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**Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin,
Agents of the Catalan Polysystem.
Unmediated Translations from Russian
in the 1930s: A Critical Overview.**

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**Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

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Abstract

This thesis addresses the contribution of Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin to the Catalan literary system between 1928 and 1937 via the introduction of unmediated translations from Russian into Catalan. This contribution has been studied by comparing it to previous translation activity from Russian into Catalan, to translations in literary systems that due to prestige and geographical proximity can be considered neighbouring systems to the Catalan system (the French, the British and the Spanish), and by reviewing some of the critical reception that these publications gathered in the Catalan press of the time. Selected terminology and theoretical concepts of Polysystem Theory (PST) have been used critically in the methodological framing. This study occupies the gap of knowledge in current scholarship around the work of Payarols, whilst also building on previous and contemporaneous research on Nin.

The evolution of translation from Russian into Catalan is contextualised from its introduction in 1879 until the establishment of Edicions Proa in 1928, the platform from which Payarols and Nin published the majority of the texts studied. The role of the translators as agents of the system is particularly highlighted, given both the influence of their translations in creating examples of models of prose that autochthonous novelists could use, and the power of their textual choices outside of the primary authors (Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Chekhov). Joan Puig i Ferrer's agency is also explored, as the figure behind Proa's success and one of the main promoters of the reintroduction of novels into the literary repertoire in Catalan from the late 1920s.

This research studies the unmediated Catalan translations of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Chekhov, and a selection of nineteenth and twentieth century authors carried out by Payarols and Nin, and reviews some of the impact that these had upon Catalan writers such as Mercè Rodoreda, Sebastià Juan Arbó and Joan Sales. Overall, these translations largely exceeded the previous available items of Russian literature in Catalan, and in cases such as Dostoevsky and Chekhov, they established a textual presence to go with their already existing literary fame.

This process establishes that power dynamics were in operation between these translators, and that Nin had higher esteem from the literary milieu, which in turn affected the prestige of the texts he was commissioned to translate. I then contribute to the debate on the mythologisation of Nin's work by suggesting a revision of his texts, supported by a comparison with the recently revised versions of some of Payarols translations.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Noemi Llamas Gomez

INTRODUCTION

Much has been said about translation in the context of Catalan literature of the 1930s over the last thirty years,¹ and with good reason. The catalogues of the major publishing houses that had emerged in the previous decade were mostly filled with translated items, alongside the occasional Catalan novel.² The introduction of models of prose into Catalan literature via translation contributed to the development of autochthonous Catalan novels, a genre that had fallen out of favour during the preceding *Noucentista* period.³ In this context, Russian literature was a constant feature in those catalogues as longer, more substantial texts by some of their great authors, such as Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Chekhov among others, were made available to the broader public.

At the time, Catalan culture had the rare privilege of having not one but two translators who could work from Russian without using mediating sources: Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin. Whilst there is plenty of scholarship on the latter, most of the early research focused on his political activities rather than on his literary and journalistic endeavours.⁴ Recent research by Judit Figuerola has tackled that gap and comprehensively addressed Nin's translating production in all its facets.⁵ The same cannot be said for Francesc Payarols, as his work remains largely understudied.⁶ Whilst

¹ A plethora of scholars have contributed to this subject area, including, but not limited to, Joaquim Molas, Jordi Castellanos, Alan Yates, Maria Campillo, Josep Maria Balaguer, Neus Real i Mercadal, among many others.

² Jordi Chumillas i Coromina, 'L'edició de traduccions literàries al català durant la primera dictadura del s. XX', *Anuari Verdguer*, 17 (2009), p. 202.

³ Alan Yates, *Una generació sense novel·la? La novel·la catalana entre 1900-1925*. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1975), pp. 119-43; Jordi Castellanos, 'Literatura catalana i compromís social en els anys trenta', *Els Marges*, 69 (2002), p. 10.

⁴ Francesc Bonamusa, *Andreu Nin y el movimiento comunista en España (1930-1937)*. (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1977); Víctor Alba, *Andreu Nin i el socialisme*. (Barcelona: Edicions Universitat de Barcelona, 1998); Wilebaldo Solano, *El POUM en la historia: Andreu Nin y la revolución española*. (Madrid: Libros de la Catarata, 2000); Pelai Pagès, *Andreu Nin: una vida al servei de la classe obrera*. (Barcelona: Editorial Laertes, 2009). For a more comprehensive bibliography on the subject, please see Figuerola, 2016.

⁵ Judit Figuerola, 'El català de l'URSS: Andreu Nin, revolucionari i traductor', (PhD Thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2016).

⁶ I am aware of only three scholarly articles that have studied Payarols, with their focus on his biographical circumstances. Additionally, Joan Puig i Ferrer also wrote an article detailing the circumstances that brought Payarols' to his attention in 1928 for *La Publicitat*. Joan Puig i Ferrer, 'Francesc Payarols, traductor del rus', *La Publicitat*, 10/05/1929; Albert Manent, 'Francesc Payarols, primer traductor del rus al català', *Serra d'Or*, 391-392 (1992). Pilar Estelrich, 'Francesc Payarols,

attempts have been made at analysing some of Nin's key translations,⁷ the combined contribution of both translators to Catalan literature in context with their translations from Russian has yet to be reviewed. Addressing this gap of knowledge is one of the main motivating factors in the production of this text.

This research has been guided by the question 'what did Payarols and Nin contribute in the introduction of unmediated translations from Russian literature into the Catalan literary system between 1928 and 1937?'. This has required an appraisal of both their translations and the context in which they were produced. From a theoretical perspective, I have used polysystem theory (PST),⁸ a theory with a strong focus on translation and translated literature, in order to study the relationship between the translators and their texts, the hierarchy between them as agents of the Catalan polysystem and how their position within the milieu influenced the reception of their translations. More broadly, their contribution to the development of the Catalan novel with the provision of models of narrative through translation will also be studied using the PST concepts of repertoire and the institution.

In terms of methodology, on which I will dwell further later in this introductory chapter, this thesis studies the translations of Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin, with a specific emphasis on the authors that they both translated (Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Chekhov), in the period between 1928 and 1937. Both authors also worked with texts published in other languages, but here I focus exclusively on their translations from Russian. The contextualisation of these translations takes into account both the diachronic and the synchronic axis of their location within the system: I review how these authors were received in neighbouring systems, namely the French, British, and Spanish systems, and how these authors were previously translated into Catalan in the period between 1879 and 1928. I then explore how Payarols' and Nin's translations

traductor', *Quaderns. Revista de traducció*, 1 (1998); Pilar Estelrich, 'Francesc Payarols i Casas: Història d'un llarg camí', *Llengua i Literatura*, 10 (1999). Albert Manent's article has been accessed through his 1997 book. Albert Manent, *Del noucentisme a l'exili: sobre la cultura catalana del nou-cents*. (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1997).

⁷ Natàlia Kharitònova, 'Andreu Nin, traductor del rus. Algunes qüestions', *Els Marges*, 74 (2004).

⁸ Itamar Even-Zohar, 'Polysystem Theory', *Poetics Today*, 1 (1979); Itamar Even-Zohar, 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem', *Poetics Today*, 11 (1990); Jose Lambert, 'Translation, Systems and Research: The Contribution of Polysystem Studies to Translation Studies', *TTR: Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction*, 8 (1995).

were received in the press, and briefly explain the main linguistic and stylistic traits of their texts. Finally, I relate the main narrative characteristics of these Russian writers to some up and coming Catalan authors who used the models of prose offered by these texts as inspiration to compose their own novels.

The study of Payarols' and Nin's translations from Russian within the framework in which they were produced brings to the fore an issue previously raised by Natàlia Kharitònova, Xènia Dyakonova, Helena Vidal, and Judit Figuerola,⁹ which is the mythologisation of Nin's figure, and by extension, his work, some of which is currently being reprinted without revisions or a retranslation. In this thesis, I outline this issue in the context of the study of the power dynamics in operation between both intellectuals, and present a contribution to the debate of whether retranslations are a generational requirement, or are just a matter of sociolinguistic preference, by using the retranslations of Payarols' texts as an example.

This introductory chapter is divided into four sections. In Section 1, I engage with current research on Payarols and Nin; I then outline the research question that has guided this study, and the main aims that it hopes to achieve, in Section 2. In Section 3, I describe the methodological approach to this study, and critically review PST terminology that will be used throughout the thesis; and finally, an overall structure of this thesis is provided in Section 4, with a detailed overview of every chapter and every author studied.

1. Preliminary Considerations

The originality of this thesis lies in the comparative study of the translations from Russian into Catalan by Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin and the context in which they were produced. This niche becomes more apparent following a review of the items of scholarship available, which often explore the work of a translator individually, but

⁹ Kharitònova, pp. 68-69; Xènia Dyakonova, "Traduir Rússia" (2014) <<https://www.nuvol.com/noticies/la-relacio-entre-la-literatura-russa-i-la-catalana/>> [accessed 12 December 2017]; Figuerola, pp. 473-4, 79.

offer limited information on the other intellectual, in the few cases he is mentioned.¹⁰ As stated above, the availability of scholarly resources focused on the figure of Francesc Payarols is very limited, and it has been practically non-existent in the twenty-first century.¹¹ The same cannot be said for Andreu Nin, as his political persona has drawn plenty of scholarly attention from the 1970s onwards, and as the circumstances of his disappearance and assassination have been documented.¹² Beyond his political endeavours, his intellectual activities have been traditionally neglected and set as secondary by his biographers and other historiographers. The following section provides an overview of the current state of the scholarship on the work of both translators, which then reveals the gap of knowledge this thesis addresses.

The most recent and significant item of scholarship that deals with Nin's intellectual work is Judit Figuerola's 2016 thesis *"El català de l'URSS". Andreu Nin, revolucionari i traductor*. This thesis follows up on a book section about Nin in *Less Translated Languages*,¹³ and it is the product of a decade's work on Andreu Nin's extra-political activities. The main hypothesis is that, contrary to popular assumptions and previous scholarship, Nin was not a politician with cultural inclinations, but rather an intellectual with strong political beliefs,¹⁴ an argument with which I completely agree.. Figuerola argues that Nin's return to Barcelona in 1930 was a calculated risk to embark on an intellectual career, whilst at the same time escaping the political repression he was under given his open criticism of the Stalinist regime, and that his work as a translator was not an accident, nor an outcome of the circumstances. She assesses Nin's biographical evolution from the late 1920s extensively, from his first political translations into Spanish, all the way to the Russian classics rendered for Edicions Proa, and traces his personal correspondence with other members of the political and literary milieus to offer a detailed image of the multifaceted man. Consequently, her

¹⁰ This is predominantly the case in scholarship about Andreu Nin. All items of research on Francesc Payarols include a mention to Nin.

¹¹ All three articles of modern scholarship were published in the 1990s.

¹² Figuerola suggests that the interest on Nin's figure has been highlighted by the political climate in Spain in the first decade of the 21st century, with the *Ley de la Memória Histórica* one of the key developments in this search for answers and closure of Civil War wounds. Figuerola, pp. 2-5.

¹³ Judit Figuerola, 'Andreu Nin: Exponent of an Unyielding Intellectual Yearning', in *Less Translated Languages*, ed. by Albert Branchadell and Lovell Margaret West (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2005), pp. 315-27.

¹⁴ Figuerola, *El català de l'URSS: Nin*, pp. 5-8.

work and mine are significantly similar in the contextualisation of Nin's literary translations from Russian into Catalan for Proa.

Whilst our research overlaps in those areas, it also drastically diverges in certain others. The focus on Francesc Payarols is perhaps the most noticeable. Figuerola offers a biographical snapshot of his role for Proa alongside Nin which is heavily reliant on Manent and Estelrich,¹⁵ but his presence elsewhere is obviously limited. The contextualisation and analysis of Payarols' translations is a constituent part of the body of my thesis, much like the study of Nin's translations into Spanish, or from languages other than Russian, or any other of his intellectual endeavours outside of the Russian into Catalan literary translations is an essential part of hers.

Secondly, her research is driven by the contextualisation of Nin's work, but not much is offered in the shape of a review of some of his translations. Figuerola focuses fairly comprehensively on the critical approach to the original texts, and how they were received by the target system, but offers very little in regards to the actual text of the translation,¹⁶ which arguably has been partially addressed by Kharitònova in her study of Nin's three major translations.¹⁷ In this research I have attempted to analyse both the text of the translation, with the review of some key formal aspects, and the environment in which it was produced, with specific emphasis on the reception of the work by the critical press of the time. Finally, whilst Figuerola presents a critical perspective on the mythologisation of Nin's figure and his texts, as well as an argument against the need for retranslations,¹⁸ I explore the implications of the fossilisation of his texts, and compare the current situation of his less acclaimed, unrevised translations to the revised versions of some of Payarols' texts. Exploring these issues, and the difference in the treatment of either translator's work, is one of the aims of this thesis which I will explain in further detail in the following section.

