not translated."[45] This "regime of fluent translating" fosters a domesticating strategy and eschews a foreignising one: it promotes a hegemonic target culture and undermines the source culture. Since Venuti opposes the past and current homogeneity and hegemony imposed by domesticating translations, he calls on fellow translators to adopt a non-fluent and foreignising strategy in order to end their invisibility.[46] But due to Venuti's focus on modern Anglo-American translation practices, he overlooks the fact that domesticating strategies outside of this context have different aims, a subject to which I will return later in the chapter.

Unlike other translation scholars, Douglas Robinson neither belongs to nor identifies with any theoretical school in translation studies. Emulating George Steiner and his seminal work from 1975, *After Babel*, which Robinson praises as "a monumental achievement, the most impressive and comprehensive philosophical study of translation ever published"[47], Robinson employs a hermeneutic approach to translation theory and practice as he intertwines historical, philosophical, and theoretical statements with personal experiences in translation. Insisting upon subjectivity and somatic intuition during translation, Robinson, turning away from traditional methods, advises translators to choose the words and syntax that feel right.[48] Because Robinson places limited conditions on his advice, he implies that no translation of the original is incorrect, bad, or disloyal if a person is responding to her perceptions. In his radicalism, Robinson ignores standard literary practices regarding reading and interpretation and suggests that anything

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[45] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 5.
[46] Ibid, pp. 307-13.
[47] Douglas Robinson, *The Translator's Turn* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), p. 19.
[48] Ibid, p. 259.

goes in translation. Yet, by offering this advice and exaggerating the liberties that a translator may take with a source text, Robinson fails to elevate the status of translations; instead, he relegates them. For translation studies, the methods which Robinson espouses are more disadvantageous than advantageous and only would set back the advances made over the course of the late twentieth century.

While both Even-Zohar and Toury have revised their works during the 1990s, their influence has diminished. Their research, although beneficial in bringing culture into an approach to translation and encouraging theoretical reconsiderations in translation activities, has limited their amplifications in current discourse due to their restrictive hypotheses and their lack of development during the last twenty years. Moreover, neither has entered into debate with critics to defend his theory nor has contributed to any recent advancements in theory. Their theories have become static.

Recently, scholars studying texts translated outside of the United States, Western Europe and Israel have been exploring various disciplines to explain the phenomena of translation. Feminism, post-colonialism, multiculturalism, and ethnic studies have intensified the themes of power and cultural relationships to such a degree that new dichotomies, such as feminist versus chauvinist, coloniser versus colonised, dominant versus subservient, and abuser versus abused, have entered translation studies. In this respect, translation is now seen as a power struggle. Tejaswini Niranjana and Vicente Rafael consider the role of translations in the imposition of colonialism and suggest translation as a form of resistance. Suzanne Jill Levine proposes subverting language in translation. The Brazilian poets and translators Augusto and Haroldo de Campos illustrate another struggle by borrowing from a Brazilian term referring to translation and

experimentalism in the 1920s known as "antropofagia", and conceiving translation as a form of cannibalism which acts "as both a violation of European codes and an act of homage".[49]

In conclusion, translation theory has developed from prescriptive essays, linguistics-oriented dichotomies, and system approaches to, finally, culturally focused discourse. With each transition, translation has been given another opportunity to emerge as a vital element not only of literature, but also of culture. Although common concerns, such as equivalence and faithfulness, still linger, their importance and success now are seen not as the primary goals of translating, but as the key indicators of the divergences embedded in the cultural role of the translated text. After all, as we will see in the upcoming section, translation is more than a linguistic transfer; it is a cultural interaction and a national response.

Recently, translations in Galician have been examined using the descriptive and systemic approaches of Even-Zohar and Toury.[50] However, as I have noted, such approaches have lost their dominance within translation studies since scholars are looking beyond empirical methodologies and towards cultural ideologies in order to understand translations. By approaching translation from a cultural viewpoint and considering Galician translated texts in terms of domestication and foreignisation, we will be able to

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[49] Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi, "Introduction: Of Colonies, Cannibals and Vernaculars", in *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 1-18 (pp. 4-5).

[50] For studies applying these theories, see María del Carmen Millán-Varela, *Literary Translation in Galician: Appropriating James Joyce* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, March 1998) and Lourdes Lorenzo García, *A Traducción da Metáfora Inglesa no Galego: Estudio Baseado nun Corpus de Literatura Infantil/Xuvenil Contemporánea* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidade de Vigo, 1998).

examine the role of translation in Galician. For our purposes, the translation strategies of Schleiermacher and Venuti are relevant to examining the translated texts of Irish authors in Galician. I will discuss Schleiermacher and Venuti and the nucleus of their thinking regarding translation practice and theory.

In his formative lecture, *Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens* (1813), Scheiermacher expounded on translation, inviting his scholarly audience to acknowledge that translation enhances, rather than depletes, the German culture and language. This lecture, given during the Napoleonic wars, was as much a reaction as a challenge to French hegemony in Prussia. It sought to cement the nationalist movement by encouraging translation as an activity that would enrich the German language and thus develop an elite German literature. For Schleiermacher, translation is the "high art" of "understanding" that requires "a profound and precise penetration" of an author's psyche and language by the translator.[51] To do this, according to Schleiermacher, a translator immerses himself in and masters a foreign language and culture that completely differs from his own without abandoning his mother tongue. Schleiermacher specifies that the task of translation provokes the following considerations:

> Should he decide to bring two people – two people who are so fully separated from each other as the author himself and the man who speaks his own language but not the author's – together into a relationship as immediate as that which exists between the author and his original reader? Or does he merely want to unlock for his readers the same understanding and the same pleasure he himself enjoys, with the traces of hardship it carries and the feeling of strangeness that remains mixed into it? How can he achieve the second goal with the means at his disposal, let alone the first? If his readers are to understand they must be able to perceive the spirit of the language that was the author's and to see his own peculiar way of thinking and feeling.[52]

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[51] Schleiermacher, "On the Different Methods of Translating", p. 147.
[52] Ibid, p. 147.

Schleiermacher compares the translator's task to that of an intermediary, and speculates if, and how, the translator could handle the delicate matter of introducing the author to the foreign reader. He fears that the differences which "so fully separated" them would inhibit an intimate and equal relationship like that the translator shared with the author. The relationship between the two that Schleiermacher envisions is not one of mere passing acquaintance; instead, he hopes for one of friendship. His proposed solution does not conceal the foreign author from the reader; it shows the foreign author for who he is and what he represents. Schleiermacher intends to educate the reader, his compatriot, by forcing him to confront, and accept, the "other" and his differences. To teach his fellow countrymen, Schleiermacher observes that the translator not only must "bring other powers and abilities to bear on his work and be familiar with his author and that author's language"[53], but also must be "permeated by the value of a foreign masterpiece, wish[ing] to extend its operational radius to those who speak his language".[54]

Accordingly, Schleiermacher opines that "the genuine translator" is someone

> who wants to bring those two completely separated persons, his author and his reader, truly together, and who would like to bring the latter to an understanding and enjoyment of the former as correct and complete as possible without inviting him to leave the sphere of his mother tongue.[55]

In defining what the ideal translator does, Schleiermacher also must define how such a translator does it. Schleiermacher finds his answer in the essays of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), who influences Schleiermacher's thinking and pronounces four months before Schleiermacher:

> There are two maxims in translation: one requires that the author of a foreign nation be brought across to us in such a way that we can look on

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[53] Ibid, p. 143.
[54] Ibid, p. 149.
[55] Ibid, p. 149.

> him as ours. The other requires that we ourselves should cross over into what is foreign and adapt ourselves to its conditions, its peculiarities, and its use of language.[56]

Schleiermacher correspondingly explains that there is a fundamental dichotomy in translation. He declares, "[T]here are only two [choices]. Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader toward him. Or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author toward him".[57] Since the first choice, the foreignising method, maintains "the traces of hardship", "the feeling of strangeness", and the peculiarities encountered in the original, it requires that the reader is educated and is willing to exert himself, as the translator had. On the other hand, the second choice, the domesticating method, removes and erases any indications of awkwardness or unfamiliarity so that the reader is lulled into reading lazily and comfortably and falls mistakenly under the illusion that the author is a fellow compatriot. Venuti explicates that by qualifying the choices with "as much as possible", Schleiermacher suggests that adequacy in translation was not feasible, and therefore he "allow[s] the translator to choose between a domesticating method, an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, bringing the author back home, and a foreignizing method, an ethnodeviant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad".[58]

Robinson concurs with Venuti and further points out the maxims as defined by Goethe and Schleiermacher present a "good, strong antithesis: ours versus theirs; bringing to us versus going to them; domesticating the strange versus estranging the

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[56] Johann Wolfgang Goethe, "Extract from *Schriften zur Literatur* ('Writings on Literature')", trans. by André Lefevere, in *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*, ed. by André Lefevere (London and New York: Routledge, 1992b), p. 78.
[57] Schleiermacher, "On the Different Methods of Translating", p. 149.
[58] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 20.

domestic".[59] However, Schleiermacher's antithesis also extends beyond simple translation methods. His choices between foreignising and domesticating allude to the elite and educated Germans versus the popular and non-educated masses. Lefevere indicates that the translations of which Schleiermacher spoke were produced "not for the monolingual reader who has no access whatsoever to the original, but rather for the educated reader who was able to read original and translation side by side and, in doing so, appreciate the difference in linguistic expression as expressing the difference between two language games".[60] Schleiermacher alludes to the intended audience of translation when he clarifies:

> Translation therefore relates to a state of affairs between these two extremes and the translator must take it as his aim to give his reader the same image and the same delight that reading the work in the original language would give any reader educated in such a way that we can call him the lover and the expert, in the better sense of the word; the type of reader who is familiar with the foreign language, and yet that language always remains foreign to him.[61]

Therefore, the translator preserves the linguistic and cultural differences so that the readers, who are members of the educated elite, perceive them.[62] Not only does this allow the readers to appreciate the variation of linguistic expressions, particularly if originals and translations were placed together,[63] but also this enables the readers to compare and contrast the foreign culture with their own culture, an activity that other translating cultures, especially the French, did not esteem.

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[59] Robinson, *The Translator's Turn*, p. 82.
[60] André Lefevere, "Introduction", in *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*, ed. by André Lefevere (London and New York: Routledge, 1992b), pp. 1-13 (p. 5).
[61] Schleiermacher, "On the Different Methods of Translating", p. 152.
[62] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 101.
[63] Lefevere, "Introduction", p. 5.

Because Schleiermacher recognises such aims to be fundamental, he privileges the foreignising method. Firstly, he avoids domestication because he wants to distinguish the German translating style from that of the French. Thus, foreignisation assumes a nationalist role. Secondly, Schleiermacher considers translation to be a form of education for the elite. August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767-1845) touches upon these two issues in his satiric dialogue:

> Frenchman: Languages would be classified according to their ability to translate. I must protest against this in the name of my own language. The criterion is narrowly national in nature because the Germans translate every literary Tom, Dick, and Harry. We either do not translate at all, or else we translate according to our own taste.
> German: Which is to say, you paraphrase and you disguise.
> Frenchman: We look on a foreign author as a stranger in our midst. He has to dress according to our customs, and behave accordingly, if he aims to please.
> German: How narrow-minded of you to be pleased only by what is native.
> Frenchman: Such is our nature and education. Did the Greeks not Hellenize all things too?
> German: In your case it goes back to a narrow-minded nature and a conventional education. In our case education is our nature.[64]

In applauding the foreignising method, Schleiermacher insists to his audience that "we cannot deny its merit".[65] He bases its merit on the conditions that a nation, particularly the German one which he, along with his academic counterparts, wanted to develop, "should know the importance of understanding foreign works and want to do so, and that its language should be allowed a certain flexibility".[66] Through such understanding and flexibility, the German language and culture could flourish.

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[64] August Wilhelm Schlegel, "Extract from 'Wettstreit der Sprachen' ('Argument Between Languages')", trans. by André Lefevere, in *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*, ed. by André Lefevere (London and New York: Routledge, 1992b), p. 78.
[65] Schleiermacher, "On the Different Methods of Translating", p. 159.
[66] Ibid, p. 159.

Schleiermacher elucidates, "Where those conditions are fulfilled this type of translation becomes a natural phenomenon influencing the whole evolution of a culture and giving a certain pleasure as it is given a certain value".[67] Thus, foreignising translation is active in promoting a cultural, as well as a political, agenda. Moreover, as Venuti observes, it is "an educated elite [who] controls the formation of a national culture by refining its language through foreignizing translations".[68]

Schleiermacher further justifies translation by describing it as "an inner necessity" expressing the "particular calling" of the German nation.[69] For him, translation occurs when there exists a "genuine need" for it.[70] This genuine need arose during the Napoleonic Wars when the French controlled Prussia, influencing its culture and language and preventing its unification with Germany. Reacting against French domination, Schleiermacher perceives translation as the vehicle with which to respond to the "calling". Like Schlegel, who considers education to be inherent in the German character but not the French one, Schleiermacher applies a metaphor of nature to the role of translation in the German language:

> Just as our soil itself has no doubt become richer and more fertile and our climate milder and more pleasant only after much transplantation of foreign flora, so too we sense that our language, which we exercise less than other nations do theirs, because of our Northern sluggishness, can thrive in all its freshness and completely develop its own power only by means of the most many-sided contacts with what is foreign.[71]

These organic metaphors also appear in various Galician intellectuals' writings on translating activity, as we shall soon see. Schleiermacher concludes, "(. . .) we should not

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[67] Ibid, p. 159.
[68] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 102.
[69] Schleiermacher, "On the Different Methods of Translating", p. 164.
[70] André Lefevere, *Translating Literature: The German Tradition from Luther to Rosenzweig* (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1977), p. 67.
[71] Schleiermacher, "On the Different Methods of Translating", pp. 164-65.

fail to acknowledge that much of what is beautiful and powerful in our language has in part either developed by way of translation or been drawn out of obscurity by translation".[72] Schleiermacher bestows authority on translation, empowering it in the establishment and fortification of language, culture, and, even, nation.

Influenced by German Romanticism, Venuti extracts from Goethe and Schleiermacher the opposing choices available to the translator, of bringing the author to the reader, a domesticating strategy, or bringing the reader to the author in translation, a foreignising strategy. Yet, whereas Schleiermacher identifies foreignisation with the promotion of national ideas and values in Prussia, Venuti proposes the opposite; he contends that domestication reinforces cultural hegemony and cites Anglo-American translations as evidence of this predominant trend. Venuti highlights the ideological consequences of the translator's options by distinguishing between domestication and foreignisation.[73]

Under the policy of domestication, Venuti locates a translator's invisibility and a text's fluency as central reference points, as I already have indicated. Although these two traits of domestication intertwine, invisibility will be considered first. Echoing Steiner's idea that the translator is a "ghostly presence",[74] Venuti takes it further by asserting that a translator is usually invisible in a domesticated translation. As I indicated earlier in this chapter, according to Venuti, the translator's invisibility occurs when she manipulates the translating language to create fluency, removing the linguistic and cultural differences and rewriting while simultaneously coding them with the beliefs, values, objects, and

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[72] Ibid, p. 165.
[73] Basil Hatim and Ian Mason, *The Translator as Communicator* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 145.
[74] George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 270.

various other representations of the target culture.[75] By translating in this manner, the translator denies her intervention in the rewriting of the foreign text and causes her self-annihilation.[76]

Under the hand of the invisible translator, fluency is the linguistic instrument used to communicate a foreign text. However, it is one in which Venuti finds flaws and defects. Venuti argues that "fluency assumes a theory of language as communication that, in practice, manifests itself as a stress on immediate intelligibility and an avoidance of polysemy".[77] While fluent strategies usually do not employ polysemy, Venuti later admits that at times, it is relied upon when its alienating and disruptive effect is limited.[78] Nonetheless, the fluency implemented by the translator further suggests that language is transparent; in other words, meaning is transferable from one culture and language into another "regardless of the change of signifiers, the construction of a different semantic context out of different cultural discourses, the inscription of target-language codes and values in every interpretation of the foreign text".[79] Due to this misconception, fluency effaces not only the translator's role, but also the cultural origins of the translated text.

Venuti calls fluency a discursive strategy that is ideally suited for domestication.[80] He explains that

> a fluent strategy performs a labor of acculturation which domesticates the foreign text, making it intelligible and even familiar to the target-language reader, providing him or her with the narcissistic experience of recognizing his or her own culture in a cultural other, enacting an

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[75] Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation*, pp. 4-5.
[76] Ibid, pp. 4-5.
[77] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 60.
[78] Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation*, p. 12.
[79] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, pp. 60-61.
[80] Ibid, p. 61.

> imperialism that extends the dominion of transparency with other ideological discourses over a different culture.[81]

Venuti therefore insinuates that translation is a power struggle. Like language, translation is the "locus for the exercise of power, and a target for rebellious attacks".[82] As a result, Venuti associates fluency with violence. While he also regards translation as a violent act in general because "[t]ranslation is the forcible replacement of the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text that will be intelligible to the target-language reader"[83], Venuti affirms that in domestication, it is intensified. He explains that fluency is "capable not only of executing the ethnocentric violence of domestication, but also of concealing this violence by producing the effect of transparency, the illusion that this is not a translation, but the foreign text, in fact, the living thoughts of the foreign author".[84] In this execution and concealment of violence, the fluent translator strips the source text and the author of their original identities and denies them their individuality.

The foreignising strategy, on the other hand, espouses both the translator's visibility and non-fluency. Rather than naturalising the source text for the target reader, foreignisation maintains the linguistic and cultural differences. As Venuti explains,

> Foreignizing translation signifies the difference of the foreign text, yet only by disrupting the cultural codes that prevail in the target language. In its effort to do right abroad, this translation method must do wrong at home, deviating enough from native norms to stage an alien reading experience – choosing to translate a foreign text excluded by domestic literary canons, for instance, or using a marginal discourse to translate it.[85]

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[81] Lawrence Venuti, "Introduction", in *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 1-13 (pp. 4-5).
[82] Jean-Jacques Lecercle, *The Violence of Language* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 48.
[83] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 18.
[84] Ibid, p. 61.
[85] Ibid, p. 20.

The translator achieves the disruption and deviation of norms, or non-fluency, by altering the standard characteristics of language, particularly by playing with semantics and syntax, coining neologisms, and preserving some foreign words or expressions. This also occurs in resistancy, described as "a translation strategy based on an aesthetic of discontinuity, [which] can best preserve that difference, that otherness, by reminding the reader of the gains and losses in the translation process and the unbridgeable gaps between cultures".[86] Hence, foreignisation attempts to preserve the source culture as much as possible. Venuti contends that in the translated text, the source culture should emerge so that the reader glimpses it.[87] For Venuti, this is the goal of translation.

Although Venuti advocates foreignising over domesticating in translating, he admits that translating is never simple communication between equals since its function is assimilation; it inscribes a foreign text with domestic interests and values.[88] Venuti explains that this inscription occurs because the target culture initiates the translation project and selects the text(s) in order to satisfy aesthetic predilections and motivations different to those of the source culture.[89] In fact, Venuti argues, translation, regardless of the strategy implemented, is "fundamentally ethnocentric".[90] Thus, contrary to Schleiermacher, Venuti indicates that translation never involves a strict either/or choice. Furthermore, it cannot be a complete foreignisation of the source text, as Venuti would prefer. After all, as Robinson points out, "How does the translator, as translator, estrange the domestic? Strict literalism is usually cited as an estrangement of the domestic, but any kind of TL [target language] rendering, no matter how eccentric, remains a bringing

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[86] Ibid, p. 306.
[87] Ibid, p. 306.
[88] Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation*, p. 11.
[89] Ibid, p. 11.
[90] Ibid, p. 11.

back, a domestication of the SL [source language]".[91] Their work then suggests not which method the translator should choose, but how much the translator should domesticate the text.

Venuti challenges the myths as well as the scandals of translation, but he has little to say about the underlying causes of translation, particularly beyond the Anglo-American and German contexts. He attributes the history of translation to the rise of literary projects promoted by leading intellectuals, both of which contribute to the creation of literary discourses as well as the formation of cultural identities. Venuti also recognises that translations wield power in presenting and even constructing foreign cultures as much as in empowering and inventing domestic cultures and nations. Yet, he, like many before him, omits a thorough explication of translation's intrinsic role in nationalism. As a result of the roles that invisibility and fluency play in maintaining the illusion that a translated text can be transferred from one language into another without linguistic or cultural problems, Venuti disparages their common use in translating strategies. However, he neither considers nor explores why the domesticating method would be employed in certain cultural or national situations, especially those outside of the Anglo-American one. In regard to the Galician situation, it is imperative to acknowledge that fluency and invisibility in translation, at times, were necessary for promoting a specific agenda: cultivating the Galician language and literature after centuries of decline and centralised repression. It is at this point where nationalism enters the dialogue.

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[91] Robinson, *The Translator's Turn*, p. 83.

Although Galicia is not a traditional colonial nation, like many African, Asian, and Latin American countries were, it can be considered what Michael Hechter identifies as an "internal colony". According to Hechter, in the core regions, like Castile in Spain and the Home Counties in England, strong central governments form and assume control of the outlying, peripheral regions, which have, to varying degrees, distinct cultural practices.[92] Because "[t]he core is seen to dominate the periphery politically and to exploit it materially", the situation is quite similar to that of overseas colonies, where economic dependence, migration, and discrimination based on language, religion, or other cultural attributes, to name a few issues, are endemic.[93] Therefore, the renaissance of Galician culture and the beginnings of Galician nationalism in the nineteenth century were a response to a situation that can be seen as colonial. During this period, or the *Rexurdimento*, poets returned to the medieval tradition of composing in the Galician language so as to demonstrate the beauty and literary value of their mother tongue, while historians insisted upon the differences between Galician and the rest of the Iberian Peninsula. In addition, this reaction can be considered post-colonial, if we take into account Bill Ashcroft's and his co-authors' succinct definition. They explain that the term post-colonial "cover[s] all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression."[94] I suggest that it is appropriate for the Galician context given that the *Irmandades da Fala* and the *Xeración Nós* felt threatened and stifled by what they

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[92] Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 4-5.
[93] Ibid, p. 9 and pp. 32-33.
[94] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 2.

perceived as Castilian imperialism. The former organisation, which was initiated in 1916 by Antón Villar Ponte, a young republican journalist with *La Voz de Galicia*, along with "un grupo de entusiastas de la causa de nuestra región"[95], represented a new phase of *galeguismo* through its promotion of language and other cultural activities with patriotic resonances. It gained recognition and popular support through its official publication, *A Nosa Terra*, and eventually converted into a political movement. The latter, which has been compared to the *Xeneración de 1898*,[96] was much more culturally oriented and elitist in its pursuits. Organised by Vicente Risco,[97] one of the leading and more polemic intellectuals of the *galeguistas*, the *Xeración Nós* published a monthly literary and artistic journal bearing the same name, *Nós: Boletín mensual da cultura galega*.[98] These intellectuals' writings and activities, like those of the Irish authors they translated, are characteristic of post-colonials whose work emerges out of the colonial experience "by foregrounding the tension with the imperial power, and by emphasizing their differences from the assumptions of the imperial centre".[99]

In late eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and even early twentieth-century Europe, if a culture or group wanted to be a nation, it needed a national literature with roots stretching

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[95] Quoted in Justo G. Beramendi and Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas, *O nacionalismo galego* (Vigo: Edicións A Nosa Terra, 1995), p. 95. See the report made by *La Voz de Galicia* and reproduced in Antón Villar Ponte, *Nacionalismo gallego (apuntes para un libro). Nuestra afirmación regional* (A Coruña: Papelería Gallega, 1916), pp. 62-65

[96] To my knowledge, Carballo Calero is the first to compare the *Xeración Nós* and the *Xeneración de 1898*. He writes, "Unha xeneración tan interesante como a xeneración de Risco, ten pra nós unha siñificación semellante â ostentada pol-a chamada xeneración do 98 na cultura castelán." He explains that each group emerged for distinct reasons. See R. Carballo Calero, "A Xeneración de Risco", *Nós*, 131-132 (1934), 182-84 (p. 182).

[97] For more details on Risco's life and career, see Carlos Casares, *Vicente Risco* (Vigo: Galaxia, 1981) and Olivia Rodríguez, *Vicente Risco: Escritor, etnógrafo e ideólogo do galeguismo* (Vigo: Ir Indo, 2002).

[98] Due to difficulties, the printing of *Nós* was interrupted between July 1923 and July 1925. Its last issue covered the period July-December 1935.

[99] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, p. 2.

back in history as well as roots firmly planted in the present.[100] James Macpherson's supposed translation of the Scottish epic *Ossian*, Finnish scholars' creation of the myth *Kalevala*, and Irish scholars' translation of *Leabhar Gabhála* exemplify this need for historic national literature. As Smith keenly observes, "For nations need myths and pasts if they are to have a future, and such pasts cannot be forged out of nothing, nor can myths that will have resonance be fabricated".[101] Thus, when a culture lacked national literature and myths, it remedied its situation by creating its own literature and/or importing and translating foreign literature. In regard to Galicia, María del Carmen Millán-Varela states,

> In the case of "minorised" cultures, the presence of translation is usually related to national(istic) issues, usually the recovery of the prestige of the national languages, as is the case in Galicia. Translation, therefore, carries an important cultural weight and cannot be disassociated from ideological issues. The complex relation between literary translation and literary nationalism is a central point in the research about Galician literary translation.[102]

While Millán-Varela addresses an important issue, that of the link between nationalism and translation, her discussion is limited in scope. Translation is not only essential to the recovery of a language, but also to the development and refinement of a uniform language and the (re)construction of a nation. Furthermore, literary translation and (literary or cultural) nationalism are not simply connected by a passive relation; they act on each other to promote each other's needs, as I will illustrate with respect to Galicia. In this sense, as Millán-Varela notes, "Any activity performed in the 'minority' or

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[100] André Lefevere, "The Gates of Analogy: The *Kalevala* in English", in *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 1998), pp. 76-89 (p. 78).
[101] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), p. 214.
[102] Millán-Varela, *Literary Translation in Galician: Appropriating James Joyce*, p. 29.

'minorised' language becomes a political act. As a result, cultural life becomes determined by this condition and so, therefore, does translation."[103]

Despite the fact that nationalism, as Ernest Gellner aptly points out, presents itself as the (re)awakening of historic, dormant forces, it is in reality "the consequence of a new form of social organization, based on deeply internalized, education-dependent high cultures".[104] While there is no scholar who would argue that nationalism is not ideologically or sociopolitically problematic, Edward Said offers a more adequate description when he observes that it serves "to identify the mobilizing force that coalesced into resistance against an alien and occupying empire on the part of peoples possessing a common history, religion, and language".[105] As a consequence, "[n]ations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent though long-delayed political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures: *that* is a reality".[106] Nationalism, like translation, is manipulation; it appropriates a certain people, culture, or language, enhances or eliminates some elements to fit specific needs and desires, and then creates an improved version. However, nationalism does not occur immediately; it is an evolving process that may never reach completion.

According to Miroslav Hroch, three phases characterise the developing processes of nationalist movements. In Phase A, the efforts of activists are focused on scholarly

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[103] Ibid, p. 30.
[104] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 48.
[105] Edward Said, "Yeats and Decolonization" in Terry Eagleton, Frederic Jameson, and Edward Said, *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), pp. 69-98 (p. 74).
[106] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, pp. 48-49.

enquiries into the linguistic, social, historical, literary, and cultural characteristics of the group; in Phase B, a new set of activists emerge and they concentrate on patriotic agitation; and finally, in Phase C, all classes participate in the cause.[107] At first, in Phase A, the activists, primarily an educated elite, do not press specific national demands in order to remedy their deficits[108]; they work to (re)introduce and (re)invigorate the language, literature, and culture. In the Galician context, José Verea y Aguiar (1775-1849), Benito Vicetto (1824-1878), and Manuel Murguía (1833-1923), scholars who first claimed to establish links between Galician and other alleged Celtic nations and advocated Galician language and culture, are representative of this phase. Once this is in progress, Phase B commences, continuing the cultural and literary activity, but intensifying the output, as we see in Galicia, where journals, particularly *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra*, became more prominent. Because this phase intends to awaken national consciousness and project the nation, activists become more selective in writing, editing, and publishing. The members of the *Xeración Nós* and the *Irmandades da Fala* correspond to Hroch's activists of Phase B. Although Hroch does not mention it, translations – from the selection of foreign texts to the translating methods employed to the reception of the translated texts – are embedded in the evolution of nationalism. Most often, however, the practice of translation can be situated in both Phases A and B. In situations where vernaculars lacked status and literatures possessed little or no written tradition, translations offered a solution; scholars and writers translated, adapted, and

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[107] Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe", in *Becoming National: A Reader*, ed. by Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 60-77 (p. 63).
[108] Ibid, p. 63.

absorbed foreign works.[109] In the case of Galicia during the publication of *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra*, translation activity was representative of Phase B. Due to lack of popular support and involvement of all social groups, Phase C has not yet reached fruition in Galicia.

The activists of whom Hroch speaks often include academics, artists, writers, and journalists, who participate in Phases A and B, and politicians, who participate in Phases B and C. The *Irmandades da Fala* and the *Xeración Nós* epitomise these activists. Furthermore, these men exemplify what John Hutchinson has called "cultural nationalists"; they were crusading intellectuals who had established informal groups and journals in order "to inspire a spontaneous love of community in its different members by educating them to their common heritage of splendour and suffering".[110] As such, they also acted as "moral innovators", participating in ideological movements, and reviving the historicist vision of the nation.[111] Passin suggests that "[s]ince writers and journalists are by definition professional users of language, we can expect a priori that their work, even without explicit intent, is often more political in implication than it would be in countries with a more settled relation between language and politics".[112] As "professional users of language" too, translators engage in writing politically. Kedourie affirms that it is "literary men, with literary preoccupations, who thus endowed language with political significance".[113] Consequently, these men are most suitable to influence readers by

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[109] Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies: Revised Edition* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 52.
[110] John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987), p. 16.
[111] Ibid, pp. 30-34.
[112] Herbert Passin, "Writer and Journalist in the Transitional Society", in *Language Problems of Developing Nations*, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman, Charles A. Ferguson and Jyotirindra Das Gupta (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1968), pp. 443-57 (p. 454).
[113] Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), p. 53.

invoking their nationalist sentiment and creating the nation, or what Anderson has termed the "imagined community".

Anderson explains that a nation "is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion";[114] these members envision that they share common aspirations and experiences. Furthermore, "it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship".[115] Thus, all members, whether educated or non-educated, urban or rural, or rich or poor, are supposedly united in the fraternity of homeland, language, and culture. Through the acts of writing, translating, publishing, and reading, such a fraternity is both maintained and strengthened.

Anderson attributes the birth of the imagined community to the novel and the newspaper; they are the "forms [which] provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the *kind* of imagined community that is the nation".[116] They not only present the nation in a language familiar to the people, but also establish material evidence of the language's existence and history.[117] Anderson also suggests that newspapers, more than novels, create a mass ceremony based on simultaneous reading.[118] Moreover, as Yug Mohit Chaudry observes, "Newspapers cultivate a consistent readership by taking up a consistent position on issues with which their readers can sympathise. Readers approach

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[114] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1996), p. 6.
[115] Ibid, p. 7.
[116] Ibid, p. 25.
[117] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage Publications, 1995), p. 34.
[118] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 35.

the contents of their newspaper already attuned to the newspaper's biases, perspectives and political programmes."[119] Because of these shared ideologies, these fellow-readers then are connected through print and contribute to forming the imagined community.[120] Thus, it is printed language that invents nationalism.[121]

Homi Bhabha corroborates this, suggesting that the idea of nationness is constructed as a "form of social and textual affiliation".[122] He examines the temporality, rather than the historicity, of cultures, arguing that this focus "provides a perspective on the disjunctive forms of representation that signify a people, a nation, or a national culture".[123] For him, the people are both subjects and objects of the narrative, participating in representing the nation. He explains:

> [. . .] the people are the historical 'objects' of a nationalist pedagogy, giving the discourse an authority that is based on the pre-given or constituted historical origin or event; the people are also the 'subjects' of a process of signification that must erase any prior or originary presence of the nation-people to demonstrate the prodigious, living principle of the people as that continual process by which the national life is redeemed and signified as a repeating and reproductive process. The scraps, patches, and rags of daily life must be repeatedly turned into the signs of a national culture, while the very act of the narrative performance interpellates a growing circle of national subjects. In the production of the nation as narration there is a split between the continuist, accumulative temporality of the pedagogical, and the repetitious, recursive strategy of the performative. It is through this process of splitting that the conceptual ambivalence of modern society becomes the site of *writing the nation*.[124]

Limiting his discussion to novels, Bhabha overlooks how intellectuals also perform "writing the nation" via translations. Through translating activity, intellectuals endorse

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[119] Yug Mohit Chaudry, *Yeats, the Irish Literary Revival, and the Politics of Print* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), p. 9.
[120] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 44.
[121] Ibid, p. 134.
[122] Homi Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation" in *Nation and Narration*, ed. by Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990), pp 291-322 (p. 292).
[123] Ibid, p. 292.
[124] Ibid, p. 297. Emphasis in the original.

their language as they simultaneously transpose new aesthetic forms and configure or destroy national images. Within Galicia, *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra* exemplify this. Written primarily in Galician,[125] these two publications portray a Galician society distinct from Castilian Spain and establish a separate identity for Galicia. Both also regularly printed translated works by foreign authors, including, but not limited to, the Irish writers, W.B. Yeats, James Joyce, and Terence MacSwiney; the French writers, Phileas Lebesgue and Georges Chenneviére; and the Armenian poet, Hrand Nazariantz.[126] Therefore, the power of writing, including translating and all of its conditions, should not be underestimated in its contribution to nationalism.[127]

In translating, the domesticating strategy generally reinforces the image of communion and the sense of fraternity of which Anderson speaks as much as it "writes the nation" according to Bhabha. For emerging national cultures, such as the Galician one, domesticating translation affirms not only language, but also national identity. In explaining the consequences of domestication, Venuti notes:

> [B]y placing a premium on transparency and demanding a fluent strategy, [domestication] can be viewed as a cultural narcissism: it seeks an identity, a self-recognition, and finds only the same culture in foreign writing, only the same self in the cultural other. For the translator becomes aware of his intimate sympathy with the foreign writer only when he recognizes his own voice in the foreign text.[128]

Despite Venuti's hesitancy and even unwillingness to accept domestication, the cultural narcissism, which he dismisses, serves a unique purpose. In the context of the translated

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[125] On occasion, the editors of *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra* printed materials in Portuguese and Catalan. In doing so, they showed their support for other Iberian languages and cultures. On rare instances, articles written in Castilian appeared in *A Nosa Terra*. *Nós*, on the other hand, never printed any work in Castilian.
[126] For a comprehensive list of translations in *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra*, see Beatriz Real Pérez, "A traducción e os textos traducidos ó galego no período 1907-1936", *Vice Versa: Revista Galega de Traducción*, 6 (2001), 9-36.
[127] Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, p. 34.
[128] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 306.

texts of Irish authors into Galician, this narcissism invokes a mirroring, by which the Galicians see themselves reflected in the Irish people and culture. The Irish voice of nationalism and rebellion, as represented especially by Yeats's *Cathleen ni Houlihan* and MacSwiney's "Before the Last Battle", is a model for the Galician voice to repeat, echo, and proselytise. This cultural narcissism allows both the translator and the reader to imagine themselves as members of the same community of struggle. Hence, translation imagines not only the Galician nation, but also the alleged Celtic community.

By translating esteemed literary works, such as those of the Irish authors, a culture, such as that of Galicia, attempts to legitimise the vernacular and elevate it from its status as a peripheral dialect; it establishes it as the language of the people.[129] It vouches for both the vernacular and the existence of the people who speak it as well as the nation.[130] Yet translation in Galicia reveals another mission: the need to establish a filial relationship with the alleged Celtic nations. Thus, Yeats, Joyce, and MacSwiney, amongst others, were given the task not only of indirectly establishing Galician as a literary language, but also of affirming the Galician identity and nation.

In the 1920s and 1930s, translated texts became a staple feature of the Galician journals, *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra*. While writers from various backgrounds and cultures, including Irish, Breton, French, Armenian, Portuguese, Italian, Bengali, and Indian, were translated into Galician and printed in these journals, the translated texts of Irish authors were the most predominant. Because *A Nosa Terra*'s and *Nós*' contributors wanted to

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[129] Annie Brisset, "The Search for a Native Language: Translation and Cultural Identity", trans. by Rosalind Gill and Roger Gannon, in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 343-75 (p. 347).
[130] Ibid, p. 347.

demonstrate the Galicians' distinctiveness from Castilian Spain and to establish a common link with another region struggling for its own cultural and national identity, the subject of Ireland and the Irish was an ideologically imperative reference.

For both publications, translation played a vital role in the promotion and recovery of the Galician language, which was paramount to the representation of their "xenio" and "persoalidade". This is evident in the first issue of *A Nosa Terra*, when the editors, calling attention to the fact that this issue does not show best what will be offered, highlight other planned segments:

> Antre outras seiciós, "A NOSA TERRA" terá as seguintes: "Os poetas d'agora", "Estudios económicos", "Léndas gallegas", Traduciós", "Queixas dos pobos", "Follas Novas (crítica), "Ouro vello", "O pensamento da xuventude (tribuna libre)", "Novas da causa", "Peneirando", "Caricaturas sin cliché".[131]

All types of translations, literary and non-literary, appeared in *A Nosa Terra*; however, they generally shared and promoted the journal's political and nationalist ideology. Two years later, in issue 76 from December 25, 1918, Evaristo Correa Calderón explains why translation is vital to the Galician language. He states:

> Temos de dare â literatura galega d'oxe, un senso novo e actual.
> Nos debemos tratar de conquerir tamen qu'a lingua galega sexa elásteca e dútil, pra cincelar n-ela as novas Formas, as novas Ideias.
> [. . .]
> Sempre é bon, qu' unha língua teña as verbas necesarias pra s'espresar falando d'economia, ou d'industria ou de labranzas ou de probremas internacionaes, e tamén pra facer n-ela as bellas i estranas formas, cheas de fermosura.[132]

Correa Calderón advocates translation because it can transform Galician from "a fala d'ouro e de ferro" into a modern-day language. Most important, his statement suggests

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[131] "Adevertencias", *A Nosa Terra*, 14/11/1916, p. 4.
[132] Evaristo Correa Calderón, "Os raros i'os novos: Páxinas estranxeiras", *A Nosa Terra*, 25/12/1918, p. 5.

that *A Nosa Terra* accepted translation activity as a beneficial strategy for the development of the Galician language.

More than three years after *A Nosa Terra*'s launch and a few months before *Nós*' first issue, Risco alludes to the importance of translation activity, adumbrating how Galicians can integrate themselves into European cultural life. Risco comments that "[o] imperialismo castelán foi hastra de agora unha 'muralla de China' posta antremedio de nós e a Europa culta. O imperialismo castelán nonos deixou pertenecer ao mundo civilizado."[133] In order to remedy this situation, Risco advocates, "Temos que barrela barreira e reintegralo noso esprito no esprito da humanidade culta. Quérennos castelanizar, nós queremos europeizarnos."[134] By Europeanising Galicia, Risco and his fellow intellectuals would (re)construct Galician identity and nation. He further argues:

> Me non parece ben que teñamos que coñecel-a Europa en libros i en traduccións castelás. Antre nós i-a humanidade culta non debe haber entremediarios. Achámanos nós máis perto do esprito europeo do que os libio-iberos do Centro o de Sul.
>
> Temos que poñel-a cultura europea en galego e – contra da imposición â forza do castelán – propagal-o enseño das língoas cultas: francés, inglés, alemán, italiano.[135]

Therefore, to eradicate the barrier as Risco demanded, Galicia should retaliate against Castilian imperialism by bypassing Madrid when borrowing texts and importing them directly into the Galician literary repertoire. This proposal clearly signals Risco's interest in as much as support for translation activity. Via *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra*, Galician intellectuals addressed this objective. Essentially Risco asserted that Galicia was more

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[133] Vicente Risco, "Prosas galeguistas. Liminares", *A Nosa Terra*, 1/1/1920, p. 12.
[134] Ibid, p. 12.
[135] Ibid, p. 12.

European than Spanish.[136] In order to illustrate this, the *Xeración Nós* and the *Irmandades da Fala* found it necessary to privilege certain nations, such as Portugal, Ireland, and France, and their authors in their various projects.

Whereas *A Nosa Terra* spoke out as the political voice for Galicia, *Nós* acted as the cultural authority. Its intentions are quite clear in its opening words:

> *Nós* ha ser a afirmación pra sempre do verdadeiro *ser* de Galizia, do *Enxebrismo*, no que ela tén, debe e quere persistire. O Enxebrismo é a nósa orixinalidade específica, a nósa capacidá de creación, o nóso autóctono dinamismo mental.
>
> Querendo suprimir entremediarios antr' o pensamento galego e o pensamento dos pobos cultos, *Nós* abre as suas páxinas a prestixiosas persoalidades estranxeiras que contan de nos honrar co' a colaboración e tamén ha informar ó púbrico galego do movemento das ideias no mundo civilizado.[137]

Perhaps borrowing Risco's words, *Nós* promises to avoid intermediaries, especially from Castile, and to bring directly to its readers the literature of other cultures. In 1922, *Nós* reports its promotion of translations, announcing, "No texto figurarán seleutas traduciós dos mellores literatos extranxeiros . . .".[138] A few lines later, the editorial board confirms their hope to elevate their prestige and to assume pride in their efforts: "NÓS chegou a ser o órgao sonado da cultura galega e espallará por todo o mundo esa nova cultura. NÓS non ten que invexar ás mellores revistas estranxeiras."[139]

In 1930, a few months before the first instalment of a translated chapter from *Leabhar Gabhála*, *Nós* published A. Gómez Ledo's "Virxilio en Galego".[140] In his introduction to his translated *Georgics*, Gómez Ledo advises how the Classics should be

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[136] Risco notes, "Eu penso que os galegos, espritualmente, somos e debemos ser europeos antes que hespañois – que os valores universais da cultura están por riba do interés do Estado – e que debemos cultivar antes o esprito europeo do que o esprito ibérico." Risco, "Prosas galeguistas. Liminares", p. 12.
[137] "Primeiras verbas", *Nós*, 1 (1920), 1-2 (p. 2).
[138] "Ós leutores de Nós", *Nós*, 13 (1922), 6.
[139] Ibid, p. 6.
[140] *Nós*, 84 (1930), 232-34.

translated for a Galician audience. Echoing Schleiermacher and other German Romantics, he suggests:

> De dous xeitos se poden tradocil-os crásicos: *perifrasticamentes*, atendendo mais a expresal-o sentido que a conserval-as belezas da forma; e *literalmentes*, non deixando cousa por cativa que sexa no orixinal. O pirmeiro é moi doado, e pra xente vulgar o mais asequibre e gustoso. Pro iso non pode hencher todol-os degoros d'un humanista.[141]

Gómez Ledo here defines the two approaches to translation; one translates either periphrastically, by expressing the ideas, or literally, by trying to be as faithful as possible to the original text. His conclusions that the first approach would satisfy the "xente vulgar", but not the "humanista", imply that his translation is to be read by the educated, rather than the popular, classes. Since literal, or foreignising, translations are composed of obscure diction and awkward syntax, they are neither idiomatic nor fluent. Consequently, they are difficult and demanding texts that require educated readers who are willing to struggle while reading. By excluding "xente vulgar", Gómez Ledo further suggests that the "humanistas" or his educated readers are the men responsible for refining Galician language and literature. He thus reveals the elitism of the *Xeración Nós* and their projects. Although Gómez Ledo regards translation as important for the development of Galician literature, he apologises that he cannot reproduce the beauty of the original. Nevertheless, he seeks affirmation from his fellow "humanistas", whom he hopes will approve his translation.[142]

During the journals' years of publication, only once did a member of the *Xeración Nós* express concern about translating. In the third issue of *Nós*' and in the preface to the

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[141] Ibid, p. 232. Emphasis in original.
[142] "N'il puxen mais coidado qe nas *Eglogas*, pois non de balde me valeu a experenza d'aquil traballiño, e agardo sen inquedanzas que o aprobarán os intelixentes." Gómez Ledo, "Virxilio en galego", p. 233.

translation of Yeats' poem "To An Isle in the Water", Risco wrote, "Anque non-os gustan as traduciós, damos eiquí unha."[143] This initial hesitation towards translating on the part of Risco and his fellow intellectuals could be attributed to the influence of German Romanticism, in which Schleiermacher and other German academics were active and with which the *Xeración Nós* were familiar.[144] I will return to this topic in another chapter where I examine the translations of Yeats's works. The translating method as proposed by Schleiermacher may have elicited additional reluctance and anxiety in the Galician intellectuals' approach to translation if they had read his work.

In regard to Romanticism, Lefevere notes that "the Romantic idea of literature as 'secular scripture' and the concomitant emphasis on originality, [and] the Romantic equation of literature with language and concomitant equation of language with nation" eclipsed and lowered the status of translations.[145] Romantic critics demanded originality in works of literature and argued that not just anyone could write literature; works of literature "could only be written by men and women of genius and were therefore by definition unique, 'original' in the fullest sense of the word".[146] Furthermore, Romantic critics identified

> the work of literature with the language in which it was written. They also emphasized language as the main, if not the only, constitutive factor of a nation. Just as works of literature were written by men and women of genius, nations were inspired and animated by a unique genius of their own, which expressed itself in the culture produced by each nation. Language was seen as perhaps the most obvious expression of that genius because it was both the expression and the repository of a whole culture and, therefore, of the past and present of a whole nation.[147]

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[143] Vicente Risco, "Letras irlandesas: W.B. Yeats", *Nós*, 3 (1920), 15-16 (p. 16).
[144] Dr. Craig Patterson demonstrates the influence of German writers, especially the Romantics, on Ramón Otero Pedrayo and his writing. See Craig Patterson, *Galician Cultural Identity in the Works of Ramón Otero Pedrayo (1888-1976)* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2002).
[145] Lefevere, *Translating Literature*, p. 134.
[146] Ibid, p. 135.
[147] Ibid, p. 136.

Considering these views, the Galician intellectuals would have found themselves in a dilemma. By translating foreign texts, they would be expressing the text in their language, but it would not be an expression of their culture and their genius, nor would it be an original work. To overcome this obstacle, it is possible that the *Irmandades da Fala* and the *Xeración Nós* decided that they needed to find a culture that embodied the characteristics on which they differentiated themselves from Castilians. In highlighting their Celtic ancestry and their struggle for nationalism, the Galicians found their answer in the Irish and their literature. By claiming that the Irish were their Celtic brothers, the Galicians could transpose the Irish literary genius and originality and make it their own.

Chapter Two
"Writing the Nation": Establishing the Celtic Past of Galicia

"A nation's history is made for it by circumstances and the irreversible progress of events; but their legends, they make for themselves . . . The legends represent the imagination of the country; they are that kind of history which a nation desires to possess."

Standish O'Grady, *History of Ireland: The Heroic Period*[1]

Mythology, no matter how close to or far from the perceived truth, offers a nation its own alleged history. If a nation neglects its history, it forgets its past as it sabotages its present and its future. For the men of the *Rexurdimento* and the *Xeración Nós*, Galician history had been neglected for too long, overshadowed by the Castilian Spanish one. To remedy this, these Galician intellectuals ransacked their past and transformed it so that they could reconstruct a Galician nation. Their reconstruction was based on their discovery of Galicia's Celtic origins. Of the six other supposedly Celtic nations – Brittany, Cornwall, Ireland, the Isle of Man, Scotland, and Wales – only Ireland had preserved its ancient manuscripts and other scholarly materials, which eventually stimulated its own nascent cultural and literary revival. In Scotland, these Irish antiquities served as the influences as much as the sources for the literary output of James Macpherson, a Highlander who intended to revive Scotland's Celtic heritage and subsequently sparked Europeans' interest in the Celts. Thus, as Douglas Hyde had noted: "It may, then, be finally acknowledged that those of the great nations of to-day, whose ancestors were mostly Celts, but whose language, literature, and traditions have completely disappeared, must, if they wish to study their own past, turn themselves first

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[1] Quoted in Maria Tymoczko, *Translation in a Postcolonial Context: Early Irish Literature in English Translation* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1999), p. 15.

to Ireland."[2] Accordingly, Galicia focused its attention on Ireland, recognising it as an imperative point of reference. Following in the tradition of nineteenth-century scholars, who claimed to establish links between Galicia and other alleged Celtic nations, the *Xeración Nós* sought to maintain the legacy of Celtic ancestry by importing and translating Irish literature which, for them, evoked the Celtic race's spirit. Of the works translated, the most crucial to the *Xeración Nós* in affirming their Celtic identity were three chapters from the Irish epic, *Leabhar Gabhála*.

This chapter first details the origins of *Leabhar Gabhála* and its emergence in Ireland. Then it will explore both James Macpherson's and the Romantic movement's impact in Ireland and Galicia and the subsequent presence, contribution, and reception of Celtic folklore in Galician history and literature. In particular, I will concentrate on examining the Galician histories written by Benito Vicetto and Manuel Murguía, who constructed the foundation for Galicia's Celtic ancestry, and the poetry of Eduardo Pondal, who infused his writing with a political, particularly a nationalist, message. The principal task of this chapter, therefore, is to assess how Celtic history and literature became intrinsic to the identity and affiliations of twentieth-century Galician nationalists.

Leabhar Gabhála, also known interchangeably as *The Book of Invasions*, *The Book of Settlement*, and *The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, interweaves Irish history and mythology. While early Irish academics deemed it a historical account of Ireland's origins, recent scholars, particularly those associated with the Royal Irish Academy,

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[2] Douglas Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland: From Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1967), pp. 261-62.

consider it a pseudo, synthetic, or fabricated history.[3] This text narrates the supposed genealogy of Ireland's Celtic ancestors and the history of various conquests and colonisations of Ireland. It commences with the creation of the world and continues by relating the origins, arrivals, battles, departures, and deaths of successive settlers in Ireland. The chapters focus on the settlements of the following: Cesair, the daughter of Noah, who arrived in Ireland forty days before the flood; Partholon; Neimhedh; Fir Bolg; Tuatha De Danann; and finally the Milesians. Through the telling of these journeys, *Leabhar Gabhála* traces the ancestry of these groups, establishing links to the ancient kingdom of Israel and overlapping the history of Ireland's settlers with that of the Israelites, such as Noah, Moses, and Aaron, and the Egyptian Pharaohs. While the text imitates the Bible, particularly the Books of Genesis and Exodus from the Old Testament, it also exhibits elements from Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in addition to other Greek epics and mythology.[4]

This epic first appeared around 1630 after Michael O'Clery (Micheál Ó Cléirigh, 1575-1645),[5] a scribe in the Franciscan Order and a descendant of a family of scholars, and his assistants compiled various ancient manuscripts. From these materials, O'Clery edited and copied *Leabhar Gabhála* in Irish, creating the definitive version of the epic. O'Clery initially intended to prepare and transcribe only ecclesiastical writings and stories about the lives of the saints, but in his quest he discovered various primeval annals

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[3] R.A.S. Macalister and Eoin MacNeill deemed *Leabhar Gabhála* a historical tract in their introduction to the translated text. See *Leabhar Gabhála: The Book of Conquests of Ireland: The Recension of Micheál Ó Cléirigh,* ed. and trans. by R.A.S. Macalister and Eoin MacNeill (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Company, Ltd., 1916), p. i.

[4] This most likely was due to the scholars' familiarity with the Bible and other literary works, especially myths.

[5] For a brief biography of Michael O'Clery, see Anne M. Brady and Brian Cleeve, *A Biographical Dictionary of Irish Writers* (Mullingar: Lilliput Press, 1985), pp. 330-31. For a description of O'Clery's other projects, see Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland*, pp. 573-76.

of the nation, one of which was *Leabhar Gabhála*, and historical poems of bards which he was unwilling to neglect.[6] O'Clery's decision to transcribe *Leabhar Gabhála* was doubly motivated. Firstly, he wanted to have a complete history of the saints and he decided that without the *Leabhar Gabhála* he would not be fulfilling his original task.[7] Secondly, he felt compelled to collect and organise the various versions of the epic so that future translators would have a coherent Irish text for relating Ireland's glorious history.[8] Furthermore, O'Clery participated in preserving the writings since he, along with his fellow friars, feared that both the Gaelic people and their literature were doomed. This combination of fear and anxiety motivated them to record their own accounts of their race.[9] These accounts, however, attached immense importance to descent, eradicating the multiple ethnic origins of the Irish population and inventing a common ancestor in the fictitious Mil of Spain.[10] Through their compilations, the scribes thus aspired to unify the Irish. Consequently, these men were the first to propagate the myth of nation in Ireland.

Unfortunately as the friars had predicted, interest in and knowledge of Irish language, literature, and history waned in the following years. The changing social and political atmosphere of Ireland severely impeded the continuation of its cultural evolution. The seventeenth century's ethnic and religious warfare, the eighteenth century's penal legislation, and the nineteenth century's Famine and subsequent emigration contributed to the literary destitution of Ireland as much as they accelerated

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[6] Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland*, pp. 575-76.
[7] Brother Michael O'Clery, "The Preface, or Address to the Reader", trans. by Eugene O'Curry, in Eugene O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1861), pp. 169-70.
[8] Ibid, p. 170.
[9] Patrick C. Power, *A Literary History of Ireland* (Cork: The Mercier Press, 1969), p. 80.
[10] Thomas O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957), p. 15.

the linguistic shift from Irish to English.[11] Although minor studies continued in Irish language, literature, and history, the need for myth in Ireland would not become apparent again until another Celtic culture's literature – the Scottish – threatened to overshadow and ultimately erase the Irish one.

Across the Irish Sea in Scotland the publication of James Macpherson's alleged translations of *Fingal* in 1761 and *Temora* in 1763, printed jointly as *The Poems of Ossian* in 1765, instigated a burgeoning fascination with Celtic folklore and myth and a celebration of a culture's monumental past. Macpherson's supposed translations not only strongly influenced the Romantic movement in European letters, but also incited a renewed interest in the collection of Celtic materials in Ireland and elsewhere.[12] Moreover, as Fiona Stafford explains,

> [t]he impact of *Ossian* was immediate and permanent, even if the individual poems eventually fell out of fashion. It is one of those rare texts that generates a life beyond its own pages, not only by providing direct inspiration for numerous poems, paintings and pieces of music, but also through its much more nebulous influence on Western culture, and the popular image of the Celtic.[13]

Macpherson captured the imaginations of his readers, rescuing from oblivion the almost forgotten Celtic people and uplifting them as noble, heroic, and romantic. It is this image that would prevail in the European psyche and remain engrained in the memories of MacPherson's readers, some of whom, as we shall discover in the Galician context, would borrow images and themes of his Celtic world for their own literary creations.

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[11] Philip O'Leary, *The Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival, 1881-1921: Ideology and Innovation* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), p. 2.
[12] Tymoczko, *Translation in a Postcolonial Context*, p. 131.
[13] Fiona Stafford, "Introduction: The Ossianic Poems of James Macpherson", in James Macpherson, *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works*, ed. by Howard Gaskill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), pp. v-xxi (p. v).

In his national fervour, Macpherson endeavoured to elevate the status of Gaelic Scotland's literary patrimony and to restore the glory of Scottish people – particularly the Highlanders – whose culture had long been considered "savage".[14] For Macpherson and the Edinburgh literati who patronised his work, Ossian was a literary hero for Scotland, their own "Celtic Homer – a blind bard of the third century, whose great epic described the successful defeat of an invading army by Fingal and his band of heroes".[15] However, Macpherson's exaltation of such a Scottish national icon occurred at the expense of Irish literary tradition. He criticised Irish antiquities that "unluckily" were "to be the work of a very modern period" and "entirely writ in that romantic taste".[16] He further asserted the superiority of the Scottish antiquities in comparison to those of the Irish:

> In a preceding part of this dissertation, I have shewn how superior the probability of Ossian's traditions is to the undigested fictions of the Irish bards, and the more recent and regular legends of both Irish and Scottish historians. I mean not to give offence to the abettors of the high antiquities of the two nations, though I have all along expressed my doubts, concerning the veracity and abilities of those who deliver down their antient history. For my own part, I prefer the national fame, arising from a few certain facts, to the legendary and uncertain annals of ages of remote and obscure antiquity. No kingdom now established in Europe, can pretend to equal antiquity with that of the Scots, even according to my system, so that it is altogether needless to fix their origin a fictitious millennium before.[17]

In response to this, Irish critics claimed that Macpherson had plagiarised Irish literature and failed to credit its influence in his alleged translations. In Ireland, where Macpherson's translations generated "concern to establish Ireland's prior claim to the

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[14] Howard Gaskill, "Introduction" in *Ossian Revisited*, ed. by Howard Gaskill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), pp. 1-18 (p. 5).
[15] Stafford, "Introduction: The Ossianic Poems of James Macpherson", p. xiii.
[16] James Macpherson, "Dissertation, attached to Volume II of *Temora, an Ancient Epic Poem*" in *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works*, ed. by Howard Gaskill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. 217.
[17] Ibid, p. 215.

tradition Macpherson had staked out for Scotland",[18] scholars felt an urgency to defend and preserve both their literature's antiquity and their nation. Aware of Macpherson's alleged translations' popularity and unwilling to be eclipsed by them, Irish scholars eventually realised that translation was a necessity for their own cultural movement.

Yet Ireland was not the only nation to experience a renewed interest in a nebulous and idealised past. The Ossianic phenomenon extended beyond Ireland since the controversy generated by Macpherson's purported translation was "instrumental in creating a more open climate of reception for Celtic literary forms by European readers".[19] Such readers, however, were not interested in ancient texts for either historical or philological reasons; rather, texts like Macpherson's Ossian attracted an audience who sought to return to a more idyllic era and thus to escape eighteenth-century life.[20] Consequently, ignorant of or unbothered by scholars' critical opinions, most European readers who read Macpherson's translation via another translation were unconcerned about either the work's sources or its authenticity.[21] However, as I will discuss later, in Ireland and in Galicia where Celtic literature played a major role in the construction of national identities and nations, authenticity was fundamental.

In the case of Spain, the arrival of Macpherson's alleged translation was delayed as a result of political and social conflicts. Isidoro Montiel believes the postponement was due to the resistance of Spanish Neoclassicism which persevered until the first half

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[18] Tymoczko, *Translation in a Postcolonial Context*, p. 131. Michael Tierney points out that less than a century after Macpherson's translations, in 1853 the Ossianic Society was founded in Ireland in order to preserve and publish native Irish texts. See Michael Tierney, *Eoin MacNeill: Scholar and Man of Action 1867-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 16.

[19] Ibid, p. 92.

[20] Fiona J. Stafford, *The Sublime Savage: A Study of James Macpherson and* The Poems of Ossian (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988), p. 171.

[21] Stafford suggests that European readers encountered Ossian through Melchiorre Cesarotti's translation. See Stafford, *The Sublime Savage*, p. 171.

of the nineteenth century; the unease felt by a Catholic country towards the work's barbaric paganism and lack of religiosity; the anxiety caused by the reactions to the French Revolution and the repression of liberalism which hindered the development of new literary styles; and the difficulties encountered during the transition from Neoclassicism to Romanticism.[22]

The romantic image of the Celt as well as the heroic and mythic style of the text not only influenced the decision of scholars to translate Irish literature, but also engaged the interest of continental Europe, especially in Germany and France, where Celtic scholars devoted themselves to the renovation of the Irish language and literature. Although *Leabhar Gabhála* is not a heroic epic comparable with *Ossian*, it does attest to the antiquity of Ireland's origins and multiple invasions. As I will demonstrate in the next section, the Celts of Macpherson's translations aroused the interest of Galician historians, intent on discovering a history more ancient than that of *El poema de Mio Cid*. Together the Ossianic translations and the Romantic movement influenced a rewriting of Galician history by Vicetto and Murguía. They also affected the poetry of Pondal, inspiring him to commemorate Macpherson's Celtic heroes and lovers as well as the legendary hero of both Irish and Galician tradition, Breoghan.

The impact of Macpherson's supposed translations first becomes discernible during Galicia's *Rexurdimento*. While poets and novelists promoted Romantic ideals in Europe's cultural and literary movements, historians, in the case of Galicia, also espoused them. When reading Galician history written in the nineteenth century, it is not surprising to discover overt romanticisation of prehistorical accounts. The study of the

[22] Isidoro Montiel, *Ossián en España* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1974), p. 39.

past has always been a major preoccupation of intellectuals; for Galicians it became more urgent as regionalism and then nationalism spread. Amongst intellectuals' motives, Isaiah Berlin enumerates glorification of the achievements of a certain ethnic group, a sense of collective worth, and the need to learn from the past.[23] In the context of Galicia, these motives were evident in historians' writings. Like the German Romantics who, as Hans Kohn points out, sought to revive the past as they enriched their present,[24] the participants of the *Rexurdimento* and the *Xeración Nós* intended to transform their past into a Golden Age. This quest for self-knowledge was a reaction against the history and tradition imposed by the central authority represented by Madrid. Amongst the historians of the nineteenth century, the theme of Celtic ancestry became a prominent thread in their writings, emphasising the Galicians' ethnic divergence from the Castilian Spanish. Vicetto and Murguía are the two whose works specifically delineate the Celtic origins of Galicia. For these men and their successors, Celtic ancestry becomes intrinsic to the invention of the Galician nation, thus affirming "la esencia céltica de la galleguidad, [. . .] la importancia de la raza en la determinación, transmisión y conservación de los valores culturales (incluído el idioma), [. . .] la superioridad de lo celta sobre lo ibero, de lo ario sobre lo semita, en suma, [. . .] la interpretación de episodios clave de la historia gallega y española".[25] Vicetto's and Murguía's individual interpretations preserve, as much as re-introduce, a forgotten era of Galician prehistory and allocate prestige to the Celts' presence in Galicia. Both manipulate history to reflect their nationalist interests. Kohn observes that the German Romantics "were so completely under the spell of [the past's]

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[23] Isaiah Berlin, *The Crooked Timber of Humanity: Chapters in the History of Ideas* (London: Fontana Press, 1991), p. 49.
[24] Hans Kohn, *The Mind of Germany: The Education of a Nation* (London: Macmillan, 1965), p. 51.
[25] Justo G. Beramendi, "Introduction" in Manuel Murguía, *Galicia I* (Vigo: Edicións Xerais de Galicia, 1982 [1888]), p. iv.

poetry, its legends, and its prophecies that they could not gaze upon it with rational detachment".[26] His statement equally applies to members of the *Rexurdimento* and subsequently the *Xeración Nós* who, upon discovering their place in Celtic history, told Galician prehistory with romanticised overtones. Enchanted by the Celtic past and eager to appropriate it as their own under any circumstances, the Galician intelligentsia began the process of what Bhahba has called "writing the nation".[27]

Vicetto's *Historia de Galicia*, contained in seven volumes published between 1865 and 1873, dedicates a few chapter sections to the Celtic presence in Galicia. Vicetto formulates the connexion between race and nation but his discussion of the Celts is not as well detailed or researched as that of Murguía, which I will address later in this section. Beramendi and Núñez Seixas doubt Vicetto's historiographical value, considering it "case nulo" yet admitting its role in the maintenance and promotion of Celticism.[28] Vicetto's work assists in perpetuating romantic notions, particularly the belief in a race and a national character both specific to Galicia, and in contributing to the formation of a unique Galician identity.[29]

In depicting race as the cornerstone of the Galician nation, Vicetto draws from historical sources and refers to various geographers and historians supporting his claim that links the Celts with Galicia. Vicetto's intentions are twofold: first to prove that the Celts settled in Galicia and second to uphold that these same Celts inhabited Ireland. As Vicetto narrates Galician prehistory, he interchangeably identifies the Celts as "nuestros

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[26] Kohn, *The Mind of Germany*, p. 51.
[27] Bhabha, "DissemiNation", p. 297.
[28] Justo G. Beramendi and Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas, *O nacionalismo galego*, rev. edn (Vigo: Edicións A Nosa Terra, 1996 [1995]), pp. 30-31.
[29] Ibid, p. 31.

aborígines" and "nuestros brigantinos" so as to accentuate the relationship between Galicia and the Celtic peoples. This is an early example of the Galician historiographical tendency, in particular that of the *Xeración Nós*, to distinguish itself from Castilian Spain and to assimilate with the Celts, especially the Irish.

Only twice does Vicetto mention Irish scholars and their conclusions regarding their ancestry; however he borrows this material from Spanish historians, filtering it for his history. In one instance Vicetto cites José Verea y Aguiar, a Galician historiographer, who observes:

> Los historiadores irlandeses y escoceses, [. . .] y los mismos pueblos están persuadidos, por memorias y tradiciones, que descienden de españoles, de lo que se precian mucho; sobre lo cual hay muchas razones de semejanza y afinidad; y ellos mismos se esfuerzan en descubrir y marcar los principios y pasos de nuestras emigraciones á aquellos paises [. . .][30]

While it is beneficial for Vicetto's thesis that Irish scholars recognise that their ancestors originated in Spain, it is not specific enough for Vicetto, who seeks to allocate the Celtic origins to Galicia. Of the scholars whom Vicetto cites, Pliny is the first mentioned who links the Celtic peoples to Galicia and even affirms that the Celts' origins are in Galicia, "en tierra de célticos", or the Occidental lands.[31] Another historian, Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva, whose work, *Ibernia Phoenicea*,[32] serves as Vicetto's other source for Irish scholars' opinions, supports Pliny's assertion. Whereas the Irish scholars whom Verea y Aguiar mentions are vague regarding their Spanish ancestry, the Irish writers touched on by Villanueva pinpoint their ancestors' origins. Villanueva offers two brief accounts, one

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[30] Benito Vicetto, *Historia de Galicia*: *Tomo 1* (La Coruña: Xuntanza Editorial, 1986 [1865]), p. 178. In all references cited from Vicetto and Murguía, including their citations of other Spanish historians' works, the idiosyncratic spelling has been preserved. In addition, the use of accent marks has not been conformed to today's standards.

[31] Ibid, p. 111.

[32] Villanueva's text, which was written in Latin, appears to have been commissioned by the Royal Irish Academy, to whom he dedicates his work.

from Giolla Caemháin, who translated Nennius's *Historia Brittonum*[33] and the other from Dermot O'Connor's translation of Geoffrey Keating's Irish text on the history of Ireland, which includes a version of *Leabhar Gabhála*. In his synopsis of Caemháin's account, Villanueva states that Breoghan founded the city of Brigantia from which his own descendants later emigrated for Ireland and that he gave his name to Brigantia, now known as A Coruña.[34] Villanueva adds that Keating concurs with Caemháin and suggests that Breoghan erected the lighthouse in A Coruña where Breoghan's descendants first saw Ireland.[35] By quoting Villanueva, Vicetto not only shows that the Irish scholars acknowledge their Celtic origins lie in Galicia, but also seeks to demonstrate that the Celts left a legacy to the Galicians.

Throughout Vicetto's discussion, he attempts to substantiate the emigration of Celtic peoples from Galicia to Ireland. According to Vicetto, the Spanish geographer Juan Bautista Carrasco further confirms the Celts' departure from Galicia in his work, *Geografía general de España*, published in 1861. Vicetto cites Carrasco:

> La opinión mas general sobre el orígen de los pueblos que hoy habitan la Irlanda, es que sus antepasados *han salido de la Galicia de la parte de España* nombrada cabo de Finisterre, y por los antiguos geógrafos *Promontorium Celticum*, ó que fueron desde el cabo Ortegal tambien en Galicia, cuyo cabo llamado tambien por los antiguos el promontorio Yernas y Yerna-Mela se halla situado en frente de Irlanda.[36]

Carrasco thus supports both Pliny's and Villanueva's assertion that the Celts were in Galicia. Furthermore Carrasco, unlike the Irish scholars on whom Verea y Aguiar relies, is more specific regarding the Celts' departure point, upholding Villanueva's opinion that

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[33] With regard to Nennius's text, which was written in the time of Charlemagne, Hyde explains, "[His] accounts make the Irish come from Spain, the first being that three sons of a certain Miles of Spain landed in Ireland from Spain at the third attempt. According to what the Irish told him they reached Ireland from Spain 1,002 years after flying from Egypt." Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland*, p. 18.
[34] Vicetto, *Historia de Galicia*: *Tomo 1*, p. 175.
[35] Ibid, p. 175.
[36] Vicetto, *Historia de Galicia*: *Tomo 1*, p. 173. Author's emphasis.

it was Galicia. With respect to the migration of Celts from Galicia to Ireland, Vicetto lauds it, describing the migration as "una de nuestras más grandes glorias".[37] Whenever Vicetto extols the role of the Galicians' ancestors in founding and populating Celtic nations, especially Ireland, he characterises it as an achievement for Galicia. Apprehensive that readers outside of Galicia may dismiss his conclusions, Vicetto proclaims:

> La población de Irlanda por nuestros brigantinos y yernos etc., por más absurda que parezca á muchos, á nosotros nó; y la apreciamos como tal, - y al apreciarla asi, *esponemos* nuestra apreciacion sin *imponerla* á nadie.
>
> La Gloria que adquirieron nuestros brigantinos y yernos poblando las regiones nebulosas de la Irlanda y constituyendo por consiguiente sus aborígenes, bajo el impulso que los fenicios les comunicaron, es una de las glorias mas grandes de nuestro pais; gloria que al negarla destruiria las creencias históricas de ambos pueblos.[38]

Again Vicetto praises Ireland's founding by Celts as one of Galicia's most important glories. Vicetto further explains that "á Galicia le toca un honor y una gloria inmarcesible".[39] His insistent emphasis upon this glory for Galicia as well as Ireland not only illustrates Vicetto's pride in Galicia's Celtic ancestry and history, but also indicates that Vicetto envisions that period as a Golden Age, an era from which Galicia could reclaim its national spirit. More than fifty years later, the *Xeración Nós* would augment Vicetto's scholarship via their studies in archaeology, pre-history, and literature so as to promote a more romantic image of Galicia's past.

In addition Vicetto suggests that the presence of Galician Celts in Ireland can also be documented by affinities between words. Vicetto again quotes Carrasco who proposes that some Irish names, personal and geographical, show Galician influence.

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[37] Ibid, p. 173.
[38] Ibid, pp. 177-78. Author's emphasis.
[39] Ibid, p. 171.

> Mas semejante opinion ha venido á reducirse á un hecho evidente porque los primitivos habitadores de la Irlanda, fueron los galos de que es una prueba inequivoca el observarse que la mayor parte de sus voces por no decir todas, son comunes á los irlandeses y bretones; así como ya es indudable, segun acabamos de indicar, que las primeras colonias de celtas que penetraron en Irlanda habian salido de los *gallegos* y de los celtíberos de España. El nombre de Galo-Glases, *Garulei Galli*, con que eran conocidos los soldados irlandeses, las denominaciones de *Gallive* ó de *Galvvay* de Fingall, conservadas en el condado de Irlanda, la de *Inch Galli (Gallorum insulae)* dada en lengua *erse* á las islas Hébridas, próximas á Irlanda, todas estas denominaciones célticas atestiguan la presencia de los *Gallegos* o galos en la Hibernia.[40]

Despite the fact that such a conclusion on both scholars' parts is precarious and that Vicetto does not elaborate more upon this topic, it is apparent that he cites Carrasco in order to offer additional evidence and fortify the notion of the Galician and Irish relationship.

Nevertheless, Vicetto defends his work, vehemently denying that he, or others, created Galician history as he has written it. He adamantly states:

> Nosotros – volvemos á repetirlo – nada inventamos. No hemos inventado la idea del Diluvio, ni á Noé, ni á Tubal, ni á Brigo, ni á Ibero, ni á los celtas, ni á los iberos; ni á los historiadores antiguos y modernos, ni á sus testos. Luego, dadas esas entidades morales y materiales en el plano de la historia del mundo, dadas esas entidades y esos testos, nosotros, por esa ciencia que no se estudia en ninguna Universidad y que se llama *adivinacion histórica*, nosotros damos á las razas el origen clarísimo, luminoso, tangible, axiomático que surge de todos esos elementos heterogeneos y contradictorios, pero que tantos rayos de luz despiden al convergerlos hácia el foco de la verdad.[41]

As Villares recognises, Vicetto's work is "moi romántica e algo imaxinativa".[42] His history is a product of the influence of the Celtic phenomenon inspired by Macpherson and Romanticism. Despite the fact that Vicetto does not speak of the Irish text *Leabhar*

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[40] Ibid, p. 173.
[41] Ibid, p. 112.
[42] Ramón Villares, *A Historia* (Vigo: Galaxia, 1990), p. 200.

Gabhála, his citations, such as those of Villanueva, allude to characters and places central to the plot. Unbeknown to Vicetto, who erroneously claims, "Ninguno dedica un párrafo de sus trabajos literarios á ilustrar nuestro origen céltico, ni siquiera nombra á los celtas",[43] the works mentioned in Villanueva's and Vicetto's studies do hint at the Celtic origins of Galicia. However, it will be Murguía who attempts to clarify this oversight on Vicetto's part by discussing in more detail the Irish legends, specifically *Leabhar Gabhála*. Later, the *Xeración Nós* will confirm Vicetto's findings by translating *Leabhar Gabhála* and publishing it in their cultural journal, *Nós*.

In Murguía's two ambitious historical works, *Historia de Galicia* and *Galicia*, published in 1865 and 1888 respectively, he elaborates upon Galicia's alleged Celtic origins and popular folklore and myths. His purpose is to show that the Galicians not only possess their own history, but also that they are more civilised than other peoples of the Iberian peninsula.[44] He bases this conviction on specific factors, including geographic location, customs, language and, most importantly, race. In addition, he champions Celticism as a principal factor of Galician national identity. According to Anthony Smith, each ethnic group possesses "a distinctive complex of myths, memories and symbols (or 'myth-symbol complex') with peculiar claims about the group's origins and lines of descent". The combination of these myths and claims thus informs the group's "*mythomoteur*", which Smith identifies as the "constitutive political myth". It therefore is this *mythomoteur* that "endow[s] the movement with shape and direction".[45] For Murguía, it is Celticism that stands at the centre of Galicia's own "myth-symbol

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[43] Vicetto, *Historia de Galicia*: *Tomo 1*, p. 119.
[44] Villares, *A Historia*, p. 200.
[45] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), p. 58.

complex", upholds his unique vision of Galicia's ancestry and past, and defines the Galician *mythomoteur*. In this respect, Murguía, more than Vicetto, contributes to the construction of the concept of Galicia as a national entity different from the Spanish nation largely based upon Castilian culture.[46] By intertwining the key factors of history and race, Murguía asserts that the history of the "Nazón de Breogán" is, before anything else, the history of the Celts.[47] As a result, the translation of chapters from *Leabhar Gabhála* acts as an affirmation of Murguía's history. His historical hypotheses serve as the foundation on which the *Xeración Nós* will continue to build their nationalist ideology.

Establishing the Celts as the race of Galicia is foremost in Murguía's chronicling of prehistory as much as in his creating the Galician nation. Throughout his books references to the Celtic presence within Galicia abound. He claims that the Celts are "nuestros progenitores"[48] and seeks support from past scholars in this conclusion, explaining,

> [. . .]los geógrafos é historiadores antiguos dijeron á una que Galicia estaba poblada por celtas, que estos eran numerosos y que sus expediciones y colonias se extendían á lo largo de la península. Strabon señala el parentesco de los celtas del Anas con los de Galicia de quienes afirma descendían aquéllos: Mela y Plinio lo mismo. Segun todas las probabilidades nuestros celtas debieron ocupar el país gallego, cuando alboreaba la llamada edad de bronce, por cuanto los túmulos que aun se conservan son, en su inmensa mayoría redondos, que se tienen por propios de dicho pueblo, y pocos muy pocos, largos, ó como quieren, iberos, si es que esta distinción es exacta, que lo dudamos.[49]

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[46] Beramendi and Núñez Seixas, *O nacionalismo galego*, rev. edn, p. 35.
[47] Ramón Máiz, *A idea de nación* (Vigo: Xerais, 1997), p. 194.
[48] Murguía, *Galicia I*, p. 31.
[49] Manuel Murguía, *Historia de Galicia: Volumen III* (Bilbao: Editorial La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca, 1980 [1891]), p. 454.

In addressing the question of Galicia's Celtic ancestry, Murguía argues that it is not a modern hypothesis supported only by historical studies. He further elaborates, "No solo los antiguos geógrafos é historiadores dan á Galicia como poblada por celtas, sino que las nuevas conclusiónes de la arqueología histórica y de la lingüística, vienen á confirmar esta verdad."[50] He also asserts that the Celts "fueron de los más antiguos, tal vez de los primeros que descendiendo sobre Europa no detuvieron su marcha hasta hallar la para ellos, infranqueable ribera del occéano".[51] When Murguía suggests that the Celts are the most ancient Europeans, he attributes to them a special place in history. He excludes other possibilities so as to purify Galicia's origins. Moreover he dismisses all questions of doubt when he writes, "[. . .] Galicia, cuyo origen céltico no puede siquiera ponerse en duda [. . .]".[52] Murguía later comments, "Nada hay en nuestra antigüedad que de ella no venga ó con ella no empiece. El celta es nuestro único, nuestro verdadero antepasado."[53] Like Vicetto, Murguía is adamant regarding the Celtic element in Galicians' ancestry and reiterates, "[. . .] repetimos, dejar consignado de una vez para siempre que la base étnica de Galicia es céltica [. . .]".[54] Such repetition illustrates Murguía's insistence on identifying the Galicians with the Celts and on differentiating them from the remainder of the Iberian population.

Whereas Vicetto bases his history primarily on others' geographical and historical works, Murguía delves deeper, tracing Galician history to original sources – Irish tomes, such as the *Book of the Four Masters* and the *Book of Invasions*, also known as the *Leabhar Gabhála*. In his discussion of the myth relating the migration of the Celts from

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[50] Ibid, p. 477.
[51] Ibid, p. 477.
[52] Murguía, *Galicia I*, p. 21.
[53] Ibid, p. 22.
[54] Ibid, p. 113.

Galicia to Ireland, Murguía admits that scholars are divided about its veracity. He explains:

> Mientras unos las niegan, otros multiplican las invasiones; mientras unos ven en ellas los restos de una antigua mitología, piensan otros que son la expresión de verdades indubitables. Por de pronto la mayoría de los escritores van acordes en afirmar que ciertos pueblos conocidos con el nombre de *Milesianos* y que eran originarios de nuestra Galicia, desembarcaron en Irlanda, batieron á los Thuatha-Dé-Dannan y se apoderaron del país.[55]

Despite the controversy, Murguía concurs with "la mayoría de los escritores", maintaining that the Celts indeed settled in Galicia and Ireland. He remarks, "De ellos se desprende que [. . .] nuestra Galicia, envió colonias á Irlanda, siendo la tradición de los *Milesianos*, una prueba más del comun origen y afinidad de estos pueblos."[56] In order to sustain his conclusions, Murguía intermittently inserts synopses of Ith's first sighting of Ireland from Galicia and the subsequent expedition to the distant land and defers to Irish writers, including Caemháin, to validate the event. According to Murguía, Caemháin writes that Breoghan founded the city of Brigandsia and built Breoghan's Tower from which Ireland first was glimpsed.[57] In a footnote reference to Caemháin's version, Murguía cites the French translation of *Leabhar Gabhála*, translating the text for his reader and corroborating Caemháin's version. He states, "En el *Leabar Gabala*, (p. 80 de la edición francesa) se lee: «Especialmente una vez, en que Ith fué, en una clara tarde de invierno, á los alredores de la torre de Breogan para observar los cuatro puntos cardinales, creyó ver la silueta y exacta representación de un país y de una Hermosa isla

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[55] Ibid, pp. 129-30.
[56] Murguía, *Historia de Galicia: Volumen III*, p. 495.
[57] Ibid, pp. 496-97.

lejana».”[58] By referring to the French *Leabhar Gabhála*, Murguía indicates a familiarity with the Irish epic that did not depend solely on Villanueva's text. To all this Murguía exclaims, “¡Así se encuentran en medio de las ficciones de la poesía, cuanto permite afirmar el paso de las tribus gallegas á la verde Erin, cuya eterna desventura es tan grande, como la de aquella otra Hermosa comarca de donde salieron sus progenitores!”[59] Murguía notes that “[e]n el *Libro de las invasiones* se consigna una doble tradición, la de la venida de los Gaels á Galicia y la que éstos hicieron, poco después á Irlanda.”[60] In order to transform a population into a nation, Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny suggest that intellectuals “manipulate and manufacture a particular view of the past, invariably as a myth of origins which is meant to establish and legitimate the claim to cultural autonomy and eventually to political independence”.[61] Thus, Murguía, by appropriating Ireland's myth of origins and assigning it importance in Galician history, validates Galicia's identity as a nation with a Celtic heritage.

In chronicling history, Murguía observes that tradition acts as “un poderoso auxiliar”.[62] For this reason he finds it necessary to introduce his readers to ancient Irish literature in which he considers Galician prehistory to be first recorded. He points out, “Poco tiempo hacía que acababan de redactarse dos obras, para el caso importantísimas: el *Leabar Gabala*, ó Libro de las invasiones, (1631) y el *Libro de los cuatro Maestros* (1632 á 1636) que contenían los principales datos referentes á las espediciones de los

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[58] Ibid, p. 497. Here Murguía uses the French translation's spelling of the Irish myth which is different from the English one used by Macalister and MacNeill. “Leabhár”, “Leabar”, and “Lebor” as well as “Gabhála” and “Gabala” are used interchangeably by scholars in their translations and their critical works.
[59] Ibid, p. 496.
[60] Ibid, p. 454.
[61] Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, “From the Moment of Social History to the Work of Cultural Representation” in *Becoming National: A Reader*, ed. by Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 3-37 (p. 8).
[62] Murguía, *Historia de Galicia: Volumen III*, p. 495.

celtas gallegos á aquellas islas."[63] By citing these texts, Murguía reinforces his claim that another tradition, that of the Irish, certifies the Galicians' alleged Celtic lineage. The ancient Irish legends, especially *Leabhar Gabhála*, to which Murguía calls attention, legitimate the purported Celtic identity of the Galicians. In this respect, Murguía uses prehistory in the guise of Irish literature as what Eric Hobsbawm calls the "cement of group cohesion".[64] It brings the Galicians into the elite group of supposed Celtic nations and therefore associates them with the Irish.

Like his contemporaries Vicetto and Murguía, Eduardo María González Pondal Abente, more widely known as Eduardo Pondal (1835-1917), emphasises the Celtic origins of Galicia and evokes this theme throughout his literary career.[65] Pondal also concentrates on the task of providing Galicia with a myth based on these Celtic origins so as to endorse Murguía's concept of nation centred on race.[66] As "un discípulo de Ossián"[67] Pondal echoes Macpherson's translation, often naming and eulogising Ossianic heroes as well as *Leabhar Gabhála*'s champion Breoghan and intertwining images from both legends in his poems. Following the precedent set by Macpherson, Pondal glorifies the Celtic past in order to remind his readers of the rich Celtic tradition he associates with Galicia as much as to underscore Galicia's Celtic origins. However, Macpherson was not Pondal's only influence. Murguía's accounts of history, specifically his exposition of *Leabhar Gabhála*, arouse Pondal's curiosity, offering him a Celtic hero native to Galicia.

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[63] Ibid, p. 506.
[64] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions", in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 1-14 (p. 12).
[65] It is interesting to note that Pondal considered himself a Celt and often envisioned himself as Galicia's "bard". See Montiel, *Ossián en España*, p. 196.
[66] Beramendi and Núñez Seixas, *O nacionalismo galego*, p. 58.
[67] Ramón Otero Pedrayo, *Ensaio histórico sobre a cultura galega* (Vigo: Galaxia, 1982), p. 240.

In this romantic fervour for discovering the existence of a Celtic epic tradition in Galicia, Pondal attempts to recapture the lost tradition through his poems. As Risco observes, through these efforts Pondal creates a fragmentary myth;[68] in other words, Pondal re-introduces Galicia's Celtic warrior, Breoghan, into Galician literature and simultaneously revives the mystery surrounding him, yet he does not provide a complete version of Breoghan's story to his audience. Providing a more comprehensive version of the myth will become a project for the *Xeración Nós*. According to Roger Cardinal, the Romantics were plagued by feelings of incompleteness, the sense that their cultures lacked heroes and heroines, and such feelings encouraged them to "pursue the being who can complete [them]".[69] The same is true of the men of the *Rexurdimento*. In Pondal's case, Breoghan fulfils this sense of "incompleteness", embodying the beauty and glory of the Celtic past to which Pondal aspires. Whereas poems such as "Polo baixo cantando", "Polo alto cantando", "Dous rapaces, non sei onde" and "Non cantes tan tristemente" identify the Galicians as "xente de Breogán" and "fillos de Breogán" and Galicia as "terra de Breogán", the poem "Os pinos" celebrates the legacy that Breoghan gave Galicia.[70] "Os pinos", which eventually was adopted as the Galician national anthem, is the best example of Pondal's Celticism and the early impact of *Leabhar Gabhála* in Galician letters. In the final stanza, Pondal reminds the Galicians of the nobility and heroism of their ancestor, urging them to reclaim the glory of their past and their nation:

> Galegos, sede fortes,
> prontos a grandes feitos;
> aparellade os peitos
> e glorioso afán;

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[68] Quoted in Montiel, *Ossián en España*, p. 201.
[69] Roger Cardinal, *German Romantics in Context* (London: Studio Vista, 1975), p. 31.
[70] Eduardo Pondal, *Queixumes dos pinos e outros poemas* (Vigo: Galaxia, 1985), pp. 8-11, 118-19, 36-39, 91-92, and 123-26.

fillos dos nobres celtas,
fortes e peregrinos,
luitade plos destinos
dos eidos de Breogán.[71]

It memorialises Breoghan, incorporating him into Galicia's Celtic heritage as much as it urges Galicians to remember their history and defend their nation. According to Derek Flitter, Pondal elaborates the Celtic myth as a response to what he perceives as the ethical responsibilities of the Ossianic bard, who assumes both a civic and an aesthetic role.[72] In "Os pinos", as in other poems, he provides a "civic message", which acts as an impetus "motivat[ing] the struggle of the Galicians in the nineteenth century" and encouraging them to "fulfil a long-awaited historical destiny".[73]

Smith argues that an epic hero is an exemplar whose "being and qualities have special meanings for any group that claims 'genealogical' descent from him and his associates in the heroic age which they [sic] symbolize".[74] Consequently, Smith adds that a hero "symbolize[s] what is 'ours' and what lies 'within us' and which no foreigner could hope to understand".[75] Breoghan then, like Ossian in Scotland and Cuchulain in Ireland, symbolises what is "Galician" and what "lies within Galicians", with which no other nation – with the exception of the Celtic ones – could identify. As a result, Pondal composes what Bhabha considers a "foundational fiction" in which "the origins of national traditions turn out to be as much acts of affiliation and establishment as they are

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[71] Ibid, pp. 125-26.
[72] Derek Flitter, "The Poetic Image in Pondal: Recollection and Premonition", *Actas do I Simposium de Estudios Galegos/Proceedings on the 1st Oxford Conference on Galician Studies. Oxford – 1991* (Pontevedra: Xunta de Galicia, 1991), pp. 183-92 (p. 188).
[73] Ibid, p. 191.
[74] Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, p. 196.
[75] Ibid, p.196.

moments of disavowal, displacement, exclusion, and cultural contestation".[76] By affiliating the Galicians with the Celts and distancing them from the Castilians, he initiated the process of "writing the nation", which later would be sustained by the *Irmandades da Fala* and the *Xeración Nós*. Together with Vicetto's and Murguía's histories, Pondal's poetry contributes to the evolution of Galicia's national consciousness and identity and lays the foundation for a national myth in Galicia.

Over the course of the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, Galician intellectuals engaged in nationalist activity sought to advance their cause by building on the foundation made by Vicetto, Murguía, and Pondal. The Celtic connexion between Ireland and Galicia persisted as a priority. However, unlike their predecessors of the *Rexurdimento*, the *Xeración Nós* committed itself not only to reporting about Irish culture, literature, and political resistance to England, amongst other themes, but also to finding and exposing new links between the two filial nations. The *Xeración Nós* believed that if they wanted to understand their Celtic history and to know their Celtic mythology, they had no choice but to look to Ireland.

Both *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra* reflect the enduring legacy of Vicetto's and Murguía's version of Galician prehistory. Before either Risco or Otero wrote about Galicia's Celtic ancestry, *A Nosa Terra* commissioned a series on Ireland's cultural and political history. In the first article, the journal states, "En tempos lonxanos da antiguedade, a illa de IRLANDA foi habitada por *tribus* de raza celtica ou gaélica. Según a tradición e os datos históricos, seus primeiros poboadores sairon do noroeste de Iberia,

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[76] Homi Bhabha, "Introduction: Narrating the Nation" in *Nation and Narration*, ed. by Homi Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 1-7 (p. 5).

ou sea GALICIA, mandados por MILESIUS."[77] Less than two years later, *A Nosa Terra* extracts a citation from the Irish Bulletin and translates it:

> Para descubrir os primeiros lazos que uniron a Irlanda coa peninsula Ibérica, temos que descamiñar as lonxanas edades de aquela época de que nos fala a tradición, cando a comitiva do rei Milesio, de Galicia, embarcaron en Brigantia (hoxe a Cruña), para as costas de Irlanda, mais de mil e cincocentos anos antes de Jesús Cristo.[78]

These examples illustrate the journal's interest in the Irish past as it relates to Galicia. Although neither of these two brief articles refers to the Galician historians' works, they reinforce Vicetto's and Murguía's conclusions and add to the mounting materials establishing Galician Celts as Ireland's founders.

Risco and Otero Pedrayo, active and prolific members of the *Xeración Nós*, contributed articles expounding the Celtic presence in Galicia too. Through their journalistic writings, both men sought to mould public opinions regarding Galician identity and language and to advance the nationalist objectives of their generation. Of the two, Risco produced more articles regarding the theme of Celticism in *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra*. His articles, including "A Atlántida",[79] "Galizia Céltiga",[80] "Galizia Céltiga (Concrusión)",[81] "Irlanda e Galiza",[82] and "De renacencia céltiga: A moderna literatura irlandesa",[83] mention the Irish legend cited by his precursors and touch upon the importance of the Celtic race to Galicia. Risco's synopsis of *Leabhar Gabhála* echoes

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[77] "Historia dos movimentos nacionalistas – Irlanda – I – Os irlandeses – Antecedentes históricos", *A Nosa Terra*, 5/9/1920, p. 2.
[78] "Irlanda e Galicia – Boletín Irlandés", *A Nosa Terra*, 15/2/1922, p. 6. According to *A Nosa Terra*, "Copiamos do Boletín Irlandés, núm. 84, que publica a Delegación Irlandesa en Madrid, Ayala, 144." All quotes from *A Nosa Terra* and *Nós* are copied as they were written. Given the lack of a standard Galician and the printing errors in the journals during the 1920s and 1930s, various spellings appear and will not be corrected.
[79] *A Nosa Terra*, 25/9/1919, p. 5.
[80] *Nós,* 3 (1920), 5-14.
[81] *Nós*, 5 (1921), 6-12.
[82] *Nós*, 8 (1921), 18-20.
[83] *Nós*, 26 (1926), 5-9, *Nós*, 27 (1926), 4-12, and *Nós*, 28 (1926), 2-5.

that of Vicetto and Murguía. In discussing the Galician colonisation of Ireland, Risco writes:

> Os irlandeses pertencen coma nós á mais pura rama da gran raza céltiga. Iles din que veñen dos *Milesians*, xentes do Gaedhill, ou Galiza pre-estórica, da nosa raza, eterna migradora.
> As vellas crónecas da Illa d'Eirin, coma o *Leabar Gabala* (libro das invasiós) e mais o dos *Catro Mestres*, e outros, conservan a tradición antiquísema do noso rei Breogan, da tribu dos brigantes, fillo de Braha, neto de Deyaha, descendente en liña reuta de Fenn, da nobre e antiga raza de Gael, qu' ergueu na Cruña o famoso Faro dos Brigantes, dend' o alto do que, o seu fillo Ith divisou n-un craro serán d'inverno a distante terra d'Irlanda. E lembrando unha profecía do druida Kaiker, levou a aquela terra unha espedición de moitas naos, e chegou, e foi moi ben recibido, mais logo matárono, e pra vingal-a sua morte, foi aló o Rei Breogan cos otros fillos e venceron ós Fir-bolg e ós Danand, e poboaron Irlanda, que foi dividida antre Eber y-Eremon, fillos de Breogan.[84]

Risco describes the legend simply to demonstrate that Irish literature attributes Ireland's founding to peoples from Galicia. His synopsis repeats the story of Ith's first sighting of Ireland as alluded to by Vicetto and discussed by Murguía, but adds details about Ith's death and the invasion of Ireland in which he erroneously includes Breoghan. Regardless of the errors, Risco's account suggests that he does not depend solely on the *Rexurdimento* historians and that he seeks to elaborate on Pondal's "fragmentary myth". In promoting Galicia's own national identity, Risco's article illustrates that he accepts the ideas established by Vicetto and Murguía and continues to embrace the Celtic race as one of the distinguishing factors in Galicia's struggle for national recognition. Moreover the legend justifies Risco's belief that

> quitando Portugal, non temos verdadeiras afinidades étnicas con ningún outro pobo d' a Península, y-en troques, témolas moi grandes c'outros europeus: con Irlanda, coa Bretaña, coa Escocia, con Gales; que somos eiquí un pobo aparte, que as tradiciós hespañolas das grorias de Castela,

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[84] Vicente Risco, "Irlanda e Galiza", *Nós,* 8 (1921), 18-20 (p. 19).

> do Arabismo, do Século d'Ouro, da Místeca, non son nosas, nin están no noso ser, ni-nos podemos encariñar co'elas.[85]

Since *Leabhar Gabhála* verifies the Celtic ancestry which Risco espouses, it is essential to Risco's argument for a Galician nation. His allusions to *Leabhar Gabhála* intensify the legacy left by Vicetto, Murguía, and Pondal and warrant the need for the epic's translation into Galician.

Otero Pedrayo's accounts of Irish folklore, in particular *Leabhar Gabhála*, are less extensive. A year before the translation of chapters from *Leabhar Gabhála* appeared, Otero Pedrayo wrote his first and only article about ancient Irish literature for *Nós*. He extols the virtues of Irish literature, especially its antiquity and its native tradition when he declares, "A literatura antiga irlandesa [é] ceibe d'infruxos estranos [. . .]".[86] Because Galicia lacks such a literature, Otero Pedrayo recommends following the Irish example. He suggests, "Compre seguír e sosteñer e ampriar aquil pulo. Os pobos da nova cultura precisan d'outras humanidás. E na Galiza é urxente o coñecimento de literaturas como a irlandesa e a lírica medieval galego-portuguesa, simpáticas â i-alma, que na cultura xeneral equilibren pol-o menos o imperio do clasicismo grego e romano e do clasicismo castelán."[87] With this encouragement *Nós* had no other choice but to recover *Leabhar Gabhála* and transpose it into the Galician literary tradition.

From the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, two generations of Galician intellectuals researched their origins, digging in the past so they could forge a new future. These men, like their Irish, German, and other European contemporaries, saw their nation's history – most notably, its prehistory – as the essence to defining it. As

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[85] Vicente Risco, "Galizia Céltiga", *Nós*, 3 (1920), 5-14 (p. 6).
[86] Ramón Otero Pedrayo, "Notas encol do sentimento da paisaxe n'antiga epopeya irlandesa", *Nós*, 81 (1930), 176-78 (p. 176).
[87] Ibid, p. 176.

Risco suggests, Vicetto and Murguía "coas suas pacienzudas e piedosas investigaciós, foron e son [. . .] os creadores da concencia nacional galega."[88] Yet in this acknowledgement of the historians' roles, he overlooks not only Pondal's but also his own generation's effort in sustaining the alleged Celtic identity of the Galicians. Risco along with Otero Pedrayo and other *Xeración Nós* members furthered this national consciousness through their own literary and journalistic endeavours. The references to and summaries of *Leabhar Gabhála* in historical tomes by both Vicetto and Murguía, in poetry by Pondal, and subsequently in the copious articles and essays by some *Xeración Nós* intellectuals made the translation of *Leabhar Gabhála* imperative. The absence of the legend called into question Galician scholars' research and left a hole in Galician literature. Therefore, as I will show in the next chapter, the only solution was to translate *Leabhar Gabhála* and to unveil Galicia's own national myth.

[88] Risco, "Galizia Céltiga", p. 6.

Chapter Three
Restoring the Epic in Galicia(n): Translating *Leabhar Gabhála*

Like the Irish nationalists, the Galician nationalists believed that ancient literature was paramount to the (re)emergence of their cultural identity and the (re)construction of their nation. For the *Xeración Nós*, the primary reason for selecting *Leabhar Gabhála* to translate relates to their need to fish in mythic origins for Galician identity.[1] As I have previously discussed in Chapter One, if a culture wanted to be a nation, it needed a national literature rooted in the past as well as in the present.[2] After all, as Bhabha observes, the image of a nation, albeit romantic and metaphorical, emerges not only from the traditions of political thought, but also from those of literary language.[3] In the case of Galicia, the translation of selected chapters from *Leabhar Gabhála* exemplifies the need to possess a national literature and its fulfilment. The choice of *Leabhar Gabhála* incorporated the Galicians into one of the richest mythological traditions in Europe; after all, few countries can purport to trace back their history to a period before the floods in the Book of Genesis.[4] By translating the chapters in which the Celts depart from Spain, or more specifically Galicia, and in which allusions to Galician monuments and geographical locations, such as the Torre de Hércules and Brigantia, appear, the Galician intellectuals found themselves to be part of another culture's history, one that excluded Castilian Spain. Furthermore, *Leabhar Gabhála* gave the members of the *Xeración Nós* something that they lacked; it portrayed them as active participants in a historic myth.

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[1] Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos, "Introduction", in *A historia d'El-Rei Breogán e dos fillos de Mil, asegún o Leabhar Gabhála* (Noia: Museo do Pobo Galego, 2000), pp. 7-10 (p. 7). This book is a reprint of the original introductory article and translation that appeared in *Nós* in 1931.
[2] Lefevere, "The Gates of Analogy", p. 78.
[3] Bhabha, "Introduction: Narrating the Nation", p. 1.
[4] D' Arbois de Jubainville, *The Irish Mythological Cycle and Celtic Mythology*, p. 37.

This chapter considers why Irish scholars associated with the Gaelic Revival and later Galician intellectuals, in particular the men of the *Rexurdimento* and the *Xeración Nós*, were attracted to the Celtic historical epic, *Leabhar Gabhála*. In addition it examines why it became necessary for intellectuals to appropriate *Leabhar Gabhála* for Galicia's own literary and historical tradition. The three chapters of *Leabhar Gabhála* translated into Galician are then compared to the English translation. Through this analysis, I will demonstrate what the implications of the translator's strategies are. Altogether the purpose of this chapter is to elucidate why the *Xeración Nós* selected *Leabhar Gabhála* for their translation project and what its translation accomplished for the Galician nation.

Upon acknowledging the importance of ancient literature to a nation's honour, Irish antiquarians, historians, and other cultural revivalists were spurred to action by Macpherson and began the arduous task of investigating the plethora of manuscript materials. Their efforts furthermore were a conscious resistance to the cultural erosions and ravagings of English imperialism.[5] Given that a majority of the texts recovered were written in Irish and that only a small percentage of Ireland's population either read or spoke Irish, translation became a prominent aspect of the Irish cultural and literary movements. Via translation the Irish sought "to change English stereotypes of the Irish, to unearth and make public Ireland's cultural heritage, [and] to establish the Irish as a morally upright nation, the simple but dignified and noble guardians of an ancient world view".[6]

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[5] Tymoczko, *Translation in a Postcolonial Context*, p. 20.
[6] Ibid, p. 63.

Although fragments of *Leabhar Gabhála*[7] also appear in a number of other Irish manuscripts and collections such as the *Book of Ballymote*, the *Book of Lecan*, and the *Book of Leinster*, the text to which Celtic scholars often referred and on which subsequent translations in both French and English were based was that of O'Clery.[8] In 1916, the first English translation, completed by Eoin MacNeill (1867-1945) and R.A.S. Macalister (1870-1950) was published under the title of *Leabhar Gabhála: The Book of Conquests of Ireland: The Recension of Micheál Ó Cléirigh: Part I.*[9]

MacNeill, an Irish historian, and Macalister, a professor of Celtic archaeology,[10] undertook the task of translating *Leabhar Gabhála* from Irish into English for nationalist purposes. Of the two, MacNeill had a stronger presence, dividing his time between his scholarly research and his political aspirations through his involvement in the Gaelic League and the Irish Volunteers.[11] Following in the tradition of their predecessors of the Gaelic Revival, MacNeill's and Macalister's decision to translate *Leabhar Gabhála* appears to have been an endeavour with more political than literary goals. In 1898 an

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[7] A.G. van Hamel provides an in-depth explanation and comparison of the various manuscripts in which the invasions of Ireland are related. See A.G. van Hamel, "On Lebor Gabala", *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* X (1915), pp. 97-197.

[8] According to O'Curry, O'Clery attached a list of works from which he and his assistants made their compilation. O'Curry states, "They were the following: - The Book of *Bailé ui Mhaoilchonairé* or Bally Mulconroy, which had been copied by Maurice O'Maelchonairé, or O'Mulconroy (who died in 1543), out of the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, which had been written at *Cluain Mic Nois* (Clonmacnois), in the time of Saint Ciaran; the Book of *Baile ui Chleirigh*, or Bally Clery, which was written in the time of *Maelsechlainn Mór*, or Malachy the Great, son of *Domhnall*, monarch of Erinn (who began his reign A.D. 979); the Book of *Muintir Duibhghenainn*, or of the O'Duigenans of *Seanchuach* in *Tir Oililla*, or Tirerrill, in the county of Sligo, and which was called the *Leabhar Ghlinn dá Locha*, or Book of Glenndaloch; and *Leabhar na h-Uachongbhala*, or the Book of the Uachongbhail; with many other histories, or historical books besides." O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, pp. 21-22.

[9] Less than twenty years later, in 1932, Macalister alone revised the translation and re-edited it by inserting excluded chapters from the 1916 English text and including a detailed introduction explaining manuscripts used in the new translation and extensive footnotes describing the textual differences. This second English translation was *Lebor Gabhála Érenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland: Parts 1 and 2.*

[10] Both men competed for the same academic post for early Irish history and archaeology at the newly founded National University, the University College, Dublin, yet both were hired. They later became colleagues and close friends. Tierney, *Eoin MacNeill*, p. 86.

[11] See Tierney, *Eoin MacNeill*, pp. 19-32.

editorial entitled "Ainbhios", or "Ignorance", by the prolific MacNeill indicates his anxiety regarding Ireland's lack of knowledge about her history and its impact upon the development of nationality. He writes:

> The most knowledgeable authors say that there is no better way to keep the spirit of nationality alive in any race than by constantly recounting to them the deeds of their ancestors, and for them to have a good knowledge of the history of their native land. It's not like that with the people of Ireland. Irish history is not taught to them during their youth. They read accounts of the Armada and of the Battle of Waterloo, but they don't hear a word about the Battle of the Yellow Ford of [sic] about the deeds of King Dáithí. Some of them think that such things never happened at all. It's part of our ignorance.[12]

To alleviate Irish ignorance as much as to promote pride in Ireland's accomplishments, MacNeill was aware that scholars had to disseminate both Irish literature and history. Maria Tymoczko explains that for nationalist purposes it was necessary to translate Irish stories into English because English was the language spoken and read by most of the Irish population and the colonisers.[13] Consequently, despite MacNeill's unswerving promotion of the use of the Irish language, he realised that to achieve his goal of "restor[ing] [Old Ireland] to a sense of its immemorial identity, [and] reviving in it some of the power it had possessed in olden times of assimilating even the foreign invader and making him more Irish than the Irish",[14] the English language was a vital instrument. The English translation of *Leabhar Gabhála* therefore implies that MacNeill, with the assistance of Macalister, hoped to reclaim history for Irish readers and to change the indifference to the national past. For both men *Leabhar Gabhála* symbolised an

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[12] Quoted in O'Leary, *The Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival*, p. 164. Eoin MacNeill, 'Ainbhios', trans. by Philip O'Leary, *Fáinne an Lae* 2 July 1898.
[13] Tymoczko, *Translation in a Postcolonial Context*, p. 93.
[14] Tierney, *Eoin MacNeill*, p. 68.

"important historical tract"[15] with which their audience, Irish and English speakers alike, should be familiar.

Macalister's and MacNeill's 1916 translation was an integral product of Ireland's own cultural and literary revival. The influence of Romanticism, as noted earlier, sparked a fascination for the ancient era of Celtic warriors, druids, and heroes and initiated research first amongst secular intellectuals on the continent and subsequently amongst the Irish academics themselves.[16] This international community of Celtic scholars further promoted an interest in Irish studies after naming Ireland as one in a group of ancient Celtic cultures.[17] Thus, aware of the popularity of Irish literature outside Ireland, dedicated to sharing this literary wealth with their fellow Irish, and determined to present a vision of Irish history different from the one provided by the English, the Irish academics translated *Leabhar Gabhála* in order to establish Ireland's origins as much as to recover ancient Irish literature.

The 1916 text presents O'Clery's Irish manuscript and the English translation side by side so that educated readers had the opportunity to read both and to compare them. In *Translation in a Postcolonial Context: Early Irish Literature in English Translation*, Maria Tymoczko accounts for this format in Irish-to-English translations as a consequence of nationalist zeal; both antiquarians and scholars were concerned to

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[15] Macalister and MacNeill, *Leabhar Gabhála*, p. i. After 1916, MacNeill and Macalister re-evaluated their conclusions regarding the historical value of the text and later rescinded their earlier statements, revising them to reflect that the text is myth, not fact, and concurring with some previous scholars' works. For discussions regarding the historic authenticity of *Leabhar Gabhála*, consult H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, H., *The Irish Mythological Cycle and Celtic Mythology*, trans. by Richard Irvine Best (Dublin: O'Donoghue and Co. and M.H. Gill and Son, 1903); Myles Dillon and Nora K. Chadwick, *The Celtic Realms* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967); Douglas Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland: From Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1967); R.A.S. Macalister, *Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times* (Dublin and London: Maunsel and Roberts, Limited, 1921); Eoin MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland* (Dublin: The Academy Press, 1981).and Eoin MacNeill, *Phases of Irish History* (Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, Ltd., 1919).
[16] Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*, p. 56.
[17] Ibid, p. 65.

illustrate the authenticity of their source materials (a lesson learned from attacks on Macpherson's works) and to deflect accusations of misrepresentations in their translation. In addition, such a facing translation suggests the translator's best intentions to create a literal translation of the original Irish text. As a result, Tymoczko observes, "Such translations not only serve to elucidate the language of a difficult text, they enable the translator to claim 'fidelity' to the source text and thus deflect any invidious charge of misrepresentation of the national heritage."[18] In view of such consideration, it is not surprising that the Irish text accompanies Macalister's and MacNeill's translation.

Leabhar Gabhála alternates between prose and verse. According to Macalister, the verses are the foundation of the epic in its current form; they serve as the "common reservoir" from which the writers borrowed in order to write the prose.[19] Despite the repetitive, and at times, distracting, style of the combination of prose and verse, MacNeill and Macalister preserve the format as presented in O'Clery's manuscript. The language employed in the prose and verse is often archaic, awkward, and non-fluent, as I will substantiate in an upcoming section. The translators also include footnotes, which do not provide the reader with either explanations of unfamiliar details or additional resources to consult; instead, they offer alternative expressions in Irish and English of translated verses. This indicates that these academics were not concerned with their translation's literary quality. The priority of scholars, according to the nationalist programme, as Tymoczko observes, was "to document the existence, antiquity, and gravity of native

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[18] Tymoczko, *Translation in a Postcolonial Context*, p. 132.
[19] R.A. Stewart Macalister, "Introduction", in *Lebor Gabála Érenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland: Part 1,* ed. and trans. by R.A. Stewart Macalister (Dublin: Educational Co. of Ireland, 1938), pp. ix-xxxiv (p. x).

Irish culture",[20] not to "make translations of the medieval heritage readable".[21] As a result, translations from Irish into English like Macalister's and MacNeill's exemplify what Venuti, following Schleiermacher, calls a "foreignising" translation, characterised by non-fluency. Venuti explains that "[f]oreignizing translation signifies the difference of the foreign text, yet only by disrupting the cultural codes that prevail in the target language."[22] Macalister and MacNeill achieve this non-fluency, or disruption and deviation from norms, by altering the standard characteristics of the target language, English, particularly by playing with semantics and syntax, coining neologisms, employing archaisms, and preserving some Irish words and expressions. Macalister's and MacNeill's decision to foreignise *Leabhar Gabhála* is the consequence not only of Ireland's academic culture, but also of the political situation.