¹⁵ Ibid. pp. 209-11; Manent, *Del noucentisme a l'exili*, pp. 114-15; Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, pp. 54-55.

¹⁶ For example, there is only one page on Chekhov, whilst the extensive illustration of the reception of *Anna Karènina* and *Crim i càstig* does not include any criticism on the text of the translation. Figuerola, *El català de l'URSS: Nin*, pp. 356-95.

¹⁷ Kharitònova, pp. 54-68.

¹⁸ Figuerola, *El català de l'URSS: Nin*, pp. 473-79.

Whilst literature on Nin is abundant and broad in spectrum, the study of Francesc Payarols' work remains an unexplored field. The first reference to his presence in the literary milieu is an introductory article published in newspaper *La Publicitat* by Joan Puig i Ferrer, ¹⁹ his editor at Edicions Proa, and a key player in promoting translation from Russian into Catalan, as I will comprehensively address later. This article, however, is as much a presentation of Proa's newest collaborator, as it is a declaration of intentions by Puig i Ferrer, as well as an excuse to introduce the prized arrangement with Andreu Nin to translate a vast array of works, which reflects the power dynamics in operation between both translators from an early stage. Introducing Payarols appears almost as an excuse to promote Proa's future endeavours in the publication of Russian novels into Catalan, as it reveals minimal information on the translator himself. However, this article is useful as it provides information on the accidental nature of Payarols' appointment, and the reasoning behind the choice to translate *Pares i fills* by Turgenev.

No further scholarship attention was paid to Francesc Payarols until 1992, when Albert Manent published an article in *Serra d'Or* later included in his book *Del noucentisme a l'exili: sobre la cultura catalana del nou-cents* in 1997. 'Francesc Payarols, primer traductor del rus al català' is Manent's account of how he found Payarols, whom he presumed dead in exile, and the stories the translator had to share about working for Proa and the cultural zeitgeist of the 1930s. ²⁰ Payarols also explained that the members of the literary milieu did not believe in his existence, among them personalities such as Josep Pla, and thought him a pen name, ²¹ much like Biblioteca Univers' Olga Savarin. ²²

Several years later, Pilar Estelrich published two extensively researched complementary articles on Payarols. Like Manent, she had the benefit of the first-hand account as she had interviewed the translator, and the first article included a short

¹⁹ Puig i Ferrer, p. 6.

²⁰ Manent, *Del noucentisme a l'exili*, p. 113.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 114.

²² Olga Savarin was a fictional pen name used by Biblioteca Univers and its director, Carles Soldevila, in the publication of Russian novellas to give the impression that these were not mediated translations. Ramon Pinyol, 'Les traduccions de literatura russa a Catalunya fins a la guerra civil. Esbós d'una biografia', in *Traducció i literatura: homenatge a Angel Crespo*, ed. by Angel Crespo, Soledad González Ródenas, and Francisco Lafarga (Vic: Eumo Editorial, 1997), pp. 245-64, (p. 250); Manent, *Del noucentisme a l'exili*, p. 114.

message from Payarols himself, thanking the publication for the opportunity and summarising his achievements:

Amics! Certament m'ho poseu difícil! Car què puc dir-vos, fora donar-vos les gràcies més sinceres per aquest acte d'amistat de què em feu objecte. [...] He viscut un segle, i presento que, obeint la llei natural, em resta poc temps de vida. Vinc del no-res i torno al no-res, i la idea de la mort no em preocupa. Potser algun dia, de la terra on reposin les meves cendres, hi brotarà aquella flor de què parla Beethoven en la seva bellíssima cançó *Adelaida*. Qui ho sap! [...] ²³

These two texts review Payarols' biography and provide essential background information to understand the context in which his work was produced. They address his time at Proa as a key area of focus, but also render, in great detail, the story of his life during the dictatorship, in which he worked as a teacher.²⁴ They offer a descriptive view of Payarols' relationship with the rest of the milieu, particularly with Puig i Ferrer and Nin, and reveal his awareness of the secondary position of his work when compared to the latter.²⁵ Whilst Estelrich's arguments are reliant on Payarols' subjective view, these texts are the most informative resource on his life and work we have to date.

With regard to Andreu Nin, before Figuerola's thesis, most scholarly resources on him and his work were primarily focused on his political career. Biographical accounts by Pelai Pagès, Wilebaldo Solano, Victor Alba, Josep Pla, Ernest Benito, and many others²⁶ traced his evolution from journalist to school teacher, from syndicalist to party co-founder; a man both renowned and notorious at home for his Left Marxist ideas, and famous abroad for his political collaborations. Pelai Pagès' biography *Andreu Nin: Una vida al servei de la classe obrera* is perhaps one of the most complete and up to date; published in 2009, it is a full revision of his doctoral thesis originally defended in 1972, and built on thorough archival research.²⁷ As a historian, Pagès' focus is on the context

²³ Estelrich, *Payarols, traductor*, p. 151.

²⁴ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, pp. 59-65.

²⁵ Estelrich, *Payarols, traductor*, pp. 142-43.

²⁶ For additional references, please see Figuerola, pp. 2-5.

²⁷ Pagès, pp. 9-13.

in which Nin developed his political and syndical activities, and a description of his ideological and pedagogical positions, rather than his intellectual ventures. In fact, in an otherwise strongly researched and well-balanced 350-page study, Nin's translation work only occupies the final five pages. Pagès also insists on arguing that these cultural 'extras' were solely a way for Nin to secure a livelihood, and were secondary to his political activities:

Per bé que aquesta activitat literària va representar per a Nin el seu *modus vivendi* durant els anys de la República, no per això té menys significació.²⁸

The scholarly interest in Nin, however, comes from much earlier in the century, after the complex circumstances of his disappearance and the socio-political silence that it brought, studies on his life and political activities began to emerge in the 1970s. Wilebaldo Solano, an old POUM comrade of Nin's with first-hand knowledge of the circumstances the party dealt with during the Spanish Civil War, wrote one of the first essays, *Vida, obra y muerte de Andrés Nin: ensayo biográfico*, in 1977. Solano was mainly a self-published essayist whose texts were commissioned by the POUM first, and the Fundació Andreu Nin later with the aim to recover part of the historical memory around his figure and the party's. He then published *El POUM en la historia: Andreu Nin y la revolución española* in 1999. Whilst most of its content is a history of the POUM, one of its sections focuses on the translator, as it discusses the role of Nin during the war, and hypothesises the circumstances of his disappearance and death.²⁹ Solano's text deals with similar content to the documentary commissioned and produced by Televisió de Catalunya and directed by Dolors Genovès in 1992, *Operació Nikolai*, which details the years that Nin lived in Moscow and his return to Barcelona, and investigates the last days of his life, as a record of his planned assassination is found in the classified archives of the KGB in Moscow.³⁰

Outside of the academic fields, Andreu Nin's life and work have also entered the cultural domain. I am referring to the work of Josep Pla, Anna Murià, and George Orwell

²⁸ Ibid. p. 347.

²⁹ Solano, pp. II.1-II.4.

³⁰ M. Dolors Genovès, 'Operació Nikolai: el segrest i assassinat d'Andreu Nin', ([Sant Joan Despí]: Televisió de Catalunya, 1992).

among many others,³¹ who incorporated aspects of the politician's life into some of their writings. Josep Pla included Nin in his biographical series *Homenots* in 1958. Pla characterises the figure of the politician through the framework of his visit to Moscow in 1926, in which Nin acted as their tour guide, and noticed his complete adaptation to the Russian way of life and historical circumstances.³² He also describes Nin's strong ideas, and the conversational issues that these raised, as well as an incident in which Nin took one of Pla's possessions, a book by Herzen, and burnt it because of its political content.³³ Pla's account is anecdotal, but it does include a mention of Nin's literary achievements in the closing paragraph by situating him in the context of the translating activity into Catalan and giving him credit for his work:

No tinc pas autoritat per a jutjar [les traduccions de Tolstoi i Dostoievski] personalment. Només puc dir, per persones que en aquest punt poder dir alguna cosa, que aquestes traduccions són les millors que d'aquests autors s'han produït en un idioma d'arrel no eslava – en aquest cas en un idioma llatí.³⁴

Similarly, Anna Murià and George Orwell also used the figure of Andreu Nin in their writings, for fictional and non-fictional accounts, but they focused mainly on the circumstances of his disappearance and death, without any reference to his translating work. In this sense, whilst Murià established in her prologue that her novel *Aquest serà el principi*

és autobiogràfica. [...] Com a exemple revelaré tan sols un cas, precisament el d'un home que no vaig conèixer personalment: Andreu Nin, que jo anomeno Haima. [...] No havent-lo conegut, no podia fer-ne el retrat. En vaig fer, doncs, una llegenda.³⁵

³¹ Due to space limitations, I have chosen only examples from these three authors. Nin's presence in literary culture has also been dealt by Ken Loach and Juan Carlos Arce. Ken Loach, 'Land and freedom', (London: Parallax Pictures / Messidor Films, 1995); Juan Carlos Arce, *La noche desnuda*. (Barcelona: Ediciones B, 2008).

³² Josep Pla and Toni Sala, *Dotze homenots*. (Barcelona: Labutxaca, 2013), p. 206.

³³ *Ibid.* pp. 238-40.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 242.

³⁵ Anna Murià, *Aquest serà el principi*. (Barcelona: La Sal: Ed. de les dones, 1986), pp. 11-2.

Orwell describes the atmosphere in Barcelona that followed the illegalisation of the POUM in *Homage to Catalonia*:

We only vaguely knew that the P.O.U.M. leaders, and presumably all the rest of us, were accused of being in Fascist pay. And already the rumours were flying round that people were being secretly shot in jail. There was a lot of exaggeration about this, but it certainly happened in some cases, and there is not much doubt that it happened in the case of Nin. After his arrest Nin was transferred to Valencia and thence to Madrid, and as early as 21 June the rumour reached Barcelona that he had been shot. Later the rumour took a more definite shape: Nin had been shot in prison by the secret police and his body dumped into the street. This story came from several sources, including Federico Montsenys, an ex-member of the Government. From that day to this Nin has never been heard of alive again.³⁶

Finally, as a way to bookend this literature review with the second most relevant text for the purpose of this research, we have Natàlia Kharitònova's article *Andreu Nin, traductor del rus. Algunes qüestions* from 2004. Hers is the only study to have addressed Nin's translations from a stylistic point of view, and to have reviewed the text of the translations in detail. Kharitònova selects Nin's best known translations, *Anna Karèнина* by Tolstoy, *Crim i càstig* by Dostoevsky, and *El Volga desemboca al mar Caspí* by Boris Pilnyak, and compares his versions in Catalan to the Russian originals, in an attempt to reveal his translation techniques and strategies, and his approach to replicating each author's style.³⁷ Her argument is that, whilst Nin was a recognised member of the cultural and literary milieu, and his translation work was instantly acclaimed, his self-taught strategies fail at times to capture the style he was intending to translate.³⁸ Specific examples are given that reflect on the lack of adaptation of the characters' speech in Tolstoyan discourse, or the exercise of filling a Dostoevskian translation with informal and colloquial set expressions in order to replicate the author's famous

³⁶ George Orwell and Peter Davison, *Orwell in Spain: the full text of Homage to Catalonia, with associated articles, reviews and letters from the complete works of George Orwell*. (London [u.a.]: Penguin Books, 2001), p. 148.

³⁷ Kharitònova, p. 54.

³⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 68-69.

irregular style. Kharitònova also argues that *El Volga desemboca al mar Caspí* is one of Nin's best executed translations, despite the comparative lack of praise and attention that this work had in the press.³⁹ Kharitònova's article provides the perfect example of translation comparisons for the purpose of my research. Whilst the study of translations in this thesis might not reach the same depth as that in her study, the analysis of the texts is done in a similar fashion, highlighting areas in the writing that are of linguistic interest, as well as focusing on one specific extract of cultural substance.

This last piece of scholarly work concludes the review of the current state of the literature on the work of Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin as unmediated translators from Russian into Catalan. There are, of course, plenty of other sources on Nin's life and work, with most them focusing on either his political views,⁴⁰ his journalistic endeavours,⁴¹ or his disappearance and death.⁴² However, since neither of these pieces focuses on his translations, they have not been incorporated into this research.

What can be concluded from this review is that whilst Payarols' translating activities have not been directly studied, Nin's have been addressed in the work of Figuerola and Kharitònova, and occasionally mentioned by his biographers and other members of the cultural milieu. The work of these two scholars has opened avenues that I intend to explore. The proximity and similarity of some areas of this thesis to their research means that, on occasion, our work will overlap. The focus of our independent work is different, thus preserving the originality of all three approaches. This review has revealed that the work of Payarols and Nin has not been studied in conjunction, and the impact of their translations in the context of the Catalan literary system of the 1930s has yet to be addressed: this provides a gap of knowledge that this thesis will attempt to occupy. In the following section, I will delve further into the research

³⁹ Ibid. pp. 67-68.