From the late nineteenth century until the early twentieth century, various scholars, politicians, journalists, and others struggled to revive Irish as Ireland's national language and to declare Ireland as a nation independent of Great Britain. Although Ireland eventually achieved its political independence, the influence of English was too strong to be defeated, as Irish nationalists unwillingly acknowledged. Yet, rather than succumbing to the English language and its norms, Irish translators and writers, such as MacNeill, W.B. Yeats, Lady Gregory, and others, appropriated it and infused it with characteristics of the Irish language. A literal translation of an Irish text, like *Leabhar Gabhála*, therefore made these characteristics more visible. As Venuti correctly observes, "Foreignizing translation in English can be a form of resistance against

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[20] Tymoczko, *Translation in a Postcolonial Context*, p. 133.
[21] Ibid, p. 136.
[22] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 20.

ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism [. . .]".[23] For the Irish, foreignising was a response to British imperialism, particularly the English language's dominance in Ireland and its supersession of Irish. Thus, by translating *Leabhar Gabhála* non-fluently, Macalister and MacNeill undermine the English language, forcing it to bend to the Irish language and mimic its style. They diversify English via their use of archaisms and syntactical inversions so as to assimilate it to their own mother tongue, resisting English translating practices that demanded fluency. They reject the homogeneous English promoted by English academic institutions and scholars such as Matthew Arnold and embrace the linguistic and cultural differences of their source text so as to integrate them into the emerging Irish nation. As I will show later in this chapter, Macalister's and MacNeill's format will be useful in approaching the Galician translation. Now, it is time to turn our focus to the presence of *Leabhar Gabhála* in Galicia.

In 1931, *Nós* published three chapters from the Irish epic, *Leabhar Gabhála*, in issues nº 86, 88, 92 and 95. They represent *Nós*' final translated work linked to the Celtic or Irish theme.[24] These chapters were Chapter Eleven, which tells of the occupation of the children of Mil; Chapter Twelve, which relates the journeys of the grandson of Breoghan, Golamh, later called Mil of Spain; and Chapter Thirteen, which describes the taking of Spain and Ireland by Mil's sons. An introductory article entitled "A historia

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[23] Ibid, p. 20.

[24] It is interesting to point out that most contemporary scholars of Galician translation projects, with the exceptions of Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos and Beatriz Real Pérez, have overlooked the presence of *Leabhar Gabhála* as a translated text in *Nós*.

d'El-Rei Breogán e dos fillos de Mil, asegún o Leabhar Gabhala" precedes the translated chapters. No writer signed either the article or the translation.

The three chapters selected by *Nós* narrate the adventures of Breoghan and Mil and their ancestors in Scythia, Egypt, Spain, and Ireland. In comparison to the other chapters, which focus on the emigrations to Ireland and the various groups' adventures there, Chapters Eleven, Twelve, and Thirteen appealed to the translator due to their narration of events in Spain and Ireland and the key references to Spain, particularly Brigantia and Breoghan's Tower. Such geographical citations collaborate Vicetto's and Murguía's claims that the Celts settled in Galicia before emigrating and conquering Ireland and locate the text within the Galician culture. Furthermore, the appearances of three well-known Galician literary and mythical figures – Breoghan, the Celtic warrior who assumed control of Spain, Mil, Breoghan's grandson and the Celtic hero who returned from his travels to reclaim Spain, and Ith, the elder (Breoghan's son and Mil's uncle) who espied Ireland from Breoghan's Tower – added to the epic's charm for the *Xeración Nós* and their target readership.

The article preceding the first instalment of the translated *Leabhar Gabhála* functions as the reader's introduction to the ancient Irish epic. Yet it does not inform the reader of the epic's background and the general plot before Chapter XI. As I elucidated in the previous chapter regarding Vicetto and Murguía, these two historians introduced the Irish epic to Galicia and substantially discussed it. Given that *Leabhar Gabhála* appears in *Nós*, a journal circulated amongst an educated elite, it is probable that the writer assumes his audience's familiarity with Vicetto's and Murguía's works, expecting

them to know *Leabhar Gabhála*'s background. As regards the previous plot, the invasions of Ireland by Cesair, Partholon, Neimhedh, Fir Bolg, and Tuatha Dé Danann involved groups that neither passed through nor settled in Galicia and thus could not be identified as ancestors of the Galicians. From the writer's nationalist perspective, the ten chapters did not represent Galicia's past and thus could not legitimate Galicia's ancestry.

Instead of introducing the epic in his own words, the writer defers to previously published materials on history and literature written in Castilian Spanish, German, and English.[25] He compiles quotes from these works and translates them, offering the reader few comments of his own. He first points out that P. Alvarez Sotelo, a professor at the Colegio de Irlandeses de Santiago, was the first Galician historian to refer to the Irish legend according to Murguía. Then he continues by citing statements about *Leabhar Gabhála* made by Murguía, Rudolf Thurneysen,[26] a German professor whom he identifies as "un dos mais autorizados celtistas do noso tempo", and Douglas Hyde, a noted Irish academic and cultural revivalist whom he lauds as "o ilustre profesor irlandés".[27] Such references suggest that the author wanted not only to demonstrate the literary and cultural value of the text, but also to justify the inclusion of the translated text in the journal. By mentioning Murguía, the writer invites the reader to recall the significance of the Irish epic for Murguía's account of prehistory, especially his emphasis on race and identity. By deferring to scholars like Thurneysen and Hyde, he heavily relies upon the authority and expertise of the European intellectual community,

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[25] The writer cites Murguía's Castilian text, *Historia de Galicia*, Thurneysen's *Die Irische Helden und Königage bis 17 Jahrhundert*, and Hyde's *A Literary History of Ireland, from Earliest Times to the Present Day*. This range suggests the writer's familiarity with and possible near or full fluency in German and English.

[26] Thurneysen published one of the first scholarly works on *Leabhar Gabhála* in 1913. For his analysis of *Leabhar Gabhála,* see Rudolf Thurneysen, *Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern* (Berlin: Weidman, 1913).

[27] "A historia d'El-Rei Breogán e dos fillos de Mil, asegún o Leabhar Gabhala", *Nós*, 86 (1931), 23.

particularly those recognised as pre-eminent Celtic scholars. Yet the writer simultaneously manipulates their work, especially that of Hyde, extracting and translating a citation that praises the myth as "the most interesting of all"[28] and avoids undermining either the epic's historical content or its account of the Celts' origins. The writer ignores the fact that in his seminal text *A Literary History of Ireland: From Earliest Times to the Present*, Hyde not only questions the objectivity of early Irish annals and epics, but also rejects the idea that the Milesians traveled from Spain, or Galicia, to Ireland.[29] Considering the writer's manipulation of Hyde, it is not surprising that he excludes any reference to H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, another revered Celtic scholar often cited in *Nós*, whose work, *Le cycle mythologique irlandais et la mythologie celtique*, contends that Ith and his comrades did not depart from Spain.[30] In the writer's careful selection of references he thus prevents his readers from calling into question either Vicetto's and

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[28] Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland*, p. 281.

[29] Ibid, pp. 38-43. With regard to the Milesians' journey from Galicia to Ireland, Hyde writes,

"[The Irish Gael's] own account of himself is that his ancestors, the Milesians, or children of Miledh [the Champion of Spain], came to Ireland from Spain about the year 1000 B.C., and dispossessed the Tuatha De Danann who had come from the north of Europe, as these had previously dispossessed their kinsmen the Firbolg, who had arrived from Greece.

Such a suggestion, however, despite the continuity and volume of Irish tradition which has always supported it, appears open to more than one rationalistic objection, the chiefest being that the voyage from Spain to Ireland would be one of some six hundred miles, hardly to be attempted by the early Irish barks composed of wickerwork covered with hides, fragile crafts which could hardly hope to live through the rough waters of the Bay of Biscay and the Atlantic on a voyage from Spain, or through the Mediterranean and the Atlantic on a voyage from Greece." Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland*, pp. 17-18.

He also remarks that the term "Spain" may have been used loosely and may not have referred to a particular country, but a land beyond Ireland. See Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland*, p. 19.

[30] D'Arbois de Jubainville, *The Irish Mythological Cycle and Celtic Mythology*, p. 130. D'Arbois de Jubainville further suggests,

"The word Spain in this text is a learned translation of the Irish words *mag mor*, 'great plain'; *trag mar*, 'great strand;' *mag meld*, 'pleasant plain,' by which the Irish pagans designated the Land of the Dead, the place whence the living originally came, and their final abode. For these mythological expressions, which testify to the beliefs held in the most primitive ages, Christian euhemerism substituted the name of Spain. The legend of Tuan Mac Cairill leaves no room for doubt on this point: 'The number of Nemed's company increased until there were four thousand and thirty men of them and four thousand and thirty women. Then they all died'. They all died: that is what an ancient redaction, now lost, rendered as: 'They set sail for the Great Plain, for the Great Strand, or the Pleasant Plain,' a formula in which Nennius sees indications of a return into Spain." D'Arbois de Jubainville, *The Irish Mythological Cycle and Celtic Mythology*, p. 48.

Murguía's histories or the epic itself. More importantly he protects the Celtic ancestry so integral in defining Galician national identity.

The writer also implies that the influence of *Leabhar Gabhála* throughout Europe and the studies dedicated to it, as evidenced by others' research, represent a scholarly endeavour in which *Nós* should participate. The text's content lends this endeavour particular urgency:

> Tendo en conta a importanza considerábele que pra nós ten iste libro, no referente â invasión dos Milesians ou Brigantiños na Irlanda, imos pubricar eiquí a versión galeha dos capídoos XI, XII e XIII, que son os que â raza de Breogán se refiren.[31]

Here, we find the writer's only direct explanation for translating the text. The "considerable importance" of *Leabhar Gabhála* for the Galicians justifies its publication. The text's importance is attributed to the belief that it locates the Galicians in a Celtic history and establishes an ancestral connection between the Irish and the Galicians. In doing so, the text, as I noted earlier, incorporates the Galicians into the Celtic, and even Atlantic, community, while further attempting to differentiate and distance them from the Castilian Spanish and Mediterranean one. The writer concludes:

> Esta versión está collida da autorizada versión inglesa de Macalister e Mac Neill, que se pode comparar co texto gaélico qu'a acompaña. A qu'ofercemos eiquí ao púbrico galego está feita o mais literal que foi posibele, e está ademais ben contrastada e comprobada.[32]

Compared to other introductions, articles, or statements associated with translations in *Nós*, this statement is the most explicit in regards to the translation strategy. Before excerpts of *Leabhar Gabhála* appeared in *Nós*, no translator had indicated that a literary

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[31] "A historia d'El-Rei Breogán e dos fillos de Mil", p. 23.
[32] Ibid, p. 23.

work appropriated by the journal was translated "as literally as possible". Whether or not the chapters are "as literal as possible" will be addressed when I compare the English and Galician texts. In the meantime, it is noteworthy that the writer avoids calling the chapters a "translation". Instead, they are called a "version". While some may consider this a minor detail or a mere technicality, the writer's, and possibly the journal's, unwillingness to identify the chapters as a "translation" can be viewed as more curious when one refers to the issue's table of contents. There we find two works which are called "traduccións" and whose translators are identified.[33] Considering this, we can infer that either the anonymous translator or *Nós*' editors or both consciously attempted to downplay the chapters' status as a translation.[34] Another possible explanation for the writer's decision to call the text a "version" is his knowledge, via Hyde, that there existed various, and sometimes disparate, compilations of *Leabhar Gabhála* in Irish.[35] Or he also may have been aware that since such epics were learned by heart, bards often repeated them with changes and divergences which then caused the emergence of new versions.[36] Risco had noted this too and remarked once that the bards' poems often underwent new changes as a result of the expansion of Christianity in the Middle Ages.[37] Thus, the Galician translation, like the English one, may not offer the complete, or true,

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[33] The works are "Inno alia Galizia, pol-o P. Celestino Garcia Romero" translated by Guido Batelli into Italian and "San Francisco pregando os paxariños, traducción do Poema de Mosen X. Verdaguer" translated by Xosé M. Cabada into Galician. See *Nós,* 86 (1931), 21-22 and *Nós,* 86 (1931), 27, respectively.

[34] The omission of the chapters' status as a "traducción" in the table of contents and in its subsequent instalments could explain why many scholars today have overlooked and thus excluded it from their writings regarding translation activity in Galicia.

[35] The writer quotes and translates Hyde who informs the reader, "Most of the sagas connected with this pre-Milesian cycle are now to be found only in brief digests preserved in the Leabhar Gabhála [1 "L'yowar (rhyming to *hour*) gow-awla," the "book of the takings or holdings of Ireland."], or Book of Invasions of Ireland, of which large fragments exist in the Books of Leinster and Ballymote, and which Michael O'Clery (collecting from all the ancient sources which he could find in his day) rewrote about the year 1630." Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland*, p. 281.

[36] Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland*, p. 277.

[37] Vicente Risco, "Galizia Céltiga (Concrusión)", *Nós*, 5 (1921), 6-12 (p. 8).

story of the Irish conquest. From this introductory article, we can conclude that the anonymous translator intends not only to convince his audience of the translated chapters' relevance to Galician culture but also to incorporate this historic myth into Galician literature.

According to the anonymous writer, the three chapters were translated from the English text created by MacNeill and Macalister. The writer acknowledges that Macalister's and MacNeill's edition "que se pode comparar co texto gaélico qu'a acompaña",[38] is a version of the Irish original, but he avoids discussing the fact that *Leabhar Gabhála* was translated from the minor and marginalised language of Irish into the imperial language of English. Given that, as in Ireland, two languages were spoken in Galicia, and among the elite there was a conflict as to which language one should write and speak, such an oversight is curious. However, it is also possible that the writer does not want to broach such a touchy subject and thus damage his own linguistic and nationalist agenda. Unlike the Irish translators, the Galician one was trying to invest his peripheral language with additional prestige and to awaken it from its stagnation. Moreover, by bypassing Castilian and using Galician as the translating language, he limited the myth's dissemination to other parts of Iberia, thus preserving the myth as a treasure of Galician literary history.

Before MacNeill's and Macalister's English translation from Irish appeared in 1916, Henri Lizeray, with the assistance of William O'Dwyer, had translated O'Clery's

[38] "A historia d'El-Rei Breogán e dos fillos de Mil", p. 23.

Leabhar Gabhála into French in 1884.[39] Despite the existence of this French translation[40] and its potential availability to the *Xeración Nós*, it does not appear that the writer relied upon it as either a mediating text or a secondary source in order to clarify questions regarding language, meaning, and grammatical structure. For example, in the poem recited by the druid Aimirgin to Mil's sons after their unsuccessful meeting with the Irish kings, both the English and Galician texts are written in verse, while the French text is written in prose. Moreover, the English text includes question marks and parentheses, as seen below, suggesting either the translators' uncertainty in word choice or poor revising and editing.[41] This punctuation is repeated in the Galician text, yet omitted from the French one. Thus:

The men ye have found are of possession **(?)**: over nine green-necked waves of the sea advance ye: unless by **your** power be **(then)** planted, quickly let battle be prepared **(?)**. I assign the possession of the land ye have found: if ye love concede **(this)** award, if ye love not concede it not – it is not I that say **(this)** to you. (255)	Os homes qu'atopáchedes son de posesión **(?)**: riva de nove aguzadas **(?)** olas do mar adiantade vos: Coma non seña por voso poder **(enton)** estabrecido prepárese aixiña a batalla **(?)**. Eu cedo a posesión se vós queredes acoller **(esta)** sentencia se vós nona queredes acoller: non son eu quen digo **(esto)** a vos. (*Nós* 95: 208)	«Hommes qui cherchez un pays, venez à la distance de neuf vagues marines au cou vert, vous obtiendrez à cette condition, des bourgs par la puissance de vos clans guerriers, par la vertu des batailles. Je décide de vous donner une terre productive si vous faites conciliation convenable avec moi. Si vous n'accordiez pas cet ate d'amitié, vous ne pourrez jamais habiter le pays, je bous le dis.» (Lizeray, 85)

[39] See Henri Lizeray and William O'Dwyer, *Leabar Gabala, Livre des invasions* (Paris: Maison-neuve freres et C. Leclerc, 1884).

[40] As noted in the previous chapter, Murguía refers to the French translation in *Historia de Galicia*. To my knowledge, the Galician translation is the first to appear in the Iberian peninsula and the third in Europe. The Spanish translation by Ramón Sainero Sánchez did not appear until 1988.

[41] While the final draft of the translation was being reviewed and prepared for publication, MacNeill was arrested and imprisoned for his involvement in the Easter Rising 1916 (despite the fact that he only heard about the plans days before and had tried to stop it). Macalister visited him a few times in prison in order to discuss and finalise their translation project. The retention of question marks throughout the English text could be due to the translators' inability to resolve queries before the text's publiction.

If the French text were a mediating text for the Galician translator, interference would be noticeable in word choice and order. A Galician translator relying on the French text would have omitted the question marks and resolved his own queries regarding unfamiliar words, like "green-necked". Nevertheless, he depends on the English source with the exception of his omission of "of the land ye have found" and his insertion of an additional question mark after "aguzadas".

Under normal circumstances, a translation such as this one that claims to aim to be "as literal as possible" could be defined as a foreignising translation. However, it is "as literal as possible" to the English translation, which is a mediating text, rather than to the Irish original. Although this complicates the situation, the problem is reduced by the fact that the English text is itself a foreignising translation that reproduces many features of the Irish language. However, this is an issue that the translator does not address. While I will not dwell upon this here, we should acknowledge that the variations existing between the English translation and the Irish original and consequently between the Galician translation and the Irish original could be significant enough to alter and even further distort the translator's intention to be "as literal as possible". Like the Irish scholars, the Galician translator probably was not bothered by the literary quality of his translation; instead his concern was the documentation of the existence and antiquity of a Celtic culture in Galicia. He may have envisioned his text as a preparatory one that later would be polished and improved for a general Galician audience. As we shall discover in the following analysis of the translated chapters, there is no reason to doubt the writer's statement that he translated from the English text.

While the source text includes numerous footnotes offering alternative expressions to verses in Irish and English, the translator ignores and omits these footnotes. Instead, he incorporates his own explanatory footnotes into the translated chapters in order to present links between the text and Galicia's cultural heritage. In the three chapters, thirteen footnotes appear, of which only two seek to clarify ambiguities and one offers a translation of a word unchanged from English. The translator's clarifications occur as a result of MacNeill and Macalister's use of pronouns. They appear during the episode in which Aaron, a relative of Moses, meets Nel, the learned son of Fenius and guest of Pharaoh, and they discuss the adventures of the Israelites. Aaron explains how Moses, with God's assistance, saved the Israelites. In the following sentence, "[. . .] antr'iles estaban as consabidas dez pragas que caíron riba d'iles [. . .]",[42] the translator places a footnote after the second appearance of "iles". He does so in order to specify that the Egyptians, not the Israelites, are the victims of the plagues. When Nel and his people agree to flee Egypt with Moses, they decide to travel by water instead of land. In the second example, "Conviñeron en qu'os barcos estarían na posesión d'iles [. . .]",[43] the ambiguity regarding the identity of "iles" again is clarified with a footnote indicating that "iles" refers to the "pobo de Nel". No doubt the translator chooses to create these footnotes rather than to correct the text itself because he privileges Macalister's and MacNeill's text, which he esteems as the "autorizada versión".[44] This

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[42] "Leabhar Gabhála: Libro das Conquistas d' Irlanda: Capídoo XI: A ocupación dos fillos de Mil (Gabhéil Chloinne Miledh)", *Nós*, 86 (1931), 24-26 (p. 25).
[43] Ibid, p. 26.
[44] "A historia d'El-Rei Breogán e dos fillos de Mil", p. 23.

curious decision indicates the extent to which the translator depends on the English text, respecting each word and sentence in the determination to be "as literal as possible".

Whereas the introductory article failed to offer any commentary or insights by the writer, the remaining ten footnotes exhibit his primary intention to provide additional information as much as to establish connexions between the text and Irish and Galician archaeology, literature, politics, geography, and culture. Like the introduction, these footnotes reflect the translator's need to justify the translation. One footnote refers to the surname, Feni, explaining that the Fenians, "revolucionarios nacionalistas irlandeses do século XIX, que formaban unha forte sociedade segreda" derived their name from the aforementioned Celtic family of warriors.[45] Interestingly enough, this footnote resembles Vicetto's description of the Fenians who, according to him, seek Ireland's emancipation and share "[I]gual espíritu de independencia [que] fermenta en el corazon de los hijos de Galicia".[46] By pointing this out, the translator connects the epic heroes' deeds with those of Irish nationalists, implying that the quest for national identity and sovereignty is intrinsic to Celtic peoples.

Two other footnotes attempt to draw direct correlations between the places named in the chapter and Galician cities and monuments. The translated text reads as follows: "Despois, unha cibdade foi fundada por Breoghan na Hespaña, Brigantia seu nome (1), e unha torre foi ergueita por il no frente d'ela, que e chamada Torre de Breoghan (2)".[47] In the first footnote, the translator proposes that Brigantia is located in Northern Galicia and

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[45] "Leabhar Gabhála: Libro das Conquistas d' Irlanda: Capídoo XI : A ocupación dos fillos de Mil (Gabhéil Chloinne Miledh)", p. 25.
[46] Vicetto, *Historia de Galicia: Tomo 1*, p. 175.
[47] "Leabhar Gabhála: Libro das Conquistas d' Irlanda: Capídoo XI: A ocupación dos fillos de Mil (Gabhéil Chloinne Miledh) (Proseguimento)", *Nós*, 88 (1931), 68-74 (p. 70).

that present-day geographers locate it in Betanzos. His explanation echoes Vicetto, who quoted an anonymous author's unpublished *Historia de Betanzos*, stating,

> La dicha ciudad de Betanzos *ó bello*, la fundó en aquel sitio que dejamos dicho un hijo de Thobel, que fué nieto de Noé, el cual fundador se llamó BRIGO, y fué descendiente de Noé, por la linea de Japhet, porque este Japhet fué hijo de Noé y padre de Tubal que fundó á España, y Tubal tuvo por hijo à Brigo, *el cual fundó á Betanzos* y la llamó Brigancia poniéndole su propio nombre.[48]

In order to account for the tower's location "no frente d'ela", which could dissuade readers from identifying the monument as Galician, he explains that it means "no frente da cibdade, semella que favorecen millor a localización na Cruña".[49] In asserting this, the translator seems to be alluding to Murguía's suggestion that "[e]l puerto de nuestros brigantinos, era la Coruña, por eso la mencionan á cada momento los poemas y las historias irlandesas. ¡Tan viva quedó en la memoria de sus descendientes, el nombre de la tierra de donde habían salido sus progenitores y el alto faro y la luz protectora que les había guiado en aquellos mares procelosos!"[50] The translator's explanation seeks to convince the reader that part of the myth occurred in Galicia and thus belongs to Galician culture. He reiterates this geographical assertion by creating a link between Breoghan's Tower and Hercules' Tower, the Roman lighthouse in A Coruña.[51] He also indicates that Breoghan's Tower formerly was identified as "*Farum Brigantium*" in various ancient maps.[52] Overall, these footnotes make explicit the references to Galicia in *Leabhar Gabhála*. As Tymoczko points out, "A piece of literature customarily evokes its culture

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[48] Vicetto, *Historia de Galicia: Tomo 1*, p. 156.
[49] "Leabhar Gabhála: Libro das Conquistas d' Irlanda: Capídoo XI: A ocupación dos fillos de Mil (Gabhéil Chloinne Miledh) (Proseguimento)", p. 70.
[50] Murguía, *Historia de Galicia: Volumen III*, p. 500.
[51] The translator states, "Esta torre de Breoghan (*Tor Breoghan*) é a que despois foi chamada Torre de Ércoles." "Leabhar Gabhála: Libro das Conquistas d' Irlanda: Capídoo XI: A ocupación dos fillos de Mil (Gabhéil Chloinne Miledh) (Proseguimento)", p. 70.
[52] Ibid, p. 70.

through consequential and telling signals or details, typically parts or aspects of the culture that are saturated with semiotic significance and emblematic of the culture as a whole, both in terms of objective structure and subjective experience."[53] In *Leabhar Gabhála*, for example, the translator underscores the metonymy within the text via the footnotes so that he can locate the Irish epic in the context of Galicia. Accordingly he offers such detailed notes in order to stress that the Celtic people settled in Galicia and colonised Ireland from the Galician shores and to substantiate the previous historical research of Vicetto and Murguía.

In *Nós*, the three chapters appear in four issues, Chapter Eleven being divided into two parts. As I mentioned previously, the English text employs archaic language and long, confusing sentences. Given that the chapters translated into Galician closely follow the format established by Macalister's and MacNeill's English translation, disruptions are repeated in the target text. As suggested by the translator's introduction, the translation "está feita o mais literal que foi posibele".[54] Occasionally, he alters the English text's grammatical structure to comply with the Galician language, but overall he follows the English source text's structure and avoids creating fluency for the Galician reader.

Despite the fact that *Leabhar Gabhála* is not a traditional Classic, it is likely that the *Xeración Nós*, particularly the translator, considered it as such due to its importance within the Irish tradition, its epic form and its references to the Bible and Greek mythology. For this reason, according to Gómez Ledo's reasoning, the only proper approach to its translation is literal, or foreignising. As a result, *Leabhar Gabhála* is

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[53] Tymoczko, *Translation in a Postcolonial Context*, p. 45.
[54] "A historia d'El-Rei Breogán e dos fillos de Mil", p. 23.

enlisted in the *Xeración Nós*' ambitious project and participates in promoting a cultural and national political agenda amongst the Galician elite.

In the case of Galicia, the absence of a native literature necessitated the importation and translation of foreign literature. As a result, translation contributed to the literary repertoire because it transformed the spoken language into a written language. Galician translation, although it may be foreignising as exemplified by *Leabhar Gabhála*, challenges the hegemony of the Castilian Spanish language and its imperialism by producing literature in the Galician language. This foreignising approach to translation was reminiscent of Schleiermacher's 1813 proposals. As noted in Chapter One, the German philosopher envisioned that foreignisation could further enrich and strengthen the German language, while it simultaneously diluted the French influence in German culture and letters. Evidently, the Galician intellectuals believed the same for their own situation. Furthermore, by incorporating *Leabhar Gabhála* into Galician, the translator appropriates a historical text that affirms Galicia's supposed Celtic heritage while it calls into doubt its ties to Castilian Spain. Based upon the use of the Galician language and the assertion regarding their ancestry, the *Xeración Nós* forms its cultural identity and constructs the Galician nation. In this respect, I would argue, borrowing the theory of Bhabha, that this group formulates another process to "narrate the nation": they *translate* it. The *Xeración Nós* therefore demonstrates with *Leabhar Gabhála* that foreignising – or better yet, a literal strategy – can contribute to the (re)building of a nation. Moreover, the introduction of new linguistic forms could contribute to the development of the Galician language.

Now I shall look at the English text and its partial Galician translation and provide a close textual analysis. In the citations given, I will identify and examine certain features of the texts (such as the treatment of formulae, archaisms, and other literary devices; adjective placement; mistranslations; and omissions, amongst others) in order to demonstrate how much the translator tries to be "as literal as possible" to the source. Through this study, I will be able to offer conclusions regarding the quality of the Galician translation.

In *Leabhar Gabhála*, certain formulae are recognisable in both the English and Galician translations. The first apparent formula is the list dedicated to tracing characters' ancestors. In this respect, *Leabhar Gabhála* resembles the Old Testament of the Bible. The text introduces a character and then names the paternal lineage through Adam, using the phrase, "son of [individual's forename]".

Noe divided the world into three parts between his sons Sem, Cham, Japheth. Sem over the middle of Asia, for the River Euphrates to the eastern shore of the world; Cham over Africa and the southern half of Asia; Japheth over the north half of Asia and all Europe. **Japheth, son of Noe, son of Lamech, son of Mathusalem, son of Enoch, son of Jared, son of Mahalaleel, son of Cainan, son of Enos, son of Seth, son of Adam.** Now Japheth, these are his children: Gomer, Magog, Thiras, Javan, Mesech, Madai, and Tubal. (191, 193)	Noé divideu o mundo en tres partes antr'os seus fillos Sem, Cham e Japhet. Sem sobr'o meio de Asia, dend'o río Euphrates deica o estremo leste do mundo; Cham sobr'a Africa e a mitade sul da Asia; Japhet sobr'a mitade norte da Asia e toda a Europa. **Japhet, fillo de Noé, fillo de Lamech, fillo de Mathusalem, fillo d'Enoch, fillo de Jared, fillo de Mahaleel, fillo de Cainán, fillo d'Enós, fillo de Seth, fillo d'Adam.** Agora Japhet; veleiquí os seus fillos: Gomer, Magog, Thiras, Javán, Mesech, Madai e Tubal. (*Nós* 86: 24)

The Galician translator's decision to preserve, rather than to cut, such long and for some readers tedious lists indicates his adherence to the English text. The inclusion of these lists illustrates for the Galicians their ancestry and their links to Biblical men.

Another idiosyncratic feature of the text is the manner in which births are announced and the characters names' are introduced. As seen in the examples below, the narrator states that a child is born and then names the child. While the sentence varies in its word choice and order, the clause is composed of the following: "[individual's forename] his name". Thus:

That Easru had a princely son, **Sru his name**. (201)	Iste Easru tivo un fillo principal, **Sru seu nome**. (*Nós* 86: 26)
A son was born to Brath, son of Death, afterwards in Spain, **Breoghan his name**. (209)	Un fillo lle naceu a Brath, fillo de Death, despóis d'estar na Hespaña, **Breoghan seu nome**. (*Nós* 88: 70)
Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, bore him two sons by one birth, **Emer the White and Amergin their names**. (231)	Scota, filla do Faraón, tróuxolle dous fillos d'un parto, **Emer o branco e Amergín os seus nomes**. (*Nós* 92: 141)

As illustrated here, the Galician translator chooses to mimic the pattern and retains the strangeness for his readers instead of domesticating the text by adding a verb and changing the clause into a sentence. This pattern also appears when the city, Brigantia, is introduced:

Afterwards a city was founded by Breoghan in Spain, **Brigantia its name**, and a tower was built by him in front of it, which is called Breoghan's Tower. (209)	Despois, unha cibdade foi fundada por Breoghan na Hespaña, **Brigantia seu nome** (1), e unha torre foi ergueita por il no frente d'ela, que é chamada Torre de Breoghan (2). (*Nós* 88: 70)

These examples clearly demonstrate the translator's literal and foreignising strategy.

In one example, the Galician translator employs the formula of names although the English text does not. Ith and his kin have left Brigantia to search for the land that Ith saw from his lookout point. They sail there, land on the shores, and meet the natives.

When Ith questions who governs the land to which he and his tribesmen have travelled, the men answer:

"**Mac Cuill, Mac Cecht, and Mac Greiniu are the names** of its kings." (245)	«**Mac Cuill, Mac Cecht e Mac Greiniu os nomes** dos seus reis.» (*Nós* 95: 206)

While Macalister and MacNeill use the verb "are", the translator omits it. This example is rare in that the translator corrects Macalister's and MacNeill's text so it conforms to the naming formula previously seen. This omission consequently creates an estranging effect for the Galician reader where none existed for the English reader

Besides employing formulae for listing ancestors and naming characters, Macalister and MacNeill also have a formula for enumerating the ships in which *Leabhar Gabhála*'s heroes and their families travelled. The phrase used is "[number] ships [his/their] tale". Although the translator usually treats such formulae in the same manner, as demonstrated above, he sometimes handles this phrase differently. Thus:

Fifty ships their tale, twenty-four couples in each ship. (201)	**Cincuenta naos a sua conta**, vintecatro parejas en cada nao. (*Nós* 88: 68)
Forty ships his tale. (209)	**Corenta anos [sic] contaba.** (*Nós* 88: 70)

Here "tale", an archaic term, means "a number or total". Although "conta", or "count", functions in this context, it is a common Galician word and it weakens the text's archaic register. While the translator closely translates the first example and retains its strangeness in Galician, he domesticates the second by converting the noun into a verb and then making a sentence.

In Galician, as in Castilian Spanish, the subject pronoun often is omitted since it is implied in the verb's conjugation. However, throughout the chapters published in *Nós*, the translator intermittently includes the subject pronouns although they are not necessary in Galician. This decision on the translator's part illustrates again his close adherence to and dependence on the English text regardless of Galician grammar norms. After the Irish druids cast a spell to prevent Mil's descendants from reaching Ireland a third time, Aimirgin recites a poem to calm the strong winds provoked by them. He begins and ends his incantation with the following line:

I invoke the land of Ireland. (257, 259) **Eu** invoco a terra d'Irlanda. (*Nós* 95: 209)

When Mil's descendants reach Ireland, Aimirgin recites another poem. As seen below, the translator replaces each subject pronoun "I" with "eu":

I am wind on the sea.
I am a wave of the ocean.
I am the roar of the sea.
I am a powerful ox.
I am a hawk on a cliff.
I am dewdrop in sunshine.
I am . . .(263, 265)

Eu son o vento no mar.
Eu son unha ola no oceano.
Eu son o balbor do mar.
Eu son un poderoso boi.
Eu son un falcon no penedo.
Eu son unha pinga d'orballo no craror do sol.
Eu son. . . (*Nós* 95: 210)

Because the first person singular and third person plural subjects of the conjugated form, "to be" or "ser", share the same verb "son", it is possible that the translator maintained "eu" to avoid confusion. However, he could have retained the first pronoun and omitted the others altogether. In both poems, the inclusion and subsequent retention of "eu" preserves the poem's rhythm and rhetoric as much as it emphasises Aimirgin's magical powers and his relationship with nature.

However, the translator does not limit the inclusion of "eu" to verses only. He also retains "I", when it appears in the prose. One example occurs when Donn promises to avenge the druids' inhospitability to Mil's ancestors:

Said Donn, "**I** will put under the edge of spears and swords the warriors that are in the land now [. . .]" (259)	Dixo Donn: «**Eu** porei baixo o gume das lanzas e espadas os guerreiros qu'están na terra agora [. . .]». (*Nós* 88: 74)

By maintaining the "eu" here, Donn's statement becomes more powerful and emphasises his wish to act; it suggests that he alone will fight violently against the unfriendly natives of Ireland.

In addition to keeping the first person singular subject prounoun, the translator also incorporates the first and third person plural subject pronouns, "nós" and "iles". Thus:

"**We** give," said the kings, "the judgment of your own poets to you, for if **they** give a false judgment against us **they** will die from our elements (?) on the spot."(253)	«**Nós** dámosvos, dixeron os reis, o julgamento dos vosos propios poetas, porque s'**iles** dan un falso julgamento contra de nós, **iles** morrerán dos nosos elementos (?) na deshonra». (*Nós* 95: 208)

With respect to the first person pronoun, the translator may have retained it due to its association with royalty. Although none of the third person pronouns is necessary here, the translator includes them so as to reproduce the English text word by word. It further shows how, by depending on the English, he diverges from Galician grammar in order to be literal to the source text and reminds the reader of its foreignness.

One of the most marked foreignising elements is the placement of adjectives. In most cases, an adjective, if it is distinctive, follows the noun that it modifies in Galician. Yet, if the adjective is non-distinctive, or, in other words, it emphasises a given

characteristic of the noun, it may precede the noun. Throughout the text, the translator generally does not discriminate between these types and tends to place adjectives before nouns as observed in these examples: "the primitive language" (193) to "o primitivo lingoage" (*Nós* 86: 24), "the famous rod" (197) to "a famosa vara"(*Nós* 86: 25); "every feminine form" (205) to "toda feminina forma" (*Nós* 88: 69); "valiant heroes" (225) to "valentes herois" (*Nós* 88: 139); "the Scotic language" (245) to "scotica lingua" (*Nós* 95: 206); and "clean gravel" (261) to "limpa area" (*Nós* 95: 210).

When two adjectives are present, the translator generally preserves the syntax as shown in the fourth line:

They stayed a month in **coloured Dacia**,	Estiveron un mes na **colorada Dacia**,
they went thence to **clear Gothia**,	E foron despois â **crara Gothia**,
into Delgaint, into **dewy Breoghan**,	Ao Delgaint, ao **orballado Breoghan**.
into **cold cornered Spain**. (241)	Na **fria esquinada Hespaña**. (*Nós* 92: 144)

By respecting the word order of the English text, the translator foregrounds the characteristics associated with the nouns in Galician.

When a series of three adjectives appears, the translator usually does not change their position:

Noenel and Reffloir with a spear,	Noenes [sic] e Reffloir c'unha lanza,
the two sons of Reffloir, son of Riffill [sic],	os dous fillos de Reffloir, fillo de Reffill,
drove Agnomain out	botaron a Agnomain fora
over the **great green merry sea**. (213)	pol-o **gran verde e ledo mar**. (*Nós* 88: 72)

As is observed here, to compensate for his placement of two or three adjectives before the noun, he chooses to insert the conjunction "e" to unite the series of adjectives. Although the addition of the conjunction interrupts the poetic flow, his decision to place all adjectives before the noun emphasises the adjectives over the nouns and produces a

strange, almost ungrammatical effect. In another example, the translator again employs the conjunction; however, he uses it as a substitute for a hyphen. Thus:

Golamh came out of Scythia –
a story in which bards find sweetness –
after wounding Reffloir, son of Neman,
with his **bright white-green spear**. (239)

Golamh chegou da Scythia –
unha historia na qu'os bardos atopan
dozura,
despois de ferir a Reffloir, fillo de Neman,
co-a sua **lucente verde e branca lanza**.
(*Nós* 92: 143)

When a series of more than three adjectives appears, the translator changes his strategy, varying the order of the adjectives:

These are their deeds of valour,
of the **clear, glorious, great royal host**;
it was a great achievement, after battle,
without stain;
theirs was every profit, every
expedition.(277)

Istes son os seus feitos de valor,
de **crara, groriosa, gran hoste real**;
era unha gran empresa, despois da batalla
sen mancha;.
a iles era cada proveito, cada expedición.
(*Nós* 95: 213)

Here, the translator places three of the four adjectives antecedent to the noun. It seems to indicate that more than three adjectives before a noun would be confusing to a reader. Nevertheless, from the translator's overall treatment of adjectives shows how he attempts to stay as close as possible to English word order.

In the English translation, Macalister and MacNeill occasionally alter syntax so that the verb and direct object(s) precede the subject(s) in an attempt to follow the sequence of words in Irish. The Galician translator respects this style and often repeats the same inversions. In the examples below, the direct objects begin each sentence. Thus:

Five sons had Magog: Baath, Ibath, Barachan, Emoth, and Aithecht. (193)

Cinco fillos tivo Magog: Baath, Ibath, Barachán, Emoth e Aithecht. (*Nós* 86: 24)

["]**A shame to our men of learning is it**," said Donn, "not to suppress the druidic wind."(257)	«**Unha vergonza pra os nosos homes instruidos é isto,**» dixo Donn, «non contel-o druídico vento.» (*Nós* 95: 209)

Adjectives also appear before the verb. For example:

Great and immense was the tale of the men who came there, after their being assembled to one place (235)	**Grande e inmensa era a conta** dos homes qu'alí viñeron, despois que foron ajuntados n-un lugar. (*Nós* 92: 142)
Downcast was Lughaidh after the woman's death [. . .] (261)	**Desfeito era Lughaidh** despois da morte da muller [. . .] (*Nós* 95: 210)

In respecting the syntax of the English text, the translator maintains the emphasis on the adjectives. He also intensifies the prose's poetic quality.

In another variation of syntactical inversions, Macalister and MacNeill insert a subject pronoun between the verb and the participle (present and past).

[. . .] a journey of six summer days **were they rowing** thither from the island of the Caspian. (205)	[. . .] unha jornada de seis días de vran **foron iles remando** cara alá, dend'a illa do Mar Caspio. (*Nós* 88: 69)
A valiant solider was Golamh in those battles, and **by him was every battle won** on his enemies in turn, [. . .] (237)	**Un valente soldado foi Golamh** n-estas batallas e **por il foi cada batalla ganada** aos seu nemigos en redor, [. . .] (*Nós* 92: 142)

Despite the unusual position of the subjects, the translator imitates the English syntax and splits the verb and participle.

While such syntactical inversions may estrange the English reader, they do not always have the same effect in Galician, with its more flexible word order. Examples include:

[. . .] so they reached the land where **was**	[. .] asina eles chegaron â terra onde

Nel, son of Fenius, on the border of the Red Sea. (195)	**estaba Nel**, fillo de Fenius, na veira do Mar Bermello. (*Nós* 86: 24)
In one and the same time **were born those boys**, at the Gaethlaighe. (207)	Ao mesmo tempo **naceron istes rapaces** no Gaethlaighe. (*Nós* 88: 70)

Thus, despite the fact that the translator follows the English text word for word, his translation loses the archaic literary style, reminiscent of the King James Bible, that one encounters in English.

Throughout the source text, pleonastic, or synonymous, pairs of nouns, verbs, and adjectives abound. These synonyms reinforce the images presented in the text and reproduce a feature of the Irish original that is typical of prose writing of that period, as seen in the example below when Ith first sees Ireland from Galicia's shores:

There was a father's brother of Mil, Ith, son of Breoghan, with them; he was **expert and accomplished** in **knowledge and learning**. Once on a while when Ith, of a clear winter's evening, was on the top of Breoghan's Tower, **contemplating and overlooking** the four quarters, it seemed to him that he saw a **shadow and likeness** of **a land and lofty island** far away from him. He went back to his brethren, and told them what he had seen; and said that he was **mindful and desirous** of going to see the land that had appeared to him. Breg, son of Breoghan, said it was no land he had seen but clouds of heaven, and he was hindering him from going on that expedition. (243)	Alí había un irman do pai de Mil, Ith, fillo de Breoghan co-iles; era **esperto e cumprido** na **coñecencia e istrución**. Unha vez no intre en que Ith n-un craro serán d'inverno, estaba no outo da torre de Breoghan, **contemprando e fitando** os catro cadrantes, pareceulle que vía unha **sôma e semellanza** d'**unha terra e ergueita ínsua** aló no longe. Baixou ond'os seus irmans e relatoulles o que tiña visto; e dixo qu' estaba **vigiante e cobizoso** de ver a terra que ll'aparecera. Breg, fillo de Breoghan, dixo que non era terra o que vira, senon nubens do ceo, e qu'éralle embarazoso o ir a tal espedición. (*Nós* 95: 206)

The repetition seen here evokes the text's original status as a story told by bards. It thus is representative of the oral culture once prominent in Ireland and elsewhere. Despite the repetition, the translator does not eliminate the pairs, preserving a majority of them when

they appear in the text. For the translator, the presence of pleonastic pairs is advantageous in expanding and strengthening the Galician vocabulary as much as it is characteristic of the more verbose style of the epic tradition.

Although the translator foreignises *Leabhar Gabhála* as has been demonstrated in the previous sections, there are limitations to his foreignising strategy. Consequently, domestication also plays a role in his translation. Throughout the three chapters, the translator alters names, places, and other proper terms intrinsically associated with cultures and languages. In the Galician translation, names and places in English are domesticated, while Celtic ones are untouched. The translator does not change the Celtic names because the words evoke Galicia's past, particularly its Celtic ancestry and language. The names domesticated include: Noe (191) which changes to Noé (*Nós* 86: 24); Moses (195) to Moisés (*Nós* 86: 25); Eber Whiteknee (207) to Eber Gioullobranco (*Nós* 88: 70); Eber the Black (207) to Eber o Negro (*Nós* 88:70); Aghnon the White (207) to Aghnon o Branco (*Nós* 88: 70); Febri the Green (207) to Febri o Verde (*Nós* 88: 70); and Lombards (209) to Lombardos (*Nós* 88: 70); Picts (233) to Pictos (*Nós* 92: 141); and Pict-folk (233) to pobo dos Pictos (*Nós* 92: 141). In some instances, the translator is inconsistent and offers various semi-domesticated or domesticated names for persons such as: Pharaoh (199) to Pharaoh (*Nós* 86: 25), Pharaon and Pharaón (*Nós* 86: 26), and Faraón (*Nós* 92: 140) and Scythians to scythianos (*Nós* 92: 139), scythiáns (*Nós* 92: 139), and Scythanos (*Nós* 92: 140). It also is interesting to point out that the translator does not domesticate the name of Breoghan in the text, although it appears domesticated in the article as "Breogán". Such a decision seems peculiar given that Breoghan is embedded in

Galician history and literature. While it is possible that it simply is an oversight on the translator's part, it also could be an intentional choice. By not domesticating Breoghan, the translator accentuates the character's Celtic ancestry. He thus reminds his audience that Breoghan is a hero for both the Galicians and the Irish. The place-names domesticated to Galican culture are: Spain (191) which changes to Hespaña (*Nós* 86: 24); Ireland (191) to Irlanda (*Nós* 86: 24); Nimrod's Tower (193) to Torre de Nemrod (*Nós* 86: 24); Red Sea (195) to Mar Bermello (*Nós* 86: 25); Red Sea (201, 211) to Mar Rubio (*Nós* 88: 68, 71); Taprobane (201) to Taprobana (*Nós* 88:68); Caspian Sea (203) to Mar Caspio (*Nós* 88: 69); Northern Ocean (207) to Océano do Norte (*Nós* 88: 69); and Breoghan's Tower (209) to Torre de Breoghan (*Nós* 88: 70); and Germany (233) to Germania (*Nós* 92: 141). Again, semi-domesticated names for places occur as in the examples of Egypt to Egipto (*Nós* 86: 24) and Egypto (*Nós* 92: 140) and Brigantia (209, 233) to Brigantia (*Nós* 88: 70) and Brigantía (*Nós* 92: 141). With regard to Egypt, one must point out that in the same section, the translator alternates between spellings. However, in one example, the translator does not domesticate a place as the example Pict-land (233; *Nós* 92: 141) demonstrates. Given that he domesticates the group's name, as already listed above, the preservation of the place-name is unusual. These examples further illustrate the translator's inconsistency as much as his lack of attention to detail. Via this domestication the translator brings the text to his audience, making the names and places familiar to the Galician culture.

Macalister and MacNeill alternate between the present historic tense and the past tense throughout their text in order to accentuate certain episodes. In general, they employ the present historic tense for the narration of journeys. The translator, however, does not adhere to this style. Despite the fact that Galician allows for alternating between tenses, the translator normally chooses to render all tenses to the past. For example:

They [Agnomain's family] **find** a beautiful pleasant island there, Coronis its name; they **stay** a year and a quarter there. Glas, son of Agnomain, died in the end of that space. After that they **sail** on the sea. (205)	**Atoparon** unha fermosa e placenteira illa alí, Coronis seu nome; **estiveron** alí un ano e quarto. Glas, fillo d'Agnomain morreu ao cabo d'aquel tempo. Despóis **navegaron** pol-o mar. (*Nós* 88: 69)

After Mil's sons arrive in Ireland to avenge Ith's death, they meet three women. Each claims that the island is named for her. In the second encounter:

Then they [the sons of Mil] **have converse** with Fodla in Eblinne, and the poet Aimirgin **asks** her name of her in like manner. "Fodla," said she, "and from me is the land named." (251)	Despois iles **tiveron conversa** con Fodla en Eblinne, e o poeta Aimirgin **perguntou** o nome d'ela de mesmo geito. «Fodla» dixo ela, «e por min é esta terra nomeada.» (*Nós* 95: 208)

As both examples show, the translator imposes his own style regarding verb tenses. He thus asserts his authority to decide which tense functions best for the Galician text, correcting what he may perceive as errors or inconsistencies and removing the foreignness found in the source text. Unlike the English source, which pulls the reader closer to the action when present historic tenses are used, the Galician translation creates and maintains a distance between the reader and the text by setting the epic's action remotely in the past.

In the following example, the translator uncharacteristically mixes his strategies by employing both the present historic tense and past tense. Thus:

Ogamain **takes** the kingdom afterwards till he died a natural death. Reffill, son of Noenius, **takes** the kingdom after that, till he fell by Tai, son of Ogamain, for the sake of the kingdom. Tai, son of Ogamain, son of Beoamain, **took** the kingdom till he fell by Reffloir, son of Reffill. (203)	Ogamain **toma** o reino despóis, ata que morreu de morte natural. Reffill, fillo de Noenius, **tomou** o reinado despóis d'isto, ata que foi morto por Tai, fillo d'Ogamain, por mor do reinado. Tai, fillo d'Ogamain, fillo de Beoamain, **colleu** o reinado ata que foi morto por Reffloir, fillo de Reffill. (*Nós* 88: 69)

This inconsistency, on the translator's part, suggests that he may have been distracted or temporarily forgotten his decision to convert all present historic tenses into past ones. Moreover, it indicates the translator's lack of attention to detail and lackadaisical proofreading.

As discussed previously, Macalister and MacNeill invert English syntax so that the reader is confronted with an estranging reading experience. Although the Galician translator often retains their inversions, as I already have discussed, he occasionally deviates from them.

The translator encounters trouble with syntactical inversions constructed of the following elements: "[character's name] [verb] he". In one such case, he changes the sentence into a clause and weakens the foreignising effect that the English text possesses. Thus:

A son was born afterwards to Gaedheal in Egypt, **Easru was he**. (201)	Un fillo lle nacera a Gaedheal no Egipto, **qu'era Easru**. (*Nós* 86: 26)

By converting the sentence into a subordinate clause, the translator moves away from the source text, temporarily violating his adherence to a literal strategy. When the translator

cannot handle the inversion by reversing it or changing it into a clause, he rewrites the sentence. Thus:

[. . .] but **fishes are they** from their navels downwards. (205)	[. . .] mais **a sua forma era de peixes** dend'o embigo pra baixo. (*Nós* 88: 69)

Again the presence of a common subject pronoun in an inverted sentence seems to cause him trouble. Rather than rendering the sentence literally, which is his usual tendency, the translator diverges from the source text and domesticates the problematic sentence.

The translator sometimes mixes his strategies, as is seen below. In the first part, he follows the English text's word order exactly, while in the second part, he keeps the verb and past participle together and moves the subject after the participle:

[. . .] by him was every battle won on his enemies in turn, so that for that reason **was the name "Miledh" given him** [. . .] (237)	[. .] por il foi cada batalla ganada aos seu nemigos en redor, tanto que por esta razón **lle foi dado o nome de «Miledh»** [. . .] (*Nós* 92: 142)

Due to the proximity of the phrases, the translator may have decided to compensate for the strangeness by domesticating one of the two phrases.

In addition to juxtaposing the order of subjects, verbs, and direct objects, he occasionally transposes prepositions. Thus:

Powerful the son of Eber **afterwards**, whose exact bright name was Beoamain; to the shore of the Caspian Sea **he becomes king,** till he fell **by the hand of Noenius**. (213)	**Despóis** o poderoso fillo d'Eber cuio justo nome era Beoamain; â beira do Mar Caspio **rei se fixo** ata morrer **de Noanios** [sic] **pol-a man**. (*Nós* 86: 25)

By transposing "despóis" to the beginning of the first line, the translator is able to leave the second line alone since it modifies Eber. Thus, his minor alteration allows him to render the second line literally. However, he then inverts the syntax of the third and

fourth lines. These additional changes thus compensate for the domestication of the stanza's first line. However, these revisions seem unusual, particularly considering that he is not trying to conserve or create any rhyme within the stanza.

In some instances, the translator reduces pleonastic pairs of nouns. The translator omits the phrase, "acquaintance with," twice in the following sentence:

[. . .] [Golamh] reflected that it was no credit or honour to him that he had **no knowledge or acquaintance with** his native home and his kin-brethren in Grecian Scythia, or **acquaintance with or travel** in other countries besides. (223)	[. . .] matinou que lle non daba creto nen honra o nen ten **coñecencia** do fogar nativo e dos irmáns de castimonia da Scythia grega, ou **costumanza da viage** por outras comarcas d'alí preto. (*Nós* 92: 139)

This omission suggests that the translator does not know the word and as a result, he simply excludes it.

In addition to reducing synonymous nouns, he does the same with verbs. Thus:

He further told them how he **had bound and contracted** his friendship on them, and said that he would send gifts of food and provision before them. (197)	Ademais contoulles coma il **contraguera** amisade coiles e que lles había mandar dons de mantenza e provisión. (*Nós* 86: 25)

The translator is sometimes confused by past participles, as I will show in an upcoming section. As a consequence, he omits "bound" here due to his unfamiliarity with the word. Rather than attempting to replace it with a synonym for "contraguer", the translator simply opts to reduce the pleonastic pair.

The translator occasionally reduces pleonastic pairs of adjectives too. Thus:

They [Laimhfhind's crew] find there a well with the taste and satisfaction of wine, so that they took their fill from it till they were **intoxicated and merry**. (207)	Atoparon alí unha fonte co gusto e satisfaizón do viño, tanto que se fartaron d'il ata que estiveron **bévedos**. (*Nós* 88: 70)

While "bévedos" conveys the crew's inebriated state, it fails to indicate their joviality caused by drinking. Thus, the Galician translator alters the text's meaning, providing a more negative image of the drunken crew.

Given that *Leabhar Gabhála* is an epic, Macalister and MacNeill employ a poetic and archaic diction. This style thus registers the text as a work from both a different epoch and a different literary tradition. However, for the Galician translator, the situation is not the same. Unlike the Irish translators, the Galician translator could not rely on a corpus of translated classics from which to find and copy archaisms. The source text's archaic expressions therefore are weakened in the Galician translation as a consequence of domestication. For example:

Nel went with all his people on the sea in the aforesaid boats that night, till he should know how the hosts would separate from one another **on the morrow** [. . .] (199)	«Nei [sic] marchou con todo o seu pobo pol-o mar adiante, nos devanditos barcos, aquela noite, namentras non souperon qu'os nemigos s'arredaran un do outro **â mañá** [. . .]» (*Nós* 86: 26)

In some circumstances, the translator omits archaic words as is observed here:

Fifty ships the tale of their host, who sailed on the great Red Sea; **there on every deck-abode is permitted,** **four-and-twenty** wedded couples.(201)	Cincuenta naos a conta da sua hoste que navegaba pol-o gran Mar Rubio **baixo cada cuberta permítense** **vintecatro** parexas de casados. (*Nós* 88: 71)

In the third line, the archaic word, "abode", is omitted and thus lost in the Galician text. Moreover, the translator domesticates the verb "is permitted" as "permítense" and "four-and-twenty" as "vintecatro", thus weakening the final two lines.