⁴⁰ Ramón Breu, *La Catalunya soviètica: el somni que venia de Moscou*. (Badalona: Ara Llibres, 2011).

⁴¹ Ernest Benito and Andreu Nin, *El jove Andreu Nin: textos periodístics*. ([Calafell]: Llibres de Matrícula, 2007).

⁴² José María Zavala, *En busca de Andreu Nin: vida y muerte de un mito silenciado de la Guerra Civil*. (Barcelona: Debolsillo, 2006).

question that has guided this study, the delimitations of its focus, and the aims of this thesis.

2. Research Question and Aims

The previous section has provided the relevant scholarly context for a gap in knowledge to be identified. The research question that has guided this study addresses that gap as follows: What did Payarols and Nin contribute through the introduction of unmediated translations from Russian literature into the Catalan literary system between 1928 and 1937? Answering this question involves taking a closer look at earlier translations from Russian into Catalan, at how the authors studied were introduced in neighbouring literary systems, and at the reception of these translations within the Catalan milieu of the 1930s. What this question ultimately reveals about the work of Payarols and Nin is their role in the reintroduction of novels into the literary canon during the 1930s using translations from Russian literature as part of a wider cultural, literary, and political push to advance publication in the Catalan language.⁴³

Establishing the boundaries of a study is an important aspect of any scholarly text, but it is even more so in this case given the circumstances explained in the previous section, with other research contributions on a similar subject. This thesis studies the work of Payarols and Nin only, with a focus on the authors they both translated during the 1928-1937 period, and from Russian into Catalan. The extent of these delimitations is detailed as follows.

Firstly, I have studied the translation work of Payarols and Nin only. This excludes the contributions of any other translator of the time, even if they translated from Russian into Catalan without the use of a mediating source. Whilst there are brief references to those writers who produced mediated translations, such as Narcís Oller, Carles Capdevila, Joan Puig i Ferrer, Alfons Maseras, Rosend Llates, Sebastià Juan Arbó, and Agustí Bartra among many others, and even Robert J. Slaby,⁴⁴ the pioneer in unmediated translations from Russian, these have been studied as part of the broader

⁴³ Further information on this literary development of the Catalan system will be provided in the following chapter, pp. 45-63.

⁴⁴ More information on Slaby can be found in the following chapter, pp. 65-6.

historiographical contextualisation. Their presence in this thesis is to provide a point of comparison with the extensive translating work that Payarols and Nin undertook.

Then, the emphasis has been placed on the authors that they both translated, as that allows for a comparative study of both translators' texts, and the reception of their work within their cultural context. This means that the body of this thesis contains chapters on Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Chekhov, authors who received a very different reception in the Catalan literary system, whereas there is one chapter to amalgamate those other authors that only either Payarols or Nin translated, regardless of their status within the system. Chapter 5, however, still provides a comparative analysis of the textual choices of either translator outside of the main three writers, and the necessary contextualisation of the work of these other authors in Catalan before Payarols and Nin.⁴⁵

The chronological or diachronic delimitation of this study addresses work that was published between 1928 and 1937, the years in which these translators were active and translating into Catalan. This excludes Nin's posthumous work, *Infància, Adolescència, Joventut*, by Tolstoy, published in 1974,⁴⁶ but also Payarols' post-war translations, which are also excluded from this study because of the language pair, as most of his work was from German into Spanish. Finally, the language pair of these translations is Russian into Catalan. This excludes Nin's political work, which was mainly translated into Spanish, and his work on Jules Vallès' *L'insurgent*, translated from French and published in 1935. As stated above, this delimitation excludes all of Payarols' post-war production for Editorial Labor.

After the provision of the research question and the delimitations of the study, the aims of this thesis can be defined as follows:

- Firstly, the main aim is to explore the figure and work of Francesc Payarols, in conjunction with Andreu Nin, within the context of the 1930s, and highlight

⁴⁵ Except in Turgenev's case, the texts translated by Payarols and Nin were the first publication in Catalan for these authors. For more information, see Chapter 5.

⁴⁶ For more information on this translation, see Figuerola 2016, pp. 481-510.

their contribution to the Catalan literary system in the production of unmediated translations from Russian into Catalan.

- Secondly, to note their contribution to the literary system, particularly to the reintroduction of novels into the literary canon, by comparing their translation activity to other periods in Catalan literature, to other systems into which these Russian authors were translated, and studying the reception of their work. Additionally, I aim to study how the power dynamics between them as agents of the polysystem affected this reception.
- Then, I observe the link between which texts were translated and certain examples of autochthonous novel production in which literary interference can be perceived.
- Another key aim is to engage in the conversation about the existence of a mythologisation of Nin by establishing the negative effects of this status on the conservation of his texts, and present the benefits of translation revision, rather than a complete retranslation, as a sociolinguistic, cultural, and financially viable option through the practical example of the revisions of Payarols' translations.
- Finally, to use PST critically and challenge some of its concepts, as will be detailed in the next section. This critical methodological approach will attempt to follow on the scholarly trend proposed at the inception of polysystem studies which establishes that in order to understand and address the strengths and flaws of polysystem theory in the study of translated literature, this theory should be constantly tested with practical examples.⁴⁷

Following from this last point, I shall now move towards establishing a theoretical framework and methodology for this thesis. The next section addresses the key points

⁴⁷ Susan Bassnett, 'The Translation Turn in Cultural Studies', in *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*, ed. by André Lefevere and Susan Bassnett (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998), pp. 124-5).

of polysystem theory used in this thesis, a brief review of its conceptual terminology, and its challenging areas and limitations.

3. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Polysystem theory (PST) is one of the important methodological tools I have used to frame the writing of this thesis, and as such, it is worth revisiting some of its main concepts, particularly with regard to translation and its role in the literary system. It is, in fact, PST's focus on translated literature and target culture that made it the preferred choice for this study, among other reasons I will explain further in this section. Obviously, no theory is devoid of limitations, so as stated above, I will also be challenging some of these concepts from a theoretical perspective in this chapter, and in a more practical way throughout the rest of the thesis.

Polysystem theory was first postulated by Itamar Even-Zohar⁴⁸ in the 1970s after a decade of research carried out at Tel Aviv University in the field of literary translation into Hebrew.⁴⁹ Basing his interpretations of literary systems on the work of late Russian formalists such as Tynjanov and Eichenbaum,⁵⁰ his theories aimed at counterbalancing the existing tradition of a-historical and static approaches to the study of text relationships embodied by Saussurean structuralism,⁵¹ at a time when Translation Studies did not exist as a discipline.⁵² For over a decade, PST was the preferred approach to translation theory by the Leuven group, named after the 1976 Colloquium in which Translation Studies as a discipline was established. In the proceedings from this seminar, André Lefevere defined the goal of Translation Studies as 'to produce a comprehensive theory which can be used as a guideline for the

⁴⁸ Itamar Even-Zohar, 'Polysystem theory', *Polysystem Studies*, 11 (1990); Edwin Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*. (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001), p. 106.

⁴⁹ Gentzler, p. 106.

⁵⁰ Philippe Codde, 'Polysystem Theory Revisited: A New Comparative Introduction', *Poetics Today*, 24 (2003), p. 92; Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*. (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998), p. 125.

⁵¹ Even-Zohar, *Polysystem Theory*, p. 289; Mary Snell-Hornby, *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*. (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Pub., 1988), p. 14; J. C. Catford, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation: An Essay in Applied Linguistics*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 21.

⁵² 'The study of translation occupied a minor corner of applied linguistics, an even more minor corner of literary studies, and no position at all in [...] cultural studies.' Bassnett and Lefevere, p. 124.

production of translations'.⁵³ According to Susan Bassnett, these theories would be constantly tested against case-studies, making constant evolution one of the pillars of the new field.⁵⁴ In this initial statement, Lefevere included a few basic principles of PST, as he argued that 'a theory elaborated in this way might be of help in the formulation of literary and linguistic theory; just as [...] translations made according to the guidelines [...] in the theory might influence the development of the receiving culture'.⁵⁵

By the mid-nineties, further theorising of polysystem theory had come to a halt, and Theo Hermans and José Lambert argued that only practical uses of the theory would contribute to its development,⁵⁶ therefore practical case studies using polysystem approaches as a methodological tool began to appear.⁵⁷ However, the growing popularity of other approaches to Translation Studies de-centralised the position of PST, as the perception was that these newer approaches had superseded its validity.⁵⁸ Despite this view in the West, from the beginning of the twenty first century, PST has become central in Chinese Translation Studies, mainly through Nam Fung Chang rediscovering the practical use of PST for a methodological approach to the Chinese polysystem, and its translated literature.⁵⁹

Over the last fifteen years, some scholars have revisited and reframed the basic principles of PST, arguing that, despite its apparent 'loss of appeal' it is still a valid methodological device in the study of textual relations and the construction of cultures.⁶⁰ Their research uses PST in practice by applying it to their study of translated texts within a specific polysystem, the same approach that descriptive translation

⁵³ Bassnett, p. 124.

⁵⁴ Ibid. pp. 124-25.

⁵⁵ James S. Holmes, José Lambert, and Raymond van den Broeck, *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies*. (Leuven: Acco, 1978).

⁵⁶ Theo Hermans, 'Vertaalwetenschap in de Lage Landen', *Neerlandica extra muros*, 32 (1994); Lambert, p. 106.

⁵⁷ HP Van Collier and BJ Odendaal, 'Antjie Krog's role as a translator: A case study of strategic positioning in the current South African literary poly-system', *Current Writing*, 19 (2007); Nam Fung Chang, 'Repertoire Transfer and Resistance: The Westernization of Translation Studies in China', *The Translator*, 15 (2009); Josep Marco, 'Funció de les traduccions i models estilístics: el cas de la traducció al català al segle XX', *Quaderns. Revista de traducció*, 5 (2000).

⁵⁸ Codde, p. 91; Theo Hermans, *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systems-Oriented Approaches Explained*. (Manchester: St Jerome, 1999), p. 8.

⁵⁹ Chang, pp. 305-25.

⁶⁰ Codde, pp. 106-12; Nam Fung Chang, 'In Defence of Polysystem Theory', *Target*, 23 (2011).

studies scholars⁶¹ have advocated since the 1970s. Methodologically speaking, I have used some of PST's key concepts as a practical guiding tool in the study of the role played by a specific translated literature stratum (Russian translated literature) and the agents that made it possible (Payarols and Nin) on the repertoire of a specific literary system (the Catalan literary system).

After this historical introduction to the evolution of PST, I shall proceed to establish some of the basic principles of the theory. Originally, the basis for Even-Zohar's hypothesis is 'the idea that semiotic phenomena, i.e. sign-governed human patterns of communication (such as culture, language, literature, society) could more adequately be understood as a network of related elements that make up systems' rather than as a collection of unrelated data.⁶² The semiotic elements that conform the systems are arranged hierarchically, but moving away from Saussurean static structuredness, these elements are in constant friction with each other, and tend to occupy different positions within this hierarchy as time goes by. Even-Zohar uses several of Saussure's structural principles and incorporates the variable of time to move from 'the theory of static systems' to 'the theory of dynamic systems'.⁶³ Saussure's conception of the system is static or synchronic, that is, the hierarchical relations are considered permanent, as well as functional as all elements serve a function. Even-Zohar adapts this to the theory of dynamic systems, or dynamic functionalism, based on the work of Russian formalists and Czech Structuralists,⁶⁴ in particular the work of Yury Tynyanov and Boris Eikhenbaum, by adding the necessary key variable of time. For Even-Zohar, a-historicity only permits the study of this network of relations in a vacuum, or outside of context, which "can disturb scientific enquiry".⁶⁵

Consequently, a polysystem is defined as a 'multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently

⁶¹ This appears to be a reasonable umbrella term for systems approach scholars according to Hermans, similarly to Manipulation School, after the first programmatic publication in 1985, *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*. Hermans, *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systems-Oriented Approaches Explained*, p. 9.

⁶² Even-Zohar, *Polysystem theory*, p. 9.

⁶³ *Ibid.* p. 10.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 11.