In addition to toning down the text's archaic register, the translator occasionally diminishes its metaphors. For example:

They sail on the sea, a bright deed,
both day and night;
the sheen of the hands of Laimhfhinn
bright
was like beautiful candles. (215)

Navegaron no mar, un lucente feito,
dous días e duas noites;
o resplandor das mans de Laimhfhinn
brila
com'as máis fermosas candeas.
(*Nós* 88: 73)

Here, the translator domesticates the third and fourth lines by changing the adjective, "bright", into a verb and then omitting the verb "was". He also adds "máis" (one of the few additions made)[55] in order to strengthen the image in his translation. Furthermore, the translator converts the present historic tense to the past tense and mistranslates "both day and night" as "dous días e duas noites". His changes thus undermine the stanza's original poetic quality.

By incorporating archaic words and expressions into their text, Macalister and MacNeill embed the translation in a remote age, reminding their readers that the text is not modern. Consequently, their archaisms enhance the text's historical quality. However, for the Galician translator, the inability to reproduce the archaisms forces him to lower the text's register and thus lose the sense of remoteness in some sections.

Compound nouns appear frequently in the English text and enhance its descriptiveness. Whereas English allows the use of compounds, Galician does not. With respect to these compound nouns, the translator does not treat them in a standard style.

[55] For "He does so." (197), the Galician translator incorporates an additional phrase; "E com'o dixera, así o fixo." (*Nós* 86: 25).

Only once does he foreignise a compound as demonstrated by his translation of "over-kings" (199) to "sobre-reis" (*Nós* 86: 26). At other times, the translator domesticates compounds. For example, "dryfoot" (199) becomes "pé enxoito" (*Nós* 86: 26) and "blood-feud" (203) becomes "nemizade apaixoada" (*Nós* 88: 69). In these examples, the translator places the modifier after the noun and conforms to Galician grammar norms. In another example, in which the compound functions as an adjective modifying a noun, the translator also domesticates it. Thus, "a musical ever-tuneful song" (205) becomes "un musical canto, sempre melodioso" (*Nós* 88: 69). Another domesticating strategy applied to compounds is the omission of a word. For example, he translates "every battle-combat" (209) as "todol-os combates" (*Nós* 88: 70).

In the Galician translated text, mistranslations are common. Certain words are repeatedly mistranslated in both the prose and verse sections. One frequent mistranslation occurs when the word "fifteen" appears. For example:

"[. . .] so that there died king Mil, Occe and Ucce, and **fifteen** wedded couples of their own people with them" (237)	«[. . .] tanto qu'alí morreron o rei Mil, Occe e Uicce e **cincuenta** parexas de casados do seu propio pobo co-iles» (*Nós* 92: 143)

In the verses, the translator repeats his error in the line, "**fifteen** couples died of it" (241), which he writes as "**cincuenta** parexas morreron d'ela" (*Nós* 92: 144). This error is the result of the translator's confusion between the numbers "fifteen" and "fifty", increasing the number of deaths caused by plague.

The translator also mistranslates "Thursday" (233, 241) as "terza-feira" (*Nós* 92: 141, 144). "Terza feira" is Tuesday, while "quinta feira" is Thursday. Such a mistake

seems to indicate that the translator is confused regarding some English lexicon. Another word that the translator erroneously translates more than once is "score". Thus:

Their number **thirty** ships, coming over the **heavy** waves; three **score** each ship of them, and one **score** of them women. (215)	O seu númaro, **corenta** naos vindo riba das **tristeiras** olas tres **ringlas** cada nao d'iles e unha **ringla** d'iles, mulleres. (*Nós* 88: 72)

In English, "score" refers to "a group of twenty"; however, in Galician, "ringla" is "unha fileira de cousas ou persoas postas unhas detrás de outras", according to the *Gran Diccionario Xerais da Lingua*. In another chapter, he mistranslates "[t]wo **score** and fourteen battles" (241) as "[d]uas **partes** e catorce batallas" (*Nós* 92: 144). In both examples, the translator's choices do not inform the reader of the quantity of people in the ship or the number of battles. Furthermore, the translator also mistranslates "thirty" as "corenta" and "heavy" as "tristeiras". As a result of these errors, he increases the number of ships traveling to Spain and personifies the ocean waves in a manner not implied in the English text.

At times, it seems that the translator misreads the English word. For example, the translator mistranslates "cleared by them" (235) as "por il limpadas" (*Nós* 92: 142). Other mistranslations, however, occur as a result of the translator's possible lack of familiarity with past forms of verbs. For example:

Now that Gaedheal, whom we have mentioned, was a little boy at the time, and it happened that a venomous serpent **wound** itself round him so that death was near him, and all **feared** he would die of it unless he were saved quickly. (197)	Agora, iste Gaedheal, a quen temos mencionado, era un rapaciño pequeno n-aquil tempo, e aconteceu qu'unha serpe pezoñenta **feríuno** todo arredor, tanto qu'a a morte andaba preto d'il, e todos **espantados** de que fora morrer d'aquelo, a non ser que fora salvado ben aixiña. (*Nós* 86: 25)

Here the translator takes the verb "wound" to mean "to hurt, to injure". He is ignorant of its use as the past form of "wind". Thus, his translation suggests that the snake bit, or "wounded", the boy all over the body rather than wrapped itself around the boy. While the English fragment indicates the sustained and painful violence of the boy's strangulation, the Galician one tones down the injuries. Consequently, the Irish Gaedheal is a stronger and more resilient boy-hero than the Galician Gaedheal. The translator also confuses the past tense with the past participle, as is seen in the translation of the English verb "feared" to the past participle "espantados" in Galician.

Another example of mistranslation is observed when the preposition "past" appears:

They sailed **past** the point of Sliabh Riffe, they reached (?) every land on the wave; a year were they near Thracia, till they took harbour in brown Dacia. (241)	Navegaron, **pasaron** a punta de Sliabh Riffe, chegaron toda a terra na onda un ano botaron preto de Tracia ata tomaren acougo na escura Dacia. (*Nós* 92: 144)

The translator changes the preposition "past" into a verb "pasaron". This error is probably due to the translator mistaking the preposition for a verb. Of interest too is the fact that here the translator chooses not to retain the subject pronouns.

Occasionally the translator's misplaced literalism causes a mistranslation and then interferes with the text's meaning. Below the translator offers:

There was a green **ring** on him in the place where the serpent had coiled about him, from that out to his death, so that thus *Glas* ["Green"] stuck to him as an extra name. (197)	Había un **anel** verde no seu corpo por onde a serpe s'apilicara a il, todo d'arredor, dend'aquela deica a sua morte, de geito que iste Glas ("Green") (2) quedoulle coma nomeada. (*Nós* 86: 25)

In the text, the word "ring" refers to "a circular marking" on Gaedheal's body. However, in Galician, "anel", according to the *Gran Diccionario Xerais da Lingua*, is "un aro de metal ou doutra materia que polo xeral se leva nos dedos como adorno". The translator's choice thus could perplex a reader. This also is observed in the following:

Easru died after a **season**, and his son Sru takes the principality after him. (197)	Easru morreu despois d'unha **estación**, e o seu fillo Sru colleu o principiado despois d'il. (*Nós* 86: 26)

The translator translates "season" as "estación", which means "cada unha das catro divisións do ano". However, "season" here is an archaic word that means "a proper or suitable time". In both instances, the translator's inadequate knowledge of the source language produces mistranslations in the target text, thus failing to convey the image presented in the source text. Evidently, this is due to the fact that he chooses the most common meanings, not realising that other meanings for these words are available.

While the translator attempts to keep his promise to be as "literal as possible" to the English text, there are occasions a faulty knowledge of this language leads him to omit words or expressions completely and/or substitute them with unequivalent ones. When problematic words appear, the translator sometimes ignores them:

Having left Reffloir on his deathbed, so that he died of **the gashes** of that wounding afterwards, envy and great hatred filled most of the chiefs and nobles of the land in general against Golamh and his people, on account of that **deed** which he had done [. .]. (227)	Tendo Reffloir deixado no seu leito de morte, tanto que morreu da ferida que lle fixera, xenreira e grande inquinia encheu aos máis dos chefes e nobres da terra en geral contra Golamh e o seu pobo, por aquela **morte** que fixera [. . .] (Nós 92: 140)

Here he omits "gashes" from his translation. Also, in the last line, he changes "deed" to "death".

In another stanza, the translator omits words and inserts unrelated ones:

A noble **birth** was born there To Laimhfhind, son of Agnomain, Eber white-knee, clear his complexion, **Curl-haired** grandfather of Feibri. (217)	Un noble **fillo** naceu alí a Laimhfhind, fillo d'Agnomain. Eber gioullo-branco, de crara coor, pai d'Aghnón, abó de Feibri Glas. (Nós 88: 73)

"Curl-haired" disappears in the Galician translation and is replaced with "pai d'Aghnon". Since omitting the compound would leave the line shorter than the others, the translator decides to compensate by creating a phrase. In this stanza, he also domesticates "clear his complexion" to "de crara coor".

Occasionally, various omissions are noticed in the same section. Thus:

High the first fight, I will not conceal it, They won against the host of Toisen; A battle against the Bachra, **it was rough in valour,** And a battle against the Lombards. (219)	**Iles unha batalla ben sonada** Rifaron contra a hoste de Toisen; Unha batalla contr'os Bachia, E unha batalla contr'os Lombardos. (*Nós* 88: 74)

In the first line, none of the original phrases remains. "Fight" seems to be a problematic word for the translator and one that he avoids translating as is observed in the line, "Breoghan of the noise of fights, who was a champion" (219) which he translates as "Breoghan venceunas, qu'era o campeón" (*Nós* 88: 74). Interestingly, he moves "they" from the second line to the first line and splits the subject pronoun and verb. Given that the translator could not reproduce the line and that he omits a clause from the third line too, it is possible that in his translation, he compensates for these omissions by forcing a syntactical inversion and creating foreignness where none existed.

The comparative textual analysis of the English and Galician translations illustrates both the translator's and *Nós*' intention to produce a copy of *Leahbar Gabhála* for an educated, elite audience capable of coping with the complexities of unidiomatic language. The tendency to foreignise, or to be "as literal as possible", reveals the influence of Schleiermacher and the acceptance of Gómez Ledo's advice. Furthermore, it reveals the translator's source-oriented approach, especially his dependence on the English text.

In other sections, I have suggested that the English translators, Macalister and MacNeill, translated *Leabhar Gabhála* in order to record the epic's existence, not to produce a work of literary quality. Venuti suggests that a translation which disrupts the target language signifies the difference of the foreign text. He also argues that that non-fluency is a tactic of the visible and foreignising translator who chooses to deviate from the native norms to stage an alien reading experience for their audience.[56] The motivation for Macalister's and MacNeill's decision to create "an alien reading experience" for Irish readers was twofold. First, they deviate from the English language norms to demonstrate their fidelity to the source language and this is further demonstrated in their edition in which the English translation accompanies the Irish source text. Second, these scholars avoid fluency as a form of resistance to the English language: by not writing in fluent English, they reject Ireland's colonial status. Despite the fact that they were obliged to use English due to its predominance in Ireland, their deviations from the language imply that they simultaneously rebel against it.

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[56] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 20.

With respect to the Galician translation, the preservation of certain formulae, some subject pronouns, and pleonastic pairs and the close adherence to syntax, indicate that the translation essentially could be considered an example of foreignisation. Nonetheless, these textual characteristics also could also be seen as signs of the translator's lack of imagination and/or his linguistic incompetency. Yet domestication also is evident as exemplified by the inclusion of footnotes, the alterations made to titles, names, and places, syntactical changes, and the occasional reduction of pleonastic pairs. Despite the fact that the translator does not – or perhaps cannot – manipulate the language to create a fluent Galician text, he incorporates paratextual details, such as the introductory article and the footnotes, in order to create a connexion between the text and Irish and Galician archaeology, literature, politics, geography, and culture. Besides being attracted to the epic's allusions to the Bible and Greek mythology, the translator also discovers key references to Galician landmarks within the Irish legend and highlights them with footnotes, as I have indicated. In particular, the footnotes highlight references to the city Brigantia and the monument, Torre de Breoghan, and clarify each one's identity and location in twentieth-century Galicia. The translator's explanations seek to convince the reader that part of the myth occurred in Galicia and thus belongs to Galician culture. In this respect, the translator's strategy performs a "labour of acculturation which domesticates the foreign text, making it intelligible and even familiar to the target-language reader", in this case, a *Nós* subscriber, "providing him or her with the narcissistic experience of recognising his or her own culture in a cultural other".[57]

In translating *Leabhar Gabhála*, the anonymous contributor's occasional domesticating tendencies reinforce Benedict Anderson's concept of an imagined

[57] Venuti, *Rethinking Translation*, pp. 4-5.

community, especially the image of communion and the sense of fraternity.[58] For emerging national cultures, such as the Galician one, such domesticating tendencies in translation affirm not only language, but also cultural and national identity. In the context of the chapters of *Leabhar Gabhála* translated into Galician, the cultural narcissism invokes a mirroring, by which members of the *Xeración Nós* see themselves reflected in the Celtic people and culture and by extension the Irish people and culture. This narcissism allows both the translator and the reader to imagine themselves as members of the same community of struggle. Hence, the domesticating tendencies of *Leabhar Gabhála* imagine not only the Galician nation, but also the Celtic community. Having examined why *Nós* selected *Leabhar Gabhála* and how the text was translated, I now will consider who translated this Irish historic myth.

The question of who translated the Galician *Leabhar Gabhála* based on Macalister's and MacNeill's translation is a complicated one.[59] Of the consistent contributors to *Nós*, only a few had previously translated English works and demonstrated proficiency in English. The writers capable of this task included Antón Villar Ponte (1881-1936), who translated W.B. Yeats' *Cathleen ni Houlihan*,[60] Risco, who translated Yeats' poem "To An Isle in the Water"[61] and his short stories "Our Lady of the Hills"[62] and "An Enduring Heart"[63] as well as other fragments of Anglo-Irish

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[58] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 6-7.
[59] For the discussion regarding concerns on the use of the English translation as a mediating text, see page 91 of this chapter.
[60] *Nós*, 8 (1921), 8-13.
[61] "Letras irlandesas: W.B. Yeats", *Nós*, 3 (1920), 15-16.
[62] *Nós*, 15 (1923), 12-13.
[63] *A Nosa Terra*, 1/3/1925, p. 10.

poetry in "Da renacencia céltiga: A moderna literatura irlandesa",[64] and Otero, who translated fragments of James Joyce's *Ulysses*,[65] amongst other works. It is important to mention too that Florentino López Cuevillas (1886-1958), although he had not translated for *Nós* in the past, wrote extensively about Galician, as well as Celtic, archaeology. Since Cuevillas was familiar with Macalister's work and demonstrated an interest in related studies, he should be considered as a possible translator. Members of the *Xeración Nós*, academics, and writers disagree about the translator's identity, voicing memories of past conversations and offering personal opinions regarding *Leabhar Gabhála*'s translator. In Galicia today, the debate regarding *Leabhar Gabhála*'s translator centres on Otero and Risco. Nevertheless, we can neither disqualify other men such as Villar Ponte and Cuevillas nor overlook the possibility that the translation was a shared project amongst the *Xeración Nós* members.

By not naming a translator and maintaining his invisibility in each installment, *Nós* downplayed *Leabhar Gabhála*'s status as a translation and borrowed it for their own purposes. They smuggled it into their literary repertoire, portraying it as a historic myth not only for Ireland, but also for Galicia. Identifying the translator could give us useful information about his approach to translation and general attitude towards language. It also suggests what the translator deemed to be important in order to continue and advance Galician nationalism as much as to inspire Galician literature. Let us consider what some writers have concluded about the translator's identity.

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[64] *Nós*, 26 (1926) 5-9, 27 (1926), 4-12, and 28 (1926), 2-5.
[65] *Nós*, 32 (1926), 3-11.

In the 1950s, Xosé Luís Méndez Ferrín[66] studied at the University of Santiago under Otero Pedrayo, whom he believes to be the translator. He claims that the translator ends one verse with the same word with which he begins the next verse.[67] According to Ferrín, this poetic style is a technique implemented by Otero Pedrayo. However, neither in the English text nor in the Galician text is there any such repetition in the verse sections. It is possible that Ferrín misidentifies the translated text's literary style with that of another. Despite this, he insists that either Otero Pedrayo had told him that he translated the chapters for the journal or another source had informed him that Otero Pedrayo did the translation.[68]

Alvaro Cunqueiro, a contemporary of Risco and Otero Pedrayo, tells a different story. In an article commemorating the anniversary of the journal and its contributions to Galician culture and language, Cunqueiro wrote that he recalled reading the translated chapters of *Leabhar Gabhála* and declared that Risco did the translation.[69] Although it cannot be confirmed whether Cunqueiro concluded this himself or Risco confided to Cunqueiro that he translated the chapters, it is a statement that cannot be discounted.

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[66] Méndez Ferrín attributes his interest in Celtic and Irish literature to his reading of the translated chapters of *Leabhar Gabhála*. He further credits the text for influencing his own writing. On Méndez Ferrín's discussion of this theme, see Xosé M. Salgado and Xoán-M. Casado, *X.L. Méndez Ferrín* (Santiago de Compostela: Sotelo Blanco, 1989), pp. 219-20.

[67] Salgado and Casado, *X.L. Méndez Ferrín*, pp. 219-20. Ferrín explains, "Ese poema ["Roi Xordo"] escribino lendo a traducción dun fragmento do Leabhar Gabhala que Otero Pedrayo fai na revista *Nós*. Estiven observando como se facían as concatenacións célticas e logo, cando estudiei a épica céltica, vin que terminaba un verso coa mesma palabra coa que comezaba a seguinte, de maneira que se vai producindo un entrelazo, un entrelazo semellante na plástica ó entrelazo celta e ó viquingo; entón dixen eu: "aquí podíase facer un poema épico galego social e a ver como queda". En realidade, foi un experimento lingüístico e, para o meu gusto, quedou ben; logo, convencinme de que isto xa non se podía repetir, que había que deixalo así. Non podía ter continuación." Salgado and Casado, *X.L. Méndez Ferrín*, pp. 219-20.

[68] Ibid, p. 255. In response to Salgado and Casado's statement, "*Pero a traducción do* Leabhar Gabhála *que aparece nas páxinas da revista Nós non vén asinada por ninguén*", Méndez Ferrín states, "Pero eu sei que foi Otero Pedrayo; non estou seguro porque o sei: ou ben porque mo dixo el nalgunha occasion ou ben seino por algunha outra fonte oral." Salgado and Casado, *X.L. Méndez Ferrín*, p. 255.

[69] Alvaro Cunqueiro, "Agardando 'Nós' ", *Nós*, 145 (1970), 31-32. In the commemoration issue, Cunqueiro recalls, "Quén que non fora eu leía en Mondoñedo a tradución que don Vicente Risco facía do 'Leabhar Gabhala'? Quén sabía que non fora eu quenes tiñan sido os fillos de Mil, que eu escoitaba falar na Recadieira?" Cunqueiro, "Agardando 'Nós' ", p. 31.

Cunqueiro is not alone in his assertion. Francisco Fernández del Riego, another *Xeración Nós* member and a close friend to both Risco and Otero, maintains that Risco told him that he translated *Leabhar Gabhála*.[70]

In a recent re-publication of the introduction and translation in a book series sponsored by the Museo do Pobo Galego, the editors and Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos, who penned a general introduction to the chapters, concur with Cunqueiro and Fernández del Riego. Both insist that while the translation remains anonymous, all indications suggest that Risco was responsible.[71] It appears that de Toro Santos bases his conclusion on the fact that Risco published articles about Irish writers and literature and that he had previously translated a poem and a short story by Yeats in *Nós*. However, de Toro Santos is not specific enough in his argument. If we rely only on these criteria, the floodgates can be opened to any and all Galician writers familiar with and interested in translating Irish literature. Moreover, neither the editors nor de Toro Santos further elaborate what are the additonal indications that point to Risco as *Leabhar Gabhála*'s translator.

So, whom do we believe? In a recent study, *O nacionalismo kármico de Vicente Risco*, Joaquim Ventura argues convincingly against Ferrín's characterisation of Risco as a fascist and shows such classification to have its motivation in underlying political tendencies and allegiance to Otero and in the belief that Risco was a traitor to the

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[70] Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos, Personal electronic mail correspondence to Kerry McKevitt, 5 December 2000.

[71] The editors remark, "Aínda que a traducción é anónima, tódolos indicios apuntan a Vicente Risco como responsable da mesma." *A historia d'El-Rei Breogán e dos fillos de Mil, asegún o Leabhar Gabhala* (Noia: Museo do Pobo Galego, 2000), p. 5. Also, Professor de Toro Santos notes, "A simpatía cara a Irlanda, como se observa, é patente nos contidos da revista e aínda que non resulta ningunha novidade, si supón un salto cualitativo. A revista *Nós* é fiel seguidora da corrente celtista que vén do dezanove pero agora lle confire un toque de modernidade. Polo tanto, este é o contexto que explica a publicación en 1931 (n 86, 88, 92 e 95) de varios capítulos do *Leabhar Gabhála*, tamén coñecido como *Lebor Gabála Erenn* ou *Libro das Invasións*, traducidos ó galego, e que non figuran asinados pero que todo apunta á autoría de Vicente Risco." De Toro Santos, "Introduction", pp. 8-9.

Xeración Nós and, ultimately, Galicia.[72] Is Ferrín or are the other writers trying to allocate the prestige of the translation to their mentors and friends? Then, are these men's statements based on trustworthy memories, personal loyalties, or mere assumptions? Other than relying on individuals' speculations or circumstantial evidence, how can we determine who translated *Leabhar Gabhála*'s three chapters? Since we cannot depend only on conjecture, we must look to the translated text itself where the answer is in the writing, the language itself.

During the publication of *Nós*, no standard or normalised Galician existed. Although the Galician intellectuals mooted and discussed establishing a standard Galician, it was never sanctioned, like so many other projects. For this reason, it is not uncommon to find a lack of uniformity and a number of orthographical variations amongst authors and from issue to issue in *Nós*. This publication was amateur in style and, as a result, printing errors as well as human errors occurred. This is evident in the translation of *Leabhar Gabhála*. At times, the printers omitted authors' names or initials, prepared titles that did not match in the content listing and in the article, and inserted misspellings or other typographical errors. During the typesetting, it is possible that the printers, unable to read an author's penmanship or distinguish certain letters from others, misprinted and/or omitted words, phrases, or sentences. In addition, it also is likely that an editor or copyeditor, depending on his discretion, chose to conform the writing and printing of articles and/or issues. It is impossible to quantify or identify all of the possible room for error to occur between newly dispatched artistic or journalistic work

[72] I am indebted to Dr. Craig Patterson for bringing this to my attention. On this point, see Joaquim Ventura, *O nacionalismo kármico de Vicente Risco* (Santiago de Compostela: Edicións Laiovento, 2000).

and its materialisation on the printed page. This especially is true in a (re)emerging culture where quantity is as important as quality.

Taking into account all of these factors, let us now consider what is presented in the translated chapters of *Leabhar Gabhála*. If the orthography of the translated text is analysed, a very significant pattern emerges. The translator rarely uses the 'x' in his writing to represent the sound /ʃ/, preferring the letter 'g' or 'j'.[73] Words like *geito*, *genro*, *gente*, *ja/já*, *juntos, justo*, and *longe* appear frequently throughout the three translated chapters. Other words, such as *ajuntaron*, *Egypto/Egipto*, *genealogía*, *gioullo*, *jogar*, *jornada, julgamento*, *linage*, *língoage, trigésimo*, *viage*, and *vigiar*, amongst others, are also found. Overall, and in spite of possible printing errors, a distinct model becomes visible.

Considering this, we now look to the candidates' orthography as exemplified in *Nós*. First, we will begin with Otero. If we examine his writing, especially his signed translation of fragments of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, we immediately observe that he normally used the 'x' to represent the sound /ʃ/. In Otero's translation, *xeito*, *parexa*, *xoello*, *orixinalidade*, *xenio*, and *xenealóxico* appear.[74] Otero also never justified his literary intent as the translator does in the introduction. Thus, contrary to Ferrín, this evidence suggests that Otero did not translate *Leabhar Gabhála*.

Second, Villar Ponte, like Otero, consistently wrote *Nós* articles in which the 'x' appeared and excluded spellings with 'g' or 'j'. In addition, words such as *xogaren*,

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[73] In the translation of *Leabhar Gabhála*'s chapters, the letter 'x' appears in *despoixas*, *enxoito*, and *xenreira*. Two other words, which the translator spells with 'x', *parexa* and *fuxirdes*, also appear with the alternative spellings, *pareja* and *fugiron*.

[74] See "*Ulysses*. (Anacos da soadísima novela de James Joyce postos en galego por Ramón Otero Pedrayo)", trans. by Ramón Otero Pedrayo, *Nós*, 32 (1926), 3-11.

lonxe, *xente*, *xa*, *xeito*, and *xente* are present in his only *Nós* translation, *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, and further corroborate his particular orthographical choices.[75] Given this information, Villar Ponte can be eliminated as a potential translator.

On the other hand, the third candidate, Cuevillas, is more problematic than Otero or Villar Ponte. In his *Nós* articles dating from 1920 until 1923, Cuevillas employed the 'x'. Then, in a series entitled "A edade de Ferro na Galiza"[76] and published during 1925 and 1926, orthographical changes occurred in Cuevillas' writing. The 'x' disappeared. Words that Cuevillas previously and frequently had written with a letter 'x', such as *xa*, *xente*, *xeógrafos*, and *ouxeto*, now appeared with either 'g' or 'j'. However, after the final installment of the series in 1926, Cuevillas returned to employing the 'x' in all of his articles. With the exception of the archaeological series, Cuevillas' orthography did not include spellings with 'g' and 'j'; instead, it reflected the heterogeneous Galician common during the years of the *Xeración Nós*.

Finally, we must consider Risco. In *Nós,* Risco's orthography was neither consistent nor reliable.[77] He often fluctuated between employing the letter 'x' and the letters 'g' and 'j'. His earlier articles often included words with 'x' rather than 'g' or 'j'. However, in later years, Risco's writings began to change; he incorporated more spellings with 'g' and 'j' into his articles and rarely used the 'x'. Words like *fugiron*, *ja/já*, *geito*, *singelas*, *viajaban*, *gente* and *ajuntado*, amongst others, appear in both "Nós, os

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[75] See W.B. Yeats, "*Cathleen ni Houlihan*", trans. by Antón Villar Ponte, *Nós,* 8 (1921), 8-13.
[76] See Florentino López Cuevillas, "A edade de Ferro na Galiza" in *Nós,* 19 (1925), 2-5; 20 (1925), 11-14; 21 (1925) 14-15; 22 (1925), 7-11; 23 (1925), 7-13; 24 (1925), 9-12; 25 (1926), 13-16; 27 (1926), 14-18; 28 (1926), 8-9; 29 (1926), 10-13; 30 (1926), 8-14; 33 (1926), 15-18; 34 (1926), 9-14; and 35 (1926), 9-11.
[77] María Cuquejo Enríquez's study of Risco's writing style as it evolved in the 1920's and early 1930's confirms this. See María Cuquejo Enríquez, *A lingua de Vicente Risco* (Santiago de Compostela: unpublished doctoral essay, 1997).

inadaptados"[78] and "Da Alemaña"[79]. During the late twenties and early thirties, words spelled with 'g' and 'j' dominated Risco's articles.

If the translation of *Leabhar Gabhála* were a project organised by *Nós* and divided amongst two or more translators, the orthography found would not be as consistent as it is. Given the range of spellings employed by the writers capable of translating the English text, other spellings would be present in the translated text. Additional divergences from the source text also would be apparent. Furthermore, if prose and verse sections were divided among different translators, certain mistranslations, such as "Thursday", "fifteen", and "score" amongst others already discussed, would not be repeated.

Of the *Nós* contributors, Risco appears to be the most likely candidate. The translator, as I noted earlier, bases his introduction on compiling and linking citations from academic works. He also defends the text's publication in the journal. This introduction resembles Risco's article, "Letras irlandesas: W.B. Yeats", in which Risco cites French writers' opinions about Yeats' poetry in order to justify the appearance of the translated poem, "To an Isle in the Water".[80] The translator also inserts footnotes in his introduction and translation. Again, this is characteristic of Risco. Moreover, during a visit to Berlin to pursue ethnographic research, Risco casually notes that he read the Irish epic and cites the title used by MacNeill and Macalister.[81] If Risco read and

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[78] See Vicente Risco, "Nós, os inadaptados", *Nós*, 115 (1933), 115-23.
[79] See Vicente Risco, "Da Alemaña", *Nós,* 79 (1930), 140-44; 81 (1930), 179-85; 82 (1930), 206-07; 83 (1930), 219-27; 86 (1931), 28-37; 88 (1931), 75-79; 89 (1931), 91-93; 92 (1931), 144-52; 96 (1931), 228-34; 100 (1932), 64-65; 102 (1932), 108-10; 104 (1932), 143-51; 105 (1932), 169-74; 206 (1932), 188-95; 107 (1932), 201-07; 110 (1933), 31-37; 111(1933), 52-54, 112 (1933), 60-68; 119 (1933), 235-41; and 120 (1933), 254-59.
[80] See Vicente Risco, "Letras irlandesas: W.B. Yeats", *Nós*, 3 (1920), 15-16.
[81] Risco, "Da Alemaña", *Nós*, 89 (1931), 91-93 (p. 93). Risco uses the English translation's spelling *Leabhar Gabhála* instead of the French translation's spelling *Lebor Gabala*.

translated *Leabhar Gabhala* whilst in Berlin when he also was writing his articles, "Da Alemaña", time constraints could provide an explanation for the inconsistencies, mistranslations, and poor proofreading. While there never may be conclusive evidence from Risco, especially in light of the fact that he burned most of his notes, correspondence, papers, and books following the war,[82] the writing styles of the translated text and other *Nós* articles posit the compelling hypothesis that Risco indeed translated *Leabhar Gabhála*.

The Galician reaction to *Leabhar Gabhála* was quiet. Following its translation in *Nós*, references to the legend, either implicitly or explicitly, were minimal. Ramón Cabanillas' "O Relembro do Clan", a poem praising Breoghan and his descendants, appears between the second and third instalments of the translation.[83] Castelao and Otero Pedrayo allude to the myth in books published after 1931 in order to uphold the notion of a Celtic race as well as to maintain a bond between the Irish and the Galicians. The small readership of the journal and the changing political climate, as well as the linguistic difficulties of foreignising translations, undoubtedly affected the translation's dissemination to Galician non-elites. Unfortunately, it appears to have been overlooked by various critics and until now been lost amongst the prolific writings of the *Xeración Nós*.

Whether or not *Leabhar Gabhála* is mythological or historical was irrelevant to the Galician intellectuals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. What matters is the fact that for these men of the *Rexurdimento* and the *Xeración Nós* an ancient text

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[82] According to Fernández del Riego, Risco destroyed all of his writings during the Spanish Civil War.
[83] *Nós*, 90 (1931), 97.

ascribed the founding of Ireland to Celtic people from Galicia and proposed a different version of history for Galicia. Through *Leabhar Gabhála*, *Nós* re-classified Galicians, including them in the emerging Celtic nations. It was emblematic of their "*mythomoteur*". Like Macpherson's *Ossian*, which engendered a more favourable image of the Scottish, *Leabhar Gabhála* offered a new and more noble image of the Galicians; they were heroes and founders of the Celtic race. For the *Xeración Nós*, the issues of fluency and translator visibility were not priorities in translating *Leabhar Gabhála*; instead, the priority was the recovery and documentation of a text that narrated the glorious past of Galicia's alleged ancestors. The decision not to name a translator may lie in the translator's hope that by making himself invisible, the story, rather than the teller, would attract attention and gain recognition for illustrating how Galicia participated in a history distinct from that of Castilian Spain. The *Xeración Nós* brought back *Leabhar Gabhála* to emulate and show off the supposed Celtic ancestors of both the Galicians and the Irish. This intention also explains the journal's selection of *Leabhar Gabhála*'s three final chapters for translation. By translating and publishing *Leabhar Gabhála*, the *Xeración Nós* validated Galicians' role in the founding of Ireland and translated as much as (re)wrote themselves into Celtic history and mythology.

Chapter Four
Instigating Patriotism and Self-Sacrifice: The Example of Yeats's *Cathleen ni Houlihan*

> Nations, races, and individual men are unified by an image, or bundle of related images, symbolical or evocative of the state of mind which is, of all states of mind not impossible, the most difficult to that man, race, or nation; because only the greatest obstacle that can be contemplated without despair rouses the will to full intensity.
>
> W.B. Yeats, *Autobiographies* (194-95)

William Butler Yeats (1865-1939) was the century's first literary intellectual of an emergent nation to articulate the experiences of a colonised people through his literary endeavours.[1] As a journalist, poet, playwright, theatre founder and director, lecturer, and politician, Yeats challenged Irish literary standards, stereotypes, and biases through his relentless activity in the hopes of restoring Ireland's status among the European nations. As Ireland faced the question of its identity and reevaluated its cultural heritage, Yeats acted as its foremost and most perceptive spokesman.[2] Above all, Yeats saw himself as a nationalist, striving to unite the rural with the urban, the peasant with the middle-class, and, most importantly, the Catholic with the Protestant in order to forge a new Irish identity and nation.

Like many *fin-de-siècle* European writers, Yeats was influenced by the European Romantic movement and soon developed a fascination for the "folk". His interest arose as a result of his friendship with John O'Leary, an Irish nationalist who was involved in the Irish Republican Brotherhood and exiled in the 1870s but returned to become a well-respected statesman in the late 1880s. With O'Leary's encouragement, Yeats delved into Irish history and folklore, reading numerous works by writers of the Young Ireland

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[1] For a comprehensive biography on W.B. Yeats, see, for instance, R.F. Foster, *W.B. Yeats: A Life I: The Apprentic Mage 1865-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[2] R.M. Kain, "Yeats and Irish Nationalism", in *W.B. Yeats: 1865-1965, Centenary Essays on the Art of W.B. Yeats*, ed. by D.E.S. Maxwell and S.B. Bushrui (Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1965), pp. 54-61 (p. 54).

movement, such as Samuel Ferguson and James Clarence Mangan, and collecting oral histories from family servants in Sligo. The efforts of the Gaelic Revival, especially translations, also indirectly nourished Yeats. As Raymond Cowell has pointed out, the aspect that appealed most to Yeats was O'Leary's "political and literary ideal of a 'Celtic Ireland' which would be free from all English influences".[3] In this respect, Yeats, like his mentor, O'Leary, fostered a nationalism underpinned by the allegedly pure and traditional culture of Irish peasants. This type of nationalism, as Gellner expounds in his *Nations and Nationalism*, does not replace the coloniser's, or the "alien high", culture with the colonised's, or the "local low", culture; instead, "it revives, or invents, a local high (literate, specialist-transmitted) culture of its own, though admittedly one which will have some links with the earlier folk styles and dialects".[4] Through his writing, Yeats constructed what Gellner considers a local high culture by combining his interests in the folk, Celticism, and occultism and transforming them to construct his vision of Ireland.

Yeats and his fellow English-language writers emerged when extensive labours were being made to reinstate and revive Irish language and literature. Despite the burgeoning Irish movement and the associated linguistic debates, Yeats insisted passionately that Ireland's national literature could be written in English. He advocated a national literature that "[sought] its identity and substance not in the traditions of Europe but in Ireland's own folk tradition".[5] Although Yeats argued for national literature rooted in Ireland's past and its legends, Yeats was not insular; he recognised the import of foreign literature as a model and he believed that "[The Irish] can learn from English and

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[3] Raymond Cowell, *W.B. Yeats* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1969), p. 14-15.
[4] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, p. 57.
[5] Gregory Castle, *Modernism and the Celtic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 53.

other literatures without loss of national individuality".[6] In Yeats's opinion, this could be achieved not through outright imitation, but through disciplined study to acquire and master style and form. Thus, as Phillip Marcus later elucidates, "[w]hat Yeats wanted, then, was a discriminating use of foreign literatures as an aid in developing the literature of Ireland."[7] Consequently, Yeats liberated Irish writers both indirectly and directly from their previous restricting conceptions of literature.[8] For this reason, John Hutchinson credits Yeats with "almost single-handedly creat[ing] a modern Irish literary school in English".[9]

Yeats's literary career spanned more than five decades. Although it is difficult to divide Yeats's work into clear stages, Douglas Archibald contends that it is possible to distinguish a chronology of his involvement with Anglo-Ireland and Celtic Ireland. Between 1885 and 1903 Yeats was the "leading figure of the Celtic Revival, committed to Irish independence, boldly confronting Unionist prejudice and cosmopolitan culture in the name of a native literary movement." From 1903 to 1916 he was "disillusioned and estranged" as a result of the disparities he recognises between the ideal nation promised by those involved in Ireland's Revival and the actual state emerging. From 1916 to 1922 he was "detached, ambivalent, and confused" by the developing political situation and found himself oscillating between admiration for the nationalists' heroism and sacrifice and apprehension for their personal and public cost. Between 1922 and 1932, Yeats assumed a more active role as a politician in Ireland's new government. However, he

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[6] Quoted in Phillip L. Marcus, *Yeats and the Beginning of the Irish Renaissance* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1970), p. 16. W.B. Yeats, "Nationality and Literature", *United Ireland*, May 27 1893.
[7] Marcus, *Yeats and the Beginning of the Irish Renaissance*, p. 18.
[8] Ibid, p. 283.
[9] Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*, p. 128.

found himself torn between his "new, largely conservative ideas and his old belief in romantic Ireland". Finally, during the years 1932 until 1939, Yeats continued to struggle, again "alternat[ing] between reactionary rage and attempts at reintegration".[10]

Throughout his life, Yeats epitomised what Frantz Fanon identifies as a native intellectual. According to Fanon, the native intellectual evolves through three essential stages. In the first stage, he assimilates himself to the cultural and literary standards of the coloniser. In the second one, he becomes "disturbed" as he attempts to remember who he is and to immerse himself in the people. However, because, as an intellectual, he is an outsider, he resorts to recalling their stories and reinterpreting the past. Then, in the final phase, the native intellectual tries to awaken the people, arousing them from their lethargy and inciting them to (re)act. In other words, he "feel[s] the need to speak to [his] nation, to compose the sentence which expresses the heart of the people and to become the mouthpiece of a new reality in action".[11] Yeats was the first "to lead his followers in darkness down the now-familiar road of decolonization: many would be the writers of emergent nations across the world who would come after him".[12]

For this reason Said proposes that Yeats can be counted among the "great nationalist artists of decolonization and revolutionary nationalism, like Tagore, Senghor, Neruda, Vallejo, Cesaire, Faiz, Darwish".[13] Seamus Deane concurs with Said's vision of Yeats as a post-colonial writer, suggesting that twentieth-century writers of colonised nations "read Yeats as a poet whose re-creation of himself and his community provides a

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[10] Douglas Archibald, *Yeats* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1983), pp. 80-81.
[11] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. by Constance Farrington (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1965), pp. 178-79.
[12] Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 251.
[13] Said, "Yeats and Decolonization", p. 73.

model for their own projects – the giving of a voice and a history to those who have been deprived of the consciousness of both".[14] There is no doubt that Risco, Villar Ponte, and other Galician intellectuals believed that Yeats, despite his writing in English, belonged to a minority cultural domain – that of the colonised nation – since his writing not only portrays distinctive regional qualities but also emerges from the tensions between the coloniser and the colonised. As will be demonstrated later, *Cathleen ni Houlihan* is a paradigm of this.

In 1920, when the first article about Yeats appeared in *Nós*, the Irish nation still had not achieved official recognition as an independent state. Yeats had already established himself as a modern poet in the English language a generation earlier. His attitudes and his writing style had changed immensely; he no longer was the quixotic Celtic writer whom the *Xeración Nós* championed and respected. Nevertheless it was Yeats's role as the leading figure of Ireland's Celtic Revival and his intermittent support of nationalist activities that played a significant part in his popularisation in Galicia. In this chapter, I will provide a survey of Yeats's reception in the Galician magazines, *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra*, and consider why he appealed to Galician intellectuals in the 1920s and 1930s. I will also address the origins of Yeats's earliest and most nationalist play, *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, and its impact in Ireland. I will then examine the context in which the *Xeración Nós* imported *Cathleen ni Houlihan* in *Nós*. Following this, I will compare and analyse Yeats's play and Antón Villar Ponte's translation. I conclude the chapter by assessing *Cathleen ni Houlihan*'s reception in Galicia and whether or not it achieved the objectives which its translator, Villar Ponte, expected.

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[14] Seamus Deane, "Introduction", in Terry Eagleton, Frederic Jameson, and Edward Said, *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Missouri Press, 1990), pp. 3-22 (p. 6).

Despite Yeats's popularity throughout the world, few scholars have addressed the reception and impact of Yeats's literature outside English-speaking countries during his lifetime.[15] Such an oversight has prevented Yeats scholars from understanding how other nations, particularly post-colonial ones, have interpreted Ireland's national poet and dramatist. Although the scope of this chapter is limited to Galicia, it does offer insights on why and how a post-colonial nation seeking to reform its literary canon and to redefine itself looks outside its own borders for inspiration.

In Galicia, as I have discussed earlier, the themes of Celticism and Ireland already were intrinsic to the *Irmandades da Fala*'s and the *Xeración Nós*' model for the (re)creation of national identity and nation. The groups' precursors, including Vicetto, Murguía, and Pondal, had propagated and cemented the notion of a filial relationship between the Galicians and other Celtic nations, especially the Irish. There had been a few very brief and minor translations of Irish authors in *A Nosa Terra*, but no study had been dedicated to the burgeoning popularity of modern Irish literature. However, with the arrival of the new cultural magazine, *Nós*, in 1920, the literary interests of the *Xeración Nós* found new outlets for expression.

In the year of *Nós*' inception, Risco wrote an article on Yeats and his poetry. Since Ireland had already assumed a pivotal rôle in Risco's nationalist doctrine, especially in his concept of *atlantismo*, according to which nations of the Atlantic were

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[15] K.P.S. Jochum points out that research into Yeats's reception in certain European countries is further complicated by the lack of bibliographical materials for magazines and newspapers before 1945, particularly in France, Italy, and Spain. This also seems to be the case with respect to post-colonial countries. See K.P.S. Jochum, *W.B. Yeats: A Classified Bibliography of Criticism*, 2nd edn (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

supposedly united by fraternal bonds and were superior to those of the Mediterranean,[16] it is not surprising that Risco imports this Irish poet. Within early twentieth-century Castilian Spain, Yeats was relatively unknown.[17] The only Spanish writer influenced by Yeats was Juan Ramón Jiménez, who, along with his wife Zenobia, intended to translate and publish Yeats's poetry and plays for a Spanish audience.[18] Their efforts, however, were thwarted by Yeats's attitude[19] and the failure of the translation of Rabindranath Tagore's *The Post Office* in Spanish theatre. If Risco were aware of Jiménez's interest in and praise for Yeats, he ignored it, bypassing it and looking elsewhere for information about the Irish poet. Risco's interest in Yeats and access to his works most likely is the result of *Nós'* subscription to European cultural journals, in particular the French art and literary review, *La Douce France*.[20] In the November 1920 issue of *La Douce France*, just one month before Risco's feature, Emmanuel de Thubert wrote a synopsis of Yeats's life and work as a supplement to Jeanne Lichnerowicz's translations of the three poems, "The Folly of Being Comforted", "To an Isle in the Water", and "Adam's Curse", which appeared in English too.[21] Where Jiménez failed in popularising Yeats in Spain, Risco,

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[16] For more information on *atlantismo*, see Vicente Risco, *Teoría do nacionalismo galego*, ed. by Justo Beramendi (Santiago de Compostela: Sotelo Blanco, 2000), pp. 31-32.

[17] According to Howard T. Young, the reaction of the Spanish press to Yeats's Nobel Prize in 1923 was muted due to the paucity of knowledge about his work. Young believes that Juan Ramón and Zenobia Jiménez could have filled this cultural gap if they had been able to complete their translations. See Howard T. Young, *The Line in the Margin: Juan Ramón Jiménez and His Readings in Blake, Shelley, and Yeats* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), p. 116.

[18] Jiménez read at least three of Yeats's plays, including *The Countess Cathleen (*fully translated), *The Land of Heart's Desire* (partially translated - unpublished), and *The Shadowy Waters* (proposed for translation). He also read and translated some of Yeats's poetry. See Young, *The Line in the Margin*, pp. 109-61.

[19] Yeats first granted the Jiménez permission to translate his prose. He eventually decided to allow them to translate his poetry and plays, but stipulated that they put them in prose, not verse. He also demanded a certain percentage of the sales, which Zenobia contested. For more details, see Young, *The Line in the Margin*, pp. 109-16.

[20] The French magazine, *La Douce France*, was published between 1919 and 1923. *Nós* often provided summaries of its contents and apparently used it as a mediating resource for current cultural and literary activity on the continent.

[21] W.B. Yeats, "Poèmes de Yeats", trans. by Jeanne Lichnerowicz, *La Douce France*, 26 (1920), 54-61.

via his French connexions, succeeded in making him known amongst the Galician intellectual elite.

Borrowing and translating de Thubert's two paragraphs of commentary for the *Nós* article, Risco also inserts his own short assessment of Yeats. For Risco, as for his French sources, it is Yeats's Celticism which attracts both attention and respect. Risco finds similarities between the Portuguese poet and occasional *Nós* contributor, Teixeira de Pascoaes, and Yeats. Emphasising the affinities amongst the Celtic nations, Risco comments: "A coincidencia de Yeats eiquí co'as ideias de Teixeira de Pascoaes é verdadeiramentes sorprendente, y-é unha boa proba da unidade da y-alma céltiga qu'esperta hoxe aiquí y-acolá pr' alumear ó mundo co'a verdadeira Luz do Esprito, Luz de Saudade."[22] According to Risco, it is this "alma céltiga" which not only will awaken the dormant nations, but also will invigorate the oppressed Atlantic cultures.

When he describes Yeats' poetry, Risco again highlights its Celtic spirit and compares it to the highly respected poetry of Rosalía de Castro. He assesses:

> A poesía de Yeats é sotil e fonda, chea da vaguedade céltiga; é coma se dixéramos un lirismo xordo e bretemoso, do que a beleza non salta ó pirmeiro ollar, com' as fanfarrias sonorosa d'un Carducci ou d'un Ruben [sic] Darío. É cousa interna que fala baixiño e doce, de cousas familiares. Lembra o *tono gris* da elexía a John Moore da nósa Rosalía; lembra algunhas cousas de Rodembach, y-outras de Francis Jammes. Tal impresión nos deron os poemas que coñecemos.[23]

Risco insists upon the Celtic element in Yeats's poetry so as to counteract the Mediterranean influence of Castilian Spanish literature. He is not alone in his views. Otero Pedrayo commends the Celtic traits too, specifying how they allowed Irish literature to flourish. He states, "Irlanda atopou por fin unha espresión súa, que fortificou

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[22] Vicente Risco, "Letras irlandesas: W.B. Yeats", *Nós*, 3 (1920), 15-16 (p. 16).
[23] Risco, "Letras irlandesas", p. 16.

ó seu pristino celtismo e deulle os carauteres de nación compreta e viva. A sua alma consta nas obras de Yeats, de Synge, de Lady Gregory."[24] By importing Yeats, the men of the *Xeración Nós* exalted him as a paradigm of the Celtic spirit that they wanted to inject into their own emerging literary projects.

In the same article, Risco contradicts his previous promotion of translating activity, which I discussed in Chapter One, when he introduces Yeats's poem by saying, "Anque non-os gustan as traduciós, damos eiquí unha."[25] This hostility towards translation appears contradictory if we recall his suggestion for destroying the wall between Galicia and Europe by importing literature and putting it into Galician. Such an attitude could also be due to the fact that Risco was aware of and shared Yeats's concerns about translating poetry in which the verse would lose its stresses and rhythms and become completely alien to the original. Or, perhaps Risco inserts this statement as a disclaimer for a translation that occasionally deviates from the source text and that also relies sporadically on Lichnerowicz's French translation as a mediating source. Whatever his reasons were, they do not impede him from fulfiling the more important task of showing Galician readers Yeats's spirit of Celticism. The poem that Risco translates as an example of this spirit is "To an Isle in the Water".[26] In contrast with "The Folly of Being Comforted" and "Adam's Curse" which are composed of long, sometimes complex phrases, "To an Isle in the Water" is brief and simple. Such factors most likely affected Risco's translating choice. Below are the original and its translations:

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[24] Ramón Otero Pedrayo, "Irlanda políteca no século XIX", *Nós*, 8 (1921), 13-17 (p. 16).
[25] Risco, "Letras irlandesas", p. 16.
[26] This poem first appeared in W.B. Yeats, *The Wanderings of Oisin and Other Poems* (London: Macmillan, 1889) and was subsequently published in various collections. For a complete list of its reprintings, see *The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W.B. Yeats*, ed. by Peter Allt and Russell K. Alspach (New York: Macmillan, 1957), pp. xxx-xxxiv and 89.

To an Isle in the Water

Shy one, shy one,
Shy one of my heart,
She moves in the firelight
Pensively apart.

She carries in the dishes,
And lays them in a row.
To an isle in the water
With her would I go.

She carries in the **candles**,
And lights the curtained room,
Shy in the doorway
And shy in the gloom;

And shy as a **rabbit,**
Helpful and shy.
To an isle in the water
With her would I **fly**. (89)

To an Isle in the Water

Medrosa, medrosa
do meu curazonhe
no craror do lume
pensativamentes, móvese
no lonxe

Ela trai os platos
E déixaos na mesa. . .
A unha isla na y-auga
Quixera ir co-ela.

Ela trai as **luces**
y-o sobrado aluma
medrosa na porta,
medrosa, ás escuras.

Medrosa cal **lebre**
Medrosa e sinxela
A unha isla na y-auga
Quixera **ir** co-ela.
(*Nós* 3: 16)

A une île dans l'eau

Une timide, une timide
Une timide de mon coeur,
Elle se meut à la lueur de
feu
Pensivement à part.

Elle apporte les plats,
Et les dispose en ordre.
A une île dans l'eau
Avec elle je voudrais aller.

Elle apporte les **chandelles**.
Et éclaire la chambre aux
rideaux,
Timide dans la porte
Et timide dans l'obscurité;

Timide comme un petit
lièvre,
Secourable et timide.
A une île dans l'eau
Avec elle je voudrais **fuir**.
(*La Douce France* 26: 57)

In his article, Risco, unlike the French translator Lichnerowicz, does not translate the title, perhaps in order to remind his reader that it was not originally written in Galician. Upon comparing the poems, one notices that the Galician translation is not literal to either the English original or the French translation. Whereas Lichnerowicz adheres to Yeats's translating stipulations and attempts to give a close translation, Risco chooses to privilege the qualities of form instead of sense. While Yeats's lines vary in the number of syllables (from four to seven) and have regular two stressed syllables in each, Risco's lines, with the exception of the fourth, which has two hexasyllabic hemistichs, have a regular hexasyllablic length, while maintaining a similar rhythmic effect of two stressed syllables

per line.[27] For example, in the first stanza, Risco omits Yeats's repetition of "shy one" in the second line so as to limit the number of syllables and to impose his own rhythm. For the sake of rhythm, too, he appends "he" to curazón, the "h" representing the velarity of the originally word-final /η/: in the Galician (as in the Spanish) popular lyric tradition, this paragogic /e/ is often added when a line ends in a stressed syllable, to make it fit the melody.[28] Through these modifications, Risco makes the translated poem familiar to his readership, domesticating it and inserting it into Galicia's popular tradition of folk songs. He alters the third and fourth lines, placing the word "móvese" at the end of the fourth line rather than at the beginning of the third and changing the rhyme found in Yeats' poem to assonance. In the second and third stanzas, Risco deviates from the original (and Lichnerowicz's translation) by omitting words, like "curtained", or adding words not suggested in the poem, like "mesa". As a consequence, he rewrites lines, such as "And lays them in a row" with "E déixaos na mesa..." and "And lights the curtained room" with "y-o sobrado aluma". His lexicon choice also is influenced by his intention to create assonance, corresponding to Yeats's rhyme, and to have six syllables in each line, with the exception of the last in the first stanza. As a result, he selects words that do not convey Yeats's literal meanings. For example, Risco offers "luces" for "candles", "lebre" for "rabbit", "sinxela" for "helpful", and "ir" for "fly". With respect to the translation of "rabbit", Risco's choice of "lebre" is quite close to Lichnerowicz's "lièvre", suggesting that he occasionally depended on the French translation as a mediating source. Such changes, which could be considered mistranslations, capture the poetic style more

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[27] I am indebted to Dr. John Rutherford for enlightening me regarding poetical devices and the Galician musical tradition.

[28] In another Yeats translation done by Risco, he uses "curazón" instead of "curazonhe". See W.B. Yeats, "Literatura céltiga: Nosa Señora dos Outeiros", trans. by Vicente Risco, *Nós*, 15 (1923), 12-13 (p. 12).

than the sense. In the final lines of the second and fourth stanzas, Risco, unlike Lichnerowicz, alters the syntax of the lines too, placing "with her" or "co-ela" at the end and reinforcing the assonance. Given that Yeats's "To an Isle in the Water" and Lichnerowicz's French translation appeared side by side in *La Douce France*, Risco may have relied on the French translation as an additional reference. Throughout the poem, Risco tries to recreate the rhyme and rhythm although he loses some part of the original meaning. By imposing a hexasyllabic pattern associated with *romancillos*, Risco, according to Venuti's theory, domesticates Yeats, enlisting the translated poem in the revision of Galicia's literary canon.

Risco translates de Thubert's commentary on the Irish poet and states that Yeats's publication of a collection of short stories, *The Celtic Twilight*, can be described as "folk-lore vivo, collido do bico do mesmo pobo" and that de Thubert hopes "[. . .] dar logo algús d'ises contos: *Nosa Señora dos Outeiros*, *Un curazón sofrido* ou pol-o menos certas meditaciós [. . .]."[29] One year later, in November 1921, de Thubert's promise was fulfilled when Lichnerowicz translated both stories for *La Douce France*.[30] Considering that these stories eventually appeared as translations and examples of Yeats's literary prowess in Galicia, this statement clearly reveals the influence of contemporary French literary critiques, like that of de Thubert, on Risco's own studies and his translation decisions. *Nós* published the first, "Our Lady of the Hills",[31] in 1923 and *A Nosa Terra* published the second, "An Enduring Heart",[32] in 1925. According to Gregory Castle,

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[29] Risco, "Letras irlandesas", p. 16. It is important to note that Risco does not use "curazonhe" here as he does in the poem.
[30] See W.B. Yeats, "Les Songes Celtiques: Notre-Dame des Collines. Un Coeur endurant.", trans. by Jeanne Lichnerowicz, *La Douce France*, 35 (1921), 66-70.
[31] W.B. Yeats, "Literatura céltiga: Nosa Señora dos Outeiros", trans. by Vicente Risco, *Nós*, 15 (1923), 12-13.
[32] W.B. Yeats, "Conto", trans. by [Vicente Risco (?)], *A Nosa Terra*, 1/3/1925, p. 10.

Yeats, in his folktale compilation, salvages and redeems the peasant culture characterised by its spiritualism yet threatened by the onset of modernity.[33] These stories appealed to de Thubert and Lichnerowicz as well as Risco and the *Xeración Nós* because they affirmed the putative folk culture of the Irish nation and exalted the traditions and beliefs of the peasants. Moreover, it is probable that Yeats's short stories supported and validated the Galicians', especially Risco's, own efforts in collecting and organising ethnographical materials.[34]

"Our Lady of the Hills", translated as "Nosa Señora dos Outeiros", the only Yeats short story that appears in *Nós*, was published on January 1, 1923.[35] Risco attempts to downplay his role as translator. In the table of contents, his name is not included. In the translation itself, Risco's initials, "V.R.", appear in small print at the end of the story. The story tells how a young Protestant girl dressed in blue and white goes for a walk on a hill one day and encounters a group of young children. These children mistake her for the Virgin Mary. Although the girl tries to explain to the children who she is, they do not believe her. A year later, the Protestant girl, dressed in black this time, returns to the hill and meets the child who first called her the Virgin Mary. When she reminds the child that she is the lady whom she met, the child replies that she is not. Then, the narrator concludes:

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[33] Castle, *Modernism and the Celtic Revival*, p. 41, 61.

[34] Fermín Bouza Brey notes that Risco studied Galicia's oral culture and popular mythology during the years in which *Nós* was published. See Fermín Bouza Brey, "Lembranzas e segredos do '*Nós*' e mais eu", in *Ditos, lendas e cantigas (Vilagarcía na obra literaria de F. Bouza Brey)*, ed. by Marcelino Abuín Duro and Manuel Villaronja García (Concello de Vilagarcía: Concellería de Cultura, 1992), pp. 55-59 (p. 57).

[35] In the second issue of *La Noche: Suplemento del sábado* from 1949, the translated short story reappeared with some orthographical changes. An article on Yeats accompanied it; however, the writer's name is not included. See W.B. Yeats, "Nosa Señora dos Outeiros", trans. by [Vicente Risco (?)] *La Noche: Suplemento del sábado*, 22/10/1949, pp. 4-5 and "William Butler Yeats", *La Noche: Suplemento del sábado*, 22/10/1949, p. 5.

> E despois de todo, non era a miña linda protestante, senon María, Estrela do mar, a que de cote se pasea na tristura e na beleza por tanta montaña e por tanta ribeira, a que botara aquelas borlas ós pés da nena. É de verdade comenente qu' os homes lle recen, a ela que é a nai da paz, a nai dos soños, a nai da pureza, que lles deixe ainda unha horiña pra faguel-o ben y-o mal e pra contempral-o vello Tempo rezando o rosario das estrelas. [36]

The conclusion appears in the 1893 collection, *The Celtic Twilight: Men and Women, Dhouls and Faeries*, but is not included in the 1902 edition or any other modern editions thereafter.[37] Most likely due to his own personal ideological conflicts with Catholic nationalists, Yeats omitted these final lines in his second edition. For *La Douce France* Lichnerowicz based her translation on the earlier version of Yeats's story. If both English editions and the French text were available to Risco, he probably chose the 1893 version because it evokes memories of the Virgin Mary's apparitions in Fatima in 1917. The conclusion thus upholds the Catholic faith, particularly its adoration of the Virgin Mary and its belief in miracles, which were intrinsic to Risco's concept of the Galician identity. Nevertheless, it is more probable that Lichnerowicz's version served as the defining factor in Risco's translating choice. If we compare the three texts, we observe that Risco's translation follows the French text, particularly its lexical choices and syntax, more closely than the original. For example:

She talked to them a long time about Christ and the apostles, but was finally interrupted by an elderly	Elle leur parla longtemps du Christ et des apôtres, mais finalement elle fut interrompue par une vieille	Ela faloulles moito de Cristo e mais dos Apóstoles, pro ó cabo, interrumpiuna unha vella

[36] Yeats, "Nosa Señora dos Outeiros", p. 13.

[37] On this subject, Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos writes, "The only odd feature of the Galician version is that at the end are some lines that Risco must have found in his copy but which are lacking in the modern English version." See Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos, "Reflections on the Literary Translation of Texts in English in Galicia since the Nineteenth Century", in *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress on Galician Studies/Actas do IV Congreso Internacional de Estudios Galegos: Volume II*, ed. by Benigno Fernández Salgado (A Coruña: Galigraf Galicia, 1997), pp. 367-81 (p. 373). Also see Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos, "W.B. Yeats: Dos traducciones en gallego", in *Simposio "Didáctica de lenguas y culturas"*, ed. by Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez (La Coruña: Josman, 1993), pp. 299-303 (p. 302).

woman **with a stick**, who, taking her to be some **adventurous hunter** for converts, drove the children away, despite their explanation that here was the great Queen of Heaven come to walk upon the mountain and **be kind** to them. (177-78)	femme **armée d'ún bâton** qui, la prenant pour une **aventurière en quête** de convertis, chassa les enfants, en dépit de leur explication que c'était la grande Reine du Ciel venue pour se promener sur la montagne et **être bonne** pour eux. (*La Douce France* 35: 67)	**armada d'un pau** que ó tomala por unha **aventureira a caza** de prosélitos, botou d'elí ós rapaces apesares d'iles dicir qu'era a gran Raíña do Ceu que viñera a pasear pola montaña e **ser boa** pra iles. (*Nós* 15: 12)

In the French translation,[38] Lichnerowicz occasionally deviates from Yeats, choosing more descriptive language, translating "with a stick" as "armée d'ún bâton". Deferring to her lexical choice, the *Nós* director offers "armada d'un pau". When Lichnerowicz changes "adventurous" to a noun and "hunter" into a prepositional clause, writing "aventurière en quête", Risco copies her with "aventureira a caza". Further on, the French translator offers "be kind" as "être bonne", which Risco repeats with "ser boa". Other mistranslations include "les pieds blancs" (*La Douce France* 35: 66) and "pés brancos" (*Nós* 15: 12) for "shining feet" (176) and "Non, ce n'est pas vrai!" (*La Douce France* 35: 68) and "Non, non é verdá!" (*Nós* 15: 13) for "No, you are not!" (179). Overall, these examples illustrate how the Galician intellectual utilised the French translation as his primary source and therefore indicates that the Galician text is not, as de Toro Santos concludes, "impeccable, both from an aesthetic point of view and from that of being a true reflection of the original, the combination of which is no easy task in translating."[39]

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[38] Because of the difficulty in locating *La Douce France* outside of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lichnerowicz's translations have been overlooked by contemporary Yeats scholars.

[39] De Toro Santos, "Reflections on the Literary Translation of Texts in English in Galicia since the Nineteenth Century", p. 373.

In issue 120 from March 1, 1925, *A Nosa Terra* published its only translation of Yeats's work. Although the story's title in English is "An Enduring Heart",[40] the Galician title is "Conto". The story is about an old man's memories of two friends' emigration to the United States and his search for these friends who planned to marry many years later. However, when the old man finds the woman, she does not remember him and bursts out crying when he asks about his friend. "An Enduring Heart" probably appealed to *A Nosa Terra* and its political agenda because it addresses emigration, a topic on which many Galician intellectuals commented due to its negative effects on their culture as well as their nation.

A Nosa Terra states that the story is written by W.B. Yeats and is an "excepto [sic] de <<O Crepúsculo Céltigo>>" published in 1902, paratextual details which also appear in *La Douce France*'s layout.[41] Whereas the French text notes that Lichnerowicz translated the text, the Galician one does not include the name of its translator. Considering that Risco relied on *La Douce France* for his translation of "Our Lady of the Hills", it is quite plausible that he translated "An Enduring Heart" from the French too.[42] Like "Nosa Señora dos Outeiros", this story, "Un curazón sofrido", is mentioned in Risco's article. Yet there are some inconsistencies. First, in articles in *Nós* in 1920 and 1926, Risco refers to Yeats's book as *O Solpór Céltigo* instead of *O Crepúsculo Céltigo*.

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[40] The story was first published in a revised edition of Yeats's 1893 short story collection. See W.B. Yeats, *The Celtic Twilight. Men and Women, Dhouls and Faeries*, repr. with additions (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1902).

[41] On the last page of Lichnerowicz's translations of Yeats, *La Douce France* inserts the following details: "1902.

W.B. Yeats

(Extrait de «Le Crèpuscule Celtique».)
Traduit par Jeanne Lichnerowicz. "
See W.B. Yeats, "Les Songes Celtiques: Notre-Dame des Collines. Un Coeur endurant.", trans. by Jeanne Lichnerowicz, *La Douce France*, 35 (1921), 66-70 (p. 70).

[42] De Toro Santos also surmises that Risco was the translator for this story, but does not indicate on which text – the English or the French – the translation was based. See de Toro Santos, "Reflections on the Literary Translation of Texts in English in Galicia since the Nineteenth Century", p. 377.

However, if Risco were the translator and utilised *La Douce France*, the journal's translation of *The Celtic Twilight* as "Le Crèpuscule Celtique" may have influenced the change in title for *A Nosa Terra*. Second, while it is peculiar that the story's title given in Risco's article and in the French translation was not used in *A Nosa Terra*, we could speculate that it was omitted due to limited column and page space.

If we examine the orthography of the text as I have done in Chapter Three, we notice that 'x', which represents the sound /ʃ/ (in words such as *xa* and *xantaban*), is employed throughout it. This fits with the style of Risco, who in 1925, was still employing the letter 'x', as were other *Xeración Nós* members, like Otero Pedrayo and Villar Ponte. Other orthographical characteristics which stand out include the use of 's' instead of 'x' (for example, *escursión*, *pretesto*, *estreveu*, *escramou*); the dissimulations, metatheses and epentheses of 'r' (*pirmeiro*, *perguntoulle*, *perguntarlle*); the loss of 'n' in words with '-ns- + consonant' (*istante*, *ispidas*); the change of the vowel 'o' to 'u' (*curazón*); and the use of *faguer*, a variation of *facer* indigenous only to speakers from the Occidental part of Ourense. All these traits are common in Risco's writing as clearly demonstrated by María Cuquejo Enríquez.[43] However, on some occasions, this orthography is also employed by Risco's fellow Ourensan, Otero Pedrayo. Because no comprehensive study of Otero Pedrayo's[44] or Villar Ponte's writing style has yet been done, it is difficult to compare these translators systematically. Consequently, we must

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[43] For a detailed analysis of Risco's inconsistent writing style, see María Cuquejo Enríquez, *A lingua de Vicente Risco* (Santiago de Compostela: unpublished essay, 1997).

[44] In some critical editions of Otero Pedrayo's literature, there are brief discussions on the writer's orthography. However, these discussions often focus on his formation of the plural, his use of hyper-*galeguismos*, and his avoidance of Castilian words. For more on this, see Benigno Fernández Salgado and Henrique Monteagudo Romero, "Do galego literario ó galego común. O proceso de estandarización na época contemporánea" in *Estudios de sociolingüística galega.: Sobre a norma do galego culto*, ed. by. Enrique Monteagudo (Vigo: Galaxia, 1995), pp. 99-176 (pp. 133-40).

rely on the circumstantial evidence which points to Risco, more than any other *Xeración Nós* member, as translator.

From a comparison of the texts, it is evident that the French text influenced the Galician translator and his choices. Thus:

When the old man had finished the story, **he said**, "Tell that to **Mr. Yeats**, he will make a poem about it, perhaps." But the daughter **said**, "Oh no, father. Nobody could make a poem about a woman like that." (60)	Quand le vieillard eut achevé l'histoire, **il dit**: «Racontez cela à **M. Yeats**, il fera un poème dessus, peut-être.» Mais la fille **s'écria** : «Oh non, père. Personne ne pourrait faire un poème sur une femme comme celle-là.» (*La Douce France* 35: 70)	Cando o vello rematou o conto, **dixo**: «Cóntolle esto a **M. Yeats**, e se cadra fará co-elo un poema. «[sic] Mail-a filla **escramou**: «Ai non meu pai. Niguen podería faguer un poema, en col d' unha muller coma esa.» (*Nós* 15: 12)

While Lichnerowicz retains the personal names, the Galician translator generally domesticates them, changing "John" to "Xan" and "Doran" to "Dorán". This domesticating strategy, however, is thwarted when the translator, copying the French, transcribes "M. Yeats" for "Mr. Yeats" when "Sr. Yeats" would be more appropriate. In addition, he changes the straightforward "said" (previously given elsewhere as "dixo") to "escramou" which undoubtedly was derived from the French "s'écria". Like "Nosa Señora dos Outeiros", "Conto", despite a few mistranslations and omissions, is quite an accurate translation as a result of the translator's use of *La Douce France* as a primary source.

When Yeats won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1923, he received additional exposure in Galicia where the intellectual community expressed praise.[45] *A Nosa Terra* announced his achievement:

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[45] A day after *A Nosa Terra*'s article, *Galicia: Diario de Vigo* also reported about Yeats and the Nobel Prize. Ribas Montenegro writes, "Aquí en España, si no estoy equivocado, creo que la publicación que

> Foi concedido este ano ao gran escritor irlandés William B. Yeats. En Galicia non é desconocido o seu nome, pois démol-o a conocer os galeguistas con traduciós pubricadas en A NOSA TERRA e 'Nós'.
>
> Yeats figura nas avanzadas do movimento redentor irlandés en cuio movimento ten tomado parte moi activa non sômentes co'a aportación d'unha literatura fortemente nacionalista senón tamén co seu traballo persoal.
>
> E membro do 'Dail Eireann', parlamento irlandés, e un crênte fervoroso da raza celta, pol-a que tén traballado moito, creando unha organización para o seu estudio e desenrolo.
>
> Rexistramos con ledicia este feito que nos tén producido unha moi grande satisfaición pol-o que para os galegos, de orixe celta e crêntes tamén nas virtudes da nosa raza, siñifica ver honrado d'este xeito a un irmán [the last line is censored].[46]

In this article as in others, the anonymous writer employs two key words: "nacionalista" and "celta". By attributing these qualities to Yeats and his writing, the journalist reiterates the connexions between the Irish and Galicians, both of "orixe celta" e "raza celta". In the independent and liberal newpaper, *Galicia: Diario de Vigo*, Ribas Montenegro also exalts Yeats's Celtic spirit, comparing it to that of Rosalía de Castro, and considers them "intérprete[s] del alma de una raza cuya civilización tenía un alto sentido espiritual."[47] These articles illustrate Anderson's idea of "imagined community". Overall, the Galician intellectuals embrace Yeats's success, claiming a victory not only for their Celtic brother, but also for themselves.

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primero lo dió a conocer fue la revista 'Nós', órgano de la renaciente cultura gallega que dirige una de las mentalidades más insignes de la Galicia de hoy, el catedrático orensano D. Vicente Risco." He then goes on to quote Emmanuel de Thubert from Risco's article. See Ribas Montenegro, "El Premio Nobel: Quién es Yeats?", *Galicia: Diario de Vigo*, 2/12/1923, p. 3.

[46] "O premio Nobel de Literatura", *A Nosa Terra,* 1/12/1923, p. 4. During the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923-1930), the Spanish press was censored. Although the official censorship notice stating "Este número foi sometido á censura militar" appeared in *A Nosa Terra* dated 1/1/1924, the December issue appears to have been reviewed and certain lines, as seen in the article on Yeats, were blacked out. This action was probably taken due to Primo de Rivera's dislike for regionalism and its separatist tendencies. For a summary of Primo de Rivera's attitude to regionalism, particularly Catalanism, see Raymond Carr, *Modern Spain: 1875-1980* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 104. For Galician nationalists' reactions to the period of censorship, see Victor Casas, "A censura debe existir", *A Nosa Terra*, 1/12/1924, p.4 and Anonymous, "A supresión da censura", *A Nosa Terra*, 1/10/1930, p. 7.

[47] Montenegro, "El Premio Nobel: Quién es Yeats?", p. 3.

A few years after Yeats's receipt of the Nobel Prize, Risco returns to discussing Yeats's literary contributions in Ireland. As before, Risco depends greatly upon a French writer, this time Simone Téry and her book, *L'île des bardes. Notes sur la littérature irlandaise contemporaine*.[48] Of the six major Irish writers – Yeats, George Russell (better known as A.E.), John Millington Synge, James Stephens, George Moore, and James Joyce – who are dedicated individual chapters in Téry's monograph, only Moore, is not also discussed substantially by Risco. Effectively he composes his article by translating fragments of Téry's paragraphs and reorganising them. Calling Yeats both the "xefe da renacencia literaria irlandesa [. . .] e o mais grande dos poetas contemporáneos en léngoa ingresa", Risco opines that "Yeats ten feito moito pol-a renacencia literaria irlandesa".[49] Yet what most concerns Risco is Yeats's recurrent theme, Celticism:

> Yeats desbota toda alusión mitolóxica ô grecoromano, e volve â tradición do Celtismo. Ten n-esta unha erudición tan forte, que nas pirmeiras obras tiña que pôr notas e chamadas, pra qu'a xente o comprendera. Estudou a fondo todal-as sagas irlandesas, toda a literatura bárdica; deprendeu con devoto degaro de cencia verdadeira os contos dos peisanos a carón do lume, as cántigas dos *ballad-singers* nas ferias [. . .][50]

For the *Xeración Nós*, it was especially important that Yeats borrowed from the Celtic tradition since they, as Otero Pedrayo indicates, wanted to break away from the imperial influences of the Graeco-Roman and Castilian Classic literary traditions.[51] Yeats thus offered them modern models to imitate.

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[48] For Téry's account of Yeats's impact in Irish literature, see Simone Téry, *L'île des bardes. Notes sur la littérature irlandaise contemporaine* (Paris: Ernest Flammarion, 1925), pp. 57-98

[49] Vicente Risco, "Da renacencia céltiga: A moderna literatura irlandesa", *Nós*, 26 (1926), 5-9 (p. 7).

[50] Ibid, pp. 7-8.

[51] Otero Pedrayo states, "E na Galiza é urxente o coñecimento de literaturas como a irlandesa e a lírica medieval galego-portuguesa, simpáticas â i-alma, que na cultura xeneral equilibren pol-o menos o imperio do clasicismo grego e romano e do clasicismo castelán." Otero Pedrayo, "Notas encol do sentimento da paisaxe n'antiga epopeya irlandesa", p. 176.

Other themes also are acknowledged. For example, Risco observes that in Yeats's poetry, "os temas [. . .] son o heroismo, o amor, a tradición, o ensono, a cobiza dos ultramundos."[52] As an example of heroism, Risco includes a stanza from Yeats's post-Easter Rising poem, "A Rose Tree",[53] which also appears in Téry's chapter. In the article, Risco does not give the poem's title; however, he includes a footnote explaining the symbolism of the "Rose Tree". Lifting the explanation from Téry's text, Risco reveals, "Pra regal-a Roseira simbólica da Irlanda, A Rosa, na poesía celta sinifica o Amor, a Beleza ou a Irlanda."[54] In contrast to his translation of "To an Isle in the Water", Risco's translation of "A Rose Tree" does not reproduce the rhythms or the rhymes. Instead, he, like Téry, privileges the sense. His different approach may be due to his knowledge of Yeats's concerns about translating or due to the difficulty in trying to domesticate the ballad to Galician poetical conventions. As seen in the poems below, the similarities between the Galician and the French translations are striking:

'But where can we draw water,'	*>>Mais d'onde imos nós sacal-a y-auga [. . .]*	<<Mais où pourrons-nous tirer de l'eau,
Said Pearse to Connolly,	*Dixo Pearse a Connolly,*	Dit Pearse à Connolly,
'When all the wells are parched away?	*S'as pozas todas están estiñadas?*	Quand tous les puits sont desséchés?
O plain as plain can be	***Ou! É ben certo***	**Oh! il est bien évident**
There's nothing but our own red blood	*Que somentes o noso sangue roxo*	Qu'il n'y a rien que notre propre sang rouge
Can make a right Rose Tree.' (396)	***Pode volvel-a vida â Roseira***>> (*Nós* 26: 8)	**Qui puisse rendre la vie au Rosier.**>> (Téry, 69)

[52] Risco, "Da renacencia céltiga", p. 8.
[53] For details on the poem, see W.B. Yeats, "A Rose Tree", in *The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W.B. Yeats*, ed. by Peter Allt and Russell K. Alspach (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 396.
[54] Risco, "Da renacencia céltiga", p. 8. Téry writes in a footnote to a different poem, "The Rose of the World", "Dans la poésie celte, la Rose est un symbole favori, qui sifnifie, selon les circonstances, l'Amour, ou la Beauté, ou bein même l'Irlande." See Téry, *L'île des bardes*, p. 73.

In the fourth line, Risco copies Téry's syntax, inserting an exclamation mark after "Ou" which divides it from the remainder of the phrase. This alteration causes the line to evoke a sense of surprise rather than abject resignation. In the sixth, Téry omits the adjective, "right", and alters the verb, thus implying the rebirth of Ireland more strongly than Yeats. Risco again follows her translating choices. Téry, and consequently Risco, may have intensified Yeats's language in order to make the reference to Ireland, or the "Rose Tree", more explicit. From these comparisons, one can ascertain that Risco utilised Téry's French translation as a mediating text.

In the same article, Risco includes another translation, which he describes (not too convincingly) as an example of the "*cántigas de mal dizer*" and calls, "Os sabidos".[55] Through this identification, Risco thus attempts to incorporate Yeats's poem into Galician medieval tradition and to establish additional similarities between Ireland and Galicia. Like "A Rose Tree", "The Scholars"[56] is included in Téry's survey but she does not provide the poem's title in her text. In the January 1922 issue of *La Douce France*, Lichnerowicz offers her own translation, "Les savants", along with Yeats's original.[57] Both Risco's and Lichnerowicz's translations include the fourth, fifth, and sixth lines of the second stanza, which Téry omits from hers, for no apparent reason. Thus:

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[55] Risco, "Da renacencia céltiga", p. 8. For a thorough description of *cántigas de mal dizer*, see Giulia Lanciani and Giuseppe Tavani, *A cantiga de escarnho e maldizer*, trans. by Manuel G. Simões (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 1998).

[56] "The Scholars" first appeared in Ezra Pound's *Catholic Anthology* 1914-1915 (London, 1915). After 1926, Yeats revised the second stanza: "All wear the carpet with their shoes; / All think what other people think; / All know the man their neighbour knows. / Lord, what would they say / Did their Catullus walk that way?" See W.B. Yeats, "The Scholars" in *The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W.B. Yeats*, ed. by Peter Allt and Russell K. Alspach (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 337.

[57] W.B. Yeats, "Poèmes de Yeats: Un aviateur irlandais prévoit sa mort. Chanson. Les savants. A un écureil de Kyle-na-gno.", trans. by Jeanne Lichnerowicz, *La Douce France*, 37 (1922), 214-21. Each French translation is accompanied by its English source text.

Bald heads forgetful of their sins, Old, learned, respectable bald heads Edit and annotate the lines That young men, tossing on **their beds,** **Rhymed out** in love's despair To flatter beauty's ignorant ear. They'll cough in the ink to the world's end; Wear out **the carpet** with their shoes; Earning respect; **have no strange friend;** **If they have sinned nobody knows.** **Lord, what would they say** **Should their Catullus walk that way?** (337)	*Testas calvas esquecidas dos seus pecados,* *Vellas, sabias, respeitabres testas calvas,* *Editan e anotan os versos* *Qu'os mozos retorcéndose* ***no leito,*** ***compuxeron*** *na desesperación do amor* *Pra gabal-a orella iñorante da beleza.* *Han toser na tinta deic'a fin do mundo;* *Han gastar* ***as alfombras*** *cos zapatos,* *Ganando respeito;* ***non han ter amiga oculta;*** ***se pecaron, ninguén o sabe.*** ***Señor, qu' houberan dito*** ***S'o seu Catulo por alí pasara?*** (*Nós* 26: 8)	Les têtes chauves, oublieuses de leurs péchés, Les vieilles, savantes, respectables têtes chauves Editent et annotent les vers Que des jeunes hommes, se retournant **sur leurs lits,** **Ont rimés par** désespoir d'amour Pour flatter l'oreille ignorante de la beauté. Ils tousseront dans l'encre jusqu'à la fin du monde; Ils useront **les tapis** avec leurs souliers Gagnant la considération... (Téry, 87)	Des têtes chauves oublieuses de leurs péchés, De vieilles, savantes, respectables têtes chauves, Éditent et annotent les vers Que de jeunes hommes, se tordant **sur leur lit,** **Composèrent** dans le désespoir de l'amour Pour flatter l'oreille ignorante de de la beauté. Ils tousseront dans l'encre jusqu'à la fin du monde ; Ils useront **le tapis** de leurs chaussures Gagnant le respect **; ils n'auront pas d'amie cachée ;** **S'ils ont péché, personne ne le sait.** **Seigneur, que diraient-ils** **Si leur Catulle passait par là !** (*La Douce France* 1922 : 219)

All three translations closely follow Yeats's word choice, his syntax, and his punctuation, with the exception of one minor change in the last line of Lichnerowicz's text. Comparing and contrasting the poems, we observe that Téry translates "their beds" as

"leurs lits", while Lichnerowicz offers "leur lit". Risco, following Lichnerowicz's precedent, also writes the singular "leito", but excludes the possessive adjective. In the next line, Téry offers a closer translation of "rhymed out" as "ont rimés", while Lichnerowicz modifies it to "composèrent". In the Galician, Risco gives "compuxeron", which further suggests that he consulted *La Douce France*'s translation. Whereas in Yeats's poem "carpet" is singular and in Lichnerowicz's version it appears as "le tapis", in Téry's French and in Risco's Galician, it appears in the plural as "les tapis" and "as alfombras", respectively. Evidently, on this occasion, Risco defers to Téry's text. Although the French texts played a role in the translating process, the Galician intellectual also utilised the original poem. This is exemplified by his inclusion of a question mark, rather than an exclamation mark (which appears in Lichnerowicz's text), in the final line. Although he informs readers that Yeats's works are available through two publishing houses, Tauchnitz and Macmillan,[58] he probably referred to the English poem accompanying Lichnerowicz's translations in the French literary review. Overall, this analysis indicates that Risco worked with all the texts available to him, but consistently deferred to the French translations for clarification or as models to (re)create the best possible Galician text.

Undoubtedly the developing interest of French writers in Yeats exerted an influence in Risco's decision to bring the Irish poet to Galicia and to translate certain poetry and short stories. Like their French counterparts, the *Xeración Nós* venerated the young and passionate Yeats of the Celtic Revival in the 1890s and 1900s more than the

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[58] See Risco, "Da renacencia céltiga", p. 9. Tauchnitz was a German publishing house that provided and reprinted collections of writings in English by American and British authors to European readers. For the edition to which Risco refers, see W.B. Yeats, *A Selection from the Poetry of W.B. Yeats* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1913).

mature, disillusioned, and often ambivalent Yeats of the emerging Irish independent state in the mid-1920s. This vision of Yeats will resurface again in *Nós* when Villar Ponte translates the play *Cathleen ni Houlihan* to honour an Irish political martyr well-known and well-respected in the Galician nationalist community.

In 1899, Yeats in conjunction with Lady Gregory, Edward Martyn, and other Irish *littérateurs* founded the Irish Literary Theatre.[59] Through the creation of a national theatre, Yeats hoped to instil a new unity of culture in Ireland. For him, Ireland's ancient unity of culture had been destroyed by colonialism and its subsequent superimposition of English language and culture, and now could only be resuscitated by cultivating a distinctive identity.[60] As part of this project, Yeats and his colleagues wrote and produced numerous plays depicting their interpretations of Irish reality. Of all of Yeats's plays, *Cathleen ni Houlihan* is his most nationalist work. Conor Cruise O'Brien asserts that the play is "the most powerful piece of nationalist propaganda that has ever been composed" and it has "never been excelled in that domain by anything that has been composed and presented, before or since, in Ireland".[61]

Collaborating with Lady Gregory,[62] Yeats wrote *Cathleen ni Houlihan* in 1902. In the same year, the Irish National Dramatic Society produced and performed the play.

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[59] Yeats and his colleagues originally intended to name the Irish Literary Theatre as the Celtic theatre. However, Yeats, George Russell (AE), and Edward Martyn considered the new title to be "less dangerous" because "[Yeats] had recently discovered that 'Celticism' was a highly problematic concept in historical or cultural terms." After reading an article by Andrew Lang, Yeats decided that the concept of Celticism was bogus. See Foster, *W.B. Yeats: A Life I*, pp. 185 and 571.

[60] Richard Taylor, *A Reader's Guide to the Plays of W.B. Yeats* (London: Macmillan, 1984), p. 18.

[61] Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Ancestral Voices: Religion and Nationalism in Ireland* (Dublin: Poolbeg, 1994), p. 61.

[62] Some scholars suggest that Lady Gregory wrote most or all of *Cathleen ni Houlihan* and conceded the authorship to Yeats. See Foster, *W.B. Yeats: A Life I*, pp. 248-49 and James Pethica, " 'Our Kathleen':

Since its first performance, *Cathleen ni Houlihan* has captivated Irish audiences, becoming essential to Ireland's nationalist folk memory. Yeats bases his title character, Cathleen ni Houlihan, on a figure from Irish folklore as well as a popular poem of the same title translated into English by James Clarence Mangan in the eighteenth century. By the early twentieth century, the name was already a well-known equivalent for Ireland. The play thus is, as Diane Bessai remarks, "an inspired assimilation of traditional motifs".[63]

An allegorical drama, *Cathleen ni Houlihan* narrates how a poor old woman convinces a young man to abandon his fiancée, his family and his life, to follow her, and to sacrifice himself for her cause. At the play's conclusion, the young man proves himself to be a patriot and the old woman transforms into a young girl. In *United Irishman* on 5 May 1902, Yeats summarises the play's plot:

> My subject is Ireland and its struggle for independence. The scene is laid in the West of Ireland at the time of the French landing. I have described a household preparing for the wedding of the son of the house. Everyone expects some good thing from the wedding. The bridegroom is thinking of his bride, the father of the fortune which will make them all more prosperous, and the mother of a plan of turning this prosperity to account by making her youngest son a priest, and the youngest son of a greyhound pup the bride promised to give him when she marries. Into this household comes Kathleen Ni Houlihan herself, and the bridegroom leaves his bride, and all the hopes come to nothing. It is the perpetual struggle of the cause of Ireland and every other ideal cause against private hope and dreams, against all that we mean when we say the world.[64]

Although Yeats does not address how the "perpetual struggle" resolves itself, the play's conclusion provides what Raymond Cowell considers a "clear political message".

Yeats's Collaboration with Lady Gregory in the Writing of *Cathleen ni Houlihan*", in *Yeats and Women*, ed. by Deirdre Toomey (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 205-22.

[63] Diane E. Bessai, "Who Was Cathleen Ni Houlihan?", *The Malahat Review*, 42 (April 1977), 114-29 (p. 128).

[64] Quoted in Rosalind Clark, *The Great Queens:Irish Goddesses from the Morrigan to Cathleen ni Houlihan* (Gerrards Cross, England: Colin Smythe, 1991), p. 172.

Cathleen ni Houlihan proposes "that Ireland could become beautiful and noble again only through self-sacrifice".[65] While Yeats himself may have been oblivious to this message, both his Irish audience and readers in colonised nations, such as Galicia were aware of it, as we shall see.

Yeats always claimed that his inspiration for *Cathleen ni Houlihan* was a dream. In a letter to Lady Gregory dated February 1903, which was included as a dedication in later editions of the play, he explains:

> One night I had a dream almost as distinct as a vision, of a cottage where there was well-being and firelight and talk of a marriage, and into the midst of that cottage there came an old woman in a long cloak. She was Ireland herself, that Cathleen ni Houlihan for whom so many songs have been sung and about whom so many stories have been told and for whose sake so many have gone to their death. I thought if I could write this out as a little play I could make others see my dream as I had seen it, but I could not get down out of that high window of dramatic verse, and in spite of all you had done for me I had not the country speech. One has to live among the people, like you, of whom an old man said in my hearing, 'She has been a serving-maid among us,' before one can think the thoughts of the people and speak with their tongue. We turned my dream into the little play, 'Cathleen ni Houlihan,' and when we gave it to the little theatre in Dublin and found that the working people liked it, you helped me to put my other dramatic fables into speech.[66]

However, according to Irish historian and Yeats's biographer, R.F. Foster, the dream was not Yeats's only reason for writing *Cathleen ni Houlihan*. According to Foster, Frank Fay criticised Yeats's earlier plays, *The Countess Cathleen* (1892) and *The Land of Heart's Desire* (1894), for failing to motivate the Irish public. In the *United Irishman* on 4 May 1901, Fay complains:

> They do not inspire; they do not send men away filled with the desire for deeds. . .before he will be even on the road to achieving greatness as a

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[65] Cowell, *W.B. Yeats*, p. 31.
[66] W.B. Yeats, "Letter to Lady August Gregory, February 1903" in *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats: Volume Three 1901-1904*, ed. by John Kelly and Ronald Schuchard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 321-22.

> dramatic poet, Mr Yeats must tackle some theme of a great, lasting and living interest. In Ireland we are at present only too anxious to shun reality. Our drama ought to teach us to face it. Let Mr Yeats give us a play in verse or prose that will rouse this sleeping land. There is a herd of Saxon and other swine fattening on us. They must be swept into the sea along with the pestilent crowd of West-Britons with which we are troubled, or they will sweep us there. This land is ours, but we have ceased to realise the fact. We want a drama that will make us realise it. We have closed our ears to the piercing wail that rises from the past; we want a drama that will open them, and in no uncertain words point out the reason for our failure in the past and the road to success in the future.[67]

Consequently, Foster suggests that Yeats's *Cathleen ni Houlihan* and its "nationalist moral" were "a response to a direct challenge".[68] However, Conor O'Brien contends that before composing *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, Yeats was not in a nationalist mood, although he was concerned by his loss of popular support in Ireland and the hostility of Catholic-nationalists towards him.[69] Despite the fact that the play included some subtle and disparaging lines on Catholicism which indirectly criticised the Roman Catholic Church and its strong influence on the Irish community, the play became a success, temporarily silencing his critics and winning him favour with the nationalists.

When confronted with speculation that the play was political, Yeats denied the accusations.[70] Although Yeats admitted that "I am a Nationalist, and certain of my intimate friends have made Irish politics the business of their lives", he insisted that his nationalist associations only "made certain thoughts habitual with me, and an accident

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[67] Quoted in Foster, *W.B. Yeats: A Life I*, p. 249.
[68] Ibid, p. 248.
[69] O'Brien, *Ancestral Voices,* p. 62.
[70] Malcolm Brown contends that Yeats's claims are "startling". Whereas various Yeats scholars such as Rosalind Clark either overlook or are ignorant of the play's original dedication, Brown points out that the dedication (which he adds was quickly dropped) is "To the Memory of William Rooney". According to Brown, Rooney was "a proto-Sinn Feiner whose patriotic frenzy made Arthur Griffith seem tepid." He further adds, " Still, it is true that the word 'England' is missing from the play too, its place filled by 'strangers' who had got possession of the Old Woman's 'four beautiful green fields,' it does not say how. The Irishman of the play is about to be translated into eternity in the passive voice, but no agent is actually going to kill him." See Malcolm Brown, *The Politics of Irish Literature: From Thomas Davis to W.B. Yeats* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1972), p. 323.

made these thoughts take fire in such a way that I could give them dramatic expression. [. . .]".[71] On another occasion, Yeats expresses discomfort with respect to the suggestion that *Cathleen ni Houlihan* is a nationalist play. In a statement during the patent inquiry for the Irish National Theatre in 1904, Yeats defends himself:

> It may be said that it is a political play of a propagandist kind. This I deny. I took a piece of human life, thoughts that men had felt, hopes they had died for, and I put this into what I believe to be a sincere dramatic form. I have never written a play to advocate any kind of opinion and I think that such a play would be necessarily bad art, or at any rate a very humble kind of art. At the same time I feel that I have no right to exclude, for myself and for other, any of the passionate material of drama.[72]

Despite Yeats's protests, the play's reception in Ireland and elsewhere indicates that audiences indeed perceived it as both nationalist and propagandist.[73] *Cathleen ni Houlihan* not only was an outstanding success for the Irish Literary Theatre, but also had a powerful influence on the development of Irish nationalism. Many years after, as an older man, Yeats reflected on his play and its impact on audiences. In "The Man and the Echo", Yeats questioned aloud:

> All that I have said and done,
> Now that I am old and ill,
> Turns into a question till
> I lie awake night after night
> And never get the answers right.
> Did that play of mine send out
> Certain men the English shot?
> Did words of mine put too great strain
> On that woman's reeling brain?
> Could my spoken words have checked
> That whereby a house lay wrecked?[74]

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[71] W.B. Yeats, "To the Editor of the *United Irishman*, 10 October 1903", in *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats: Volume Three 1901-1904*, p. 440.
[72] Quoted in Foster, *W.B. Yeats: A Life I*, p. 249.
[73] Rosalind Clark insists that Yeats "did not mean the play to be propaganda". In fact, she argues that "Yeats himself had not realized that the play would have such a strong political impact". See Clark, *The Great Queens*, p.179.
[74] W.B. Yeats, *The Collected Poems of W.B. Yeats*, ed. by Richard J. Finneran, 2nd rev. edn (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), p. 345.

Whether or not Yeats was responsible for romanticising the nationalist cause, inciting sacrifice, and affecting the turmoil in Ireland will always be debated.[75] In Galicia, however, the play's translation, in commemoration of an Irish nationalist, implies that Yeats did indeed romanticise nationalism to peoples in post-colonial nations and those who fought – and died – for it.

In order for Yeats's play to resonate across class and religious boundaries, he infused his work with linguistic traits that he associated with Irish identity. In a personal letter to Lady Gregory, he mentions the play's language, alluding to his collaboration with her and highlighting her ability to transform his "dramatic verse" into "country speech". Richard Taylor characterises the play's dialogue as "a rather self-conscious prose which echoes country usage, especially in its slow and deliberate movement as well as in its abrupt and sometimes awkward syntax".[76] He even judges that the language has the effect of verse given that phrases often are regular in length and stress pattern.[77] Yeats's simple, direct vocabulary and inverted and circumlocutory sentence constructions reveal the influence of the Irish language. Consequently, the play's language does not reflect standardised English; instead it exemplifies the Hiberno-English often employed by Anglo-Irish writers such as Yeats and J.M. Synge, amongst others. Characterised by its use of archaic English words, its appropriation of Irish lexicon, and its adoption of Irish syntax, Hiberno-English emerged as a consequence of native Irish speakers learning English and writers putting it into print. Furthermore, as Seamus Deane observes, given

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[75] For a summary of various present-day scholars opinions' on Yeats's innocence or guilt regarding the effects of *Cathleen ni Houlihan* on Irish politics, see Brenda Maddox, *George's Ghosts: A New Life of W.B. Yeats* (London: Picador, 1999), pp. 350-52.
[76] Taylor, *A Reader's Guide to the Plays of W.B. Yeats*, p. 36.
[77] Ibid, p. 36.

the sense of dispossession felt by the Irish, it is inevitable that "[t]he recovery from the lost Irish language has taken the form of an almost vengeful virtuosity in the English language, an attempt to make Irish English a language in its own right rather than an adjunct to English itself."[78]

In the *Empire Writes Back*, Bill Ashcroft and his co-authors explain that in post-colonial writing, authors "seiz[e] the language of the centre and re-plac[e] it in a discourse fully adapted to the colonized place".[79] This is achieved through the process of abrogation, in which the colonised author denies English as the privileged language and rejects the coloniser's language norms, thus resisting the latter's power over communication, and appropriation, in which the author takes the language and remoulds it to " 'bear the burden' of one's own cultural experience".[80] By writing in Hiberno-English, in a post-colonial voice, Yeats wrests authority from the English language and infuses it with traits of the vernacular. His resistance to and rebellion against standardised English exposes Yeats's conflict with language, particularly his frequent lament that Irish was Ireland's national language, but not his mother tongue. In Galicia, the same conflict will emerge; however, the key participants in the literary revival will respond in a very different manner than Yeats and his contemporaries.

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[78] Seamus Deane, "Introduction", p. 10.
[79] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, p. 38.
[80] Ibid, p. 38.

Yeats's *Cathleen ni Houlihan* appears in a special issue of *Nós* dedicated to Terence MacSwiney (1879-1920).[81] In order to understand the inclusion of the translated play in *Nós*, one first must consider the importance of MacSwiney not only to Irish nationalism, but also to Galician nationalism. For the *Irmandades da Fala* and the *Xeración Nós*, Terence MacSwiney exemplified the ideal nationalist. Like the Galician nationalists, he was very active in his nation's cultural and political movements. MacSwiney participated in various organisations such as the Gaelic League, which promoted the Irish language, and the Sinn Fein and the Irish Volunteers, which demanded Ireland's partition from England. During his adulthood, MacSwiney was often arrested for his political activities, such as making seditious speeches, assisting in organising the Easter Rising in his home town of Cork, upholding the Proclamation of the Republic, and participating in the reorganisation of the Republican movement. He became Lord Mayor of Cork on the 30th of March 1920 after his predecessor had been murdered. Although MacSwiney wrote five plays, some collections of poetry, and numerous essays for local and national newspapers, it was his political, rather than his literary, activity that generated his popularity. Ultimately, it was his arrest in August 1920 and his subsequent hunger strike in protest that made him an icon throughout the world. His death on the 25th of October 1920 further solidified his grip on the imagination of other colonised peoples. Given that MasSwiney was a popular subject of both illustrations and articles in the French press and was dubbed the "Irish martyr" by them,[82] it is possible that this is how both the *Irmandades da Fala* and the *Xeración Nós* first heard of him.

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[81] For basic biographies on Terence MacSwiney's life, see P.S. O'Hegarty, *A Short Memoir of Terence MacSwiney*, (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1922) and Seán Ua Ceallaigh, *A Trinity of Martyrs: Terence MacSwiney, Cathal Brugha, Austin Stack* (Dublin: Irish Book Bureau, 1947).
[82] Ua Ceallaigh, *A Trinity of Irish Martyrs*, p. 20.

On October 5, 1920, twenty days before MacSwiney's death, *A Nosa Terra* published a brief article entitled "O Héroe Mártir da Raza" with a picture of Terence MacSwiney on its first page. The article briefly explains how MacSwiney was imprisoned by the English government and sentenced to two years in a London prison. The anonymous writer uses powerful and subjective language in describing MacSwiney's ordeal. His language also evokes images from Catholicism. For example, he refers to MacSwiney as "o novo Cristo da raza céltiga",[83] implying that he is the Messiah who will bring redemption not only to the Irish, but also to other Celtic peoples such as the Galicians. His words also convey the journal's empathy for MacSwiney and the Irish. This is demonstrated when he explains that "[t]odol-os povos celtas, irmáns do povo irlandés, deitaron bagoas d'amor e delore pol-o alcalde subrime cuia grandeza é dina do poema heroico."[84] Most important, the writer intends to create a connexion between the Galicians and MacSwiney. He considers MacSwiney "un irmán noso de Raza" and he concludes that "[a] sua lembranza ha ser eterna no agarimo da ialma dos nazionalistas galegos."[85] By extending this brotherhood to MacSwiney and promising to remember his deeds, the Galician nationalists further demonstrate that they identify with MacSwiney, the Irish people, and their nationalist cause.

In the following issue of *A Nosa Terra* dated November 5, 1920, a translation of MacSwiney's poem, "Before the Last Battle", appears. The translator changes the title to "Aprendemos a morrer". The article is titled "Unha poesía do Alcalde de Cork", but does not include the name of the translator. It also does not include MacSwiney's name and refers to him only by his title: the writer assumes that the readers already are familiar

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[83] "O héroe mártir da raza", *A Nosa Terra*, 5/10/1920, p. 1.
[84] Ibid, p. 1.
[85] Ibid, p. 1.

with MacSwiney and his plight. Characterising MacSwiney as a hero, the anonymous writer introduces the poem using strong and evocative language that criticises England's relationship with Ireland. He states, "O novo martire da Irlanda, pasados 28 dias de non probar bocado d'alimento que lle donasen os escravizadores da sua Patria, fixo estos versos que pubricou o xornal <<KILKENNG [sic] PEOPLE>>."[86] After the brief introduction, *A Nosa Terra* provides translated fragments of MacSwiney's poem which takes the form of a prayer recited by a soldier to God. It begs God for assistance and protection, reminding him that the nationalist cause is right. MacSwiney thus links nationalism to religion, specifically Catholicism. The presence of this translation not only illustrates, but also reinforces *A Nosa Terra*'s political interests. In its second issue, *Nós* refers to *A Nosa Terra*'s publication of MacSwiney's poetry in its section summarising and reviewing the contents of Galician and international journals. *Nós* explains to its readers, "Esta poesía foi xa traducida a todol-os idiomas do mundo. Ela tén, tras da sua sinxeleza, a fondura saudosa dos grandes poemas."[87] *Nós* justifies the translation by stating that since other nations had translated the poem, it was necessary for *A Nosa Terra* to do the same.

On December 5, 1921, more than a year after MacSwiney's death, *Nós* dedicated its eighth issue to him. The journal reintroduces Cork's mayor into nationalist memory. To commemorate MacSwiney, *Nós* compiles articles on his life and Ireland's political situation. Contributions include: "En lembranza de Terencio Mac Swiney",[88] "Terencio

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[86] "Unha poesía do Alcalde de Cork", *A Nosa Terra,* 5/11/1920, p. 7. For the original in English, see Terence MacSwiney, "Before the Last Battle", *Kilkenny People*, 30/10/1920, no page number.
[87] "Os homes, os feitos, as verbas", *Nós,* 2 (1920), p. 20.
[88] *Nós,* 8 (1921), p. 1.

Mac Swiney"[89] by Antón Losada Diégues,[90] "Notas da vida de Terencio Mac Swiney (mandadas expresamente pra <<NÓS>>)"[91] by Miss Annie Mac Swiney, "Irlanda"[92] by Ramón Cabanillas, Yeats' "Cathleen ni Houlihan"[93] translated by Antón Villar Ponte, "Irlanda políteca no século XIX"[94] by Otero Pedrayo, "Ao bon irlandés"[95] by Victoriano Taibo, and "Irlanda e Galiza"[96] by Risco. All these contributions demonstrate the Galician intellectuals' admiration for MacSwiney and illustrate their keen interest in Irish nationalism and attempt to strengthen the filial connexion between Ireland and Galicia.

Like *A Nosa Terra*, *Nós* lauds MacSwiney. The *Xeración Nós*, however, provides more commentary on MacSwiney's life in order to convince their readers of his importance as an example to Galician nationalism. Although there is no introductory article, the magazine's contents serve as an informal introduction to the play's primary theme – sacrifice for the nation. The first page clearly illustrates the magazine's objective. It sets the tone of the issue and then lists MacSwiney amongst other Irish patriots who died in Ireland's fight for independence:

> En lembranza de Terencio Mac Swiney
> o héroe-mártir que pasmou ó mundo
> e de todol-os outros irmaus nosos de raza que deron a vida pol-a sagrada causa d' Irlanda
> os que sairon na batalla de Boyne
> Lord Eduardo Fitz Gerald e os trinta mil de 1798
> e o xeneroso Roberto Emmet
> os Fenianos e os Invencibres
> os que axusticiaron dempois da semán de Páscoa de 1916

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[89] Ibid, pp. 2-3.
[90] This Galician nationalist's surname is spelt as Antón Losada e Diegués in this issue of *Nós*. However, in some other publications, his name appears as Losada e Dieguéz. For our purposes here, I will retain the spelling that *Nós* uses.
[91] *Nós*, 8 (1921), pp. 3-7.
[92] Ibid, p. 7.
[93] Ibid, pp. 8-13.
[94] Ibid, pp. 13-17.
[95] Ibid, p. 17.
[96] Ibid, pp. 18-20.

e os que ainda onte foron imolados
Porque d'iles e da sua Pátrea dixo o noso poeta:
"Tén unha nova estrela o noso cé
E tén uns novos santos noso altar."[97]

This history of the struggle for Irish independence demonstrates the commitment of the Irish to their cause and tries to invoke the same commitment from the Galician nationalists.

In his article, "Terencio MacSwiney", Losada e Diégues praises MacSwiney, especially his self-sacrifice, identifying him as "o protagonista d'unha moi sinxela hestorea". He states, "Non hai enerxía comparabel á que se percisa pra un morrer de cada momento, cando se pode salval-a vida con toda facilidade si se quere."[98] Losada e Diégues corroborates *A Nosa Terra*'s description of MacSwiney as a martyr:

> Mac Swiney o Mayor de Cork é unha manifestación heróica de potenza de inhifición de que é capaz un pobo ó servizo d'un ideal. [. . .]
>
> Mac Swiney, nome santo de mártir e de héroe espello de patriotas, mestre dos amadores da sua Terra os galegos bos e xenerosos non esquecen o teu eisempro, e como te seguiron nos teus sofrimentos, siguente nos desexos de Verdade, Xusticia e Libertade, e pregan a Deus s'estenda a Galiza a fecundidade do teu esforzo.[99]

According to Charles Kupchan, the efforts of one ethnic group to establish its own nation may encourage another group to attempt the same; this contagion then intensifies ethnic identity and channels it towards a resolution, preferably independence.[100] It is evident that the Irish nationalist movement, as represented by MacSwiney, deeply affected the Galicians and became a source of emulation.

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[97] "En lembranza de Terencio Mac Swiney", *Nós*, 8 (1921), p. 1.
[98] Antón Losada e Diégues, "Terencio Mac Swiney", *Nós*, 8 (1921), 2-3 (p. 2).
[99] Ibid, p. 2.
[100] Charles A. Kupchan, "Introduction: Nationalism Resurgent" in *Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe*, ed. by Charles A. Kupchan (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 1-14 (pp. 9-10).

In another article, "Irlanda políteca no século XIX", Otero Pedrayo also refers to MacSwiney's sacrifice and comments, "Dende enton sigue a loita que todos coñecemos, Irlanda sofre nobremente os males da guerra. O sacrificio do alcalde de Cork probou ó mundo asombrado quen son os celtas."[101] In noting that MacSwiney exemplifies the Celts, Otero Pedrayo implies that they are more than Romantic literary men; they are also like Pondal's brave warriors who fight for their rights. Thus, both Losada e Diégues and Otero Pedrayo suggest, perhaps naively, that MacSwiney's death benefits the cause of Irish independence.

Below a picture of MacSwiney, *Nós* includes an excerpt of his poetry from the 1907 collection, *A Múseca da Liberdade*. It gives neither the poem's title nor the translator's name. It is the only sample of MacSwiney's literary work that *Nós* provides for its readers in this issue:

> Mañán estarás morto!
> Non: mañán a tua Terra espertará!
> Qu' importa, logo, a tua morte,
> A miña, nin quen pensa no qu' ha cair?
> A Nosa Terra vivirá![102]

The poem, which is placed a few pages after the translated *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, reiterates its themes and conclusion. Like the play, it expresses the notion that a young man's sacrifice through death will spur the rebirth of his country. Moreover, MacSwiney's poem recalls Johann Gottlieb Fichte's words:

> [. . .] the noble-minded man will be active and effective, and will sacrifice himself for his people. Life merely as such, the mere continuance of changing existence, has in any case never had any value for him; he has wished for it only as the source of what is permanent. But this permanence is promised to him only by the continuous and independent existence of his nation. In order to save his nation he must be ready even

[101] Otero Pedrayo, "Irlanda políteca no século XIX", p. 17.
[102] *Nós*, 8 (1921), no page number.

> to die that it may live, and that he may live in it the only life for which he has ever wished.[103]

No other Irish or nationalist play encapsulated MacSwiney's words and deeds (or Fichte's words) as succinctly and provocatively as Yeats's *Cathleen ni Houlihan*. Yet, if Yeats were aware of the *Xeración Nós*' inclusion of his play in an issue commemorating MacSwiney, he most likely would not have approved. He believed that Irish politics after 1916 was obsessed with sacrifice for the wrong reasons. In "Modern Ireland: An Address to American Audiences, 1932-1933", Yeats says worriedly:

> Something new and terrible had come in Ireland, the mood of the mystic victim. For a generation speeches, commemorations led before men's minds the martyrs for the national cause, all the more popular national songs were in their praise; not one of them, not Lord Edward, not Wolfe Tone, was the victim. They had served their cause and met their deaths, but they not deliberately sought suffering. . . .Parnell had been the victim, the nation the priest, but now men were both priest and victim – they offered the nation a terrible way out [of] humiliation and self-detraction. Since then the substitution of the hunger strike for [the] silence of the imprisoned Fenians has helped to make deliberate suffering a chief instrument in our public life . . . it is not wholesome for a people to think much of exceptional acts of faith and sacrifice, least of all to make them the sole test of [a] man's worth.[104]

Nonetheless, the fact that the *Xeración Nós* includes *Cathleen ni Houlihan* in an issue honoring MacSwiney clearly suggests that the Galician intellectuals interpreted the play,

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[103] Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, trans. by R.F. Jones and G.H. Turnbull (Chicago and London: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1922), p. 136.

[104] W.B. Yeats, "Modern Ireland: An Address to American Audiences, 1932-1933", ed. and transcribed by Curtis Bradford, *Massachusetts Review*, 5 (1964) I, (259, 262-64, 266) (repr. in Michael Steinman, *Yeats's Heroic Figures: Wilde, Parnell, Swift, Casement* (London: Macmillan, 1983), p. 91).

As Michael Steinman points out, the new political situation had altered Irish nationalists' strategies. He explains:

> The dignity and purpose of earlier suffering had changed; Terence MacSwiney seemed masochistic when compared to O'Leary and Parnell. Yeats had praised his power at Brighton to consider self-destruction; now, it had turned to a neurotic fascination without ennobling purpose. In their deliberate search for pain, Yeats found only a perverse desire to be punished, rather than to triumph, as if atonement for past ignobility could come only from self-destruction.