⁶⁵ Even-Zohar, *Polysystem Theory*, p. 289.

different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent'.⁶⁶ These polysystems work on both the synchronic and diachronic axis, that is, they can be studied as they appear, but they should be understood as subject to change, as they evolve with time. Therefore, an element in the polysystem that has a particularly privileged position in the hierarchy of elements may not maintain that position after a certain period of time, and viceversa. In the context of literary studies, a polysystem can be associated with the network of relationships developed around a language, or a geographical area, for example.⁶⁷ As such, throughout this thesis I will refer to the Catalan polysystem as the system based around literature written in Catalan and mainly published in Catalonia; the concept of polysystem here includes, but is not limited to, Catalan literature, society, culture, politics, history, etc. These systems that make up the Catalan polysystem are polysystems in themselves: that is, they are composed by an infinite number of connections and relations. Therefore, for ease of identification, both 'system' and 'polysystem' will be used indistinctly throughout this thesis when referring to a particular language-based polysystem; both terms, in any case, are associated with PST and not with the 'vernacular' use of the term 'system'.

The network of relations in a polysystem are organised in a hierarchical way that is subject to change on the diachronic axis, that is, over time. The strata of the polysystem are in continuous friction, which results in constant changes of position. Even-Zohar defines these changes as 'the victory of one stratum over another'.⁶⁸ In this network of relations then we can talk about centre and periphery: semiotic elements near the centre actively participate in the shaping of the culture, whereas elements on the periphery have lesser or no impact on this process. Given the structure of the polysystems, however, there can be more than one centre and one periphery: what is on the periphery of one system, for example, the French polysystem, can be in the centre of another system – for example, the Spanish polysystem, and viceversa, with relative ease.⁶⁹ The concept of centre versus periphery will be a useful tool in the analysis of the position of certain elements within the Catalan literary system. The

⁶⁶ Even-Zohar, *Polysystem theory*, p. 11.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 12.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 14.

⁶⁹ Even-Zohar, *The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem*, p. 48.

openness and heterogeneity of the systems will require an overview of the semiotic elements in neighbouring polysystems (the translations from Russian literature covered in this thesis) in order to provide a framework for the understanding of the workings of this translated Russian literature stratum in the Catalan literary system. In a practical sense, when studying, for example, the impact of Tolstoy's literature in the Catalan context, it is imperative that his impact on neighbouring polysystems is analysed as well. This includes mainly the examination of the position of his work in the French, British, and Spanish literary systems in synchrony for comparative purposes.

In polysystem theory, a literary system is defined as '[t]he network of relations that is hypothesized to obtain between a number of activities called "literary," and consequently these activities themselves observed via that network; [o]r [t]he complex of activities, or any section thereof, for which systemic relations can be hypothesized to support the option of considering them "literary".⁷⁰ Gentzler adds that the polysystem is 'the aggregate of literary systems (including everything from 'high' or 'canonized' forms [...] to 'low' or 'non-canonized' forms)' in a culture.⁷¹ Even-Zohar references the work of Eikhenbaum in the definition of literary systems, in that "literature" [...] is no longer 'texts' [...] nor vaguely 'texts whose production is constrained by norms governing the dominant literary activity', but the totality, or rather the network, of these activities',⁷² namely the sets of rules, norms, literary activities, publications, personalities, etc. that contribute to determining how the texts are written in the first place.

In his construction of the principles of polysystem theory and the definition of the literary system, Even-Zohar borrows Roman Jakobson's scheme of communication and language⁷³ in order to identify and describe the elements that make up this system. The rationale behind this is that both postulate similar ideas: that language/semiotic phenomena cannot be studied from a perspective of 'pure theory' or be separated from

⁷⁰ Itamar Even-Zohar, 'The Literary System', *Poetics Today*, 11 (1990), p. 28.

⁷¹ Gentzler, p. 106.

⁷² Even-Zohar, *The Literary System*, p. 29.

⁷³ Roman Jakobson, 'Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics', in *Style in language*, ed. by Thomas A. Sebeok ([Cambridge: Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1960]; Even-Zohar, *The Literary System*, p. 31.

external factors, such as background and historical context, as literature, culture, and language do not function in a vacuum.⁷⁴

Even-Zohar renames Jakobson's 'context' as 'institution', and 'code' as 'repertoire' – these are concepts I have borrowed in this research to explain the importance of the publication of translations to promote the reacceptance of novels into the literary canon and repertoire, for example. In PST, the institution “consists of the aggregate of factors involved with the maintenance of literature as a socio-cultural activity. It is the institution which governs the norms prevailing in this activity, sanctioning some and rejecting others. [...] As part of the official culture, it also determines who, which products, will be remembered by a community for a longer period of time.”⁷⁵ The institution is made up and controlled by the agents of the polysystem, figures with influential power to establish and modify the rules, as per Even-Zohar's definition:

[T]he institution includes at least part of the producers, “critics” (in whatever form), publishing houses, periodicals, clubs, groups of writers, government bodies [...], educational institutions [...], the mass media in all its facets, and more. Naturally this enormous variety does not produce a homogeneous body capable [...] of acting in harmony and necessarily succeeding in enforcing its preferences. Inside the institution there are struggles over domination with one or another group succeeding at one time or another at occupying the centre of the institution, thus becoming *the* establishment. [...]

Thus, the literary institution is not unified. And it certainly is no building on a certain street, although its agents may be detected in buildings, streets, cafes. [...] But any decision taken, at whatever level, by any agent of the system, depends on the legitimations and restrictions made by particular sections of the institution.⁷⁶

The hierarchical position of these agents is also bound to diachronic changes; for example, key *Noucentista* agents Eugeni d'Ors and Josep Carner were less influential

⁷⁴ Even-Zohar, *The Literary System*, p. 32.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p. 37.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 37-8.

after *Noucentisme* lost the political stability and support, and other agents, such as editors Joan Puig i Ferrer and Carles Soldevila, improved their previous status with the rise of the novel by the end of the 1920s.⁷⁷ Additionally, some agents are more influential than others: their work in determining what was accepted and considered ‘official culture’ and what was left out establishes their power role and agency within the polysystem. It is noticeable, given the relationship between polysystem theory and the field of Translation Studies, that in Even-Zohar’s exhaustive list of members of the literary system who may act as agents, translators have not been explicitly mentioned, although they can certainly be considered under the broader umbrella of ‘producers’. In this thesis, I provide arguments to sustain their inclusion as both producers, and of course agents.

In regards to repertoire, it is defined as ‘the aggregate of rules and materials which govern both the making and use of any given product. [...] [It] is the aggregate set of rules and items with which a specific text is produced, and understood’.⁷⁸ It can more plainly refer to the shared knowledge necessary ‘for producing and understanding a text’.⁷⁹ The repertoire has its own structure, from individual texts to models of literary production,⁸⁰ and stratified hierarchy, which is established by the agents of the polysystem.

Strata in the polysystem or its repertoire can be identified as canonised or non-canonised. Certain literary texts become canonised, that is, they are accepted as legitimate by the agents of the polysystem and incorporated into the ‘historical heritage’ of the community.⁸¹ This canonisation does not depend on the text itself, or on the author necessarily; it is the agents of the polysystem who decide what products of literature are canonised or accepted as the canon. Whilst the agents of the polysystem might interpret canonicity as a simplified ‘good literature vs bad literature’

⁷⁷ Yates, pp. 114, 75-6; Joaquim Molas, *Sobre la construcció de la literatura catalana i altres assaigs*. (Palma de Mallorca: Lleonard Muntaner, 2010), p. 123.

⁷⁸ Itamar Even-Zohar, ‘Laws of Literary Interference’, *Poetics Today*, 11 (1990), pp. 39-40.

⁷⁹ Even-Zohar, *The Literary System*, p. 40.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 41-2; Codde, p. 95.

⁸¹ Even-Zohar, *Polysystem theory*, p. 15. Even-Zohar refers to Viktor Shklovskii’s theories exposed in his book *Viktor Shklovskii and Benjamin Sher, Theory of prose*. ([Elmwood Park, IL, USA]: [Dalkey Archive Press], 1990).

relationship, Even-Zohar's argument is that from a historical point of view, canonicity only reveals the set of norms that regulate the literary system of a particular period.⁸² The canonised repertoire sits at the centre of the literary system, and is controlled by its agents, whereas non-canonised literature sits mainly in the periphery. This canonised literature is not stable, and struggles between the centre and the periphery, between canonised and non-canonised repertoires, lead to changes in the canon over time. In the context of this thesis, one can identify the struggle for power between central agents and the canonised repertoire of *Noucentisme*, which had effectively removed the novel as a genre from the said repertoire but had lost its political backing by the early 1920s, and the generations that emerged afterwards, which promoted its reintroduction with sociocultural support. At the time of the foundation of Edicions Proa in 1928, the publishing house set itself the aim of imitating foreign models such as Nelson in France and Tauchnitz in Britain⁸³ and to bring the best European novels to the Catalan polysystem. This established the intention of contributing to the reintroduction of novels into the canonised repertoire by publishing psychological novels.⁸⁴ By the mid-1930s, this canonised repertoire was reasonably established and functional, and a significant number of literary products were created following the model of the psychological novel.

When it comes to the use of polysystem theory in Translation Studies, one of Even-Zohar's key contributions is his 1978 article 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem'.⁸⁵ This text is still applicable today, although some of its terminology has been challenged over the years. In this article, Even-Zohar argues that translated literature cannot be understood as an isolated incident within the target culture: translated literature is part of the literary system and it plays a fundamental role in the network of relations. He argues that 'translated works [...] correlate a) in the way their source texts are selected by a target literature, the principles of selection never being uncorrelatable with the home co-systems of the target literature and b) in

⁸² Even-Zohar, *Polysystem theory*, p. 16.

⁸³ Albert Manent, 'Antecedents i història d'una aventura cultural: Edicions Proa', in *Escriptors i editors del nou-cents*, ed. by Albert Manent (Barcelona: Curial, 1984), (p. 194).

⁸⁴ Carme Arnau, *Mercè Rodoreda: una biografia*. (Barcelona: Edicions 62 : Proa, 2007), p. 45.

⁸⁵ It was part of the collected essays and presentations from the Leuven Colloquium. Holmes, Lambert, and Broeck.

the way they adopt specific norms, behaviours and policies [...] which result from their relations with the other home co-systems'.⁸⁶ The principal idea is that it is the agents of the target literary system who decide what is translated and what is not translated, with the source polysystem not in a position of control: once a text is transferred from one system to another, it loses its source system attributes.⁸⁷ Whilst it may still maintain the prestige or central position that it had in the source system, this depends entirely on the position assigned to the text by the most influential members of the receiving literary milieu.⁸⁸ This is also the perspective of Gideon Toury, who argues that 'translations have been regarded as facts of the culture that host them, with the concomitant assumption that whatever their function and identity, these are constituted within that same culture and reflect its own constellation. [...] [A] text's position (and function), [...] are determined first and foremost by considerations originating in the culture which hosts them'.⁸⁹ In fact, this interpretation is important in the structure of this thesis. For example, whilst Alexander Pushkin has been generally considered the founding father of Russian literature, the lack of significant translations of his work during the period covered by this research has limited his presence in this study to a brief section rather than a chapter.

According to PST, a target polysystem approaches the possibility of a translation when there is a perception that there is a gap or requirement not fulfilled by autochthonous writers in the target system and texts within the system.⁹⁰ If an adjacent system appears to have the models that the target polysystem requires, interference will occur.⁹¹ In this situation, the texts 'are chosen according to their compatibility with the new approaches and the supposedly innovatory role they may assume within the target literature'.⁹² Hence, imported texts and/or repertoires will likely lose the position they had in the original polysystem, and acquire a new role. This means the position might, in fact, be improved (be more central than it was in the original system)

⁸⁶ Even-Zohar, *The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem*, p. 46.

⁸⁷ Even-Zohar, *Laws of Literary Interference*, pp. 70-1.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*. (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995), pp. 24,26.

⁹⁰ Even-Zohar, *The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem*, pp. 47-8.

⁹¹ Even-Zohar, *Laws of Literary Interference*, p. 69.

⁹² Even-Zohar, *The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem*, p. 47.

thanks to the newly gained status in the target system. For example, whilst the literature of Pushkin and Chekhov lost its central position when transferred from the Russian polysystem to the Catalan system, the position of Tolstoy's *Anna Karènina* and Dostoevsky's *Crim i càstig* improved: these texts moved closer to the centre than *War and Peace* or *The Brothers Karamazov*, which were arguably more central in their original polysystem, but did not exist in Catalan.

The controversy in Even-Zohar's text is revealed through a series of statements about the position of literary systems against each other within the European (macro)polysystem, and the power relations that can be hypothesised between them:

[A]s unpalatable as this idea might seem to us, we have no choice but to admit that within a group of relatable national literatures, such as the literatures in Europe, hierarchical relations have been established since the very beginning of these literatures. Within this (macro-) polysystem some literatures have taken peripheral positions, which is only to say that they were often modelled to a large extent upon an exterior literature. [...] “[W]eak” literatures in such situations often depend on import alone.⁹³

In this context, in peripheral polysystems modelled on other polysystems, translated literature plays a key role in the development of the repertoire, as is the case in the Catalan literary system over the past three centuries. The central position of translated literature in a polysystem provides certain information about the polysystem's autochthonous production and its own ability to maintain its structure without external interference. Even-Zohar then outlines the characteristics that define peripheral polysystems, in which the translated literature stratum plays a central role in the construction of the canonised repertoire. His terminology, however, poses some critical issues due to being inherently problematic, and has been considered excessively judgmental for scholarly practice.⁹⁴ He establishes that when translated literature occupies a central role within the literary system, that is, when it shapes how literature is written by providing models and norms, this is an indication that a

⁹³ Ibid. p. 48.

⁹⁴ Bassnett, pp. 127-28.

polysystem is either 'weak', new and developing ('young'), or overcoming a 'vacuum'. Bassnett criticises the crudeness of this statement due its 'evaluative' nature, yet considers the idea 'important, for it can be opened out into a call for radical rethinking of how we draw up literary histories, how we map out the shaping forces of the past and the present'.⁹⁵ She also asks whether assigning the weak or strong tag depends only on literary matters, or if politics are involved.⁹⁶ Hermans also questions the perspective taken when establishing whether a polysystem cannot survive on its own autochthonous input; is it an objective, factual observation or a subjective opinion? And whose opinion: is it that of the members of the polysystem or of external agents?⁹⁷ Chang has addressed these questions, arguing that some variables can be demonstrated factually: whether a literature A translates more from a literature B than viceversa, the variety of repertoires within a polysystem, or the 'youthfulness or maturity' of a literature in contrast with another, to name a few.⁹⁸ Whilst Even-Zohar's intention is not to present a judgement of value on the strength of certain systems over others, but to establish the principles that govern the interaction of translated literature within the polysystem, the use of terminology with contentious vernacular connotations complicates the process.

Chang also identifies that the feeling of 'weakness' or 'inferiority', or as he phrases it 'a sense of self-insufficiency',⁹⁹ is subjective and normally arising from the members of said culture, rather than imposed from an external perspective.¹⁰⁰ Even-Zohar and Yahalom have theorised that it is only when the influential members of a polysystem see themselves as inferior in comparison to neighbouring systems that translations are welcomed in order to 'strengthen' the system's repertoire.¹⁰¹ In the case of the Catalan literary system, this feeling of 'inferiority' is neither negative nor detrimental to the development of the system. In the period covered by this research, translating into Catalan was seen as a way to promote and advance the development of Catalan

⁹⁵ Ibid. pp. 127-28.

⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 127.

⁹⁷ Hermans, *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systems-Oriented Approaches Explained*, p. 109.

⁹⁸ Chang, *Defence of PST*, p. 315.

⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 318.

¹⁰⁰ Molas, p. 125.

¹⁰¹ Shelly Yahalom, 'Relations entre les littératures anglaise et française au 18e siècle', (Tel Aviv, 1978), p. 65; Even-Zohar, *The Literary System*, p. 83.

language and literature.¹⁰² In fact, some critics consider the act of translation a feat of literary progress and a sign of maturity,¹⁰³ particularly when considering the previous interrupted tradition. Hence the attitude of the relevant members of the polysystem towards foreign interference illustrates how this subjective perception arises from the target culture itself.

Whilst Chang's defence of the terminology used by Even-Zohar may appear critically sound, the use of the dichotomy 'weak'/'strong' dichotomy generates more controversy than it provides answers. Therefore, in this research I have chosen not to use the strength dichotomy as it does not accurately reflect the nature of the polysystemic relations and the pair is unnecessarily associated with vernacular negative connotations. Instead, I have used polysystem theory's other terminology in the pair central/peripheral,¹⁰⁴ which whilst it is not devoid of subjective connotations, it permits a more nuanced use of the dichotomy by reflecting the stratification and hierarchy of relations between polysystems. I am aware that this may not entirely resolve the judgmental terminology issue, but it addresses one of Theo Hermans' criticisms of PST,¹⁰⁵ in that binary oppositions do not reflect the grey areas of structuration/stratification of the system. In this sense, a polysystem is neither at the centre of the (macro)polysystems nor completely in the periphery: there are certain degrees of centrality and/or periphery; this terminology allows for this dynamic stratification to be reflected.

Another controversial statement in Even-Zohar's text is that research 'indicates that the "normal" position assumed by translated literature tends to be a peripheral one'.¹⁰⁶ The rationale behind it is the assumption that no polysystem can survive in the long term in a constant state of rebuilding and dependence on foreign interference. However, this assertion seems to only be applicable to central polysystems or those

¹⁰² Joan Fuster, *Literatura catalana contemporània*. (Barcelona: Curial, 1976), p. 309.

¹⁰³ Kathryn Cramer, 'The Role of Translation in Contemporary Catalan Culture', *Hispanic Research Journal*, 1 (2000), pp. 171-73.

¹⁰⁴ 'To describe something as "central" or "peripheral" (or "old" or "young"), for example, does not imply like or dislike, or respect or disrespect on the part of the researcher. A basic assumption of polysystem theory is that the member systems of a polysystem are not equal but hierarchized, some being in more central positions than others.' Chang, *Defence of PST*, p. 314.

¹⁰⁵ Hermans, *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systems-Oriented Approaches Explained*, p. 119.

¹⁰⁶ Even-Zohar, *The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem*, p. 50.

traditionally in a position of power in relation to other polysystems, which by extension marginalises peripheral systems like the Catalan. Whilst excessive reliance on interference from other systems can cause some issues, translation and translated literature is a fundamental element in ensuring the survival of polysystems in the periphery. In fact, 'normality' is barely ever so: whilst this might be the case of long established polysystems such as the French or the Anglo-American, the situation in other systems in Europe tells a different story. In those systems that are neither peripheral nor central translated literature might occupy several areas of the strata in a given time, and the position of translated literature is never solely peripheral or central.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, this 'normality' Even-Zohar refers to is the exception and not the rule.¹⁰⁸

In regards to how literary systems interact with each other and how cultural exchanges lead to translated literature, Even-Zohar also coined the term interference to refer to this phenomenon.¹⁰⁹ Interference is another concept I have borrowed for the purpose of this research, and it can be defined as 'a relationship between literatures, whereby a certain literature A (a source literature) may become a source of direct or indirect loans for another literature B (a target literature)'.¹¹⁰ Even-Zohar establishes some general principles that regulate the relationship between interfering literatures. In general, all literatures are exposed to interference, and are in constant interference, but it is particularly noticeable between polysystems with unequal power relationships: in power/not in power, politically or culturally dominant/in development, etc.¹¹¹ Most interference is unilateral and the choice behind one literary system above another is based on prestige and dominance above geographical closeness.¹¹² Indeed, the general assumption is that contacts between polysystems for interference to occur have to be constant and one literature needs to be massively exposed to another; in fact, all it takes is one member of the target polysystem, to select a text or group of texts missing

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. p. 49.

¹⁰⁸ Molas, pp. 123-25.

¹⁰⁹ Even-Zohar, *Laws of Literary Interference*, pp. 53-72.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 54.

¹¹¹ Ibid. p. 58.

¹¹² Molas, p. 124.

from the target system's repertoire and manipulate it according to the requirements of the target canon.¹¹³

This concept is central to this research, and I will illustrate how interference does not necessarily need to take place widely across a polysystem for it to occur. In fact, most interference is localised around a certain author, style, or agent of the target literary system. The principal argument throughout this thesis will identify the level of interference from the elements of the Russian literary system into the Catalan system. Whilst Tolstoy's narrative models and Dostoevsky's philosophy made an instant impact on the Catalan polysystem of the 1930s, Chekhov's interference went unnoticed until the 1950s. The apparent lack of interference of Chekhovian products in the Catalan system in general is in direct contrast with the specific influence of his writing over Rodoreda, and the short stories she wrote in exile. This shows that interference can play an essential role regardless of the level of exposure of the target polysystem to one specific source. These definitions are necessary to understand the methodological approach taken in the analysis of the interference of Russian literature in the Catalan system.

After a review of the main conceptual tools used in this thesis, a closer look into its methodology is required. The theoretical framework of this research uses the principles of polysystem theory. I have used the terminology proposed by Even-Zohar in his first formulations and added a critical perspective. The conceptual understanding and the terminology is standard in polysystem studies; this criticism continues the tradition of polysystem studies, to which many authors have contributed over the past 40 years. The choice of PST ahead of other approaches was based on its translation focus and target system point of view. The main rationale for this selection is that in polysystem theory, translated literature is considered as a whole stratum, rather than as individual, non-correlated semiotic elements, and a crucial component in the development of literary systems, particularly those less central, as is the case in the Catalan context. This focus on translation as a driving force in the provision of literary models to change the canonised repertoire by reintroducing novels makes PST

¹¹³ Even-Zohar, *Laws of Literary Interference*, p. 57; Molas, p. 124.

a suitable methodological device for the study of the role played by translated Russian literature in this phenomenon.

Secondly, the importance placed upon agents as regulators and maintainers of the literary system's repertoire and status allowed for a focus on translators as members of the milieu who contribute to this task, mainly as producers. It granted the opportunity to argument in which ways Payarols and Nins are producers and therefore agents, as their work was used to reinforce literary models only recently accepted back into the repertoire. As agents, they played a key role in deciding which foreign elements were introduced into the literary system, and Chapter 5 will provide a practical example of their level of agency.

Finally, with a few exceptions,¹¹⁴ the systems approach has not been used exclusively in the study of (Russian) translated literature within the context of Catalan literature. From that point of view, this thesis attempts to offer an original methodological perspective into a heavily researched field.

There are plenty of other theoretical frameworks, related to systems theory or otherwise, that would have allowed for similar objectives to be achieved, and similar ideas to be explored in research,¹¹⁵ however, at the time of selection, PST was the approach that seemed most appropriate and useful. I acknowledge this bias and the limitations that using a polysystemic approach presents. First, the overly comprehensive nature of systems theory makes it very difficult to identify all the variables at play at one given time. The all-inclusive, democratic approach that argues for all types of literature, from classics to self-published books, to be examined in order to understand what constitutes a polysystem means that a practical study using polysystem theory as a methodological tool is, by default, flawed. It is physically impossible to analyse a specific polysystem fully, even when studying it in synchrony or in a vacuum. The scholar may only be in a position to study one particular stratum,

¹¹⁴ Marco, pp. 29-44; Ferran Toutain, 'Traducció i models estilístics', in *Traducció i literatura. Homenatge a Àngel Crespo*, ed. by Soledad González Ródenas and Francisco Lafarga (Vic: Eumo, 1997), pp. 63-72.

¹¹⁵ Hermans, *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systems-Oriented Approaches Explained*, pp. 119-20.

or a specific microsystem within the polysystem, which contradicts the spirit of PST to a certain degree. However, since practical uses of PST have been encouraged by the main scholars from its inception, the assumption is that applications of the theory are used to advance our knowledge of how polysystems work in practice rather than theoretically, and that admitting the limitations of one's study is a step in the right direction.

This thesis focuses on one very particular microsystem: Russian literature translated into Catalan within the Catalan polysystem in the period between 1879 and 1937, with an emphasis on the period from 1928 onwards. This stratum of the Catalan polysystem is already too broad in scope to be analysed comprehensively in the space of this thesis. Therefore, priority has been given to those authors who made a significant contribution to the reshaping of the Catalan canonised repertoire. Whilst I have had access to the majority of Russian translations into Catalan from this period, only those texts that are relevant within the framework of the research questions have been reviewed in this thesis. The scope is therefore limited in that respect. Furthermore, my interpretation argues that, since it is the target culture that decides what to translate and what should be left untranslated, it is essential that the main authors studied in this research are those that affected the target literary system more comprehensively, whilst also acknowledging that not all texts by the authors studied in this thesis had the same level of impact on the system. In fact, it is also worth researching the texts that had a lesser impact, if any at all, and the reasons why those texts were chosen ahead of others. From that perspective, it is then clear that, whilst Pushkin's work has greater prestige in its original polysystem and he is, in fact, considered the father of Russian literature, his limited availability in the target polysystem justifies his absence from the main body of this research.

This thesis has been divided into chapters by author, rather than by theme or chronologically, for ease of comprehension; as the research shows, each author had a very different impact on the literary system, and the translations of their texts had a background story of their own. Focusing on one particular author at a time allows for a deeper understanding of their role within the receiving culture. This structure also benefits the comparative analysis between the indirect translations from Russian into

Catalan between 1879 and 1928 and the direct translations by Payarols and Nin between 1928 and 1937. We can therefore observe the quality increase of the translations after 1928, and the bigger impact that these texts had in the Catalan system.