See Steinman, *Yeats's Heroic Figures: Wilde, Parnell, Swift, Casement*, p. 91.

like Pondal's poetry, as a call to action, rather than a recreative narration of a past event, and hoped that it could inspire their own cause.

Unlike the anonymous translator of the *Leabhar Gabhála,* Antón Villar Ponte does not indicate from which text he translates *Cathleen ni Houlihan.* Given the *Xeración Nós*' proclivity to rely on French translations of Yeats's poetry as exemplified by Risco, it is possible that Villar Ponte also relied on a mediating text for his translation project. However, Thomas L. Watson asserts that Yeats did not receive much attention as a dramatist in France. He notes that some isolated translations of Yeats's plays appear in French between 1921 and 1960, but none of the translations that he names is *Cathleen ni Houlihan.*[105] A bibliographical search of catalogues in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France as well as the indices of *La Douce France* corroborates Watson's statement.[106] We can conclude that Villar Ponte did not depend on a French text.

Yeats's *Cathleen ni Houlihan* first appeared in the October 1902 issue of *Samhain.* After this first publication, later editions exhibited variations, including revised prefaces, movement of characters' dialogue, inclusion or exclusion of characters' lines, alterations to wording and punctuation, and variant spellings.[107] Textual evidence, particularly the excerpt from Yeats's letter to Lady Gregory, and the spellings of

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[105] Thomas L. Watson, "The French Reputation of W.B. Yeats", *Comparative Literature*, XII (1960), 256-62 (p. 261).

[106] Recently, a French translation of *Cathleen ni Houlihan* appeared in a collection of Yeats's works. See W.B. Yeats, *La Comtesse Cathleen [Texte imprimé]; La terre du Désir du Coeur; Cathleen Ni Houlihan... : sept pièces,* trans. by Jacqueline Genet (Paris: l'Arche, 1997).

[107] For more details regarding these variations, see W.B. Yeats, *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, in *The Variorum Edition of the Plays of W.B. Yeats*, ed. by Russell K. Alspach and Catharine C. Alspach (New York: Macmillan, 1966), pp. 214-35.

Cathleen ni Houlihan, Kilglass, and O'Donnells, indicates that Villar Ponte translated *Cathleen ni Houlihan* from the 1908 publication.

Moreover, in a republication of the play in 1935, the cover page states that the translated works are "vertidos â lingoa galega direitamente do inglés [. . .] con licencia do autor".[108] This declaration further suggests that Villar Ponte relied only on the English text.

Villar Ponte does not write an introduction and uses few footnotes in his translation. The first footnote refers to the play's title, *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, and explains its symbolism. Quoting from Yeats's letter to Lady Gregory, which also served as a dedication to the play, Villar Ponte explains the "génese e o siñificado d'este *folk-drama*" and translates as follows: "Cathleen é a Irlanda, a Irlanda en cuio honor tantas lëndas e tantas cantigas se teñen feito e pol-a redenzón da que moitos homes deron a vida".[109] Here, Villar Ponte inverts Cathleen and Ireland and states that it is Ireland for whom legends were written and men died. However, Yeats was referring to the power of an image, particularly that of Cathleen ni Houlihan, and its effect upon the people and their memory.

The other three footnotes clarify ambiguous and/or unfamiliar terms for a Galician audience. An example of ambiguity would be Yeats's subtle reference to Ireland's four provinces. When Peter questions how much land the strangers took from the Old

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[108] W.B. Yeats, *Dous folk-dramas de W.B. Yeats*, trans. by Plácido R. Castro, Antón Vilar Ponte, and Ramón Vilar Ponte (Santiago de Compostela: Nós, 1935), p. 1.

[109] W.B. Yeats, *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, trans. by Antón Villar Ponte, *Nós,* 8 (1921), p. 8. In the letter to Lady Gregory, Yeats writes, "She was Ireland herself, that Cathleen ni Houlihan for whom so many songs have been sung and for whose sake so many have gone to their death." See W.B Yeats, "Dedication of volumes one and two of Plays for an Irish Theatre", in *The Variorum Edition of the Plays of W.B. Yeats*, ed. by Russell K. Alspach and Catharine C. Alspach (New York: Macmillan, 1966), p. 232.

Woman, she replies that they took "[her] four beautiful green fields" (223). For an Irish reader and even an English reader, Yeats does not have to explain. Yet, for a Galician reader, Villar Ponte has to address Yeats's insinuations. Thus, following this exchange, Villar Ponte inserts a footnote stating that "As catro provincias d' Irlanda [son] Leinster, Ulster, Connaught e Munster".[110] His reference recalls the parallelism that Risco draws between Ireland and Galicia in the same issue when comparing each nation's geography: "Derradeiramentes, as catro divisiós d'Irlanda: Ulster, Connaught, Munster e Leinster, corresponde ás catro provincias de Lugo, Cruña, Pontevedra y-Ourense."[111]

The third and fourth footnotes identify the men who died on behalf of Ireland as personified by Cathleen ni Houlihan. While one offers a brief explanation and states that "[o]s O'Donnell e [sic] os Sullivan son antigas familias irlandesas da raza céltiga", the other provides more detail about Brian from Clontarf, who was a "[r]ei celta e humanista que no ano 1014 derrotou aos vikindes que se tiñan estabrecido na Irlanda moito antes de se estabreceren alí os franceses".[112] Both footnotes serve to familiarise the *Nós* reader with important Irish historical figures.

As we soon shall see, due to Villar Ponte's domestication of the text and its cultural attributes, footnotes are usually only required to clarify the most essential Irish cultural and historical references. Overall, he uses footnotes minimally, avoiding them so that he does not distract the reader from the play's action and its political message.

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[110] Ibid, p. 10.
[111] Risco, "Irlanda e Galiza", p. 19. Dr. Derek Flitter has pointed out to me that historically Galicia had seven provinces. The additional ones are Mondoñedo, Tui, and Betanzos. It is possible that Risco ignored these three in order to add another element to the *Xeración Nós*' list of similarities between Galicia and Ireland.
[112] Villar Ponte, trans., *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, p. 11.

As we already have seen in the previous chapter with respect to *Leabhar Gabhála*, translation cannot avoid inscribing a foreign text with domestic interests and values. A translator initiates the process of inscription when he selects a certain text, thus excluding others. This inscription continues while operating at each level of production, circulation, and reception of the translation.[113] In translating Yeats's *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, Villar Ponte applies a domesticating strategy. Like his fellow *Xeración Nós* colleagues, he worked to Galicianise his nation. A comparison of the source text with its translation reveals that Villar Ponte often deviates from the language of Yeats's play, but attempts to approximate it within the limitations of the Galician language. Because *Cathleen ni Houlihan* answers particular domestic interests, specifically that of nationalism, *Nós* chose Yeats's play for its overt message regarding patriotism and sacrifice, which seemed particularly fitting given both the magazine's and the intellectuals' homage to the Irish martyr, MacSwiney.

Since *Cathleen ni Houlihan* is a modern dramatic work, the literal strategy proposed by Gómez Ledo for the translation of classics is not appropriate.[114] Translators of plays often encounter difficulties that do not affect translators of poetry or novels. Given a play's dual role as a written text and a performance text, a translator must decide which role is most important to his objectives. In translating theatre texts, Susan Bassnett-McGuire discusses five strategies, including treating the theatre text as a literary work, using the source cultural context as a framework, translating the text's performability, changing the source culture text's form, and collaborating between a

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[113] Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation,* p. 67.
[114] For more on Gómez Ledo's translating strategies, see Gómez Ledo, "Virxilio en galego", p. 232.

source language speaker and a target language translator.[115] Of the five approaches, the features of performability, including "substituting regional accents in the SL [source language] with regional accents in the TL [target language], trying to create equivalent registers in the TL [target language] and omitting passages that are deemed to be too closely bound to the SL [source language] cultural and linguistic context",[116] coincide with Villar Ponte's domesticating strategy.

As Maria Tymoczyko has demonstrated with respect to the translation of early Irish literature in nineteenth and twentieth century Ireland, a translator in a post-colonial context may not necessarily be invisible as Venuti argues.[117] Translators often were prominent figures in intellectual and political circles; they were educators, journalists, novelists, politicians, and cultural revivalists. They exemplified both Hutchinson's cultural nationalists and Fanon's native intellectuals. Therefore, as Tymoczko aptly observes, these "translators often command[ed] a great deal of cultural prestige; they can be viewed as part of the cadre creating and recreating the emerging national culture, part of the nationalist effort, whatever their translation strategy."[118] Such is the case in Galicia with the *Xeración Nós* and particularly with Villar Ponte and his translation of *Cathleen ni Houlihan*. Villar Ponte, who already had penned a book on Galician nationalism, *Nacionalismo gallego. Nuestra afirmación regional* and had contributed various articles on political and cultural topics to both *A Nosa Terra* and *Nós*, aspired to make his own personal contribution to the development of Galician drama. Moreover, as

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[115] Susan Bassnett-McGuire, "Ways Through the Labyrinth: Strategies and Methods for Translating Theatre Texts", in *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*, ed. by Theo Hermans (London: Crook Helm Ltd., 1985), pp. 87-102 (pp. 90-91).
[116] Ibid, p. 91.
[117] See Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, pp. 1-42.
[118] Tymoczko, *Translation in a Postcolonial Context*, pp. 297-98.

Manuel Vieites points out, "Villar Ponte tiña unha fe cega no poder mobilizador do teatro, inda que era consciente da necesidade de combinar a cualidade literaria do texto coa cualidade artística do espectáculo."[119] Consequently, Villar Ponte's nationalist ideology affected his selection of texts, the function and significance of his translations, and his translating strategies. In his search for models for Galicia, Villar Ponte looked to Ireland and her dramatists and found his answer in Yeats.

Tymoczko also argues that translations, like any other literary works, have a political dimension because they can "seize the imagination" and "fire whole populations".[120] Given that *Cathleen ni Houlihan* achieved this in Ireland, it is likely that Villar Ponte hoped that his translation could mobilise his audience to react against the "strangers" in their "fields". His efforts are characteristic of Hroch's Phase B, which occurs when nationalists concentrate on patriotic agitation through various cultural activities, as I have discussed in the first chapter. Yet Villar Ponte's translation was also political because it intended to promote the recuperation of the Galician language and to fortify the Galicians' affiliation with the Irish. In the same respect, translating Yeats's play made the Galicians more European, or better yet, Celtic, rather than Castilian Spanish. Villar Ponte thus assisted Risco in his mission to break down the barriers between Galicia and other European cultures. Overall, by enlisting his translation in the agenda of promoting cultural, political, and social change within nationalist parameters, Villar Ponte's domesticating translation was not merely a literary act; it was also a calculated political manoeuvre.

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[119] Manuel F. Vieites, "O contexto" in *Como en Irlanda* (Santiago de Compostela: Instituto Galego das Artes Escénicas e Musicais, 1996), pp. 113-14

[120] Tymoczko, *Translation in a Postcolonial Context*, p. 82.

Considering Galicia's post-colonial situation, it is not surprising that Villar Ponte decided to domesticate Yeats's play. The precarious situation of Galician language and the absence of a strong theatrical tradition demanded that Villar Ponte employ a strategy that would attract readers.[121] While Yeats resisted England's colonialism by writing in Hiberno-English, Villar Ponte resisted Castilian Spain's power by translating into Galician. As we shall see, Villar Ponte's domesticating strategy seeks to achieve two goals: to strengthen the Galician language and to offer a model for an emerging Galician theatre.

Like most translators of the early twentieth century, Villar Ponte domesticates characters' names and cultural references so as to make them familiar to the Galician audience and prevent readers' estrangement from the text. In *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, Villar Ponte generally translates personal names. Thus, Peter Gillane (214) changes to Pedro Gillane (*Nós* 8: 8), Michael Gillane (214) to Miguel Gillane (*Nós* 8: 8), Patrick Gillane (214) to Patricio Gillane (*Nós* 8: 8), Bridget Gillane (214) to Brigida Gillane (*Nós* 8: 8), the Old Woman (214) to A Probiña (*Nós* 8: 8), Murteen (216) to Martín (*Nós* 8:8), John Cahel (217) to Xan Cahel (*Nós* 8: 9), and the widow Casey (223) to víuva Casey (*Nós* 8:10). In some instances, Villar Ponte retains names, such as Delia Cahel (*Nós* 8: 8), which appears to be derived from a Romance language, and Jamsie Dempsey (*Nós* 8: 9), which does not have an obvious equivalent. Interestingly, Villar Ponte also preserves

[121] For more on Galician theatrical tradition, particularly during the 1920s and 1930s, see Laura Tato Fontaíña, *Historia do teatro galego: das orixes a 1936* (Vigo: Edicións A Nosa Terra, 1999).

the name of Cathleen rather than changing it to Catuxa.[122] He respects the original title since he includes a footnote explaining the symbolism behind the name. This retention also maintains the alien quintessence of the personal name and the play itself.

In most cases, references to food usually indicate a translation's foreign origins. However, in *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, Villar Ponte domesticates, or Galicianises, food references in order to make them recognisable to the *Nós* audience. For example, "a bit of the oaten cake" (225) becomes "anaco de galletas" (*Nós* 8: 11). Oaten cake is a type of bread that was a staple element of the Irish diet before the widespread popularity of the potato.[123] On the other hand, in the *Gran Diccionario Xerais da Lingua*, "galletas" are "pasta[s] de fariña, azucre e outros ingredientes que, cortada e moldeada, se coce no forno" or "pan sen levedar".

Villar Ponte varies his treatment of money. On some occasions, he provides common words for specific Anglo-Irish terminology. Thus, he translates "[a] few pence, or a shilling itself" (225) as "algunhas moedas" (*Nós* 8: 11), "hundred pounds" (225) as "os cartos" (*Nós* 8: 11) and "silver" (226) as "diñeiro" (*Nós* 8: 11). As a result of such domestication seen from these examples, Villar Ponte erases the cultural context of Yeats's text. However, Villar Ponte does not employ a uniform strategy; as I will discuss later in this chapter, he also foreignises monetary references.

By domesticating names and cultural references exclusive to Ireland, Villar Ponte follows Schleiermacher's less preferred translating strategy that "he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author toward him".[124] He decides not to

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[122] However, in a republication of the play in 1935 and 1977, the title was domesticated to *Catuxa ni Houlihan*.
[123] For more information, see http://www.rte.ie/tv/alittlehistoryofirishfood/cereals.html.
[124] Schleiermacher, "On the Different Methods of Translating", p. 149.

import *Cathleen ni Houlihan*'s grammatical features and thus represses the foreignness of Yeats's text by converting the main features of Hiberno-English into colloquial Galician. As a result, Villar Ponte brings Yeats to Galicia, rewriting his theatrical text as if he too were a Galician rather than an Irishman.

The use of reflexive pronouns is a common characteristic of Hiberno-English. James Patrick Sullivan explains that while in English intonational rather than grammatical means expresses emphasis, in Irish the same grammatical means expresses both emphasis and reflexivity. Thus, "[Hiberno-English] speakers [. . .] have come to use the English pronominal equivalents of 'fein' ['self'] in constructions where they denote emphatic and not reflexive pronouns."[125] In *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, Yeats employs this syntax in the following examples:

Michael: [. . .] he was never better pleased to marry any two in his parish than **myself and Delia Cahel**. (217)	Miguel: [. . .] en ningures tivera unha ledicia com'a que terá abenzoando unha parexa cal a da **Delia Cahel e mais eu**. [sic] (*Nós* 8: 9)
Bridget: Why would she look at it when she had **yourself** to look at, a fine, strong young man? (218)	Brigida: ¿Para que ha de preocuparse de somellantes cativezas si ten de vixiar a un [sic] un mozo do mais baril e galante? (*Nós* 8: 9)

In the first example, Villar Ponte inverts Yeats' word order and changes the reflexive pronoun to a simple personal pronoun. In the second one, he omits the reflexive pronoun, losing Yeats' emphasis and repetition. Both examples illustrate how Villar Ponte avoids close translation; instead he tries to capture the text's sense, rewriting it in a rural and colloquial Galician.

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[125] James Patrick Sullivan, *The Genesis of Hiberno-English: A Socio-Historical Account* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Yeshiva University, 1976), p. 93.

In Irish the verb "to have" does not exist. Consequently, Hiberno-English speakers, borrowing Irish syntactical structure, express mental or physical states or sensations by saying that "[hunger, fear, etc.] is on a person".[126] The verb "be", in some instances, may be substituted by "put", "get", or other verbs.[127] Thus:

Bridget: What was it **put** the trouble on you? (223)	Brigida: E quen **foi** o causante d'elas [penas] e do voso vagamundeio? (*Nós* 8: 10)

Rather than attempting to translate Yeats's dialogue directly, Villar Ponte rewrites Bridget's line, altogether avoiding the Hiberno-English syntax. He also changes the interrogative "what" to "quen", thus implying more assertively than Yeats that a person or group of persons have caused the Old Woman's trouble and wandering.

Since Irish only possesses the definite article, it is not uncommon to see the rules associated with its use carry over into Hiberno-English. Hence, another characteristic of Hiberno-English is the retention of the definite article before abstract nouns and verbs used as nouns, amongst other uses.[128] In *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, Yeats employs the definite article before the verbal in the following example:[129]

Patrick: I did not, but I saw a young girl, and she had **the walk** of a queen. (231)	Patricio: Non, pro vin unha moza e **camiñaba** como unha raiña. (*Nós* 8: 13)

Although Villar Ponte's translation is closer to the original, he still imposes fluency by converting Yeats's noun into a verb and creating a simile.

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[126] Ibid, pp. 101-2.
[127] Ibid, p. 103.
[128] For the conditions regarding the use of the definite article in Irish, see Sullivan, *The Genesis of Hiberno-English,* p. 113.
[129] This quote is often cited as an example of Hiberno-English by scholars of Irish literature and culture. See Sullivan, *The Genesis of Hiberno-English,* p. 113.

Another feature of Hiberno-English employed by Yeats is the use of the habitual present, which does not have an equivalent in modern British English. Sullivan notes that Irish speakers translate this tense into English by utilising the construction "does be".[130] Yeats imports this construction below:

Patrick: **They do be cheering** when the horses take the water well. (219)	Patricio: [. . .] e **fan algún ruido** namentres beben na fonte. (*Nós* 8: 9)

In Galician, Villar Ponte circumvents the Hiberno-English syntax and simplifies the verbal phrase.

A final example of Hiberno-English occurs with the use of the conjunction "and" and an adverbial clause. According to Sullivan, this construction is formed by "a dependent adverbial clause which is introduced by 'agus' ['and'] and which contains a 'participle-functioning' verbal noun and a deleted 'be' form".[131] For example:

Peter [to Old Woman]: Did you hear a noise of cheering, **and you coming up the hill**? (223)	Pedro (Á Probiña): Non sentíchedes unha cheia de berros **cando rubiades a costa**? (*Nós* 8: 9)

Here Villar Ponte changes the conjunction "and" to "cando" so that the sentence is more coherent.

While examples of Hiberno-English abound in *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, these presented best illustrate how Yeats plays with standard English, importing Irish constructions and thus creating, as well as affirming, the language spoken in western Ireland. Villar Ponte, however, cannot import these constructions in his translation. In adhering to a domesticating strategy Villar Ponte ignores not only Yeats's lexicon but

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[130] Ibid, pp. 118-19.
[131] Ibid, p. 136.

also his syntax. As a result, the rich language found in Yeats's text loses some of its rhythm in Villar Ponte's translation. Although Villar Ponte sacrifices Yeats's Hiberno-English, he creates a fluent, and equally resonant, text for his own nationalist audience.

Unlike *Leabhar Gabhála*'s translator, Villar Ponte repeatedly deviates from Yeats's *Cathleen ni Houlihan* and inserts additional words and phrases into his translation. By including these changes, he supplements Yeats's theatrical text, often forcing it to be more idiomatic in Galician. In one example, Bridget snaps at Peter for his comments to their son, Michael, about the dowry she had:

Bridget: Well, if I didn't bring much I didn't get much. What had you the day I married you but a flock of hens and you feeding them, and a few lambs and you driving them to the market at Ballina. [. . .] (217-218)	Brigida: **Pois, decátate, hó.** Si che trouguen pouca cousa, **tamén é de certo que** gañei eu cáseque nada con elo. **Ora dime**: ¿que tiñas ti o dia que nos casamos? Catro ou cinco galiñas e dous ou tres carneiros que logo levabas ao mercado da Ballina. (*Nós* 8: 9)

As seen here, Villar Ponte rearranges Bridget's speech, incorporating additional phrases. The inclusion of phrases such as "decátate, hó" and "Ora dime" makes Bridget's statement more conversational and thus fluent in Galician. In the following example, Villar Ponte again changes the dialogue, adding and repeating phrases:

Bridget: Leave me alone now till I ready the house for the woman that is to come into it. Peter: You are the best woman in Ireland, but money is good, too. [. . .] I never thought to see so much money within my four walls. [. . .] (218)	Brigida: **Vaite, lisca d'eiquí, déixame**, que teño que arranxal-a casa para aquela que ha vir vivire éla. Pedro: **Mulleriña, si xa sei que** ti és da millor caste de mulleres que poida habere en en [sic] toda a Irlanda, pro **decátate ben** que o diñeiro é unha boa cousa. [. . .] Nunca, abofé, houbera maxinado ollar **tanto ben de Deus entr' as catros paredes da miña casa**. . . [. . .] (*Nós* 8: 9)

Firstly, Villar Ponte offers three alternatives to Bridget's statement "[l]eave me alone". In repeating the phrase, he offers various linguistic choices for his audience. Secondly, with respect to Pedro's part, Villar Ponte adds "mulleriña" as an affectionate form of address in order to create a stronger connection between Peter and Bridget and inserts "da miña casa" which is implied in the English text. Moreover, he changes "so much money" to "tanto ben de Deus" and consequently suppresses Yeats's meaning, especially his implied criticism of the emergence of materialism amongst the peasants. Instead, Villar Ponte invests his text with additional religious overtones where none exists in the source text.

This tendency to incorporate additional religious references also occurs elsewhere in Villar Ponte's translation as in the following:

Bridget: Maybe we should give her something along with that, to bring her on her way. A few pence or a shilling itself, and we with so much money in the house. (225)	Brigida: E porque non lle ofercer tamén algunhas moedas, con todo este ben del Señor que temos hoxe na casa? (*Nós* 8: 11)

Whereas Yeats only refers to the material wealth in the Gillanes' household, Villar Ponte suggests that the Gillanes have spiritual wealth as well. Such additions greatly alter the text and suggest the importance of religious faith, especially Catholicism, to the Gillanes.

Villar Ponte's inclusion of additional words serves two purposes: emphasis and alternative lexical options. Thus:

Michael: Have you no one to care you in your age, ma'am?	Miguel: E non tedes ninguén que **coide e procure de vós** á vosa idade?
Old Woman: I have not. With all the lovers that brought me their love, **I never set out the bed for any**.	Probiña: Ninguén. Sendo tántol-os homes que me tiveron amore**, a miña casiña ficou valeira e a miña lareira deserta**.
Michael: Are you **lonely** going the roads,	Miguel: E sempre andades asín, **soliña, tan**

ma'am? Old Woman: I have my thoughts and I have my hopes. Michael: What hopes have you to hold to? Old Woman: The hope of getting my beautiful fields back again; the hope of putting **the strangers** out of my house. (226)	**sola** pol-os camiños? Probiña: Cand' a min levo de compaña os meus pensamentos e as miñas espranzas. Miguel: E cales son as vosas espranzas, probe vella? Probiña: A esperanza de voltar ao recobro dos meus campos verdecentes; a espranza ranza [sic] de botar **aos forasteiros, aos alleos**. da miña casiña. (*Nós* 8: 11)

Villar Ponte again moves away from Yeats's text by adding words. However, in this example, the additions are synonyms of a previous noun, verb, or adjective. This reiteration is a consequence of the tendency in Galician to be more expressive and expansive, whereas in modern English the tendency is to be more concise and terse. Such a translating strategy further demonstrates Villar Ponte's domestication of Yeats's play. Furthermore, Villar Ponte does not translate the line "[. . .] I never set out the bed for any"; instead, he offers the alternative, "a miña casiña ficou valeira e a miña lareira deserta". In Yeats's text, the line alludes to the fact that the Old Woman never could consummate her relationships. However, this implication may have been too suggestive for Villar Ponte and as a result, he chose to omit the potentially offensive words and rewrite the line.

By integrating additional words and phrases into the translated play, Villar Ponte lengthens dialogues and domesticates them to be more conversational in Galician. His changes contribute to the translation's fluency as much as they reflect Villar Ponte's interpretation of the play. Moreover, his decision to add words and phrases demonstrates his intention to cultivate the Galician language.

Interspersed in the dialogue are some songs common to the old Irish folk tradition. Yeats employs these songs to intensify the Old Woman's calling to Irish young men. After the Old Woman speaks of a dead hero, she sings:

Old Woman: I am come to cry with you, woman,
My hair is unwound and unbound;
I remember him ploughing his field,
Turning up the red side of the ground.

And building his barn on the hill
With the good mortared stone;
O! we'd have pulled down the gallows
Had it happened in Enniscrone! (224)

Probiña: <<Me lembro d'ollalo labrando o seu campo,
chantando o arado na terra vermella,
e erguendo o piorno no cumio do outeiro
con pedras do monte moi grandes e fortes.
¡Ou, si houbese íl vivido en Enniscron [sic]
a xente faria esfondál-o patíbolo!>> (*Nós* 8: 11)

In the Galician translation, Villar Ponte omits the first and second lines of the first stanza and combines Yeats's two stanzas into one. As is characteristic of Villar Ponte, he adds words to the verses. For example, in his third line, he inserts "no cumio", giving more specific details about the location of the "piorno". He domesticates the text, making it familiar to his audience by translating "barn" as "piorno", which is a shed raised on columns and used for storage of food. Given that the "piorno" is specifically unique to the Galician landscape and culture, this change could be seen as an example of extreme domestication on Villar Ponte's part. As a result, his text becomes more "enxebre". In the next line, he alters and extends Yeats's description of the stone from "good" to "moi grandes e fortes". Villar Ponte juxtaposes the final lines and changes their meanings too. Of the remaining six lines, none retains its rhyme.

In another episode, the Old Woman tries to enchant the young man:

Old Woman: [Sings].
Do not make a great keening
When the graves have been dug to-morrow

Probiña: (Canta):
<<Non ceibes grandes salaios
cando abran mañán as fosas.

Do not call the white-scarfed riders	Non faleis os que leven loito
To the burying that shall be to-morrow.	mañán ao enterral-os mortos.
Do not spread food to call strangers	Non abastedes a mesa nin chamedes
To the wakes that shall be to-morrow;	forasteiros
Do not give money for prayers	pr'as vixilias que haberá.
For the dead that shall die to-morrow.... (228)	Cartos non darlle a que pregue
	Pol-os mortos de mañán.>> (*Nós* 8: 12)

Villar Ponte again tries to conserve the song's content rather than its style. Although he maintains the repetition of "do not" at the beginning of the first, third, and fifth line, he changes it in the seventh, juxtaposing the verb and object. With respect to the repetition of "to-morrow" at the end of each even line, he only retains it in the final line. In the first line, Villar Ponte writes "salaios", which means "suspiros", for "keening", which has a stronger connotation and is a type of mourning, particularly wailing, associated with Irish funeral traditions. He also mistranslates "white-scarfed riders", who are white robed priests at funerals,[132] as "os que leven loito".

Given the tense political climate of Ireland when Yeats wrote *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, he chose his language carefully. In particular, he employs subtle language in the Old Woman's dialogue because she embodies the colonised nation, Ireland. Villar Ponte, on the other hand, found himself in a situation very different to Yeats and sought to heighten the play's themes of injustice and sacrifice by modifying Yeats's word choice. When the Old Woman talks to the Gillanes, she explains her predicament:

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[132] A. Norman Jeffares and A.S. Knowland, *A Commentary on the Collected Plays of W.B. Yeats* (London: Macmillan, 1975), p. 35.

Bridget: Indeed you look as if you'd had your share of trouble. Old Woman: I have had trouble indeed. Bridget: What was it put the trouble on you? Old Woman: My land that was taken from me. Peter: Was it much land they took from you? Old Woman: My four beautiful green fields. (222-23)	Brigida: Afé parez que tedes sofrido moito, **xuzgándovos pol-o carís**. Probiña: Si, teño sofrido penas moi grandes. Brigida: E quen foi o causante d'elas e do voso vagamundeio? Probiña: A miña terra que me **teñen roubado**. Pedro: Pro era moita a terra que vos **roubaron**? Probiña: Os meus catro fermosos campos verdecentes. (*Nós* 8: 10)

Whereas Yeats uses mild language in the statements "you'd had your share of trouble" and "[m]y land that was taken from me", Villar Ponte offers "tedes sofrido moito" and "[a] miña terra que me teñen roubado". Villar Ponte thus alters the connotation of "trouble", or passive usurpation to "suffering", or forceful violation. He repeats this intensification again in the following:

Michael: What was it brought him to his death? Old Woman: He died for love of me: many a man has died for love of me. (224)	Miguel: E por qué **o condenaron a morte**? Probiña: Pol-o meu amore. Moitos teñen morto pol-o meu amore. (*Nós* 8: 11)

While Yeats uses a Hiberno-English construction and opts for language that does not assign blame to any particular person or group for the martyr's death, Villar Ponte selects a more explicit verb, which implies some group's involvement in deciding the punishment of death.

Although it does not occur frequently, Villar Ponte omits certain phrases and lines. In the example below, he excludes one of the Old Woman's lines:

Bridget: [to the old woman]. Will you have a drink of milk, ma'am?	Brigida: (Á Probiña). ¿Queredes un pouco leite? ¿Non vos apetece?

Old Woman: **It is not food or drink that I want.** Peter: [offering the shilling]. Here is something for you. Old Woman: That is not what I want. It is not silver I want. (226)	Pedro: (Ofercéndolle un chelín). Tome, logo. Probiña: Non é iso o que me percisa. O diñeiro me non pode axudar. (*Nós* 8: 11)

Villar Ponte's exculsion here creates a gap in the dialogue. By omitting the line, Villar Ponte, unlike Yeats, fails to show how the Old Woman rejects not only money, but also food. Her sustenance, as Yeats demonstrates, comes from men's sacrifices, not worldly goods and possessions. Unfortunately, Villar Ponte's omission (due to either personal choice or carelessness) weakens Yeats's original implications.

In Yeats's original, after the Old Woman sings her plaintive song with the intention of enchanting Michael, she remarks, "[The dead] will have no need of prayers, they will have no need of prayers"(228). Yeats includes this assertion in order both to highlight and to challenge, the dubious relationship between Catholicism and nationalism in Ireland. As Cruise O'Brien explains, "Yeats is addressing himself to those Catholic nationalists in whom nationalism, in any conflict with Catholicism, has to prevail."[133] Villar Ponte, most likely motivated by his ideology and faith, excludes this statement from his translation because of what he may have perceived as its anti-religious, especially anti-Catholic, character and because it conflicts with the religious tone of his previous additions.

Unlike the translator of *Leabhar Gabhála*'s chapters, Villar Ponte generally avoids foreignising *Cathleen ni Houlihan*. Nevertheless, some foreignising tendencies do

[133] O'Brien, *Ancestral Voices*, p. 65.

emerge in the translated text. In describing the play's setting, Villar Ponte retains the English word, cottage, as seen below:

Interior of a cottage close to Killala [. . .] (214)	Interior d'un *cottage* (casiña aldeán) en Killala [. . .] (*Nós* 8: 8)

This is the only non-Galician word, with the exception of some personal names and places, that appears in the translation. With respect to money, Villar Ponte occasionally maintains the Anglo-Irish context. For example, he translates "the whole hundred pounds" (217) as "as cen libras esterliñas compretas" (*Nós* 8: 9) and "shilling" (225, 226) "chelín" (*Nós* 8: 11). By including these words, Villar Ponte briefly reminds the reader that the text is set in Ireland, not Galicia.

In Villar Ponte's text, mistranslations are scarce. With respect to specific cultural references, however, he encounters difficulties. For example, he mistranslates "hurling" (215) as "gresca" (*Nós* 8: 8).[134] In Ireland, hurling is a ball and stick game comparable to hockey. The Gaelic Athletic Association, formed in 1884, promoted hurling as Ireland's national sport and as an alternative to England's traditional sports of cricket and football. In the play, hurling therefore has patriotic, nationalist resonances.[135] Because no such equivalent sport exists in Galicia, Villar Ponte cannot offer a comparable translation. Thus, he chooses "gresca", which, according to the *Gran Diccionario Xerais da Lingua*, means "lea" or "enfrontamento verbal entre dúas ou máis persoas; enfrontamento que chega á violencia física entre dúas ou máis persoas; situación na que hai moito ruído, confusión e desorde". Villar Ponte also refers to "hurling" as "rifar" (*Nós* 8: 8), defined

[134] In "Cyclops" of Joyce's *Ulysses*, hurling is also mentioned. Otero Pedrayo omits the word, perhaps due to his inability to translate it, and offers an alternative.
[135] Jeffares and. Knowland, *A Commentary on the Collected Plays of W.B. Yeats*, p. 33.

as "disputaren dúas ou máis persoas entre si". Although Villar Ponte's choice fails to convey Yeats's nationalist undertones, it captures the violence of the sport and accounts for the loud noises and cheering heard in the Gillane home.

Another mistranslation that appears is the following:

Patrick: [. . .] Do you remember what Winny of the Cross Roads was saying the other night about the strange woman that goes through the country the time there's war or trouble coming? (216)	Patricio: [. . .] ¿Non te lembras, ña nai, do que nos contaba ontanoite **Vítor dos Tres Camiños**, sobr' unha forasteira que se olla pol-o país sempre que chegan as vísperas d'estalar algunha revolta ou algunha guerra? (*Nós* 8: 8)

Here Villar Ponte confuses a personal name, "Winny", with the common noun, "winner". He also translates "Cross Roads" as "Tres Caminos" when the Galician words, "catro caminos" or "encrucillada", would be more accurate.

In response to Peter's question regarding why there is shouting below in the village, his youngest son, Patrick, responds:

Patrick: There are ships in the Bay; the French are landing at Killala. (230)	Patricio: Son **Mariñeiros da Baja**. Os franceses desembarcaron en Killala. (*Nós* 8: 12)

Here Villar Ponte offers a completely different response and mistranslates the sentence, suggesting that the presence of sailors, rather than ships, has caused the commotion.

The comparative textual analysis of the English original and the Galician translation demonstrates Villar Ponte's intention to present a modern theatrical work in colloquial Galician. According to Antonio de Toro Santos, Villar Ponte "translates fairly freely and takes some liberties that are, at the very least, controversial".[136] De Toro

[136] De Toro Santos, "Reflections on the Literary Translation of Texts in English in Galicia since the Nineteenth Century", p. 373.

Santos also argues that "desde una perspectiva estética y de fidelidad al texto la versión de A. Villar Ponte es bastante mejorable".[137] However, what de Toro Santos overlooks is the fact that any translator from a non-English speaking culture or a minority language culture would encounter difficulties in translating Yeats's text. Considering the era in which Villar Ponte translated the play and his objectives, the translation should be recognised as an ambitious achievement for the Galician language and literary revival.

Unlike the translated chapters from *Leabhar Gabhála*, *Cathleen ni Houlihan* illustrates very few examples of foreignising tendencies. As a result of its domestication, *Cathleen ni Houlihan* participates in Villar Ponte's project of enhancing the Galician language and developing a Galician theatre. Moreover, the fluency present in Villar Ponte's translation is essential for reforming the literary canon. Consequently, only a domesticating strategy could achieve his goals.

Unlike in Ireland, where the production of *Cathleen ni Houlihan* created moments of speculation and action, in Galicia the play's publication did not stir the same intense reactions. In 1935, Villar Ponte collaborated with his brother Ramón and Plácido R. Castro to publish *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, domesticated to *Catuxa de Houlihan*, with another Yeats play, *The Land of Heart's Desire*, or *O país da saudade*. In the republished play, minor changes, primarily spelling and word choice, appear. With the exception of these changes, neither Villar Ponte nor Castro revised the translation.

In the translators' introduction to the plays, Castro and the Villar Pontes echo Schleiermacher and his organic metaphors:

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[137] De Toro Santos, "W.B. Yeats", p. 303.

> C'o pensamento posto nos coros enxebres – colmeas de mocedade a traballaren o recendente mel lírico zugado pol-o *genius* da terra nas marelas chourimas da montana e na herba de namorar da mariña – pillamos d'un horto da Illa Verde co'a fouce druída do luar estas flores que enfeita o orvallo celta da saudade, común a todol-os pobos da mesma raza, para oferecerllas vizosas logo d'as ter trasplantadas con labrego agarimo â nosa doce língoa atlántica feita salaios d'amor nos Cancioneiros, verba señorial no <<Amadis>>, balbordo d'epopeia nos <<Lusiadas>> e nos <<Eoas>> e berro cantareiro na loita co'a mar brava do Fisterre e o eco verde das montanas.[138]

By (re)transplanting Yeats's plays into Galician, the translators sought to reinvigorate their own theatrical tradition.[139] In early 1936, a drama company from A Coruña, Keltia, planned to stage Yeats's *O país da saudade* along with two other Galician original plays, Villar Ponte´s *Nouturnio do medo e morte* and Álvaro das Casas's *Matria*.[140] However, the intentions of the Villar Ponte brothers, Castro, and Keltia were not fulfiled as the editors of the 1977 edition explain:

> Os traductores propuxéranse poñer nas mans dos nosos grupos teatráis uns testos de auténtica raigaña popular e fondo contido histórico-social, refrexo das vivenzas dun pobo irmán, capaces de soerguer a alienada e decadente escea galega daquiles tempos. Por desgracia non houbo ocasión pra intentar o ensaio, porque a tremenda traxedia real da guerra civil afogóu todas as voces, tanto as da farsa coma as tremantes de carraxe da vida mesma.[141]

Despite the fact that the war interrupted the translators' aspirations, their legacy survives in the works that they selected for translation. For the readers of *A Nosa Terra* and *Nós,* the translated works of Yeats conveyed a political and cultural message. Since Yeats was

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[138] Plácido R. Castro, Antón Vilar Ponte, and Ramón Vilar Ponte, "Agasallo", in W.B. Yeats, *Dous folk-dramas de W.B. Yeats*, (Santiago de Compostela: Nós, 1935), p. 2.
[139] According to Tato Fontaíña, Antón Villar Ponte admitted that Yeats's plays may not have been the most theatrical or the best of Irish drama. However, he, along with Castro, agreed that they were the most appropriate models because they liberated Irish drama from the same restrictions which affected Galician theatre. Tato Fontaíña, *Historia do teatro galego*, p. 150-51.
[140] Tato Fontaíña, *Historia do teatro galego*, p. 153.
[141] "Nota dos editores" in W.B. Yeats, *Dous dramas populares*, trans. by Plácido R. Castro, Antón Vilar Ponte, and Ramón Vilar Ponte (Vigo: Castrelos, 1977), p. 7.

a nationalist whose literature expressed themes with which the Galician intellectuals identified during the early twentieth century, importing his works allowed the *Irmandades da Fala* and the *Xeración Nós* to show off the achievements of the Irish, their Celtic brother, and present them as examples of both the nationalist and the Celtic spirit. Most importantly, these translations participated in the legitimisation of Galician as a language both of the people and of modern European literature.

Chapter Five
Honouring Genius and Cultivating Literary Change: James Joyce and Otero Pedrayo's Translated Fragments of *Ulysses*

James Stanislaus Joyce (1882-1941) is considered to be a literary genius who refused to be defined by either his language or his nation.[1] Instead, he chose to (re)define and (re)mould them through his unique approach to writing. Consequently, he has been lauded as one of the premier post-colonial writers, scrutinising and challenging attitudes and actions not only of the coloniser but also of the colonised. His literature, with its scathing and controversial commentaries about institutions and nations, encapsulated the colonial experience, and emerged quickly as a literary model for other minority cultures and nations.

Unlike other Irish contemporaries by and large, Joyce distanced himself much more from the Irish Literary Revival due to ideological conflicts. Although he admired the verse and prose of prominent revivalists such as Yeats and George Moore more than any other writers in English, he disliked and distrusted their agendas.[2] Whereas Yeats and Synge attempted to invigorate Irish literature by merging their interests in the folk and Celticism, Joyce avoided such themes, often lampooning them, and preferred to depict the Irish and Ireland in a more naturalistic, and less romantic, manner.[3] In Joyce's opinion, the Revival conceded to public pressure by promoting a caricatured version of Ireland. As a result, "[i]t deprived the artist of his independence; it nurtured

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[1] For a complete biography on James Joyce, see, for instance, Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, new and rev. edn. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).
[2] Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 98.
[3] Yeats, who acted as a mentor to Synge and Joyce, advised both to find their inspiration in the Irish folk by visiting the Aran Islands. While Synge heeded the advice, Joyce rejected it. See Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 245.

provincialism; and it did this in the guise of a return to the 'natural'."[4] Moreover he considered the revival of a national literature by contemporaries and elders to be "sterile and uselessly propagandist".[5] Nevertheless, as Richard Ellmann points out, "Joyce profited from [the movement's] momentum" despite his careful disassociation.[6]

Since young adulthood, Joyce considered himself to be an exile – intellectually, culturally, and spiritually – and his writing exposes this sense of dispossession and isolation. Joyce, like his fictional alter ego Stephen Dedalus, felt burdened by what he perceived to be his enslavement to two distinct, but equally demanding and oppressive, masters – one British, another Roman. To extricate himself from the burdens of English literary tradition and the Roman Catholic Church as well as Ireland, he reacted by repudiating and rebelling against them rather than allowing them to stifle him. Throughout Joyce's self-imposed exile, the English literary tradition, Ireland, and the Roman Catholic Church remained principal forces in his imagination and were treated with irony in his works.[7] Although his writing neither praised nor promoted the nationalist cause, it did not shy away from the topic, highlighting and satirising not only the injustices caused by British imperialism, but also the hypocrisy and fanaticism of the Irish establishment. As Deane succinctly states, "Joyce was always to be the Irish writer who refused the limitations of being Irish; the writer of English who refused the

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[4] Seamus Deane, "Joyce the Irishman", in *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. by Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 31-53 (p. 39).
[5] Clive Hart, *James Joyce's* Ulysses (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1968), p. 15.
[6] Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 98.
[7] Seamus Deane, *Celtic Revivals: Essays in Modern Irish Literature 1880-1980* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), p. 100.

limitations of being an English writer; the priest who refused the limitations of the conventional priesthood."[8]

With respect to Joyce's impact inside and outside Ireland, Richard Ellmann limits the scope of his evaluation to the writer's homeland and major countries like England, the United States, and France. He summarises:

> Few writers have achieved acknowledgment as geniuses and yet aroused so much discontent and reproach as Joyce. To his Irish countrymen he is still obscene and very likely mad; they were the last of nations to lift the ban on *Ulysses*. To the English he is eccentric and 'Irish,' an epithet which, considering the variety of the literature produced by Irishmen during the last seventy years, sounds dangerously 'English.' To the Americans, who have received him most kindly (although he could not bear their country), he is a great experimentalist, a great city man, but possibly too hard of heart; while to the French, among whom Joyce lived for twenty years, he lacks the refined rationalism which would prove him incontestably a man of letters. As a result of these reservations, Joyce holds his place of eminence under fire; he is much more assailed than writers who are evidently his inferiors.[9]

To minority cultures, none of which Ellmann cites, Joyce was the harbinger of a new literary voice and tradition; he showed them how to challenge traditional and dominant notions of art, language, and culture. To the Galicians, especially those of the *Xeración Nós* and the *Irmandades da Fala*, the Irishman was "úneco",[10] perhaps even complex and contradictory; he was a writer who abandoned his nation (which few Galician intellectuals did unless forced to as a result of the threat of imprisonment or death under Franco's regime) but who, on the other hand, wrote passionately about his culture and his people and gained international literary fame, something to which the Galicians aspired.

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[8] Seamus Deane, "Joyce and Nationalism", in *James Joyce: New Perspectives*, ed. by Colin MacCabe (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1982), pp. 168-83 (p. 176).
[9] Ellmann, *James Joyce*, pp. 3-4.
[10] Vicente Risco, "Da renacencia céltiga: A moderna literatura irlandesa (Proseguimento)", *Nós*, 28 (1926), 2-5 (p.2).

Despite Joyce's avowed anti-nationalist stance,[11] his literary works are seen today as impeccable paradigms of as well as commentaries on the post-colonial condition. For this very reason, Vincent Cheng, in articulating his views on Joyce's position in the Anglocentric literary canon, contends that since he represents "a colonial Irish-Catholic consciousness searching for alternatives to both a stifling nationalism and an oppressive British imperialism", he cannot be considered "a canonical figure in the traditional lineage of Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and Tennyson".[12] Instead, Cheng argues that Joyce, with his experimental and avant-garde literary style, frequently resisted and defied the authority of canons and empires, particularly English, and this defiance should not be ignored when contextualising the polyglot Irish writer.[13] Whereas the Anglo-American tradition may have dilemmas classifying Joyce within its canonical parameters, post-colonial cultures, such as Latin America and Galicia, have appropriated his works in theirs, referring to them as inspiration for their own cultural projects and literary revisions. For such minority cultures, Joyce expressed a divided consciousness, a battle between two cultures and two languages, with which these groups could identify.

In 1922, James Joyce's *Ulysses* was published in Paris by Sylvia Beach's small printing press, Shakespeare and Company. Four years later, Ramón Otero Pedrayo translated into Galician fragments from the "Ithaca" and "Cyclops" chapters of *Ulysses*, the first translation in the Iberian Peninsula. This chapter investigates the reception of Joyce and his literature in Galicia. I will examine the role of French writers and journals

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[11] Vincent Cheng points out that according to Joyce's personal letter to his brother, Stanislaus Joyce, "he would [have] consider[ed] himself a Nationalist if it weren't for the Celticist insistence on the Irish language (Gaelic) – and if Griffith's newspaper weren't, in Joyce's words, 'educating the people of Ireland on the old pap of racial hatred' (*Letters II*, 187)." See Vincent Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 191-92.
[12] Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire*, p. 3.
[13] Ibid, p. 3.

in bringing Joyce to the attention of the *Xeración Nós* and the *Irmandades da Fala*. I intend to show how the first partial French translation of Joyce's *Ulysses* influenced Otero Pedrayo's text selection as well as his translating strategy. I also dedicate particular attention to the French translation and its minor role in Otero Pedrayo's translation project. Certain features of the English source text and the French and Galician translations will be highlighted, identified, and evaluated in order to illustrate how Otero used the English text and the French translation. After this discussion, I will compare and analyse Joyce's "Ithaca" and "Cyclops" and Otero Pedrayo's translation. I conclude the chapter by assessing how Joyce's literature impacted upon Galician intellectuals and consequently contributed to their linguistic and cultural agenda. Firstly, however, I consider how Galicia's intellectuals first encountered Joyce and his work.

Before Otero Pedrayo published his translation of fragments from *Ulysses* in 1926, the earliest reference to Joyce takes place in *Nós*' twenty-eighth issue, also appearing in 1926. Here Vicente Risco included James Joyce amongst the Irish writers about whom he wrote an abbreviated literary biography and history entitled "Da renacencia céltiga: A moderna literatura irlandesa".[14] This article, which spanned three issues, served as the *Xeración Nós*' prologue to Otero Pedrayo's translation as well as ensuing references to Joyce.

From the first issue of *Nós*, as I have shown elsewhere, the editorial board and journalists carefully monitored and reported literary trends on the European continent. Risco composed his article from three primary sources: Valery Larbaud's 1922 article,

[14] See Risco, "Da renacencia céltiga: A moderna literatura irlandesa (Proseguimento)", pp. 2-5.

"James Joyce"[15] and Simone Téry's article "Recontre avec James Joyce, irlandais"[16] and her book, *L'Ile des Bardes*.[17] Without these French works, the *Xeración Nós*' introduction to Joyce's biography and literature would have been postponed. Although Risco mentions both writers and especially praises the distinguished critic and poet, Larbaud, whom he describes as "sen dúbida é un home de verdadeiro esprito, de inmensa leutura, e d'un senso seguro de modernidade",[18] he does not suggest how indebted he is to their works. His article borrows heavily from these sources, alternating between paraphrasing and writing literal translations of certain sentences and paragraphs. From Téry, Risco primarily takes Joyce's biographical information; from Larbaud, he compiles brief descriptions of each book's plot and literary styles as well as its publishing history. Due to Joyce's contemporary status and his editorial difficulties, sometimes the result of censorship, access to Joyce's works was difficult, if not absolutely impossible, as Risco attests:

> Seica, porque veleiquí un home do que todos temos que falar por forza, sen agarradeira posibre, porque apenas si podeu un coseguir leer un anaquiño, traducido coma que a furtadelas n-algunha de esas revistas novas, sin qu'un poida acadar, a menos de facer pra elo un viaxe longo, non digo xa as obras inteiras, que son cousa de millonarios e d'escolleitos, senón nin ainda uns anaquiños en ingrés. . ."[19]

For this reason, Risco and his contemporaries had no other choice but to rely on secondary, in particular French, sources. Unfortunately, such reliance occasionally resulted in the repetition of errors.[20]

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[15] Valery Larbaud, "James Joyce", *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, XVIII (1922), 385-405.
[16] Simone Téry, "Recontre avec James Joyce, irlandais", *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, IV (14 mars 1925), 6.
[17] Simone Téry, *L'île des bardes. Notes sur la littérature irlandaise contemporaine* (Paris: Ernest Flammarion, 1925).
[18] Risco, "Da renacencia céltiga: A moderna literatura irlandesa (Proseguimento)", p. 3.
[19] Ibid, p. 2.
[20] González Millán indicates that Larbaud gives inaccurate information with respect to Joyce's education and his marriage. Larbaud, and subsequently Risco, misidentify Joyce's alma mater as the non-existent

Larbaud and *La Nouvelle Revue Française* lent their prestige to Joyce,[21] as did the wider European literary community, which Risco corroborates: "Joyce anda por ahí posto en comparanza con Dante, con Shakespeare, con Rabelais, con Calderón, con Goethe e con Dostoyewski. E os que o fan son homes coma Yeats, Valery Larbaud, T.S. Elliot [sic], Havelock Ellis, Ezra Pound, etc."[22] Such accolades testified to Joyce's talent and made his work more appealing for the *Xeración Nós*' importation and appropriation. Nevertheless, Risco did not refrain himself from criticising Joyce, especially his rejection of Catholicism and Irish nationalism. Summarising Téry's two pages on Joyce's reaction to the Irish Literary Revival, Risco observes:

> Era d'aquela cand'emprincipiaba a renacencia irlandesa, mais Joyce refusou de seguila. Desbotou da sua y-alma a relixon, a léngoa e o patriotismo irlandés. Escribeu en contra do Teatro Nacional; atacou a un escritor a quen debía o pan: soberbo com'o Demo, nin estivo cos renacentistas irlandeses, nin cos seus nemigos. Rematou por se facer odioso a todos, e tivo que fuxir.
>
> [...]
>
> James Joyce é dos que se botan de cabeza ô inferno sen remordemento. E deixou terra, familia, amigos – que poucos podían ser – y-eisilouse.[23]

Risco is less objective than Téry; in fact, he is quite severe, appending a few of his own negative remarks. Throughout the section, he vacillates in his characterisation of Joyce;

University of Dublin: Joyce studied at University College, Dublin, a member of the Royal University, which was reconstituted as the National University after 1908. Both Larbaud and Téry state that Joyce married in Dublin, but only Téry indicates that it happened in 1904. Risco, however, erroneously writes that it occurred in 1903. In a letter to Stanislaus Joyce, Joyce explained that he eloped with Nora Barnacle in 1904, but under English law, their marriage was not recognised. For this reason, they had a "second ceremony" in London in 1931. See Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, pp. 637-38.

In addition, I have identified another error incorporated by Risco from Téry who erroneously states that Joyce tutored privately in order to study medicine in Dublin. According to Ellmann, Joyce tried to find a tutoring job, but school authorities told him that there was no work available. See Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, p. 106.

[21] *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Robert H. Deming, 2 vols (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), i, p. 20. Richard Ellmann describes *Nouvelle Revue Française* as "the best and most fashionable of the reviews dedicated to contemporary letters". Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, p. 500.

[22] Risco, "Da renacencia céltiga: A moderna literatura irlandesa (Proseguimento)", p. 3.

[23] Ibid, p. 3.

he is "úneco no noso tempo" and "un tipo cerebral", but is "soberbo com'o Demo", "endiañado", and "descastado".[24] It is likely that Risco's fervent Catholicism caused him to be suspicious of the irreverent Joyce. Moreover, such strong beliefs also led Risco to consider certain passages and chapters of Joyce distasteful and unnecessary. On some occasions, he insists upon drawing comparisons between Joyce and the devil, insinuating that the Irish writer "ten pauto co Demo" and that his behaviour further shows how "[o] Demo non anda lonxe".[25] In the case of the former, Risco also may have been suggesting that Joyce possessed an unusual talent for writing, a gift that was the result of a compromise with the devil, like that of Dr. Faustus.

In spite of these few additions, Risco consistently lifts his material from both Téry and Larbaud. This borrowing is evident, for example, when Téry narrates Joyce's return to Europe:

> Pendant vingt ans, Joyce vit comme il peut, à Rome, à Trieste, à Zurich, enfin à Paris où il est fixé depuis 1920. Il donne des leçons d'anglais, de français, d'allemand en Italie, et en Suisse il y ajoute des leçons d'italien. Il fonde à Zurich un petit théâtre où il donne des pièces du théâtre irlandais (il a d'ailleurs traduit en italien *la Chevauchée à la Mer*, de Synge, et *la Comtesse Kathleen*, de Yeats). Il fait même une brève apparition à Dublin, où il essae d'installer un cinéma; mais au bout de quelques mois, ayant échoué, il est encore une fois obligé d'aller vivre à l'étranger.[26]

Risco paraphrases Téry's words as:

> Viviu estreitamente, e coma pudo, en Roma, en Trieste y-en Zurich, dando leiciós de ingrés, francés, alemán e italián. En Zurich fundou un teatriño onde, envolto na saudade da patrea, reconciliado en parte coa sua renacencia, fixo repersentar pezas do Teatro Nacional irlandés, contr'o qu'outrora escribira, traducindo il mesmo pra ela *Riders to the sea* de

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[24] Ibid, pp. 2-5.
[25] Ibid, pp. 2-3. In 1944, Risco wrote an article for *Misión* about Joyce, in which his disapproval of Joyce's actions is evident. Pérez Prieto comments, "Pero houbo outro par de artigos sobre James Joyce que cómpre salientar. [. . .] Anos despois escribirá un despiedado artigo sobre Joyce, cun título que xa o di todo: 'James Joyce, el satanismo laico'; chega a dicir aquí que Joyce tiña feito un pauto co demo." Victorino Pérez Prieto, *A Xeración "Nós". Galeguismo e relixión* (Vigo: Galaxia, 1988), p. 168.
[26] Téry, *L'île des bardes*, p. 207.