The three main authors studied in this thesis are Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and Chekhov, arguably three of the most important Russian writers of all time. Their impact goes beyond the Russian borders, and all three are considered masters of world literature in their specialist genres (novel, short fiction, and drama). The reasoning behind this choice goes beyond this prestige in neighbouring systems: the key point is that they were authors translated by both Payarols and Nin for Proa during the 1930s. Additionally, their individual cases help illustrate the various positions that translated literature can take within a polysystem, and how stratified hierarchies are in place even within one type of translated literature (Russian, in this case) or within one single author; a system within a system. For example, the introduction of Tolstoy's most acclaimed literature made an immediate impact on the development of models of prose, based around the psychological novel, and proved very popular with autochthonous Catalan writers during the 1930s. Dostoevsky's literature took slightly longer to influence Catalan writers but it did so at a similar level, despite not being backed up by a textual presence; his was a central textless position within the system. On the other side of the coin, Chekhov had a very limited impact as he remained a peripheral figure, although he did have a specific influence at the margins of the system when his short stories were picked up by Mercè Rodoreda in exile.

Consequently, Chapters Two, Three and Four focus on these three authors individually. These three chapters have a parallel structure for comparative purposes. In order to provide a contextual framework that allows us to recognise the evolution of the translations from Russian into Catalan during the period, I have reviewed the position of the particular authors in their original polysystem, in this case Russian, and neighbouring systems to the Catalan polysystem, in this case the French, British, and Spanish systems. Due to the more peripheral position of the Catalan system in contrast with these other polysystems, and the degree of interference that the Catalan system has traditionally accepted from systems like the French, the position of these authors

in these neighbouring systems is entirely relevant to explain their position in the Catalan literary system.

For example, Tolstoy entered the French polysystem as part of what Hemmings described as an 'ink invasion'¹¹⁶ in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The French polysystem, traditionally a stable system with enough self-resources to keep translation as a secondary activity and translated literature in a peripheral position,¹¹⁷ was suddenly open to interference from a cohort of Russian novelists led by Tolstoy. Given the ascendancy of the French polysystem over other systems in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century, Tolstoy's literature entered the Catalan polysystem influenced by how it had entered the French system. It is therefore essential to explore the role played by these authors in neighbouring systems to understand how the most influential members of the Catalan milieu introduced Russian writers into their polysystem.

Chapter Five explores other Russian writers translated into Catalan during the 1930s, and the agency of Payarols and Nin in choosing these texts. Whilst Puig i Ferrer assigned them their work on main writers, they were given freedom to explore their personal literary preferences, and therefore, their ideological stances are revealed in these choices: the body of work available out with the main Russian writers is solely dependent on these translators' selections. Consequently, there is less polysystemic contextualisation of the translations in this chapter, and more of a comparative analysis between the literary choices of either translator and what that reveals about the power dynamics between them, and their contribution to the literary repertoire.

4. Thesis Structure

The main body of this thesis is structured around the three key Russian authors studied, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Chekhov, as well as a selection of nineteenth and twentieth century Russian authors that, whilst peripheral within the Catalan

¹¹⁶ F. W. J. Hemmings, *The Russian Novel in France, 1884-1914*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 51.

¹¹⁷ Even-Zohar, *The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem*, p. 50.

polysystem, show the literary and ideological differences between Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter One addresses the evolution of Russian translated literature within the Catalan literary system between 1879 and 1928, as well as discuss the figures of Payarols and Nin in more depth. Chapters Two, Three and Four focus on the individual work of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and Chekhov, and their impact on the Catalan literary system. I first contextualise the role of each of these authors in Russia and in translation in neighbouring systems, then review the translations of their literature into Catalan in the period between 1879 and 1928. I then analyse the translations in the period between 1928 and 1937, by focusing on the different aspects that the texts by Payarols and Nin offer in contrast with the mediated translations from the previous period, and some of the critical reception of these texts in the Catalan press. I then study the power relations established between Nin and Payarols and their different roles in the rebuilding of the repertoire. The final section of these chapters identifies the impact of the particular writer's literature in the repertoire, with the examination of the specific stratum of the polysystem affected by this interference.

Chapter Five combines a few elements present in the previous chapters, such as contextualisation of the work in the period immediately before 1928 and the power relations between Nin's and Payarols' translations, but I also assess their political and ideological input when choosing texts and authors outside of the centre. This final chapter contributes to the recognition of the part played by Payarols and Nin in the shaping of the literary repertoire and identifies their position as agents of the Catalan literary system of the 1930s.

CHAPTER ONE

Translating from Russian into Catalan Before 1928: Context and Agents

Translated literature is a key component of any literary system, and, as David Damrosch argues, '[it] has always played a formative role in the creation of national literatures; [...] individual literatures have never been chthonic self-creations'.¹ The Catalan polysystem is no exception: translated literature is a vital element that has widely contributed to the development of Catalan literature and culture throughout history, particularly in the twentieth century.² As Xavier Pla explains, 'cada vegada són més abundants els estudis de recepció crítica dels grans autors de la literatura universal en la cultura catalana i segurament són aquesta mena d'exercicis els que poden ajudar a entendre i a contextualitzar millor la literatura catalana d'aquell moment'.³ Scholars of then and now have recognised the important role of translation and have viewed it as a sign of maturity and development of the language.⁴

The evolving role of translated literature within the Catalan literary system during the late 1920s and 1930s, the period on which this thesis focuses, relates directly to the cultural currents of the first quarter of the century, and how agents of the *Modernista* and *Noucentista* systems, the currents with most impact in that period, shaped the Catalan literary system and repertoire. In this context, a series of historico-literary reasons forced the novel from the canonised repertoire during the years of highest influence of *Noucentista* stylistics and 'cultural policy', to borrow Jordi Castellanos'

¹ David Damrosch, 'Translation and National Literature', in *A Companion to Translation Studies*, ed. by Sarah Bermann and Catherine Porter (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), pp. 349-60, (p. 349).

² Fuster, pp. 307-13; Yates, p. 205.

³ Xavier Pla, 'Nous valors: Canvi estètic als anys vint i trenta', in *Panorama crític de la literatura catalana: Segle XX, del modernisme a l'avantguarda*, ed. by Enric Bou (Barcelona: Vicens Vives, 2010), pp. 384-429, (p. 406).

⁴ Crameri, pp. 171-3; Jordi Castellanos, 'Les influències europees en la literatura catalana i la seva projecció a la resta d'Europa', in *Els Països Catalans i Europa durant els darrers cent anys* ed. by Albert Balcells (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2009), pp. 99-116, (p. 106).

terminology.⁵ The circumstances that led to that situation include the crisis of the *Modernista* novel and its models, and the programmatic rejection of novels as a genre that could reflect the *Noucentista* aspirational ideals. In the late 1910s and early 1920s, with the slow dissolution of the strict *Noucentista* stylistics, the agents of the system became increasingly aware of the need to reverse the situation and reintroduce novels into the literary canon.⁶ By the late 1920s, novels were being prioritised ahead of other genres, and translations were being used alongside old *Modernista* models in order to aid the next generation of Catalan narrators.⁷

This is the background against which Edicions Proa emerged, a cultural project that would contribute to this reintroduction of novels into the literary repertoire, using translations as a stepping stone.⁸ With Joan Puig i Ferrer as literary director, the publishing house found success in the publication of ‘classic’ translations and a selection of new Catalan authors. Russian literature, given its ascendance in neighbouring systems and Puig i Ferrer’s preference for Russian authors, was one of the main translated literatures in Proa’s first era.⁹ Therefore, it became a key contributor in the creation of models of prose for the up and coming autochthonous novelists. This chapter reviews the development of translation from Russian into Catalan before the establishment of Edicions Proa, and the emergence of the figures of Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin. This is an important step as it will provide a comparative view of translations from Russian into Catalan before and after the work of Payarols and Nin, and it will highlight their quantitative contribution.

This chapter is structured in four sections. Section 1 provides an overview of translation from Russian into Catalan between 1879 and 1928, and its evolution from mediating sources, particularly French, to direct translations. Given that translations are ‘facts of the culture that host them’,¹⁰ and the importance of the target system

⁵ Castellanos, *Literatura catalana i compromís*, p. 9.

⁶ Yates, pp. 36, 113-4, 91.

⁷ Xavier Pericay and Ferran Toutain, *El malentès del noucentisme: tradició i plagi a la prosa catalana moderna*. (Barcelona: Proa, 1996), p. 113; Castellanos, *Les influències europees i literatura catalans*, p. 106.

⁸ Yates, p. 205; Albert Manent, *Escriptors i editors del nou-cents*. (Barcelona: Curial, 1984), pp. 180-3.

⁹ In the first two years of existence (1928-9), Proa published 20 novels in the *Biblioteca A Tot Vent* collection, 6 originals and 14 translations, of which 5 were Russian novels.

¹⁰ Toury, p. 24.

agents – who decide what items from other systems are incorporated into the home literary system – Section 2 reviews the translations into Catalan of Alexander Pushkin’s work. Pushkin, despite being traditionally considered the father of Russian literature, was not as well translated into Catalan as many of his counterparts, and this section showcases the loss of source literature attributes when translation occurs,¹¹ using the Russian author’s work as an example. Section 3 introduces the work of Edicions Proa and its literary director, Joan Puig i Ferrer, in establishing a publication platform that allowed translated texts to thrive, and novels to consolidate their position within the repertoire. Finally, in Section 4 I present a brief biographical overview of Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin, examine the power relations between them, and outline the causes of the mythologisation of Nin’s translations.

1. Russian Translated Literature Before Payarols and Nin

This first section provides a review of the introduction and development of Russian translated literature into the Catalan literary system, from the first publication in 1879 until the establishment of Edicions Proa and the first unmediated translations by Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin in 1928. The aim of this section is to present an overview of the relatively modest presence of translated works from Russian into Catalan during this period when compared to other systems, which then will aid in highlighting the contribution of Payarols and Nin to the publication of direct translations from Russian into the Catalan literary system. In order to compose this segment, the invaluable archival work of Ramon Pinyol has been used.¹² The aim is to provide a general overview of the presence of Russian literature in the literary repertoire before the foundation of Edicions Proa, and the changing status of novels within it.

Firstly, it is important to outline some of the main characteristics of Russian literature translated into Catalan in this period of study. This list does not intend to be exhaustive, and some of these traits are not exclusive to Russian literature, but rather apply to the whole stratum of translated literature of this specific historical period. Some

¹¹ Even-Zohar, *Laws of Literary Interference*, p. 70.

¹² Pinyol, pp. 253-63.

characteristics also changed over time, depending on the cultural environment the translations were produced in, so I will be making specific references to these changes as the section progresses.

The two key aspects of the early translations are their brevity and the fact that they were mediated texts. None of the translations of narrative in this period surpasses two hundred pages, and the only texts over a hundred are compilations of short stories or novellas.¹³ This would be the case until Gogol's *L'inspector* translated by Carles Riba in 1921, and Pushkin's *La filla del capità* by Rudolf J. Slaby in 1922; translations of narrative, whether in short story, novella, or novel format, will become progressively longer after 1928. Before Edicions Proa, very few translations were actual novels, and on many occasions, certain texts were marketed as novels (*Biblioteca Univers* by Llibreria Catalònia is a good example of this) when they were considered novellas in their original system, and they therefore lost their source system characteristics. Brevity is not a characteristic that solely applies to translations from Russian or even translated texts in general: lengthy publications were not common in the vernacular either. As Jordi Castellanos argues, during the period studied in this section, 'el llibre resta en un segon pla: resulta molt més rendible, amb vistes al reconeixement literari, guanyar algun premi en algun certamen o publicar un poema, un poema en prosa, una narracioneta, que la publicació, costosa econòmicament i sense un mercat estructurat, d'un llibre'.¹⁴ Consequently, this affects what is translated in the first quarter of the century, as mostly only short stories and novellas by nineteenth century Russian authors will be included in the catalogue of translations.

In terms of mediation, most of the Russian texts available at the time used French as an intermediary, although English, German, and on occasion, Spanish, are other languages that help to bridge the gap.¹⁵ It was not until much later, when Slaby rendered the first

¹³ Such as Turgenev's *Poemes en prosa / L'execució de Troppman* (1896) and Tolstoy's *Un llibre trist* (1897) both translated by Narcís Oller. Ibid. p. 260.

¹⁴ Jordi Castellanos, 'El modernisme: la construcció d'una cultura nacional', in *1898: entre la crisi d'identitat i la modernització*, ed. by Carola Tort (Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 2000), pp. 69-85, (p. 78).