> Synge e *Countess Cathleen* de Yeats. E volveu a Dublín, onde quixo montar un cine, e terceira vez volveu marchar. En 1920 afincou en París.[27]

The two alterations made to Téry's paragraph include Risco's retention of the plays' titles in English and his insertion of the phrase, "reconciliado en parte coa sua renacencia". In assuming that Joyce's translation of Yeats's and Synge's works signified his reconciliation with the Irish Literary Revival, Risco not only misleads his readers, but also misunderstands Joyce's intentions. Although Joyce chose not to participate in the Revival, he respected Yeats's literary work, especially *The Countess Cathleen*. Such a statement by Risco indicates his need to justify Joyce's importation, despite his self-imposed exile and anti-nationalism.

After identifying and talking about Joyce's works, including *Chamber Music*, *Dubliners*, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, and *Exiles*, Risco concludes his article with a synopsis of *Ulysses*, which he judges to be "â obra capital de Joyce".[28] Following Larbaud's article, he informs readers that *Ulysses* is "un volume de 732 páxinas inquarto, en letra miuda [que] [t]en 18 capítulos, sen título e sen númaro", and continues, noting that it is a novel "[que] nin principia nin remata, e que acontece toda n-unha xornada dende qu'un home s'ergue do leito ata que se deita."[29] He then describes Joyce's language as "pintoresca e rica, con moitas verbas estranxeiras, inventadas, compostas, e todol-os recursos qu'un poida maxinar."[30] Despite Risco's critical, almost condescending, opinions regarding Joyce, he concludes that what redeems Joyce is, essentially, his Irishness and, by extension, his Celticness:

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[27] Risco, "Da renacencia céltiga: A moderna literatura irlandesa (Proseguimento)", p. 3.
[28] Ibid, p. 4.
[29] Ibid, p. 4.
[30] Ibid, p. 5.

> E do irlandesismo d'iste descastado, qu'imos dicir? Pois temos que dicir que padece no desterro a obsesión da Irlanda. Que todal-as suas obras tratan da Irlanda, e os seu persoaxes son irlandeses. Que non perde de vista a sua terra, que s'entera de canto pasa n-ela, que le todol-os días os xornais, d'alá, que cantos papeis trai no bolso refírense a ela. Qu'o qu'o [sic] queira facer falar, tenlle que falar da Irlanda. Qu'il é tristeiro, desgraciado, exilado. . .Pol'o derradeiro, qu'o seu esprito é fondamente irlandés: irlandés pol-a sua rebeldía pol-a exaxeración, pol-a paixón, pol-o humorismo, pol-a cobiza do misteiro, pol-a rareza, porque non s'imita a ninguén. . .[31]

Risco's use of French texts is further evidence of not only the *Xeración Nós*' knowledge of available and recent sources in French but also their reliance on French critics rather than Spanish ones, illustrating their ability to bypass Madrid as a centre of information. Despite Risco's criticism of Joyce, he recognised that Joyce's literary success, particularly his international fame, eclipsed his personal opinions and questionable actions. Although Joyce was not a linguistic or cultural nationalist, the *Xeración Nós* found in him a kindred spirit, a man who was challenging literary conventions and heralding a new direction for European literature. He embodied traits – "insatisfeitos, non conformistas, de cote rebeldes"[32] – that Risco eventually would attribute to his Galician colleagues in the essay, "Nós, os inadaptados", that defined his generation. Moreover, in depicting his colleagues, he recalls that "[e]ramos singelamente *individualistas*."[33] Whether or not he realised it, Risco's treatise equally applied to Joyce, and illustrated how the *Xeración Nós* had more in common with Joyce than Risco was willing to admit.

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[31] Ibid, p. 5.
[32] Vicente Risco, "Nós, os inadaptados", *Nós*, 115 (1933), 115-23 (p. 115).
[33] Ibid, p. 117.

As early as 1906, Joyce had contemplated writing a short story entitled *Ulysses*;[34] however, his intentions changed and his ideas blossomed into a larger project. After Joyce had completed revising some early chapters of *Ulysses*, he arranged to publish episodes serially in *Little Review*, an American magazine considered to be avant-garde.[35] The first episode appeared in March 1918.[36] *Little Review* continued to publish Joyce's work until December 1920 despite the fact that the magazine was threatened with lawsuits for its questionable content. In 1919 and 1920, the Post Office confiscated and burned various issues. Consequently, a formal complaint was filed against *Little Review* for printing obscene material and the editors, Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap, eventually were summoned to court and fined.[37] In the meantime, in England, Joyce's friends tried finding a printer for the episodes' serial publication as well as for the book form, but encountered difficulties too.[38] Although some printers promised to consider it if alterations were made, the Irish writer refused to cut any of his text. In 1921, he still had not found a publisher willing to print the work. Given his desperate and unfortunate circumstances, Joyce complained to Sylvia Beach, the owner of Shakespeare and Company, about his situation. Without hesitation, Beach made an offer that Joyce could not refuse: she proposed that Shakespeare and Company would print the novel.[39] As a result, Joyce published *Ulysses* in Paris, where he had recently relocated with his family.

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[34] Katie Wales, *The Language of James Joyce* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1992), p. 68. On September 30, 1906, Joyce informed his brother, Stanislaus Joyce, of the proposed story. A few months later, he asked for Stanislaus's opinion of the title. For additional details, see Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, p. 230.

[35] For more details on the arrangements of publication and the reaction of the publishers and readers, see Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, pp. 421-22.

[36] For a complete list of the episodes, their dates of completion, and their dates on publication, see Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, pp. 441-42.

[37] See Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, pp. 502-04.

[38] For information on the responses of some English printers, see Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, p. 443.

[39] For more on Beach's proposal and the printing arrangements, see Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, p. 504.

The novel narrates the story of an Irish Jew, Leopold Bloom, his interactions with his wife, Molly and a precocious young Irish man, Stephen Dedalus, amongst other Dublin characters, and his trials and tribulations throughout the day of June 16. In particular, the work revolves around Bloom and his "mature point of view" in comparison and contrast to Dedalus and his "youthful point of view" so that the two, whether they are alone or together, often are confronted with the same places and ideas.[40] Basing his novel's structure on the *Odyssey*, Joyce forces his modern hero to endure episodes like those found in the Greek epic, and to encounter men and women who are amalgamations of various literary characters and typical Dubliners, such as his family, friends, and other well-known social figures. Throughout the text, he uses devices such as the undependable narrator and interior monologue.[41]

For Joyce, writing became an act of rebellion. Yet, in order to write, his literature had to be in English. To assume that Joyce's writing in English hindered the study and proliferation of the Irish language would be both unfair and misleading.[42] Instead, Joyce overcame the linguistic paradox by incorporating Hiberno-English and other foreign languages, by intertwining various literary genres, and, above all, by playing with the English language in his writing. He intended to (re)create his minority culture, mending the fractures and constructing a newer, more heterogeneous Irish identity. Thus, as MacCabe attests, "Joyce's deliberate aim had always been the writing, forging of an Irish consciousness which would throw off the twin yokes of British imperialism and Roman

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[40] Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, p. 359.
[41] For details on the background of *Ulysses*, see Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, pp. 357-79.
[42] According to Katie Wales, "[. . .] Joyce started to learn [Irish] at University College Dublin for two years in the classes of the Nationalist Patrick Pearse – he took more interest in it than Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* – but it is significant that he abandoned it because he apparently disliked Pearse's negative attitude to the English language. Nevertheless, his philological interest in Gaelic remained until the end of his life." Katie Wales, *James Joyce and the Forging of Irish English* [A lecture by Katie Wales delivered 10 December 1992] (London: British Library, 1993), p. 7.

Catholicism."[43] In this respect, Joyce initiated the process of what Bhabha calls "writing the nation".[44]

With respect to literary models, Deane and Cheng concur that English literature was not appropriate for Joyce. In *Joyce, Race and Empire*, Cheng notes that the English literary tradition, with its emphasis on canonical writers like Shakespeare and Milton and its inherent oppression of dissident voices, deprived Joyce of a viable artistic model that suited his colonial state of mind and status. Consequently:

> [h]is de-classed status as a poor, urban Irish Catholic, that is, his failure in British class terms to be 'a gentleman,' obliged him both to seek other textual models (such as Irish literature, pop culture, and advertising; Flaubert, Ibsen, and other non-English writers) and avenues of publication for his works, as well as to challenge the censors and authorities by writing texts that threatened (and debunked) traditional, 'centered,' and dominant notions of art and culture.[45]

These other models thus allowed an anxious Joyce to assert the difference of his Irish experience and then differentiate himself formally from English counterparts in spite of the fact that he was doing it in the shadow of the coloniser's language.[46] Cheng concludes that "the revolutionary qualities of Joyce's stylistic, linguistic, and literary innovations can thus be persuasively traced to, and grounded in, his sense of ideological, ethnic, and colonial dispossession".[47] As a result of this dispossession, Joyce's only option was to master the language and then reconquer it. Like Yeats or any other post-colonial writer, Joyce – in the words of Ashcroft – abrogates and appropriates language.[48]

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[43] Colin MacCabe, "Introduction" in *James Joyce: New Perspectives*, ed. by Colin MacCabe (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1982), p. xi.
[44] Emer Nolan alternatively has referred to this cultural project of the post-colonial writer as "narrating the nation". See Emer Nolan, *James Joyce and Nationalism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 23.
[45] Cheng, *Joyce, Race and Empire*, pp. 3-4.
[46] Deane, "Joyce and Nationalism", p. 175.
[47] Cheng, *Joyce, Race and Empire*, p. 4.
[48] See Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, p. 38.

With what Wales calls Joyce's "witty linguistic inventiveness",[49] he resists the authority of English language and its canon of literature. Flaunting his linguistic skills, he experiments with language by manipulating it and thus "stretching the potentialities of English prose in all directions".[50] Effectively, he corrupts, even perverts, all standards of English language and literature. Unlike Yeats, his lexical choices are not simple; they are complex, hyperbolic, and high-registered. Joyce often invents words, combining some and creating compounds, or devising new ones. His broad range of vocabulary reflects his erudition, especially his training in classical and modern European languages. In addition, he abuses syntax, repositioning words and forming new images. In one sentence, he calls attention to syntactic rules; in the next, he defies them.[51] As Gottfried remarks, "[f]or Joyce, style was a matter of proper words in improper places: each sentence is pulled between the order of syntax and the freedom of newly created forms."[52]

Of the eighteen chapters, two stood out for Otero Pedrayo, who probably first heard about them through French sources, as I will explain later. These chapters, "Ithaca" and "Cyclops", were translated partially and published in *Nós*. Joyce composes the former by appropriating the format of a catechism, particularly its systemisation of questions and answers, and then corrupting it. Through this process, he subverts and contests the authority of three establishments: the state, the church, and the scientific community. According to Frank Budgen, Joyce considered "Ithaca" to be both "the ugly

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[49] Wales, *James Joyce and the Forging of Irish English*, p. 22.
[50] A. Walton Litz, *The Art of James Joyce: Method and Design in* Ulysses *and* Finnegans Wake (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 37.
[51] Roy K. Gottfried, *The Art of Joyce's Syntax in* Ulysses (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1980), pp. 11-12.
[52] Ibid, p. 10.

duckling" and "his favorite episode" of *Ulysses*.[53] In February 1921, Joyce wrote Budgen:

> I am writing *Ithaca* in the form of a mathematical catechism. All events are resolved into their cosmic physical, psychical, etc., equivalents, e.g., Bloom jumping down the area, drawing water from the tap, the micturation in the garden, the cone of incense, lighted candle and statue, so that not only will the reader know everything and know it in the baldest coldest way but Bloom and Stephen thereby become heavenly bodies, wanderers like the stars at which they gaze.[54]

For Joycean critics, such as Andrew Gibson, this episode represents "the most Dedalan of chapters in *Ulysses*, the closest the book comes to a purely labyrinthine construction".[55] According to Deane, Joyce's manipulation of the structure of a catechism "takes the naturalism of the nineteenth-century novel to the point where it becomes a parody of itself".[56]

Throughout "Ithaca", Joyce fuses quasi-technical, quasi-scientific, and unemotional lexicon with a convoluted syntax that occasionally employs parallelisms. Fritz Senn observes that on the whole, *Ulysses* does not conform to English literary standards and adds:

> At least one chapter, 'Ithaca,' yields more inert data than verbs. In its diabolical advocation of substances and its accumulation of solid, factual information, measurements, statistics and inventories like department store catalogues, it reminds us more of things than of processes. Never are finite verbs less frequent than in this orgy of nominal fixation. We are aware of much abstract verbiage and of little syntax.[57]

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[53] Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of* Ulysses (London: Grayson & Grayson, 1934), p. 264. Joyce's letter to Harriet Weaver in November 1921 also describes "Ithaca" in the same manner, thus confirming Budgen's memories. See Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, p. 500.
[54] Ibid, pp. 263-64.
[55] Andrew Gibson, "Introduction", in *Joyce's "Ithaca"*, ed. by Andrew Gibson (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), pp. 3-27 (p. 19).
[56] Deane, *Celtic Revivals*, p. 86.
[57] Fritz Senn, "Righting *Ulysses*", in *James Joyce's* Ulysses, ed. by Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987), pp. 99-122 (p. 116).

In "Ithaca", Joyce's game with language reaches its apex due to his exploitation of seemingly genuine scientific terminology. Although he seems to possess a command of science, its discourse, and its terminology, he, in reality, is travestying, subverting, and parodying them constantly.[58] As a result of this distortion, Gibson proposes that "Ithaca" is an example of the "Celtic revenge": "Joyce 'masters science', in a sense, as one of the stranger's preserves, and then deliberately goes beyond or 'overcomes' it, interrogating it and displacing its emphases."[59]

Whereas Joyce perverts the form of the catechism in his "Ithaca" chapter, he mocks newspapers' society pages in "Cyclops". The scene translated into Galician focuses on Joyce's extended account of a young Irish nationalist's execution, the hanging of Robert Emmet,[60] and symbolises "an exploration into the dynamics of patriotic martyrdom".[61] In describing the language, Cheng comments:

> Joyce's parody narrates the Emmet hanging in the stylized language of a newspaper socialite report in the society pages. The result is absurd and outrageous: but the effectiveness of the humor is also Joyce's comment on the nationalist tendency to nostalgize and sentimentalize (as do the society

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[58] Andrew Gibson, "'An Aberration of the Light of Reason': Science and Cultural Politics in 'Ithaca' " in *Joyce's "Ithaca"*, ed. by Andrew Gibson (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), pp. 133-74 (p. 161). Gibson offers examples of Joyce's manipulation of alleged scientific terms. He notes, "In the first instance, some of the scientific-sounding terms in 'Ithaca' are actually fake, bogus or parody terms, or Joycean coinages: paraheliotropic (*U* 17.14), for example, acquacities (*U* 17.240), diambulist (*U* 17.929), imprevidibility (*U* 17.980), paraphenomena (*U* 17.1264), rutilance (*U* 17.1327) and so on. 'Annular cinctures' at *U* 17.1107 is not scientific, and would appear to be tautological to boot. Some of the terminology in the chapter is also obsolete: the last recorded use of 'imbalsamation' (*U* 17.913) is 1803, and 'seminators' (*U* 17.2219) had not been in use since the seventeenth century. 'Astroscopy', too, is an obsolete term for the observation of the stars (*U* 17.1115). The scientific vocabulary in 'Ithaca' is partly comically *ersatz*, conveying the impression of a narrator whose reach exceeds his grasp, and who therefore has occasionally to make things up as he goes along." Gibson, "'An Aberration of the Light of Reason' ", p. 161.

[59] Ibid, p. 165.

[60] Robert Emmet (1778-1803) was a United Irishman who became active in a group of new leaders after the failure of the insurrection of 1798. In 1803, he planned the seizure of Dublin Castle and other sites in Ireland's capital. These events were expected to lead to a popular uprising. The strategy, however, fell apart when the seizures occurred earlier than intended and were thwarted.by a low turnout of rebels and a premature gunshot. Eventually, Emmet was arrested and executed, but his final words have become etched in nationalist literature. See S.J. Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Irish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 170-71.

[61] Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire*, p. 200.

> columns) what are basically terrible things: death, martyrdom, capital punishment. Thus, the hanging (like a celebrity wedding) becomes an over-hyped gala event, a socialite occasion attended by all sides [. . .][62]

As Cheng points out, "[t]he 'Cyclops' episode of *Ulysses* presents and explores many of the [. . .] issues and ideas about Nation."[63] For Joyce, self-sacrifice was neither noble nor heroic; for this reason, his chapter "helps to demythologize the sentimentalizing, mythmaking process by which – as Anderson puts it in describing the imagined community / comradeship of Nation – 'this [imagined] fraternity . . . makes it possible. . . for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings'(7)."[64]

Whether it is coining neologisms or constructing labyrinthine phrases and sentences less bound to order, Joyce complicates the task of his translator and puts him in a peculiar position. Di Jin claims that the translator has no choice: he must try his best "to preserve [the source text's] artistic integrity as closely as possible".[65] In other words, the translator should aim to mimic the writer's style so that he can produce the same effect on his readership as the original text did on its audience, stretching and distorting the target language just as much as Joyce stretches and distorts the English language. In order to "work for the closest approximation in total effect", the translator requires a proficiency not only in the source language, but also its culture.[66] In the upcoming sections, we will see if Otero Pedrayo achieved this or not.

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[62] Ibid, p. 202.
[63] Ibid, p. 197.
[64] Ibid, pp. 203-04.
[65] Di Jin, "Translating *Ulysses*, East and West", in *Joyce in Context*, ed. by Vincent J. Cheng and Timothy Martin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 270-84 (p. 270).
[66] Ibid, p. 283.

The translated fragments of Joyce's *Ulysses*, which occupy nine pages, appear as the leading article in issue thirty-two of *Nós* in 1926. Otero Pedrayo did not accompany his translation with either an introduction or footnotes. Because Risco had already written an article on Joyce, it is likely that Otero Pedrayo did not feel the need to repeat or to augment his colleague's work. Although the absence of footnotes seems peculiar given Joyce's use of numerous cultural references alien to a non-Irish reader, it indicates that the Galician intellectual's main objective was not to facilitate a full comprehension of the text, but to provide an example of this extraordinary new way of writing, as is suggested by the title, "Ulysses (Anacos da soadisema novela de James Joyce postos en galego do texto inglés, por Ramón Otero Pedrayo)".[67] Alternatively, we could infer that Otero Pedrayo avoided footnotes because he himself did not fully understand the text he was translating.

With respect to the episodes, Otero Pedrayo reverses Joyce's order, placing the "Ithaca", or Chapter Seventeen, section before "Cyclops", or Chapter Twelve. Unfortunately, there is nothing to explain why Otero Pedrayo did this. In translating, he also edits much of each episode's content. In "Ithaca"[68] he translates randomly, jumping from one page to the next and omitting numerous question and answer segments, some of which he may have considered too abrasive or explicit.[69] In "Cyclops", Otero Pedrayo

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[67] *Nós* 32 (1926), 3-11, (p. 3).

[68] With respect to "Ithaca", Fernando Serrano Valverde states that "case todo o capítulo 17" appears in *Nós*. Fernando Serrano Valverde, "Risco y las referencias a Irlanda y lo irlandés", in *Congreso Vicente Risco*, ed. by Carlos Casares (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1996), pp. 55-66 (p. 56). If we compare the texts, we see that of the 308 fragments of questions and answers in the English text, only 51 appear in the Galician translation.

[69] In France too, certain parts of Joyce's *Ulysses* shocked the translators. Noel Riley Fitch notes, "When Larbaud read [the translated fragments], he was dissatisfied with some of the obscure passages and was also worried about Joyce's sexual explicitness. 'Surprisingly in the land of Rabelais,' says Sylvia [Beach], the language of *Ulysses* was 'almost too daring.' As the time for the Joyce reading approached, Larbaud had misgivings about reading the objectionable passages. So there appeared on the program a warning:

translates more systematically, thus offering a more coherent narrative although he excludes the outrageous conclusion of the newspaper report. Now that I have considered how Otero Pedrayo presented the translated text, I will turn my attention to the contested question of the source text.

Since 1976, when Otero Pedrayo died and when Luís Mariño's article "Joyce e Don Ramón" appeared in *Grial*, scholars of Galician studies have debated which source text(s) Otero Pedrayo relied on for his translation. When the Galician translation appeared in 1926, only the English original (which was printed in limited editions between 1922 and 1926 and was very difficult to find, as Risco informed his *Nós* audience) and a 1924 French partial translation existed.[70] In the last decade, a schism has emerged amongst scholars, some of whom argue that Otero Pedrayo used only the English source text, whilst others assert that he lacked the linguistic competence to translate from the English text. However, no scholar has demonstrated conclusively whether or not Otero Pedrayo used a mediating text. Before I begin, I will examine the events surrounding Valery Larbaud's lecture on Joyce and his published translation of fragments in 1924 in order to clarify and to introduce information not yet highlighted by other studies.

Joyce and Larbaud met before Christmas 1920 due to arrangements made by Sylvia Beach, who offered to publish Joyce's work, and Adrienne Monnier, her colleague. Despite Larbaud's interest in Joyce's ongoing work on *Ulysses*, he did not

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'Certain pages have an uncommon boldness of expression that might quite legitimately be shocking.' " Noel Riley Fitch, *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation: A History of Literary Paris in the Twenties and Thirties* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1983), pp. 110-11.

[70] The first complete translation of *Ulysses* was done by Georg Goyert in German in 1927.

read any of it until February 1921 when Sylvia Beach lent copies of *Little Review* to the French poet. Within a week of his receipt of the copies, Larbaud confided to Beach that he was "*raving mad* over *Ulysses*. Since I read Whitman when I was 18 I have not been so enthusiastic about any book. [. . .] It is wonderful!" and expressed interest in translating some pages.[71] He later decided to give a lecture on Joyce too, in order "to bring Joyce to public notice in France".[72]

While preparing the lecture, Larbaud proposed to Beach and Monnier that parts of *Ulysses* should be translated and read aloud to the audience. Because he was too busy himself to translate fragments, the women enlisted Jacques Benoîst-Méchin, another Joyce admirer. After completing two of the translated fragments of "Telemachus" and "Sirens", Benoîst-Méchin sent his translations via Monnier to Larbaud for review.[73] Together with Léon-Paul Fargue and Joyce, Benôist-Méchin translated the third fragment, "Penelope". Another assistant in this project was an American actor and one of the *Little Review* crowd, Jimmy Light, who was invited to read an extract of "Sirens" in English.[74] The night before the talk, Larbaud decided that the translations required additional revision due to their obscurity and explicitness.[75]

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[71]Valery Larbaud, Letter to Sylvia Beach on 22 February 1921, trans. by Marcelle Sibon, in *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Robert H. Deming,, i, pp. 184-85.

[72] Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, p. 500.

[73] Maurice Saillet explains the situation in a footnote to Larbaud's letter to Monnier dated 3 December 1921. Valery Larbaud, *Lettres à Adrienne Monnier et à Sylvia Beach, 1919-1933*, ed. by Maurice Saillet (Paris: IMEC, 1991), p. 72.

[74] Light agreed to participate only if Joyce would coach him so that he could capture the rhythm of Joyce's language. See Fitch, *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation*, p. 110 and Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, p. 522.

[75] In a letter to Adrienne Monnier on 6 December 1921, Larbaud writes, "Ce soir je m'occuperai des traductions. Il me faudrait le *texte* de Pénélope ; c'est encore à dégrossir beaucoup, certains passages tout à fait obscurs, pas *sortis* par Benoist-Méchin. Il me faudrait aussi le texte des Sirènes." In a footnote to this letter, Maurice Saillet clarifies, "Les fragments de «Pénélope» ne parviendront à Larbaud que quelques heures avant le séance. Plus éloignés encore du texte de Joyce que ne l'étaient ceux de la «Télémachie» et des «Sirènes», du fait des obscénités dont Fargue avait farci le monologue de Molly Bloom, Larbaud les retraduira et, du même coup, recopiera en les corrigeant les autres fragments lus à la conférence avant de

On 7 December 1921, in Monnier's bookshop, Larbaud gave his introductory lecture on Joyce.[76] After Larbaud's presentation and his reading of the French translations, Monnier introduced Light and reminded the audience that certain parts may seem "audacious". Light read extracts, "includ[ing] the execution scene from the *Cyclops*, the romance in the *Sirens*, a few passages from *Ithaca* (which Joyce insisted on), and the last six pages of *Penelope*".[77]

In April 1922, *La Nouvelle Revue Française* agreed to publish Larbaud's lengthy essay, but not the translations.[78] Approximately three years after the lecture, a Paris review directed by Larbaud, *Commerce*, printed translated extracts from "Telemachus", "Ithaca", and "Penelope".[79] These fragments, however, were not those originally translated by Benoîst-Méchin. According to Larbaud, that translation was lost.[80]

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les envoyer à Jacques Rivière, avec le texte de celle-ci, pour que le tout paraisse dans la *N.R.F.* qui, on le sait, ne publiera que la conférence." See Larbaud, *Lettres à Adrienne Monnier et à Sylvia Beach, 1919-1933*, p. 73.

[76] In the years following the publication of *Ulysses*, Larbaud's published commentary provided the best introduction to Joyce and his work. See Valery Larbaud, "The *Ulysses* of James Joyce", *Criterion*, i, No. I (October 1922), 94-103 (p. 94).

[77] Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, p. 523.

[78] The director of *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, Jacques Rivière, was one of several French writers to distance himself from Joyce. Larbaud tried to convert Rivière to Joyce's side, but the director only conceded to publishing the lecture without the fragments. See Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, p. 530.

[79] *Commerce*, 1 (Eté 1924): 123-58.

[80] Larbaud commented to H. Buriot-Darsiles about the circumstances surrounding the tranlation's debut. He explained in a letter dated 26 March 1926, "Lorsque j'ai fait, sur l'oeuvre de James Joyce, une conférence qui a paru quelques moi après (avril ou mai 22) à la N.R.F. et qui va reparaître, légèrement modifiée, en tête de Gens de Dublin, comme je n'avais pas le temps de traduire, pour les lire, à cette conférence, des passages de Ulysse, en jeune compositeur, M. Benoist-Méchin, en a traduit trois, pris dans trois épisodes différents. J'ai revu ces traductions de très près avant de les lire, et ensuite je les ai retravaillées et recopiées pour les proposer à la N.R.F. qui, j'espérais, les donnerait dans le même numéro que ma conférence. Cela ne s'est pas fait et quand j'ai recherché le manuscrit de ces traductions, je n'ai pu le retrouver. Il est vraisemblable qu'elles ont été égarées à la direction de la N.R.F. Un peu plus tard, après qu'il a été décidé que Ulysse serait traduit en entier par Auguste Morel et moi, Mlle Monnier, sous la direction de qui s'est fait le premier numéro de «Commerce» (et le Ier seulement) a désiré donner dans ce numéro des fragments de Ulysse. Cette traduction, toute provisoire, a été improvisée, rapidement, par A. Morel, Mlle Monnier, Miss Sylvia Beach et moi en quelques heures, et en nous basant sur mes souvenirs de la traduction de Benoist-Méchin, revue par moi. Cela a été prêt pour le premier numéro de «Commerce» où cela a para." Valery Larbaud, *Oevres complètes: Tome troisième* (Paris: Gallimard, 1951), pp. 459-60.

Consequently, he, with the assistance of Auguste Morel[81], Beach, and Monnier, retranslated fragments of the episodes so as to illustrate Joyce's contribution to contemporary letters. In 1929, the complete French translation of *Ulysses* appeared.[82]

In the first article dedicated to the subject of Joyce and Otero Pedrayo, Luis Mariño comments, "Pénsese que no 1926 o libro non fora aínda traducido íntegramente a ningunha outra língoa e, no orde das versións fragmentadas, soio un precedente que eu seipa: a do Valery Larbaud pra 'Le [sic] Novelle [sic] Revue Française' no mes de abril do 1922."[83] While Mariño is correct in stating no complete translation existed in 1926, his reference to Larbaud's translation is inaccurate. The article to which he refers is actually Larbaud's 1921 lecture published in *La Nouvelle Revue Française* two months after the first printing of *Ulysses*. Mariño, however, admits uncertainty about the reference when he confesses in a footnote: "Iñoro, por non ter a man a N.R.F., cales foron os fragmentos que o Valery Larbaud puxo en francés [. . .]".[84] It is possible that Mariño recalled reading the translation of "Proteus" in *La Nouvelle Revue Française* published in 1928 and confused the dates of the distinct publications.[85] With respect to the translation itself, Mariño hypothesises:

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[81] He was a French poet who also worked with Larbaud on the complete translation of *Ulysses* published in 1929.

[82] Melissa Banta and Oscar Silverman point out, "In 1921 Gaston Gallimard had urged Joyce to agree to a French translation of *Ulysses*. *Letters*, I, 160-61. The first edition of *Ulysse* did not appear until February 1929, published in Paris under the imprint of Adrienne Monnier's La Maison des Amis des Livres, translated into French by Auguste Morel, assisted by Stuart Gilbert, and reviewed by Valery Larbaud in collaboration with the author. La Maison des Amis des Livres published a second printing with J.O. Fourcade. A third printing by Monnier came out the following year." *James Joyce's Letters to Sylvia Beach, 1921-1940*, ed. by Melissa Banta and Oscar A. Silverman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 23-24.

[83] Luis Mariño, "Joyce e Don Ramón", *Grial*, 52 (1976), 245-48, (p. 246).

[84] Ibid, p. 246.

[85] Despite the director's disassociation from and dislike for Joyce, *La Nouvelle Revue Française* eventually did publish a translated chapter from *Ulysses*. "Proteus" appeared on 1 August, 1928 and was translated by Auguste Morel and Stuart Gilbert. Larbaud reviewed the translation. See James Joyce, "Protée", trans. by

> [. . .] pero no caso de que a traducción que fixera naquil intre primeiro coincidira ca integral feita sete anos dempóis, en colaboración con Auguste Morel, Stuart Gilbert e o propio Joyce – ista sí a teño dediante – arríscome a aventurar que, aínda fora coñecida por don Ramón, íste nona tivo en conta no momento de facer a súa version ao galego.[86]

Contrary to what other scholars would have us believe, Mariño was not convinced that Larbaud's translation played a role in Otero Pedrayo's own translation. He, like many subsequent critics, seemed confident that Otero Pedrayo used only the original text.

Thirteen years later, Xoán González Millán published "James Joyce e a *Xeración Nós*" which, since its publication, has become the definitive work on the translation of *Ulysses*. He criticises Mariño's errors and their reproduction in other scholarly works. Commenting on the publication dates of European and Latin-American translations, González Millán asserts that "Otero Pedrayo e os editores de *Nós* só puideron ter acceso ás distintas edicións da versión orixinal inglesa, publicadas antes de 1926, e a uns hipotéticos fragmentos que Luís Mariño identifica erroneamente cunha inexistente traducción que Valéry Larbaud publicaría na *Nouvelle Revue Française* 'no mes de abril de 1922'."[87] Although he later mentions Larbaud's translation in *Commerce*, he overlooks it as a possible mediating text in Otero Pedrayo's translating activity. Nevertheless, he convincingly argues that the 1924 translation, at the very least, influenced the selection of *Ulysses* as a text for translation and explains:

> Varios datos semellan refrendar esta hipótese: Otero Pedrayo conservaba na súa biblioteca varios números desta luxosa revista, editada en París (1924-32); Risco, no seu mencionado artigo publicado en *Nós*, salienta a dificultade de acceso directo á obra de Joyce, 'porque apenas si pode un conseguir ler un anaquiño, traducido comas a furtadelas nalgunha desas revistas novas' (1926: 2), obvia referencia á traducción fragmentaria, a

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Auguste Morel and Stuart Gilbert, *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, 179 (1928), 204-26 and *James Joyce's Letters to Sylvia Beach, 1921-1940*, p. 148.

[86] Mariño, "Joyce e Don Ramón", p. 246.

[87] Xoán González Millán, "James Joyce e a *Xeración Nós*", *Grial*, 101 (1989), 29-46 (p. 31).

> única disponible en 1926, da 'nova' revista francesa; o terceiro dato, quizais o máis relevante para contextualizar a traducción de Otero Pedrayo, é a coincidencia das traduccións francesa e galega na selección dalgúns dos fragmentos de 'Ithaca', o capítulo XVII da novela.[88]

While González Millán offers the first comprehensive view of the relationship between Joyce's *Ulysses* and the Galician intellectuals, he leaves the question regarding the influence of the *Commerce* translation unanswered.

On the other hand, in his survey of the reception of Irish writers in Galicia, Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos admits that French magazines may have affected the *Xeración Nós*' knowledge of Joyce, but provides no evidence on how French writers, particularly Téry and Larbaud, exerted such an influence on the group's interests.[89] Although he mentions the translated excerpts in *Commerce* and also refers to the existence of a Spanish article on Joyce in 1924,[90] he avoids the question of the use of a mediating text altogether.[91] With respect to Otero Pedrayo's fluency in English, he writes, "It is a different matter whether Otero's knowledge of English was good enough to deal with «Ulysses», but on the whole he passes the test."[92] I quote him at length, because he presents a compelling case that Otero Pedrayo translated directly from the English text:

> Beyond all doubt, in order to translate the above-mentioned fragments of *Ulysses* published in August 1926, Otero used the original novel edited in

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[88] Ibid, p. 32.
[89] De Toro Santos alludes to other French resources (especially those mentioned by González Millán), but does not identify them in his study. See Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos, "Escritores irlandeses en la revista *Nós*: Fragmentos de *Ulysses*", in *Actas do I Simposio Internacional de Didáctica da Língua e a Literatura*, ed. by Aurora Marco López and Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1991), pp. 417-21 and "Reflections on the Literary Translation of Texts in English in Galicia since the Nineteenth Century", pp. 367-81.
[90] Antonio Marichalar, "James Joyce en su laberinto", *Revista de Occidente*, XVII (1924), 177-202. In this article, Marichalar offers translations of three brief paragraphs from *Ulysses*. His selection does not correspond to the Galician translation.
[91] De Toro Santos, "Escritores irlandeses en la revista *Nós*: Fragmentos de *Ulysses*", pp. 418-19.
[92] De Toro Santos, "Reflections on the Literary Translation of Texts in English in Galicia since the Nineteenth Century", p. 376.

> Paris in 1925 by Shakespeare & Company. His copy is still to be found in the «Fundación Otero Pedrayo». No-one can deny the trouble he must have gone to in order to lay his hands on a copy of *Ulysses* in those days.
>
> One apparently insignificant incident may throw some light on this translation: a glance through Otero's copy of the book is enough to show that up to page 520 all of the pages are cut; from pages 520 to 569 they are all uncut, and from the chapter called «Eumaeus», coinciding with the third part of the novel, they are all cut (up to page 732). As the fragments translated coincide with the cut pages, it appears that Otero, moved perhaps by his own intuition, picked out what seemed most interesting to him, or on the other hand he may have been guided in his choice by Valery Larbaud, but in any case he did not read the whole book. The passages chosen correspond to the chapter entitled «Ithaca» and the end of the one called «Cyclops», following the order laid down by Otero in his translation.[93]

While his observations are interesting and lend additional evidence to Otero Pedrayo's use of the English original, they still do not address the question about the Galician intellectual's use of the French translation.

In her doctoral thesis on the translation of Joyce's works into Galician during the twentieth century, Millán Varela refers to González Millán's work as well as that of De Toro Santos. Although she apparently agrees with González Millán that the French text influenced Otero Pedrayo's textual choice, she later wavers and suggests that further study is necessary.[94] While she offers the first comparative analysis of the English and

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[93] Ibid, p. 376. I have retained the author's punctuation here. Serrano Valverde also refers to this copy, arguing that Otero Pedrayo had used the English text, but suggests that a comparative study will offer more definitive conclusions. He adds that "entre os membros do grupo *Nós* circulaba a novela". Serrano Valverde, "Risco y las referencias a Irlanda y lo irlandés", p. 57.

There have been some questions as to whether the books in Otero Pedrayo's library were owned by him or donated after his death. According to de Toro Santos, no donations have been added to the collection. He also has informed me that Otero Pedrayo subscribed to a Paris bookshop and was supplied with books via it, which could explain how he received the copy of *Ulysses*. See Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos, Personal electronic mail to Kerry McKevitt, 13 April 2003.

In a visit to the Fundación Otero Pedrayo, I consulted Otero Pedrayo's copy of *Ulysses* and found that from page 713 to 728 and from page 733 to 736 ("Appendix of Additional Corrections") the pages are not cut, contrasting the opinion of de Toro Santos. I can confirm that Otero Pedrayo neither signed the book (in some books in his office, he wrote his name, the date, and location) nor annotated it.

[94] Millán Varela, *Literary Translation in Galician*, p. 102.

Galician texts,[95] she excludes the French text. Instead, she maintains, "[. . .] because of the lack of sources regarding a hypothetical mediating text and the existence of information indicating that the fragments were translated from the English text, namely the title and the reference in *Nós*, we will regard it as the source text".[96] While the title and reference are significant, Millán-Varela overlooks the fact that this paratextual information was essential in order to add to the prestige of Otero Pedrayo's translation. If another source, which may have been used minimally, were mentioned, it would have diminished the project's value to the Galician intellectuals. In addition, she argues that the use of the English text is further corroborated by Otero Pedrayo's literal translating strategy – in most cases, an "almost word by word" reproduction – which often causes linguistic misunderstandings, probably a consequence of his lack of proficiency in English.[97]

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[95] Camiño Noia Campos refers to Richard Cardwell's work, "A traducción de *Ulysses* de Ramón Otero Pedrayo. A *Xeración Nós* e a rexeneración cultural galega", as the first comparative study of the English and Galician fragments from *Ulysses*. This article, however, presents only one fragment from Otero Pedrayo's translation and the English text; the seven other fragments are Cardwell's own translations. He does not compare and analyse the texts as does Millán Varela. Instead, using a psychoanalytical approach, he argues that these omitted fragments illustrate Otero Pedrayo's, and perhaps the *Xeración Nós*', censorship of Joyce's often shocking and suggestive writing. See Richard Cardwell, "A traducción de *Ulysses* de Ramón Otero Pedrayo. A *Xeración Nós* e a rexeneración cultural galega", *Actas do I Simposio Internacional de didáctica da lingua e a literatura* (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 1990), pp. 15-26.

[96] Millán Varela, *Literary Translation in Galician*, p. 116.

[97] In a footnote to this conclusion, Millán Varela observes, "Regarding this point, A.R. de Toro Santos (1993: 63) indicates that Otero possessed around sixty books in English, *Ulysses* and *Chamber Music* amongst them, which 'parece demostrar que Otero poseía un dominio suficiente de esta lingua'. He has no doubts regarding Otero's using the original English text for his Galician translation. Ventura (1997: 643-644), in his turn, does not find any evidence to prove either Otero's knowledge of English or even his doing any reading in this language." Millán-Varela, *Literary Translation in Galician: Appropriating James Joyce*, p. 120. Amongst the English books in Otero Pedrayo's library, I found two English-Spanish dictionaries. They are Enrique Runge, *Nuevo diccionario de bolsillo: Inglés-Español y Español-Inglés*, Tomo 1 (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1899) and *Appleton's New Spanish-English and English-Spanish Dictionary* (Nova York: D. Appleton and Company, 1916). In addition, I found some books from the Collection of British Authors published by Tauchnitz, as mentioned in Risco's article on Yeats. In some texts, like *The Stones of Venice* by John Ruskin, Otero Pedrayo wrote very brief annotations, generally Galician definitions for English words or phrases.

María Camino Noia Campos, however, is not persuaded by the arguments of either González Millan or Millán Varela. In 1999, Noia Campos challenged their research and speculated that Otero Pedrayo utilised not the English source text, but a French translation. Her argument is twofold. First, calling into question the validity of Otero Pedrayo's subtitle "postos en galego do texto inglés", Noia Campos doubts not only the *Nós* magazine's 1927 claim that Otero Pedrayo translated "directamente do inglés",[98] but also fellow scholars' studies. She, like historian Xusto Beramendi,[99] argues that Otero knew French and German quite well, but possessed little knowledge of English.[100] Without such knowledge, she insists that it would have been impossible for Otero Pedrayo not only to choose fragments from a book written in "inglés coloquial de

[98] In the same article, *Nós* criticises the ignorance of its Spanish contemporaries with respect to the existence of a Galician translation. The magazine states, "A non ser qu'iles pensen qu'estas traduciós e estudos de Joyce, feitos en Galiza e en léngoa galega, non foron feitos na Hespaña. E crar'está que non-o foron na Hespaña estreita, unilateral e pequena que se rixe pol-o meridiano consabido. . .". "Os homes, os feitos, as verbas – Ulysses", *Nós* 47 (1927), 16.

[99] Xusto Beramendi, a scholar of Galician history and nationalism, informed me that he is convinced that neither Otero Pedrayo nor Risco knew English well enough to translate works. He claims that other Galician writers, possibly Plácido R. Castro del Río, did them and conceded the credit. Interview with Xusto Beramendi by Kerry McKevitt, July 2002. With respect to Castro, a nationalist who was sent by his parents to study in Scotland and earned a degree in English from the University of Glasgow, I do not believe that he could have been the translator because the translation, at times, does not always capture Joyce's meaning. There are errors in the Galician translation that a fluent English speaker like Castro would not make. They include omissions of words, phrases, and entire sentences; mistranslations; and retention of English words. For a list of some discrepancies, see de Toro Santos, "Escritores irlandeses en la revista *Nós*: Fragmentos de *Ulysses*", pp. 420-21.

[100] Craig Patterson demonstrates in his work that Otero Pedrayo could read, interpret, and translate English. He explains how Otero Pedrayo wrote an article on and cited excerpts from an eighteenth-century English traveler in Galicia, John Milford. In conversation, Patterson has assured me that the Milford article confirms as much as possible that Otero Pedrayo had at least a proficient knowledge of English because he quotes English and comments on the citations from Milford's *Peninsular Sketches During a Recent Tour* convincingly. See Craig Patterson, *Galician Cultural Identity in the Works of Ramón Otero Pedrayo (1888-1976)* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford: The Queen's College, The University of Oxford, 2002). Also see Ramón Otero Pedrayo, "Galiza e Portugal nun libro ingles de 1816", *Boletín de la Real Academia Galega*, 274-276 (1943), pp. 399-411. In addition, Otero Pedrayo translated some poetry of the Scottish writer, Robert Buchanan in his *Ensaio histórico sobre a cultura galega,* as well as work of Robert Burns. See Craig Patterson, "As illas británicas nas obras de Ramón Otero Pedrayo (1888-1976): o espello didáctico do atlántico", paper read at *Actas de "Mar por Medio" VI Xornadas de Cultura Galega* in Ribadeo, Galicia, August 1998.

Dublín", but also to translate them.[101] However, contrary to what Noia Campos suggests, *Ulysses* is not composed entirely of Dublin's dialect; its language is a mixture of standard English, its dialects, and other foreign languages. In particular, neither the "Ithaca" nor the "Cyclops" fragments translated by Otero Pedrayo reflect the nuances of Hiberno-English.[102]

Second, Noia Campos argues that Mariño and González Millán seem to suspect, and perhaps even confirm, that the Galician translation was made from the French one. For her, the question then is from which French text Otero Pedrayo translated. She states, "Aínda non está comprobado se os fragmentos da traducción galega corresponden ós publicados no número XVIII de *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, en 1922, como posible fonte secundaria para o galego, ou son os mesmos que aparecen na revista *Commerce*, dirixida por Valery Larbaud, en 1924, como afirma González Millán."[103] Despite González Millán's well-documented work, she repeats Mariño's mistake and cites a nonexistent translation.[104] Her second reference is more plausible as a source for Otero

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[101] María Camino Noia Campos, "Novas anotacións á traducción ó galego do *Ulises* de J. Joyce", in *Cinguidos por unha arela común: homenaxe ó profesor Xesús Alonso Montero. Tomo II. Literatura.*, ed. by Rosario Álvarez and Dolores Vilavedra (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Servicio de Publicacións e Intercambio Científico, 1999), pp. 1079-91 (p. 1082). Noia Campos goes so far as to query Otero Pedrayo's choice of fragments, suggesting that for "[un] home de pensamento clásico e conservador" like Otero Pedrayo, "[c]adraríalle mellor á súa personalidade outro tipo de textos, tal por exemplo, algún dos emotivos monólogos sobre a cuestión política irlandesa ou acerca dos problemas que atormentaban a conciencia de Dédalus." Noia Campos, "Novas anotacións á traducción ó galego do *Ulises* de J. Joyce", p. 1082.

[102] Ibid, p. 1082.

[103] Ibid, pp. 1083-84.

[104] Noia Campos probably mentions the alleged 1922 translation after reading José María Valverde's prologue to the 1976 Castilian Spanish translation of *Ulysses*. She cites him in her article, noting, "[. . .] dá noticia de que a conferencia de Valery Larbaud en decembro de 1921 xunto a 'un fragmento' da novela de Joyce se reproduciron ó ano seguinte en *La Nouvelle Française*. Ese fragmento é moi posible que se trate da reedición dos textos franceses lidos por Larbaud na «Shakespeare and Company» e, xa que logo, os que Otero 'puxo en galego'." Although others have argued that *La Nouvelle Revue Française* did not publish fragments of *Ulysses* in 1922, Noia Campos is adamant that "[. . .] a fonte que aparece con máis posibilidades volve a ser *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, que Risco e Otero coñecían." Nevertheless, if Noia Campos were to follow up and to check the French journal, she would have discovered that no such

Pedrayo, and I will return to it later in this chapter. Noia Campos, however, is not satisfied that these journals were the only potential sources available to Otero Pedrayo and suggests that another translation existed. Basing her argument on research conducted in Ireland, she explains:

> Nunha viaxe a Dublín no verán de 1998 visitei a torre The Martello en Sandycove, chamada desde 1962 «The James Joyce Tower». Nun dos expositores que mostran obxectos do novelista dublinés puiden ve-lo folleto da famosa conferencia que deu o escritor Valery Larbaud o 7 de decembro de 1921 sobre Joyce e o *Ulyses* en París, na sala de Shakespeare and Company, coa inclusión dos fragmentos en francés que se leron durante a sesión.[105]

Although Noia Campos admits that she could not find the pamphlet on *Ulysses* and verify if its materials coincided with those published in *Nós*, she adds, "Mais iso non significa que o folleto non estea nalgunha das caixas que gardan parte dos espolios de Risco e de Otero, aínda por catalogar. ¿Coñecían Risco e Otero ese folleto? É bastante probable."[106] Here Noia Campos is unconvincing: this pamphlet does not include either Larbaud's lecture or the translated fragments from *Ulysses*. It is merely a notice stating, "Lecture de fragments de ULYSSES traduits pour la 1re fois en français"; it only announced the event, nothing more.[107] Moreover, as I already mentioned, Benôist-Mechin's translations were lost after being sent to *La Nouvelle Revue Française* for review. The only translation available was that published in *Commerce*. Noia Campos overzealously concludes her article, stating that her work proves the use of a French text, despite the fact that she gives no textual evidence. Although her argument is mere

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translation exists in *La Nouvelle Revue Française* until 1928. Noia Campos, "Novas anotacións á traducción ó galego do *Ulises* de J. Joyce", pp. 1086-87.

[105] Noia Campos, "Novas anotacións á traducción ó galego do *Ulises* de J. Joyce", p. 1084.

[106] Ibid, p. 1085.

[107] Robert Nicholson, curator at the James Joyce Museum, confirmed this information on my behalf. Robert Nicholson, Personal electronic mail correspondence to Kerry McKevitt, 5 December 2002. For a photograph of the announcement, see Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. edn, p. XXXIV.

speculation, which, as we have seen, often is unsubstantiated, her article cannot be completely dismissed because it demands that the French translation should not be overlooked – yet.

In recent publications, scholars have not identified correctly the Galician fragments that coincide with the French translation.[108] Such misidentification has created additional confusion with respect to the possible influence of the French translation on Otero Pedrayo's work. Whereas the French translation consisted of excerpts from "Telemachus", "Ithaca", and "Penelope", the Galician one was composed from "Ithaca" and "Cyclops". Of the fifty-one question and answer segments translated from "Ithaca" into Galician, only five correlate to Larbaud's translation. These five are the two fragments discussing Bloom's actions with respect to the range; the fragment explaining from where the water in the faucet flows; the fragment discussing the qualities that Bloom admires in water; and finally the fragment comparing woman to the moon.[109] Although many have alleged that this translation influenced Otero Pedrayo, few have proposed that it was a resource while he translated "Ithaca". Because of the few

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[108] González Millán states in a footnote that, "O texto correspondente á traducción de Otero Pedrayo seleccionado tamén por Larbaud e Morel é o que escomenza: 'Que mirou Bloon na reixa. . .'; e remata co famoso fragmento sobre a auga: '... a peste das fonduras onde podrecen as herbas na i-auga, doentes froles da i-auga, augas mortas na lua mingoante'." Here González Millán excludes the fifth fragment that compares women and the moon. See González Millán, "James Joyce e a *Xeración Nós*", p. 32. For her part, Carmen Millán-Varela provides a different list: "However, the French fragments of 'Ithaca' do not coincide entirely with Galician ones. The only common fragments are the ones dealing with the digression on the universality of water (145-48), the relationship between their ages (148-49), Bloom's wife's instruction (149-50), the moment they both out into the garden (150) and the one discussing the relationship between woman and moon (151)." She includes fragments from the French translation that do not appear in the Galician text, specifically the relationship between Bloom's and Stephen's ages, Bloom's wife's instruction, and the moment the men move into the garden. See Millán Varela, *Literary Translation in Galician: Appropriating James Joyce*, p. 115.

[109] The corresponding pages in the English text (I refer to the first edition for all citations: James Joyce, *Ulysses* (Paris: Shakespeare & Company, 1922), the Galician translation, and the French translation, for each fragment, respectively, are as follows: 623, *Nós* 32: 5, *Commerce* 1: 145; 623, *Nós* 32: 5, *Commerce* 1: 145; 623-24, *Nós* 32: 5-6, *Commerce* 1: 145-46; 624-25, *Nós* 32: 6, *Commerce* 1:146-48; 654, *Nós* 32: 9, *Commerce* 1: 151.

overlapping fragments, most scholars have discounted and dismissed the importance of Larbaud's *Commerce* translation when Otero Pedrayo initiated his translation project. As a result, no study has addressed the French text's role as a minor mediating text for Otero Pedrayo. For this reason, I now will present and analyse some fragments side by side so as to illustrate what influence – if any – the French translation had in the Galician translation.

In the first fragment, Bloom is standing before his stove. Although it is one of the more concise question and answer segments, it illustrates Joyce's style, particularly his syntax and use of parallel structures. Upon comparing these shared fragments, we notice how the Galician translation deviates not only from the English original, but also from the French translation.[110] Thus:

What did Bloom see **on the range**? On the right **(smaller)** hob a blue enamelled saucepan: on the left **(larger)** hob a black iron **kettle**. (623)	Qué mirou Bloon [sic] **na reixa**? Â dereita **(mais pequena) penduraba** un cazo de porcelana azul; â esquerda **(mais longa)** unha **cazola** de ferro negro. (*Nós* 32: 5)	Que voyait Bloom **dans l'âtre**? A droite, sur le rebord du foyer **(le plus petit)** une casserole d'émail bleu; à gauche **(sur le plus grand)** une **bouillotte** de fer noirci. (*Commerce* 1 : 145)

Here Otero Pedrayo closely follows Joyce's style, with the exception of the addition of the verb "pendurar", while Larbaud slightly deviates from it, reordering the words. We immediately notice that Otero Pedrayo and Larbaud have different interpretations of "range", or a large cooking stove with hotplates. In the Galician translation, "reixa"[111] means "grille", a clear mistranslation which Otero Pedrayo would have avoided if he had used the French translation, which offers "l'âtre", or "hearth". Although he owned two

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[110] I owe sincere thanks to Dr. Craig Patterson for providing assistance with my analysis of the French translation.

[111] In an earlier fragment, Otero Pedrayo uses "reixa" (*Nós* 32: 5) for "grate" (622).

English-Spanish dictionaries, one published in 1899 and another in 1916, it is not clear if he possessed them at the time of translating *Ulysses*. If he did, it does not appear that he referred to them in this instance.[112] Such mistranslations also could be attributed to the fact that in the 1920s and 1930s, the *Xeración Nós* translated English literature in rather difficult conditions given that no English-Galician dictionaries existed and that English-Spanish dictionaries were not very good. In the response, Otero Pedrayo then deletes "hob" (as he has to, because of the mistranslation of "range") and thus produces a nonsensical statement although in the French translation, Larbaud offers "le rebord du foyer". In order to make sense of his translation, he inserts the verb, "penduraba", to suggest that the "cazo" and "cazola" are hanging from the "reixa", rather than sitting on the hob. Another basic error is "mais longa" for "larger", which again could have been avoided if Otero Pedrayo had deferred to Larbaud's text. Finally, both translators' choices for kettle are different. In the French translation, Larbaud translates kettle as "bouillotte", a hot water bottle, perhaps a typographical error for "bouilloire". Otero Pedrayo, on the other hand, offers "cazola", which, according to the *Gran Diccionario Xerais da Lingua*, is a "recipiente cilíndrico ancho e de pouco fondo que se emprega na cociña para guisar" or "para fritir". Such a change could be the result of domestication. Given that a kettle primarily is used to boil water for tea in the Irish context and does not exist in Galicia, Otero Pedrayo may have decided to change it to a "cazola", which is a more common kitchen utensil in Galicia. With respect to punctuation, the Galician translation, like the French, uses semi-colons, whereas the English source employs a colon. While this could indicate use of the French text, the choice of punctuation could

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[112] In the 1899 *Nuevo diccionario de bolsillo: Inglés-Español y Español-Inglés*, definitions for "range" include "fila, hilera, clase; rango, paseo, espacio, campo" while in the 1916 *Appleton's New Spanish-English and English-Spanish Dictionary*, "range" is defined as "cocina económica".

also be explained as a mere coincidence. If he were to have relied on the French text for the translation of this example, his text would have captured better the meaning of Joyce's. Despite omissions and mistranslations in this fragment, it appears that Otero Pedrayo relied on the English source text and attempted (with little success) a close translation. Nonetheless, without additional examination, we cannot disregard the French text quite yet.