¹⁵ Pinyol, pp. 251-2; Iván García Sala, 'Olga Savarin i altres històries de la traducció indirecta del rus al català al segle XX', in *Traducció indirecta en la literatura catalana*, ed. by Iván García Sala, Diana Sanz Roig, and Bozena Zaboklicka (Lleida: Punctum, 2014), pp. 145-68, (pp. 149-50).

translations from Pushkin into Catalan in the early 1920s, that the possibility of direct translations emerged. In fact, in Manuel de Montoliu's conference address in 1908 about translation into Catalan, Russian was not considered one of the languages from which unmediated translations were required or expected. He argued that '[e]n obres escrites en castellà, portuguès, francès, italià, anglès i alemany entre les llengües vives, i en llatí, grec, àrab, hebreu i sànscrit, entre les mortes, una traducció de traducció és un disbarat imperdonable',¹⁶ perhaps reflecting the difficulty of finding agents who could work directly from the language. Fuster adds that 'la traducció per llengua interposada encara era freqüent, com a totes les altres literatures romàntiques d'aleshores, quan es tracta d'idiomes "perifèrics" a la moderna cultura europea. [...] [Les] obres russes [...] arriben [...] a través de mediacions franceses o angleses'.¹⁷ Therefore, until Slaby, mediated translations from Russian were the norm, and until Payarols and Nin, native Catalan translators could not produce unmediated translations from Russian. This situation is not exclusive to Russian, as other lesser known, peripheral literatures were also rendered in Catalan using a more central mediating language at the time.¹⁸

In addition to this, other traits can be identified in these earlier texts that differentiate them from the work of Payarols and Nin. Translations from Russian appear to have been an isolated phenomenon, rather than a planned activity with thematic uniformity. These texts were present in key French magazines of the time, and the work of writer-translators allowed for these snippets of Russian literature to enter the Catalan literary system. There was no consistency in the choice of the texts, and therefore the list of translated texts is eclectic and difficult to categorise. Even the work of Narcís Oller, one of the most active translators of this period, only presents a stylistic trend in his translations of drama, but not in his choice of narrative works and authors.¹⁹

¹⁶ Manuel de Montoliu, 'Moviment assimilista de la literatura catalana en els temps moderns. Conveniència de que's fassin moltes traduccions i esment ab que cal fer-les. (1908)', in *Cent anys de traducció al català (1891-1990)*, ed. by Montserrat Bacardí, Joan Fontcuberta, and Francesc Parcerisas (Vic: Eumo, 1998), pp. 37-43, (p. 40).

¹⁷ Fuster, p. 137.

¹⁸ Carolina Moreno Tena, 'Traduir l'europeisme del nord', *Literatures. Segona època.*, 4 (2006), p. 109.

¹⁹ Ramon Pinyol, 'Narcís Oller, traductor - via França - de literatura russa al català en el període 1886-1897', in *Traducción y cultura. La literatura rusa traducida en la prensa hispánica (1869-98)*, ed. by M. Giné and S. Hibbs (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), pp. 431-44, (p. 432).

Given the brevity and format of some of the works, these were mainly published in magazines and newspapers rather than in literary collections or bound books up until the 1920s. On many occasions, the translations would initially appear in periodicals such as *La Renaixensa* or *L'Avenç*, where they would either be part of the literary section, or offered in *fulletó* format for readers to collect, the most notable example of this being Tolstoy's short stories.²⁰ Castellanos argues that 'és un mercat precari, però és un mercat real. L'accés al lector es realitza a través del fulletó o de la col·laboració a la premsa [...] i només escadusserament a través del llibre'.²¹ At a later stage, these texts would be added to bound publications in the magazine's literary collections, such as the *Biblioteca Popular de L'Avenç* and *Novelas Catalanas y Extranjeras* (by *La Renaixensa*). In the 1920s, with the emergence of publishing houses not directly connected to a daily publication, like Editorial Catalana and later Llibreria Catalònia, this platform was more appropriate for the publication of novels and novellas, as it allowed for lengthier, more substantial narratives.

After this brief introduction, we now move on to the review the evolution of Russian literature within the Catalan literary system before Edicions Proa. The first translation of a Russian text into Catalan was the 'little tragedy' series play *Mozart y Salieri* [sic] (*Моцарт и Сальери*, 1832) as translated by Pere Ravetllat and published in *Diari Català* in June 1879. This play had been translated into French by Sophie Engelhardt in 1875, alongside the rest of the little tragedies; there does not appear to be an English catalogued version until the 1930s.²² This translation appeared two months after the establishment of *Diari Català*; this periodical was the first daily newspaper to be published solely in Catalan, and whilst it only had a print run of two years, its founding statement displayed a wish to provide literary works in Catalan, mainly in translation: 'Lo Diari Català se proposa ademés satisfer en petita escala [...] la formació de una Biblioteca en català. En aquest punt no podrà per ara fer tot lo que voldria, pero farà lo

²⁰ Leo Tolstoy and others, *Novelas catalanas y extranjeras publicadas en lo folletí de La Renaixensa: any 1892*. (Barcelona: Impremta "La Renaixensa", 1892), pp. 1-146.

²¹ Jordi Castellanos, 'La novel·la antimodernista: Les propostes de *La Renaixensa*', in *Professor Joaquim Molas. Memòria, escriptura, història. Literatura del segle XIX* ed. by Joaquim Molas (Barcelona: Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2003), (p. 1).

²² Aleksander Pushkin, *Oeuvres de Pouchkine, traduites du russe par Sophie Engelhardt, née de Novosiltsoff. Boris Godounoff; le Chevalier avare; Mozart et Saliéri; les Nuits d'Égypte* trans. by Sophie Engelhardt. (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1875); Aleksander Pushkin, *Mozart and Salieri*, trans. by R. M. Hewitt. (Nottingham: University College, 1938).

que podr , y prou ser  que posi la primera pedra. Donarem, donchs, follet  [...] de las obras mes notables que haji produhit la humanitat y que deuen ser la base de tota llibreria ben montada.’²³ Translations from Pushkin’s work, however, will not show any continuity after this publication, as I will expand on later in this chapter.

This first translated text provides an ideal starting point: these early translations, and the translations that were to come until the 1920s, shared some of the characteristics that Even-Zohar outlines in the ‘Laws of Literary Interference’: interference tends to be isolated, and appropriation is simplified; an appropriated repertoire does not maintain source literary functions, and source literatures tend to be selected by prestige and dominance.²⁴ It could in fact be argued that this was an isolated incident, or another translation from French to be included in a newspaper that aspired to provide a small collection of world literature available in Catalan. Given the French spelling of the author’s name as Alexandre Pouchkine, and the lack of a biographical or literary introduction, it can perhaps be questioned whether the translator or the newspaper’s literary director were aware that this was not a French author. In Pinyol’s bibliographical account, a second text by Pushkin apparently followed in 1883, the love poem *L’Antxar* (*Анчар*, 1828);²⁵ however, that corresponds to the date indicated in the text by translator Joan Sard , and not to the actual publication date, which was 1914.²⁶ It is therefore hard to establish whether this text was in fact the second translation from Russian to reach the Catalan system.

The next translation of a Russian text is in fact the work of one of *Modernisme’s* key agents, Narc s Oller. In 1886, he translated Isaak Pavlovski’s novel *Mem ries d’un nihilista* (*M moires d’un nihiliste*,²⁷ 1885), the first Russian novel to be translated into Catalan. This text was serialised by the magazine *La Ilustraci  Catalana*, with the addition of a prologue. This introduction focused more on the story of its publication in France a year earlier than on the complexities of the translation, for which Oller apologised by saying: ‘ja admirant la senzillesa d’expressi , ja possehintse del

²³ Molas, p. 3.

²⁴ Even-Zohar, *Laws of Literary Interference*, p. 59.

²⁵ Aleksander Pushkin and others, *Sobranie sochinenii: v desiati tomakh*. (1959).

²⁶ Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, p. 259.

²⁷ Technically, whilst Pavlovski’s novel had been originally written in Russian, it was first published in French in translation, hence the French title.

sentiment qu'en ellas regna sempre, y que puga arribarlosi al cor [dels lectors], fins a través de la burda vestidura ab que, malgrat nostres esforços, hem de presentarla[sic].'²⁸ This was Oller's second translation of a novel after the publication of *La desconsolada*, (*L'inconsolée*, 1879) by Benjamin Barbé, in 1882. Joaquim Molas states that despite the objectives that *Diari Català* had established for its literary contribution to the system, no novels were translated and published until 1881,²⁹ which, one could argue, makes Oller's translation of Pavlovski's text almost pioneering work, not only in terms of translating a Russian novel, but indeed for a foreign novel to be published in Catalan at all.

Oller's friendship with Pavlovski has been linked to the introduction of Russian literature in both the Catalan and Spanish literary systems.³⁰ In 1886, Oller, his cousin and literary critic Josep Yxart, and Emilia Pardo Bazán met with Pavlovski in Paris; this connection is relevant as Pardo Bazán would base a great deal of her lecture series at the Ateneo de Madrid, *La revolución y la novela en Rusia*, on the information gathered during that visit.³¹ The roles of Oller, Pardo Bazán and Pavlovski are those of agents of interference: a single member of the literary milieu (as opposed to interference *en masse*), either translating or facilitating the introduction of a certain literary element borrowed from a source system, which, with time, develops into a stratum of the target system.³² Oller was, in fact, one of the most prolific translators of Russian literature into Catalan during this period, with a total of nine publications, most of them of considerable length as indicated above. His production and contribution to the development of Russian literature in the Catalan system is indeed comparable to that of Payarols and Nin in terms of volume. His work as a translator was recognised by the

²⁸ Oller explains that Turgenev had recommended Pavlovski's book to the editor of *Le Temps*. A two-volume publication in French followed Turgenev's death in 1885, and the Memoirs was included as if it the novel had been written by him. Only months later *Le Temps* corrected this error. Narcís Oller, 'Prefaci á las "Memorias d'un nihilista"', *La Il·lustració Catalana*, p. 299.

²⁹ 'Altrament, les traduccions. Hom, si pensava en la necessitat de donar-ne, es proposava objectius tan sublimes que, d'entrada, descartava, ja, la novel·la.' Joaquim Molas, *Aproximació a la literatura catalana del segle XX*. (Barcelona: Editorial Base, 2010), p. 163.

³⁰ Pinyol, *Narcís Oller, traductor*. Iván García Sala, 'Tolstoi en catalán: el caso de Iván Ilich', in *Lev Tolstoi en el mundo contemporáneo*, ed. by Nina Krésova (Granada: Comares, 2011), (p. 62).

³¹ Dolores Thion, 'Amistades Literarias: Doce cartas de Emilia Pardo Bazán a Isaac Pavlovsky', *Cadernos da estudos da Casa-Museo Emilia Pardo Bazán*, (2003), p. 101; Cristina Patiño Eirín, 'Isaac Pavlovski cuenta un episodio curioso de la vida de Emilia Pardo Bazán', *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*, 39 (1991), pp. 405-6.

³² Even-Zohar, *Laws of Literary Interference*, pp. 69-70.

agents of the literary system of the time, as much as for his novel-writing efforts, as the following statement published in magazine *Ofrena* in 1917 indicates: ‘En Narcís Oller és un pulcre traductor. Ha traduït varies obres, la majoria d’autors russos, pels quals sent l’Oller especial predilecció. [...] [C]onsiderant adés com a traductor, adés com a novelista, és una figura d’indiscutible relleu dins el clos de la nostra literatura renaixent. [...] [E]ns ha permés assaborir molt de lo bo que té la literatura russa.’³³

During this period, the stratum of translations from Russian into Catalan begins to take shape. It is at this stage when there is an increased awareness that translation activity can become a useful tool in the development of the literary repertoire and system, and when translated texts begin to be regarded as a necessity in order for Catalan literature to bridge the gap with other European literatures, and for language to be printed. As Joan Fuster states:

La necessitat objectiva de les traduccions es feia cada vegada més evident. Amb elles es vehiculava una saníssima osmosi intel·lectual que acostava la literatura catalana a les altres d’Europa, i oferia al públic una possibilitat de lectura totalment nova en el seu propi idioma. Traduir fou la manera més pràctica de subvenir a determinades i profundes carències de la literatura local. [...] [L]es traduccions es fan, generalment, amb un gran sentit de la responsabilitat literària.³⁴

And Castellanos adds that:

[Hi ha] una llarga tradició, que arrenca del Modernisme, [que] ha anat insistint en la necessitat d’equiparar la cultura i la literatura catalanes amb les grans cultures i literatures universals. [...] Potser aquesta sigui la premisa essencial, íntegrament assumida per la literatura catalana, que ha regit davant tot el segle: si alguna cosa ha de ser la cultura i la literatura catalanes és, malgrat tots els problemes que puguin arrossegar, una cultura com les altres. [...] La literatura

³³ ‘Narcís Oller i Moragues’, *Ofrena*, February 1917, pp. 3-4.