Whereas the first fragments seem to indicate that Otero Pedrayo translated directly from the English original, the third fragments exhibit certain elements that suggest the influence of the French text. Both the Galician and French fragments also show how each translator alternated between domesticating specific cultural references and retaining others. For example:

Did it flow? **Yes.** From the Roundwood reservoir **in** county Wicklow of a cubic capacity of 2,400 million gallons, percolating through a **subterranean** aqueduct of **filtre mains** of single and double pipeage constructed at **an initial plant cost of £5 per linear yard** by way of the Dargle, Rathdown, **Glen of the Downs** and Callowhill to the 26 acre reservoir at Stillorgan [. . .] (623)	**Correu a i-auga**. **Correu.** Do Depósito do Roundwood **no** condado de Wicklow d'unha capacidade cùbica de 2.400 millós de galós, percorrendo o longor d'un aqüeduto **por baixo da terra** de **filtros principás** de simpre e dobre tubería feitos asegún **un plan inicial ô coste de 5 pesos por yarda lineal** pol-o trayeuto de Dargle, Rathdown, **Glen de Downs** e Callowhill ô depósito de 26 acres en Stillorgan [. . .] (*Nós* 32: 5)	**L'eau vint-elle**? **Oui.** Du réservoir de Roundwood, comté de Wicklow, d'une capacité cubique de 2.400 millions de gallons, passant par l'aqueduc **souterrain** et **filtre principal** à simple et double conduits construit d'après **un plan initial au prix de 5 livres sterling le mètre linéaire**, traversant la Dargle, Rathdown, **Glen of the Downs**, et Callowhill [. . .] (*Commerce* 1: 145)

The "it" in Joyce's question refers to the current of the water mentioned in the previous fragment. In the French text, Larbaud clarifies this reference by altering the pronoun to the more specific noun, "eau", and this change also appears in the Galician text. While

the English and French texts have question marks, the Galician one has a full stop, which could be a simple error on the part of either Otero Pedrayo or the printer. In the response to the question, Otero Pedrayo repeats the verb, "[c]orreu", which is a common way of giving an affirmative response in the Galician language. Consequently, this change domesticates the simple "yes" found in the English and French texts. He thus deviates from both Joyce and Larbaud, asserting his own voice in the translation. Another indication of independence from Larbaud's translation is his inclusion of the Galician equivalent for "in" which is omitted from the French text. While Larbaud gives a more exact translation for "subterranean" and retains Joyce's formal lexical choices, Otero Pedrayo lowers the text's register by translating it as "por baixo da terra". It is possible that this choice was affected by the fact that "subterranean" is translated by the same word in Galician and Castilian: rather than giving a word that is common to both languages, he gave a paraphrase so as to create a more Galician text. As the response continues, it appears that Otero Pedrayo referred to the French text in the attempt to clarify English words. Larbaud mistranslates "filter mains" as "filtre principal".[113] Otero Pedrayo does the same although he pluralises the expression, perhaps to conform to the English plural (formed, however, on what he assumes to be an adjective). In this case, both translators could have made the mistake independently of each other. However, influence of the French text cannot be doubted in the translation of "initial plant cost". Larbaud mistranslates "plant" as "plan" and adds a preposition before "cost". Otero

[113] In her memoirs, Sylvia Beach recalls how an English friend, Stuart Gilbert, who read the translation in *Commerce*, "had perceived one or two errors in the extract of the French version [. . .] slips that might occur even when the translator was as competent as Auguste Morel, the young poet who had undertaken this immense task." This example may have been one of those errors. Although she mentions Larbaud, she downplays his role with respect to the first French translation. This contradicts not only Larbaud's own writings, but also other scholars' studies. See Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1959), p. 144.

Pedrayo imitates Larbaud's syntax and word choice, except that his choice, "coste", is closer to Joyce's "cost" than Larbaud's "prix". With respect to "£5 per linear yard", divergences are evident in French and Galician. While Larbaud retains the reference to the Anglo-Irish and British currency, he alters "linear yard" to "mètre linéaire", domesticating it to the continental system of measurements. Otero Pedrayo, on the other hand, does the opposite; he domesticates the currency to "5 pesos", but keeps the measurement. Finally, while Larbaud retains the place names, Otero Pedrayo domesticates one – "Glen de Downs".

The remainder of the third fragment illustrates additional limited interference from the French text. Thus:

[. . .] for which reason **the borough surveyor and waterworks engineer**, Mr Spencer Harty, C.E., **on the instructions of the waterworks committee**, had prohibited the use of municipal water for purposes other than those of consumption (envisaging the possibility of recourse being had to the **impotable water** of the Grand and Royal canals as in 1893) **particularly as the South Dublin Guardians** [. . .] (623-24)	[. . .] pol-o que **o ispeutor e inxiñeiro hidráulico** Mr. Spencer Harty, C.E. **nas instruccións pr'o emprego da i-auga** tiña prohibido o gasto das augas municipás pr'outros fis dos do consumo (ollando a posibilidade de ter que botar mau das **augas podres** dos canles Grande e Royal, coma no 1893), **especialmente en Gardas do Hospicio do Sul de Dublin** [. . .] (*Nós* 32: 6)	[. . .] pour cette raison, **l'inspecteur du district et ingénieur des eaux**, Mr. Spencer Harty, C.E., **suivant les instructions du Comité du Service des Eaux**, a fait défense d'user de l'eau municipale pour d'autres emplois que la consommation (envisageant la nécessité d'avoir recours à **l'eau non potable** du Grand canal et du canal Royal, comme en 1893) et **spécialement au personnel du South Dublin Hospice** [. . .] (*Commerce* 1: 145-46)

Here, we again see some interesting divergences in the Galician text from both the English source and the French translation. Otero Pedrayo translates "surveyor" as "ispeutor", which is quite similar to the French translation, but he omits the qualifier that appears in both the English and French texts. Such an omission is odd, especially when

we consider how literal Otero Pedrayo generally tries to be. For "waterworks engineer", he offers a higher register qualifier, "hidráulico", which deviates from the French text's simpler "des eaux" and the English's "waterworks". Problems with this word arise again for Otero Pedrayo mistranslates (unlike Larbaud) "on the instructions of the waterworks committee" as "nas instrucciós pr'o emprego da i-auga". With respect to lexical choices, we also observe that Otero Pedrayo tends to use less formal words than Joyce and Larbaud, as exemplified by his translation of "recourse being had" and "impotable water" as "ter que botar mau" and "augas podres", respectively.[114] By choosing such expressions, Otero Pedrayo creates a text with more down-to-earth and less abstract language, which feels more "Galician" and thus resonates with Galicia's predominantly rural tradition. Such a translating strategy lowers the register of Joyce's text and weakens the author's parody of scientific-related subjects. The French text's interference in the Galician translation is illustrated by Otero Pedrayo's words, "especialmente en Gardas do Hospicio do Sul de Dublin". The addition of "hospicio" is particularly interesting since its equivalent is absent from the English text, but present in the French. It is likely that the Galician intellectual was confused about this cultural reference and decided to peek at the French text. Unlike his French counterpart, though, Otero Pedrayo incorporated both "Guardians" and "Hospice" and then domesticated them.

Richard Cardwell speculates that Joyce's experimentation with literary genres in addition to his use of humor and subversion attracted Otero Pedrayo to "Ithaca" and

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[114] For a more complete analysis of Otero Pedrayo's lexical choices, particularly his avoidance of Castilian words, see Carmen Millán Varela, "Nacionalismo *versus* universalismo nos anacos galegos do *Ulises*", *Viceversa*, 4 (1998), 59-76.

"Cyclops".[115] However, given that "Ithaca" and "Cyclops" were not the only chapters with such characteristics, I do not concur with Cardwell's unsubstantiated argument. It is more likely that the appeal of these chapters was their relevance to French intellectuals and to Risco, who mentioned the "forma [de] catecismo" and "artigos de xornal, poesias, etc," found in the novel.[116] For this reason, the 1921 lecture and readings, the 1922 essay, and the 1924 translation by Larbaud all contributed to the selection of episodes from *Ulysses*. Although the 1924 translation of "Telemachus", "Ithaca", and "Penelope" was available to the Galician intellectual, it is evident that its fragments did not play a decisive role in his translation, either in the selection process or the strategy. It is also quite possible that Marchilar's essay on Joyce in the Madrid-based *Revista de Occidente* served as an additional incentive to Otero Pedrayo to translate excerpts into Galician as quickly as possible before other peninsular colleagues. For Otero Pedrayo and the *Xeración Nós*, the publicity afforded to Joyce confirmed his importance as a literary figure and his worthiness as a candidate for their translation project. By translating him into Galician, *Nós* showed not only how it kept itself informed about European literature, but also how it was more advanced and avant-garde than the *Xeración Nós*' counterparts in Madrid. Moreover, this translation marked a moment of triumph in their policy of bypassing Madrid for literary and other cultural endeavours because it allocated them prestige and provided them with a new sense of independence intellectually and culturally.

In conclusion, Otero Pedrayo primarily relied on the English text for his translation of "Ithaca" and "Cyclops". He occasionally deferred to the French translation

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[115] Cardwell, "A traducción de *Ulysses* de Ramón Otero Pedrayo, a *Xeración Nós* e a rexeneración cultural galega", p.16.
[116] Risco, "Da renacencia céltiga: A moderna literatura irlandesa (Proseguimento)", p. 5.

of the five question and answer fragments from the "Ithaca" episode in order to overcome linguistic obstacles. With respect to "Cyclops", Otero Pedrayo had no other option but the English text. Contrary to Noia Campos's conclusion, this analysis reveals that Otero Pedrayo did not use a French text as his principal source. The silence of Galician critics with respect to the mediating text further illustrates how some Galicians, even today, feel the need to protect certain members of the *Xeración Nós* and endorse the prestige of their artistic and literary projects.

Before Otero Pedrayo's translation appeared in *Nós*, Joyce's *Ulysses* was already embedded in the Galician literary scene as a result of Risco's survey of Irish literature. The importation of Joyce and his *Ulysses* further contributed to the *Xeración Nós*' renovation and development of the Galician literary repertoire. Otero Pedrayo selected *Ulysses* for various reasons, relating to the author's nationality and his status and fame. Firstly, Joyce's Irish heritage conferred on him special recognition due to the Galician intellectuals' admiration for their Celtic sibling. Secondly, as González Millán specifies, the *Xeración Nós* valued literature that met its fundamental criterion: fame. The *Nós* writer, Leandro Carré explains this: "Para nós será universalista unha novela cando a sona d'ela sexa tan grande que a obra traspase as fronteiras".[117] Without a doubt, Joyce's work reached, even exceeded, their standards.

Otero Pedrayo treats names, places, and other cultural references inconsistently. He alternates between strategies of domesticating and foreignising. With respect to

[117] Quoted in González Millán, "James Joyce e a *Xeración Nós*", p. 40.

forenames and surnames in "Ithaca" and "Cyclops", Otero Pedrayo retains the main characters' names, Bloom (619; *Nós* 32:3) and Stephen (619; *Nós* 32:3). Other translatable names that he preserves include Matthew Dillon (620; *Nós* 32:3), Francis Froedman (621; *Nós* 32: 4), and Mary (623; *Nós* 32: 5). In some cases, he domesticates names, as seen in the examples of Patrick (620) becoming Patricio (*Nós* 32:3), Julius Mastiansky (620) becoming Xulio Mastiemky [sic] (*Nós* 32:4), and Simon Dedalus (623) becoming Simón Dedalus (*Nós* 32:5).

When Otero Pedrayo encounters names accompanied by titles, he alternates between domesticating the title or maintaining it, thus foreignising it. In the domesticating strategy, for example, major Brian Tweedy (620) changes to Maior Brian Tweedy (*Nós* 32:4), Messrs Flower and M'Donald (622) to Sres. Flower e McDonald (*Nós* 32:5), and Father Butt (623) to Padre Butt (*Nós* 32:5). On the other hand, he also keeps the following titles: Miss Marion Tweedy (620; *Nós* 32:4), Miss Kate Morkan (623; *Nós* 32:5), Mr. Spencer Harty (624; *Nós* 32:6), Mr. Ignatius Rice (624; *Nós* 32:6), Constable MacFadden (*Nós* 32: 10), and Mr. [Messrs] John Round and Son (296; *Nós* 32: 11). At times, he mixes his strategies, perhaps due to carelessness or haste to meet deadlines, domesticating one element and foreignising another, as exemplified by Miss Julia Morkan (623) and Brother Michael (623) which are altered, respectively, to Miss Xulia Morkan (*Nós* 32:5) and irmau Michael (*Nós* 32:5).

With respect to place-names, the same pattern of alternation emerges in Otero Pedrayo's translation. In general, well-known places, such as Dublin, Ireland, and Paris (619), are translated to their Galician equivalents of Dublín, Irlanda, and París (*Nós*

32:3).[118] Otero Pedrayo usually translates names of streets, plazas, or other references by using either the formula "[rúa, praza, etc.] [English name]" or "[rúa, praza, etc.] de [English name]". Thus, Lower and Middle Gardiner streets (619) change to rúas Lower e Middle Gardiner (*Nós* 32:3), Gardiner's place (619) changes to praza Gardiner (*Nós* 32: 3), Mountjoy square (619) to praza Mountjoy (*Nós* 32:3), Longwood avenue (620) to avenida Longwood (*Nós* 32:3), Lombard street (620) to rúa Lombard (*Nós* 32:4), Eccles street (621) to rúa Eccles (*Nós* 32:4), North Richmond street (623) to rúa North Richmond (*Nós* 32: 5), Lower Abbey street (649) to rua [sic] Lower Abbey (*Nós* 32: 8), Kildare street (649) to rua [sic] Kildare (*Nós* 32: 8), and Holles street (649) to rua [sic] Holles (*Nós* 32: 8).

Using the second formula, Beresford Place (619) is altered to Praza de Beresford (*Nós* 32:3), Temple Street (619) to rúa do Temple or rua [sic] do Temple (*Nós* 32: 3), Synge street (619) to rúa de Synge (*Nós* 32:4), Bloomfield avenue (620) to avenida de Bloomfield (*Nós* 32:4), Charlemont Mall (649) to Parque de Charlemont (*Nós* 32: 8), and Clonturk park (297) to parque de Clonturk (*Nós* 32: 11). As seen in all these examples, Otero Pedrayo does not alter any proper names, despite the fact that some can be translated partially or completely into Galician. Once in a while, this formula is modified with a domestication of the proper name; thus, Leonard's corner (620) changes to esquina de Leonardo (*Nós* 32: 3). This choice further suggests that Otero Pedrayo felt divided between strategies, trying to maintain the source text's cultural and geographical context while attempting to make the target text accessible to *Nós* readers.

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[118] On some occasions, the accent is missing from Dublin as on pages 8 and 10.

On some occasions, Otero Pedrayo retains Joyce's places names, although errors do appear, as demonstrated by the following: Usher' [sic] Island (*Nós* 32:5), Stephen's Green (*Nós* 32:5), Rutland Square (649; *Nós* 32: 8), and ghetto (*Nós* 32: 8).

With respect to books, Otero Pedrayo employs a domesticating strategy. Joyce mentions the Book of Dun Cow, the Book of Ballymote, and the Book of Kells (641), three manuscripts which are intrinsic to Ireland's cultural heritage. In Otero Pedrayo's translation, they become, respectively, Libro de Dun Cow, Libro de Ballymote, and Libro de Kells (*Nós* 32: 8). Interestingly, although "Dun Cow" is translatable, he leaves it in English, again signaling his inconsistent strategy. Another book that Otero Pedrayo domesticates is *Sweets of Sin* (640), which becomes *Delicias do Pecado* (*Nós* 32: 7).

Another cultural reference, money, is both domesticated and foreignised. For example, Otero Pedrayo domesticates "pounds" (624) as "pesos" (*Nós* 32: 5), "coin" (649) as "peza" (*Nós* 32: 8), and "pennies" (294) as "cartos" (*Nós* 32: 10). By simplifying the Anglo-Irish terminology in these examples, the translator disassociates the currency from its cultural context and familiarises it to his audience. Elsewhere, Otero Pedrayo sometimes retains the monetary lexicon as exemplified by "florin" (649; *Nós* 32: 8). In other cases, Otero Pedrayo italicises the foreign word, perhaps to call attention to its distinct cultural background. Despite the fact that words such as "peniques" and "chelíns" were available to him, he does not use these terms. Instead, for example, he gives "catro *pence*" (*Nós* 32: 6) for "fourpence" (625). In another example, he offers "21 shillings" (*Nós* 32:5) for "twentyone shillings" (622), changing Joyce's lexicon into Arabic numerals, but not italicising the foreign term.

Cultural and social organisations, both real and fake, also abound. In most cases, Otero Pedrayo provides a domesticated translation for each one. For example, he translates "Dublin Metropolitan police" (294) to "Policía Metropolitana de Dublin [sic]" (*Nós* 32: 10) and "the Friends of the Emerald Isle" (294) to "Os Amigos da Illa de Esmeralda" (*Nós* 32: 10). When it reappears as an acronym, F.O.T.E.I., in "Cyclops", Otero Pedrayo does not offer the Galician equivalent, O.A.D.I.D.E. Instead, he apparently tried to retain it although each time it is mistranscribed as either J.O.E.I. (*Nós* 32: 10) or J.O.T.E.I. (*Nós* 32: 10).[119] Unless the reader possessed the English text or were able to connect the mistranscribed English initials to the Galician translation, he or she would not have understood this reference. This error exemplifies Otero Pedrayo's inconsistency and his lack of attention to details. While such mistakes may be construed to reflect the translator's inadequate translating aptitude, they could also indicate that he may have felt rushed to complete the translation.

In *Ulysses*, Joyce creates neologisms in the form of new compounds. This technique is paradigmatic of Joyce's rebellion against the English language. He thus manipulates English so as to convert the symbol of "imperial humiliation" into a "native weapon".[120] Otero Pedrayo varies his treatment of compounds by either breaking them apart and retaining parts of them or omitting them entirely. In general, however, he domesticates these neologisms, breaking them apart and changing the syntax, where necessary. For example, "neverchanging" (625) becomes "non conservada" (*Nós* 32: 6),

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[119] "Fenius Farsaigh" (641) also appears mistyped as "Jenius Farsaig" (*Nós* 32: 7) in the translation. Such errors could reflect a problem with the typesetter.

[120] Quoted from Maria Tymoczko, "Post-colonial Writing and Literary Translation" in *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 19-40 (p. 35). (Heaney 1978: 40).

"everchanging" (625) becomes "mais anovada" (*Nós* 32: 6), "winedark hair" (642) becomes "cabelo de viño mouro" (*Nós* 32: 8), and "worldfamous" (296) becomes "sonado no mundo inteiro" (*Nós* 32: 11). With respect to compounds composed of two nouns, he usually inserts the preposition "de" between them. Thus, "masshouse" (641) is translated to "casas de Misa" (*Nós* 32: 8), "streetsingers" (294) to "trovadores das ruas" (*Nós* 32: 10), and "milkjugs" (296) to "xerras do leite" (*Nós* 32: 11). The alteration to these compounds is due to the fact that Otero Pedrayo, like fellow *Xeración Nós* translators, did not have much choice since Galician, unlike English, does not allow for their use.

Despite the fact that Otero Pedrayo attempted to follow Joyce's text closely, there were limitations to this strategy. In the following example, he deviates from Joyce's text:

By his body's known weight of **eleven stone and four pounds** in avoirdupois measure, as certified by the graduated machine for periodical selfweighing in the **premises** of Francis Froedman, pharmaceutical chemist of **19 Frederick street, north**, on the last feast of the Ascension, to wit, the twelfth day of May of the bissextile year **one thousand nine hundred and four** of the christian era (jewish era **five thousand six hundred and sixtyfour**, mohammadan era **one thousand three hundred and twentytwo**), golden number 5, epact 13, solar cycle 9, dominical letters C B, Roman indication 2, Julian period 6617, **MXMIV**. (621-22)	Pol-o sabido peso do seu corpo, de **nove pedras e catro libras**, asegún a graduada máquena pra periódico peso **na casa** de Francis Froedman, farmacéutico-químico da **rúa Frederick, 19, N**, pol-a derradeira festa da Ascensión, a saber, o doce de Maio do ano bisesto de **1904** da era cristiá (era xudía **5664**, era manometana **[sic] 1322**), áureo númaro 5, epacta 13, ciclo solar 9, letra dominical C.B. Indicción romana 2, periodo xuliao 6617, **MCMIV**. (*Nós* 32: 4)

Here the translator moves away from the source by employing Arabic numbers where Joyce uses words. Unlike Joyce, who writes out the years in order to play with English

standards and to draw attention to the different calendar years according to each religion, Otero Pedrayo simplifies and domesticates by conforming to the rules that Joyce breaks. He also domesticates when he places the address number after the street name, which reflects the Galician standard for addresses. In addition, he abbreviates "north" as "N". We also notice a mistranslation of the number "eleven" which is given as "nove", the strangely literal translation of the English weight "stones" which becomes "pedras", and a mistranscription of "MXMIV" as "MCMIV". These errors contribute to evidence suggesting that Otero Pedrayo translated these episodes quickly and did not proofread his work carefully.

In another example, Otero Pedrayo alters syntax. Thus:

The signal for prayer was then promptly given by megaphone and in an instant all heads were bared, the commendatore's patriarchal **sombrero**, which has been in the possession of his family since the revolution of Rienzi, **being removed by his medical adviser in attendance, Dr Pippi**. (295-96)	O siñal d'orazón foi dada [sic] por megaphono e de súpeto todal-as testas quedaron núas, **sendo removido pol-o conselleiro médeco do cortexo Dr. Pippi** o **chapeu** patriarchal do comendador qu'estaba en posesión da familia dend'a revolución de Rienzi. (*Nós* 32: 11)

In this excerpt, by rearranging the order of the clauses, the translator thus imposes his own syntactical structure, perhaps in the attempt to create intelligibility, yet his dependence on Joyce is exemplified by his literal translation of "being removed". As is known, Joyce incorporated various words from other languages in order to diversify his English text. Otero Pedrayo's decision to translate "sombrero" as "chapeu" exemplifies how he avoids Castilian words and searches for more Galician ones. He thus tries to purify his text from linguistic interference, domesticating it as much as possible.

In the "Cyclops" episode, as I explained before, Joyce chose to parody the myth of the nationalist martyr by converting the scene of his execution into a society event. As a result, the language often suggests celebration, despite the event about to occur. In the Galician translation, however, much of this parody is suppressed. For example:

Considerable amusement was caused by the favourite Dublin streetsingers L-n-h-n and M-ll-g-n who sang ***The Night before Larry was stretched*** in their usual **mirthprovoking** fashion. (294)	Considerabres divertimentos ofercíanse pol-os favoritos trovadores das ruas de Dublin L-a-h-n e M-ll-g-n, que cantaban ***The cright before Larry was stretched*** co seu adoitado aire **provocando a malenconía**. (*Nós* 32: 10)

Whereas Joyce writes that the singers performed in a "mirthprovoking" manner, Otero Pedrayo describes it as "provocando a malenconía". Such a mistake indicates the translator's carelessness as well as his limited knowledge of English, and eliminates the parodic element of Joyce's text. By not translating the title (although with a copying error), the translator tries to preserve some cultural elements found in Joyce's text, as I will demonstrate more completely in another section.

In another example, Otero Pedrayo's alterations offer a different view of the scene given by Joyce. Thus:

An animated altercation (**in which all took part**) ensued among the F.O.T.E.I. as to whether the eighth or the ninth of March was the correct date of **the birth** of Ireland's patron saint. In the course of the **argument** cannonballs, scimitars, boomerangs, blunderbusses, **stinkpots**, meatchoppers, umbrellas, catapults, **knuckledusters**, sandbags, lumps of pig iron **were resorted to** and **blows were freely exchanged**. (295)	Unha altercación animada (**na que todos falaron**) seguíuse ant'o J.O.E.I sobre si a data precisa **da morte** do Santo Patrón d'Irlanda é o oito ou o nove de Marzal. No desenrolo do **debate**, balas de cañón, cimitarras, boomerangs, trabucos, **aparellos de fumigación**, coitelos da carne; pariaugas, catapultas, sacos d'area, anacos de pauferros **fixeron aparición** e **cambeáronse libremente toda caste de proieutís**. (*Nós* 32: 10)

Here Otero Pedrayo moves away from following Joyce's text closely. He downplays the "altercación animada" by suggesting that the bystanders "falaron", or talked, rather than joined in the fight. Then he mistranslates "birth" as "morte". In addition, he softens "argument" by translating it as "debate". Instead of implying the heated, angry, and occasionally violent nature of an argument, his "debate" indicates a civilised exchange amongst the group. While Joyce narrates that the members began to hit each other, Otero Pedrayo mistranslates this as "cambeáronse libremente toda caste de proieutís", indicating that they exchanged their belongings rather than punches. In the list of weapons employed, Otero Pedrayo mistranslates "stinkpots", which are hand missiles, as "aparellos de fumigación" and omits "knuckledusters". Together these deviations minimise the scene's action, especially its violence, as well as Joyce's mockery of the guests' behaviour. Like the previous example, it gives the translation's readers an inaccurate account of the "Cyclops" episode.

In comparison to the translators of *Leabhar Gabhála* and *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, Otero Pedrayo surprisingly retains more English words and specifically Irish cultural references. As I noted before, his treatment of names, places, and currency, amongst other things, varies to a great extent. Besides monetary terms and place names, additional English words are left untranslated by Otero Pedrayo. Thinking about an episode from his past, Bloom recalls a visit to the circus and his strange encounter with a clown. When translating this fragment, Otero Pedrayo, as seen below, does not translate "clown":

[. . .] an intuitive [sic] parti coloured **clown** [. . .] un **clown** médeo coorado e intuitivo,

in quest of paternity had penetrated from the ring to a place in the auditorium where Bloom, solitary, was seated and had publicly declared to an exhilarated audience that he (Bloom) was his (**the clown's**) papa. [. . .]	choutou da area ô púbrico en procura de paternidade; atopando a Bloom, alí sentado e isolado; **o clown** decrarou diante da xente tolleita de risa qu'il (Bloom) era o papa (**do clown**).
Was **the clown** Bloom's son? (649)	Era **o *clown*** fillo de Bloom? (*Nós* 32: 8)

It is interesting that only in the final fragment "clown" is italicized, whereas in the others it is not. Considering that other foreign words generally are italicised so as to mark their non-Galicianness, this departure is rather unusual. He also adds "o clown" as the subject in the fourth line in order to clarify which of the characters made the announcement. This inconsistent treatment of "clown" serves as a reminder of the amateur quality of *Nós* and the urgency with which the *Xeración Nós* members wrote and printed their materials.

The translator also preserves the hero's last words to his bride-to-be:

The hero **folded her willowy form** in a loving embrace murmuring fondly ***Sheila, my own***. (296)	O héroe **incrinando a sua figura** en aperta d'amor marmulou: ***Sheila, my own***. (*Nós* 32: 11)

Here we see an additional example of mistranslation as well as Otero Pedrayo's limited knowledge of English. With respect to the English words, he may have preserved them as a reminder to his audience that the martyr was Irish. He also may have done this as an homage to Joyce, who included foreign words in his writings. However, this was not always the case is seen in the following example:

royal Irish **constabulary** (297)	real ***constabulary*** d'Irlanda (*Nós* 32: 11)

Given that Otero Pedrayo did not offer a translation for "constable", it is not surprising that he also retains this word. This retention suggests that he did not know or could not

find a Galician equivalent. Despite this, he domesticates the modifiers of "constabulary" so that the phrase is not completely unfamiliar to his readers.

As I observed previously, Joyce often employs foreign words in his texts so as to diversify them and to rebel against English. With the exception of the word "sombrero" and "doyen", Otero Pedrayo retains them in his translation. For example, he keeps the Latin "*Gladiolus cruentus*" (295; *Nós* 32: 10) and the multilingual cheers "*hoch, bánzai, eljen, zivio, chinchin, polla kronia, hiphip, vive, Allah*" (295; *Nós* 32: 11).[121]

With respect to adjectives, Otero Pedrayo alternates between adhering to Galician linguistic standards and mimicking Joyce's syntax. As mentioned before, in certain conditions, adjectives, if non-distinctive, precede the noun in Galician. If they are distinctive, they follow the noun. Below he collocates distinctive adjectives before and after the nouns:

What was **Stephen's auditive sensation**? He heard in **a profound ancient male unfamiliar melody** the accumulation of the past. (642)	Cál era **a sensazón auditiva de Stephen**? Il ouvía n-**unha fonda, antiga e varil melodía** a acugulación do pasado. (*Nós* 32: 8)
What was **Bloom's visual sensation**? He saw in **a quick young male familiar form** the predestination of a future. (642)	Cál era **a sensazón visual de Bloom**? Vía n-**unha graciosa, moza forma familiar** a predestiñación d'un porvir. (*Nós* 32: 8)

In both questions, Otero Pedrayo opts to change Joyce's syntax. Rather than retaining the English formula of "adjective + noun", he follows the commonest Galician one, "noun + adjective". On the other hand, in the responses, he tries to stay closer to Joyce's text. In the first example, Otero Pedrayo inserts a comma and the conjunction "e" in order to

[121] In the translation, "polla kronia" is mistyped as "pollo Vironia".

unite the modifiers, perhaps to compenstate for the strangeness that this syntax creates in Galician. He also omits the adjective "unfamiliar". In the second, the translator places two adjectives, "graciosa, moza" before the noun and a third one, "familiar", after it and omits "male". Here he tries to accommodate both English and Galician. In addition, Otero Pedrayo incorporates "[i]l" in the first answer despite the fact that it is implied in the verb, but excludes it from the second. This translating choice exemplifies his inconsistency.

In another example with a series of adjectives, Otero Pedrayo again retains the syntax:

[. . .] the terribility of her **isolated dominant implacable resplendent** propinquity [. . .] (654)	[. . .] o terribre da sua **isolada, domiñante, impracabre,esprandecente** veciñanza [. . .] (*Nós* 32: 9)	[. . .] l'horreur de son **solitaire, dominateur, implacable, resplendissant** voisinage [. . .] (*Commerce* 1: 151)

Whereas in the aforementioned examples, he omitted and/or moved an adjective, here he follows the syntax exactly, only adding commas. Interestingly, this fragment coincides with the French one in which the translator also maintains Joyce's syntax and incorporates punctuation. In addition, the similarity between the Galician "veciñanza" and the French "voisinage" suggests the interference of Larbaud's translation in this fragment. Nevertheless, these examples illustrate Otero Pedrayo's close adherence to the text, especially his dependence on the English source.

As a result of Otero Pedrayo's inconsistent translating strategy, omissions of words and phrases occur throughout. In the following example, Otero Pedrayo omits the second part of the sentence:

Constable Mac Fadden was heartily congratulated by all the F.O.T.E.I., **several of whom were bleeding profusely.** (295)	Constable Mac Fadden recibeu as ardentes emboras de todo o J.O.T.E.I. (*Nós* 32: 10)

By omitting this clause, Otero Pedrayo again suppresses the violence within "Cyclops". While such omissions may be considered strange due to Otero Pedrayo's usual dependence on the source text, they could be seen as examples of the translator's censorship and his intention to be consistent with other changes toning down or erasing the violence within the scene.

In another example, Otero Pedrayo again deviates from his literal strategy by omitting a food identifiable with Irish and British culture and replacing it with another. He also removes some clauses, thus downplaying Joyce's use of parody with respect to the nationalist martyr's hanging. Thus:

Quite an excellent repast consisting of **rashers and eggs, fried steak and onions, done to a nicety, delicious hot breakfast rolls and invigorating tea** had been considerately provided by the authorities for the consumption of the central figure of the tragedy **who was in capital spirits when prepared for death and evinced the keenest interest in the proceedings from beginning to end but he,** with an abnegation rare in these our times, rose **nobly to the occasion and** expressed the dying wish (immediately acceded to) that the meal should be divided in aliquot parts among the members of the sick and indigent roomkeeper's association as a token of his **regard and** esteem. (296)	Unha fina comida composta de **torrixas, ovos, talladas fritidas e cebolas deliciosas e quentes bolos d'almorzo e té vigorizador**, fora disposta pol-as autoridás pr'o consumo da figura central da traxedia, a qué, erguéndose c'unha abnegazón rara n-istes tempos espresou seu desexo derradeiro (que foi aixiña ademitido) de que mandaran os pratos por partes igoás ôs membros das asociacións proteutoras de doentes e indixentes coma proba d'outa estimanza. (*Nós* 32: 11)

Instead of translating "rashers" which are "thin slices of bacon", Otero Pedrayo deviates from the text and offers "torrixas". According to the *Gran Diccionario Xerais da Lingua*,

"torrixas" is not a Galician word; instead, it is a pseudo-Galicianised term of the Castilian Spanish "torrijas". Its normalised equivalent is "torrada" which is "rebanda de pan, lixeramente queimada ou tostada". Consequently, this is another example of domestication, perhaps even hyperdomestication, on the translator's part. As seen above, he also breaks Joyce's pairing of foods by changing punctuation and the placement of the conjunction "and". Moreover, he incorrectly describes the onions as "deliciosas". It is possible that this was a mistake in the reproduction of the manuscript in which "delicious" has been moved back from "breakfast" to "onions". Otero Pedrayo may have written "talladas fritidas e cebolas, deliciosos e quentes bolos…". If this were the case, the printer may have changed the adjective to the feminine form so that it correctly modified "cebolas" or he may have simply miswritten it. Additionally, "[d]one to a nicety" has been omitted, resulting in the loss of more irony. A few lines afterwards, Otero Pedrayo omits a lengthy clause describing the young man's attitude before his execution. Without this clause, the Galician translation does not have the same mocking tone that Joyce infuses in his text. These omissions alter and downplay the scene originally described by Joyce.

Like the translator of *Leabhar Gabhála*, Otero Pedrayo omits sentences when he encounters problematic words and expressions as seen below:

The readywitted ninefooter's suggestion at once appealed to all and was unanimously accepted. (295)	Foi aceitada por unamidade [sic]. (*Nós* 32: 10)

As I mentioned earlier, Otero Pedrayo avoided translating certain compounds. Given that two compounds appear together in this clause, he probably decided to shorten the

sentence and omit the troublesome words rather than attempt to translate them. He therefore edited sections as he deemed it necessary.

As with *Leabhar Gabhála* and *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, mistranslations appear. Throughout the translated pages, numbers are frequently mistranslated. For example:

eleven stone and four pounds (621)	**nove** pedras e catro libras (*Nós* 32: 4)
thirteen hours (625)	**trinta** horas (*Nós* 32: 10)
his **thirtytwo** pockets (295)	suas **trinta e seis** alxibeiras (*Nós* 32: 10)
It was exactly **seventeen** o'clock. (295)	Eran precisamente **as oito**. (*Nós* 32: 11)

Considering the fact that numbers usually are the easiest words to translate, the mistranslations shown are quite perplexing. In the second example, Otero Pedrayo may have misread "thirteen" and confused it with "thirty". These simple errors are a further indication that Otero Pedrayo translated these fragments quickly and published them without revising.

On some occasions, Otero Pedrayo mistranslates names of specific institutions in Ireland. One of these is the following:

the National **Library** of Ireland (649)	a **Libreria** Nazonal d'Irlanda (*Nós* 32: 8)

Another mistranslation occurs in the example below:

the **Male and Female Foundling** Hospital (294)	Hespital de **Homes e Mulleres** (*Nós* 32: 10)

In this case, Otero Pedrayo omits the word "foundling" and then changes the modifiers "male" and "female" into nouns. However, his translation choice suggests a hospital for mature men and women, rather than one for young orphaned boys and girls.

Otero Pedrayo's attempts to be strictly literal often create problems. For example:

Our two inimitable drolls did a roaring trade with their **broadsheets** among lovers of the comedy element [. . .] (294)	Os nosos dous inimitabres payasos fixeron un barullante comercio co-as suas ***anchas sábanas*** antr'os amadores do elemento cómico [. . .] (*Nós* 32: 10)

In Joyce's text, "broadsheets" refers to either a large piece of paper with printed information on one side. In Otero Pedrayo's text, "anchas sábanas" do not convey the image of a paper; instead they are bed linen. However, by italicising the words, he could have been signaling his uncertainty regarding his translation to a confused reader. Another error of misplaced literalism is seen below:

Was the knowledge possessed by both of each of these languages, the extinct and the revived, theoretical or practical? **Theoretical**, being confined to certain grammatical rules of **accidence** and syntax and practically excluding vocabulary. (641)	A coñecencía que tiñan os dous d'istas léngoas, a morta e a viva, era teorético ou práuteco? **Teoréticamente**, reducido a certos **accidentes** de gramáteca e sintaxe, e práuticamente escruído o vocabulario. (*Nós* 32: 7)

Here "accidence", which is a dated word, means "the part of grammar that deals with the inflections of words", not an unfortunate incident or mistake as suggested by the Galician word, "accidentes". His mistranslation here suggests that Bloom and Stephen understand the grammar and syntax of Hebrew and Irish, when it is actually the rules of inflection and syntax. Furthermore, Otero Pedrayo creates parallelism where none exists in the original text by changing, even mistranslating, the adjective "theoretical" to an adverb.

In another example, Otero Pedrayo mistranslates a word intrinsic to Irish nationalist culture, but unfamiliar to the Galician one, as seen below:

She **swore to him** as they mingled the salt streams of their tears **that she would cherish his memory**, that she would never forget her hero boy who went to his death **with a song on his lips** as if he were but going to a **hurling match** in Clonturk park. (296-97)	Ela **dixo** misturando as verbas c'un río de bágoas qu'endexamis s'esquecería do héroe que viña a morte cantando coma se fose pra **un ledo macht** no parque de Clonturk. (*Nós* 32: 11)

Like Villar Ponte, Otero Pedrayo encounters a problem when trying to translate "hurling". Here he does not translate it; instead, he offers the alternative "ledo", or happy. He also tries to retain "match", but it is mistranscribed. Although Otero Pedrayo tried to improvise, his choice does not convey Joyce's reference to and subtle criticism of the sport closely associated with nationalism. With respect to the remainder of the excerpt, he opts for the generic "dixo" for "swore" and rewrites or omits other phrases, thus lowering Joyce's poetic tone and imagery of distressed lovers being torn apart.

Like the translator of *Leabhar Gabhála*, Otero Pedrayo occasionally encounters difficulties with past forms of verbs. Thus:

Did Stephen obey his sign? Yes, entering softly, he helped to close and chain the door and followed softly along the hallway the man's back and listed feet and lighted candle **past** a lighted crevice of doorway **on the left** and **carefully** down a turning staircase of **more than** five steps into the kitchen of Bloom's house. (622)	Obedeceu Stephen seu aceno? Obedeceu, entrando docemente, axudou a pechar i-encadear a porta e segíu ô **longo do hall** a traseira do home e listados pés i-acesa candea, **pasaron** unha alumiada bufarda de porta e **amodiño** baixaron unha escaleira de caracol de cinco escalós, que levaba â cociña da casa de Bloom. (*Nós* 32: 5)

Here he mistakes the participle "past" for the verb "passed" and also mistranslates the adverb "carefully" as "amodiño". These changes thus suggest that Joyce is narrating the

movement of both characters when he is discussing only Stephen. In addition, the translator omits the phrases "on the left" and "more than" and retains the English word "hall". Without these descriptions, Otero Pedrayo loses the specificity of the source text, giving his reader an image very distinct to that of Joyce.

The partial translation of "Ithaca" and "Cyclops" epitomises the *Xeración Nós*' project of privileging certain foreign texts for the modernisation of their literary canon. The analysis reveals that Otero Pedrayo generally depends on the English source text, unless he encounters questionable material. Moreover, he attempted to produce a translation that was accessible to readers, but also challenged them and their notions about writing.

When an acclaimed novel is translated, especially in a post-colonial context, Tymoczko maintains that "[i]n translation the greater the prestige of the source culture and the source text, the easier it is to require that the audience come to the text."[122] In translating "Ithaca" and "Cyclops", Otero Pedrayo employs, to a certain extent, such a strategy. However, throughout the translation, it is evident that he is torn between the allure of foreignising and the need for domestication that one encounters in translations into threatened minority languages like Galician.

For the most part, his aim seems to have been that of translating closely from the English text. This conclusion may tempt some to assume automatically that his strategy is a foreignising one. However, if one looks closer at the text, a conflict between domesticating and foreignising strategies emerges, perhaps caused by the lack of a consistent translating policy. Otero Pedrayo domesticates some cultural references, such

[122] Tymoczko, "Post-colonial Writing and Literary Translation", p. 30.

as names, places, and currency, only to preserve others. He often lowers the register of Joyce's lexicon, simplifying word choice and substituting synonyms for more precise terms. His translation therefore lacks Joyce's specificity as well as his extensive vocabulary. Otero Pedrayo tries to maintain Joyce's syntax, but deviates from it in some instances. He also tends to omit phrases and sentences that may be perceived as too explicit, offensive, or cumbersome for translation. Such changes, although they might seem innocent, severely affect the translation since they alter Joyce's original meaning, distorting his parodies of religion, science, and nationalism. In addition, they reflect how Otero Pedrayo constructs an image of both Joyce and the Irish that conforms to the expectations of the Galician nationalist community.

As Craig Patterson has shown in his thesis, Otero Pedrayo was an extremely busy and prolific writer. He wrote quickly and often neither revised nor proofread his work before sending his writings to the printers.[123] This could account for the simple errors found in his translation of *Ulysses*. The omissions, on the other hand, are the result of the translator's misunderstanding the text or his ideological conflict with Joyce's content. Nevertheless, when Otero Pedrayo paid attention to detail and was careful, he often translated quite well, particularly in some difficult sections, and showed an adequate knowledge of English.

Although Otero Pedrayo may not have had a native's fluency in English, his decision to translate Joyce reflects the *Xeración Nós*' need to insert a highly influential author into Galician. Moreover, the presence of this translation in Galician signals quite an achievement for such a minority culture. It illustrates their intense competition with the centre, Madrid, as much as their need to differentiate themselves artistically from the

[123] Patterson, *Galician Cultural Identity in the Works of Ramón Otero Pedrayo (1888-1976)*, p. 17.

culture imposed upon them. By importing fragments of *Ulysses*, Otero Pedrayo enlisted Joyce in the project of (re)constructing Galician language and literature as well as the nation.

After *Nós*' publication of Otero Pedrayo's translation, Joyce and his work continued to interest the members of the *Xeración Nós*. In March 1927, less than a year after the translation appeared, Otero Pedrayo comments on the ignorance of readers in the United States and their lack of familiarity with Joyce.[124] When *Gaceta literaria*, a magazine based in Madrid, claims to publish the first peninsular translation of *Ulysses* in 1927, *Nós* reacts by printing the following scathing piece:

> Os leitores de NÓS saben, e os homes do *meridiano* iñoran pol-o visto, que n-iste noso boletín, e no seu númaro 32, de 15 d'Agosto do pasado ano 1926, pubricáronse traducidos direitamente do ingles ô galego por Ramón Otero Pedrayo, uns anacos dos mais caraiterístecos da novela de Joyce, qu'ocupaban nove páxinas. Un traballo informativo biográfico e bibriográfico detallado en col de Joyce, formando parte dos estudos sobre *A moderna literatura Irlandesa*, de Vicente Risco, no númaro 28 de NÓS, de 15 de Maio de 1926, tamén descoñecido, crar'está, no *meridiano*.
>
> A non ser qu'iles pensen qu'estas traduciós e estudos de Joyce, feitos en Galiza e en léngoa galega, non foron feitos na Hespaña.
>
> E crar'está que non-o foron na Hespaña estreita, unilateral e pequena que se rixe pol-o meridiano consabido. . .[125]

This response suggests that Otero Pedrayo and *Nós* either were unaware of Marichalar's article or they, like *Gaceta literaria*, ignored it in order to allocate additional prestige to their translation.

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[124] Ramón Otero Pedrayo, "Os homes, os feitos, as verbas - «Ulyses» na yanquilandia", *Nós*, 39 (1927): 19. He writes, "Alí os graves corpos docents pecan decentementes contr'o esprito. Agora unha revista de New-York pubrica un *Ulises* que nono coñece o Joyce que o criou. Parés que moitos inteleituaes da Europa preparan unha campaña sobr'istas cousas."

[125] "Os homes, os feitos, as verbas – Ulysses", p. 16.

Despite Risco's uneasiness with Joyce and his literature, he appropriates his character, Stephen Dedalus, who appears in both *The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Ulysses*, for his short story based in Santiago de Compostela.[126] This pseudoparaphrase exemplifies how much Joyce and his themes fascinated the Galician intellectuals. As González Millán argues, Risco's essay and his short story as well as Otero Pedrayo's translation were essential in the process of stabilising the Galician literary system.[127] Although no other Joyce work was translated in *Nós* before 1936, Joyce's influence continued to pervade the works of Otero Pedrayo and other members of the *Xeración Nós*.[128]

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[126] Vicente Risco, "Dedalus en Compostela (Pseudoparáfrase)", *Nós*, 67 (1929), 123-29.
[127] González Millán, "James Joyce e a *Xeración Nós*", p. 37.
[128] This is particularly evident in Otero Pedrayo's work, *Arredor de si*. Although Otero Pedrayo missed or ignored certain nuances in Joyce's work, he did recognise certain features and repeat them in his own work. In the book mentioned, there is an obvious stylistic influence of *Ulysses*. De Toro Santos analyses how Otero Pedrayo used the technique of interior monologue in *Devalar*. See Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos, "An Approach to the Influence of Joyce in *Devalar* by Ramón Otero Pedrayo", *Papers on Joyce*, 1 (1995), 85-90.

Conclusion

Between 1920 and 1936, the presence of translations in *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra* was intrinsically linked to the development and promotion of the Galician language as well as the (re)construction of Galician cultural identity. The importation of certain texts reveals a strategic and elite program, on the part of Galician intellectuals, to infuse specific ideologies, especially Celticism and nationalism, into their culture. Moreover, it shows their intention to restore their alleged legacy and to (re)claim the Irish and other Celtic peoples as their brothers.

Despite the fact that the *Xeración Nós* intended to avoid "entremediarios antr' o pensamento galego e o pensamento dos pobos cultos"[1], they had no other option when importing certain authors and texts. As I have demonstrated with the examples of Yeats and Joyce, their first contact arrived via France and its avant-garde writers and magazines. In order not to distract from the importance of their translations, both journals often downplayed this French influence. In today's scholarship, this topic has frequently been neglected, perhaps to protect the achievements of the *Irmandades da Fala* and the *Xeración Nós*. Nevertheless, without this connexion, the task of introducing and translating the Irish texts would not have been feasible.

Although some contemporary authors were experimenting with Castilian literature, the *Xeración Nós* ignored them completely. Rather than looking to Azorín, Ramón del Valle-Inclán, Federico García Lorca, and others as literary models, they overlooked them, discovering their inspiration in other sources, especially those who shared minority status and the colonial experience. Such a rejection of Castilian literature

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[1] "Primeiras verbas", p. 2.

further shows that early twentieth-century Galician intellectuals were distancing themselves from Castile while forming bonds of solidarity with other peripheral cultures. Both the *Irmandades da Fala* and the *Xeración Nós* transplanted non-Castilian literature as a reaction to Castile's overbearing presence.

From a theoretical point of view, this thesis proves that with respect to Galician translations of Irish literature in the 1920s and 1930s, the concepts of domesticating and foreignising, as defined by Schleiermacher and then modified by Venuti, are implemented in varying degrees by translators. Neither strategy is dominant. In fact, as Venuti admits and as we have observed in the Galician context, all translated texts are necessarily both domesticated and foreignised. Where it was possible, Galician translators attempted to provide fluent translations. However, as I have shown, the more literal strategy was due to the translators' dependence on the source text. Effectively, the Galician translators were not always capable of translating accurately from English into Galician. Although this lack of fluency could be considered a serious obstacle for most translators, Otero Pedrayo and Risco were not deterred by their questionable linguistic comprehension. Instead it reveals their determination to bring internationally-acclaimed literature to Galicia, to (re)construct their language, and to promote it as the primary medium amongst an elite audience.

The translator's presence also varied from text to text. In most cases, the translator identified himself, but he offered few or no details about the sources that he used. Paratextual details, such as introductory essays and footnotes, served as additional evidence of the translator's "visibility". They explained the cultural and literary background of the text, providing the audience with the necessary tools to understand the

context. These extra-literary materials also revealed the Galician need to identify and make explicit their similarities with the Irish – their history, their culture, their nationalist goals – especially when translations were not fluent.

Through the textual analyses, I have demonstrated that the quality of the translations varied. Omissions, due to misunderstandings and/or ideological conflicts, and mistranslations were common. The lack of a Galician-English dictionary and the questionable quality of some Spanish-English ones undoubtedly also attributed to these errors. In addition, inconsistencies appeared, especially in the lexicon and orthography. This reflects the lack of language standards in the early stages of developing the Galician language. Whereas translations of Yeats's works were quite good and even recreated some of the stylistic features, translations of *Leabhar Gabhála* and the fragments of *Ulysses* were poor. Above all, this difference in quality correlates to the use of additional sources, such as French translations in the case of Yeats's poetry and short stories.

With respect to translation in minority cultures, or third-world countries, critics claim that colonised cultures break away from imposed standards and demands by devouring their colonisers. Via this action, the colonised simultaneously violate the colonisers' codes and pay them homage.[2] In the case of Galicia, however, they broke away, not by translating works from Castilian into Galician, but by translating from other colonised cultures. In fact, as we have seen, they intentionally avoided Castilian sources, either original or mediating. Nevertheless, by translating works like Yeats's and Joyce's,

[2] Bassnett and Trivedi, "Introduction: Of Colonies, Cannibals and Vernaculars ", pp. 4-5.

they nourished and reinvigorated their literature. This act then is an example of what Brazilian translator Haroldo de Campos calls a blood transfusion.[3]

In appropriating Yeats's poetry, short stories, and play, *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, Risco and Villar Ponte imported a writer whose early use of nationalist themes encapsulated their domestic objectives. Through the domestication of Yeats's works, occasionally with the assistance of French mediating sources, the translators reinforced, and even exaggerated, the cultural, social, and political affinities between the Irish and the Galicians. In this manner, the *Xeración Nós* continued to advocate their Atlantic and Celtic identity over the Mediterranean and Castilian one.

Otero Pedrayo's decision to translate "Ithaca" and "Cyclops" suggests how he, along with the rest of the *Xeración Nós*, wanted to distinguish himself not only in Spain, but also in the European continent. Choosing the same fragments as Larbaud would have been an easier option. Otero Pedrayo could have relied more heavily on the French translation as a mediating text and perhaps translated more accurately. Instead, he decided to assume the more difficult task: to translate from the famous English source.

We also can say the same of the translation of *Leabhar Gabhála*. In the case of this myth, the *Xeración Nós* selected it because it corroborates Vicetto's and Murguía's histories, Pondal's romantic poetry and the *Xeración Nós*'s essays, advances the notion that Galicia is a nation with Celtic origins, and provides Galicia with a literary work attributed to bards and of ancient times. For these reasons, the translation of *Leabhar Gabhála* satisfied the nationalist objectives of the *Xeración Nós*. As a result, the

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[3] See Else Ribeiro Pires Vieira, "Liberating Calibans: Readings of *Antropofagia* and Haroldo de Campos' Poetics of Transcreation", in *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 95-113.

combination of domesticating and foreignising strategies, to a certain extent, challenged the Galician language, pushing and pulling it in different directions. Moreover, it showed that literature could be shaped in all forms; standards could be created, ignored, broken, mended, and revised.

In examining the texts of Macalister and MacNeill, Yeats, and Joyce, we have observed that translations participate in the act of Bhabha's "writing the nation". Through printed language, the Galician intelligentsia defined and (re)constructed their cultural identity. Whether or not they accurately conveyed the Irish author's or text's sense was not the principal issue; it was more significant that the works of these "prestixosas persoalidades estranxeiras"[4] were translated – or better yet, as Otero Pedrayo said, put – into Galician. They confirmed that Galician was more than a language spoken by a rural community. As a consequence, they legitimated Galician as a literary language, (re)affirming its potential and prestige and laying the foundations for future endeavours.

Unfortunately, both the Spanish Civil War and Franco's rise to power affected not only the translations of Irish literature into Galician, but also original literary endeavours of the *Xeración Nós* and their successors. As a result, individuals' intentions, particularly in the case of Villar Ponte, to popularise the nationalist cause through literature were abruptly halted. Nevertheless, these early twentieth-century translations had left their mark on Galician writers who borrowed characters and themes from the foundational myth *Leabhar Gabhála*, heeded Yeats's advice to write about the folk, and experimented with Joyce's techniques in order to create a national(ist) literature. Interest in and admiration for Irish writers continued well after both *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra* ceased

[4] "Primeiras verbas", p. 2.

publishing. While occasional translations did appear, as exemplified by Castro's versions of poetry by Yeats, AE (Russell), and Padraic Colum in *Poesia inglesa e francesa vertida ao galego*, the republication of Yeats's translated short stories and plays in *La Noche* and *Grial*, and new translations of works by Lady Greogory and Synge, these works continued to influence primarily the Galician elite.

We therefore might see translations in a post-colonial context as more deserving of in-depth studies, particularly during periods of a cultural and linguistic renaissance. What intellectuals include and exclude from their literary repertoire offers an insight as to what they saw missing from their canons, what they esteemed, and how they remedied their situations. In addition they indicate on which foundations minority cultures intended to build themselves. More importantly, perhaps, the selected translations suggest how these cultures envisioned themselves as well as their past, present, and future.

In conclusion, translation in Galicia(n) from Irish texts, among others, arose out of "filial borrowing". This borrowing via translation allowed Galicia to learn from another country with national longing, experiencing similar dilemmas. For the Galician intellectuals, translation was not an activity of subverting Ireland or Irish culture, as recent translation theorists may suggest; rather, it was an act of emulating Irish culture. Furthermore, for the Galician intellectuals, the Irish texts possessed features in which the Galicians were able to see their own reflections. They brought back the Irish texts not to abuse them, but to show off the Irish, their supposed Celtic brothers, and to model their own national movement on the Irish one. Translation, whether it is domesticating or

foreignising, therefore reunited the alleged Celtic family of Galicians and Irish, extending the boundaries of the imagined community and (re)writing the nation.

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