³⁴ Fuster, p. 137.

catalana s'ha obert voluntàriament a Europa perquè hi ha vist un camí útil per modernitzar-se.³⁵

Translation, therefore, becomes the easiest route to source the literary repertoire of much needed narrative models.

In this environment, Narcís Oller becomes a leading example of the figure of the writer-translator, not a new phenomenon, but rather a more widely recognisable one during this period, which will continue beyond *Modernisme* and *Noucentisme* and well into the 1930s. Whilst Oller's case is unique, other known writers such as Joan Puig i Ferrer, Josep Carner, Joaquim Casas-Carbó and Bonaventura Bassegoda were also involved during this period in translating from Russian via French. Oller's catalogue of translations from Russian is the most eclectic, with a variety of authors and formats, whilst the others were focused on short stories, most of which by Tolstoy, with the exception of Puig i Ferrer, who also translated plays, as I will review further in the next chapter. The writer-translator is not an unusual phenomenon; Even-Zohar argues that 'when translated literature maintains a central position in the literary polysystem [...] often it is the leading writers (or members of the avant-garde who are about to become leading writers) who produce the most conspicuous or appreciated translations'.³⁶ In regards to the emerging writer-translators during the years of higher influence of *Modernisme*, Fuster also states that 'a la tasca de traduir s'aplicaren, en un moment o altre, la majoria dels escriptors de l'època. [...] Cal reconèixer que, fonamentalment, les traduccions son realitzades per literats de prestigi reconegut, que hi posen un esforç tan insigne com el de la seva producció original'.³⁷ Puig i Ferrer and Carner focused on translations that suited their preferred writing genres: the former translated two plays by Tolstoy, whilst the latter rendered three short stories by Chekhov, which will be discussed later in this thesis. At the time of these translations (the early 1910s and mid-1920s respectively), both authors were also writing plays and short stories.³⁸

³⁵ Castellanos, *Les influències europees i literatura catalans*, p. 100.

³⁶ Even-Zohar, *The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem*, pp. 46-47.

³⁷ Fuster, pp. 137-8.

³⁸ Manent, *Escriptors del nou-cents*, pp. 135-8.

Between 1879 and the early 1910s, the most translated Russian author was Leo Tolstoy. This period contained a variety of conflicting and converging cultural currents which witnessed the rise and fall of *Modernisme*,³⁹ and the establishment of the cultural and political dominance of *Noucentista* stylistics.⁴⁰ Most of these translations were amalgamated into three volumes, one published by the *fulletó de La Renaixensa*, *Novelas Catalanas y Extranjeras* (1892) and the other two by the *Biblioteca Popular de L'Avenç* (1903). According to Castellanos, *La Renaixensa* failed to use the potential of translation to provide necessary models of prose because they were fighting the then leading artistic current. Castellanos brands the *fulletó de La Renaixensa* as 'l'espai de refugi dels antimodernistes', and argues that the translations did not have an innovative impact in the system, but rather attempted to reinforce romanticised anti-*Modernista* values:

La col·lecció introdueix la novel·la russa, un dels grans mites de la nova estètica, però el medi, una vegada més, ofega el contingut: editors, traductors i lectors "llegeixen" Puškin, Tolstoj, Gogol, Dostojevskij i Korolenko en termes no només no contradictoris amb allò que ells estaven produint sinó, fins i tot, com a models a oposar al Modernisme. Al capdavall, la dimensió moralitzadora, l'entorn rural, els elements folletonescos, no manquen en cap de les obres que tradueixen i hauria calgut percebre'ls des d'una altra perspectiva per adonar-se de la càrrega corrosiva que podien tenir. Que podia tenir, per exemple, una novel·leta aparentment d'humor lleuger i un pèl absurd com és *Lo nas*, de Gógol. *Un vell amant*, de Dostojevskij, es podia llegir com una obreta mig costumista, mig fulletonesca, mig de misteri, prescindint de la novetat que l'obra podia oferir, per exemple, en la construcció dels personatges.⁴¹

³⁹ Joaquim Molas, 'El modernisme i les seves tensions', in *Obra crítica /1*, (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1995), (pp. 240-1).

⁴⁰ Josep Murgades, 'Assaig de revisió del Noucentisme', *Els Marges*, 7 (1976), pp. 35-6; Joan Ramón Resina, 'Noucentisme', in *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, ed. by David T. Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 532-37, (p. 532).

⁴¹ Jordi Castellanos, 'Les traduccions a Catalunya', *Associació d'Escriptors Catalans / Galeusca: XIX Encontre d'Escriptors Gallecs, Bascos i Catalans*, (2002), p. 2.

He then considers that the *Biblioteca Popular de l'Avenç* represented the other side of the coin, as it attempted to engage with the culturally dominant stylistics, and counteract the work of Editorial Maucci, which published in Spanish:

L'antítesi de la política de traduccions de la Renaixensa. [...] [U]na col·lecció que volia contrapesar l'allau de traduccions mal fetes i poc fidels a l'original (però cridaneres, d'un gran sentit comercial) que portava a terme en castellà i des de Barcelona, l'italoargentí Manuel Maucci. A *L'Avenç* se li pot retreure haver trigat massa a mirar el gran públic, però quan ho fa és amb una política clara d'actualització, amb la presència d'una sèrie de referents importants de l'època.⁴²

The *Biblioteca Popular de l'Avenç* published two brief collections of short stories by Tolstoy, a book of Turgenev's essays, and three plays – Gorki's *Els menestrals* (1909) and Tolstoy's *El domini de les tenebres* (1912), by Puig i Ferrer, and Ostrovsky's *La gropada* (1911) by Narcís Oller. Up until the early 1910s, most translations from Russian were being published in one of these two magazines. After the dissolution of *La Renaixensa* in 1905, *De tots colors* took over as one of the leading publishers of Russian literature: during its brief existence (1908-1913) eight translations were printed.⁴³

During the 1910s, the general interest in translating from Russian decreased drastically. No new translations reached the market between 1913, when *Els fruits de la ciència* was published, and 1920, when Pushkin's *El general* appeared in *La Revista*. A reprint of Joaquim Casas-Carbó's translation of Tolstoy's *No es pot tirar llenya al foc* had been published by Impremta Ràfols in 1918. In reference to the lack of translations during this period (particularly from Tolstoy), Ramon Pinyol states that 'cal tenir en compte [...] que en aquests anys diverses editorials barcelonines (Maucci, Sopena, Antoni López) van posar en circulació, en castellà, moltes obres del novel·lista rus'.⁴⁴ This may have been one of the factors to influence this decrease.

⁴² Ibid. p. 3.

⁴³ Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, pp. 254-5, 60.

⁴⁴ Ramon Pinyol, 'La difusió de Tolstoi en català', *Serra d'or*, 611 (2010), p. 38.

This situation may also be partially explained by the focus of *Noucentista* agents on other literatures more closely related to their cultural, political, and stylistic views, for example Greek and Roman classics. As Castellanos explains, ‘el Noucentisme [...] enyora una cultura comuna cohesionadora [...] i cerca en els clàssics grecs i llatins la suplència d’una tradició pròpia. [...] [A]quest classicisme l’ha de proporcionar la traducció dels clàssics: a ells se’ls confia fins i tot allò que Riba anomenava la “cultura moral” i la seva traducció de l’Odissea adquireix aquesta funció mítica’.⁴⁵ However, one of the main publishers of this type of literature, the *Col·lecció dels Clàssics Grecs i Llatins de la Fundació Bernat Metge*, was not founded until 1922, so this reason cannot solely account for the overall decrease in interest on Russian literature. It is also important to note that this gap in Russian translations coincides with a similar situation that occurred earlier in other systems with which the Catalan literary system shares networks. In France and in Britain, as I will explain in more detail in the following chapters, a progressive slowdown of the publication of Russian texts can be observed leading into the 1910s, particularly of Dostoevsky, whose literature had been exhausted in both France and Britain.⁴⁶ These circumstances may have also contributed to the lack of translations into Catalan during the 1910s.

In the 1920s, the political, cultural and editorial situation changed and translations from Russian began to slowly reemerge. A variety of circumstances contributed to that development. The early 1920s have been considered by scholarship as the years of crisis and dissolution of *Noucentisme* as the dominant cultural and stylistic discourse. Political circumstances, namely the rise to power of dictator Primo de Rivera in 1923, influenced the literary sphere in perhaps unexpected ways. As Xavier Pla summarises:

La dissolució de la Mancomunitat de Catalunya i la prohibició de l’ús de la llengua catalana en la major part dels àmbits de l’esfera pública van tenir com a resultat involuntari una concentració de reaccions socials i d’iniciatives literàries, editorials i de mecenatge cultural que van permetre que finalment al cultura catalana accedís [...] a una modernització homologable a les del seu context europeu. [...] L’augment del nombre de llibres venuts als anys vint, la

⁴⁵ Castellanos, *Traduccions a Catalunya*, p. 3.

⁴⁶ Helen Muchnic, *Dostoevsky’s English Reputation, 1881-1936*. (New York: Octagon Books, 1969), p. 51.

creació de noves i modernes llibreries, [...] l'aparició de nous diaris i revistes especialitzades, [...] l'augment i la diversificació de les traduccions d'obres estrangeres en llengua catalana [...] són mostres prou significatives i evidents del dinamisme d'una societat literària que, tot i les seves limitacions, catalitzava amb encert les noves relacions entre la figura de l'escriptor i la del seu públic en el marc d'una nova manera d'entendre el mercat del llibre.⁴⁷

After several years of cultural neglect, members of the milieu and agents of the literary system began to reconsider the position of the autochthonous novel within the repertoire.⁴⁸ This was due to a combination of factors which included: the decline of *Noucentista* dominance in cultural spheres; the political circumstances and their ramifications, as the heavy censorship of daily press was lenient on fictional, bound publications; the years of critical debate in which the suitability of the novelistic genre to depict the Catalan reality was questioned, and the advanced codification of the language by that point, which gave novelists a stable linguistic platform.⁴⁹

In this new literary market which favoured the book, translations became a key component in the catalogues of some of the newly established publishing houses.⁵⁰ Both Yates and Castellanos refer to the use of translation as a means to provide the necessary models of prose to help the Catalan novel develop to match the standard that other systems were producing. Yates argues that 'cal assimilar la influència de Dostoievski abans que es puguin [...] prendre camins independents i originals', whilst Castellanos adds that 'la novel·la no s'improvisa i a l'hora de la veritat els primers passos es van poder fer perquè anteriorment havia existit una tradició [i] [...] paral·lelament [...] s'obren noves vies de traducció, a la recerca d'aquella recomanació que havia fet Carles Riba [...]: "fer arrelar, en sòl catalanesc, una branca d'una novel·lística estrangera, fins a la seva independència"'.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Pla, p. 384.

⁴⁸ Yates, p. 191; Castellanos, *Traduccions a Catalunya*, p. 105.

⁴⁹ Castellanos, *Literatura catalana i compromís*, p. 8; Chumillas i Coromina, p. 202; Yates, p. 188.

⁵⁰ Chumillas i Coromina, p. 202.

⁵¹ Yates, p. 190; Castellanos, *Traduccions a Catalunya*, p. 106.

Biblioteca Literària by Editorial Catalana, later acquired by Llibreria Catalònia,⁵² and the magazines *La Revista* and *Bella Terra* were key players in the publication of Russian literature. Whilst *Biblioteca Literària* published Pushkin as translated by Rudolf J. Slaby without mediating sources, *La Revista* employed upcoming writer Agustí Esclasans for a large portion of their texts, whilst *Bella Terra* was Josep Carner's magazine. *La novel·la estrangera*, directed by Ventura Gassol, also translated several Russian texts.⁵³ One of the key characteristics of these 1920 translations is that they were slowly increasing the length of the text. For example, two of Editorial Catalana's 1921 publications exceeded 200 pages, which is a very significant change from the one-page short stories that were being translated before; these, of course, were still popular in daily publications.⁵⁴

Whilst indirect translations from Russian via French mostly had been the norm up until the beginning of the 1920s, the awareness of the problems that mediated translations could suffer became a key issue in the publication of Russian texts in Catalan. Manuel de Montoliu had not included Russian as one of the languages out of which direct translations were a must in 1908, but by the 1920s, the need for unmediated texts arose. An awareness that mediated translations, particularly from French, had been severely altered or shortened, as García Sala explains, became a source of debate in the 1920s after André Gide's criticism of one of Dostoevsky's early translators, Halpérine-Kaminsky.

Podem estar convençuts que aquestes discussions ressonaven també a Catalunya entre els lectors que llegien premsa i literatura en francès. Si més no, el llibre de Gide era conegut pels amants catalans de l'obra de Dostoievski, com demostra l'exemple de Joan Puig i Ferrer, per a qui era el llibre de capçalera per entendre el novel·lista rus. Puig i Ferrer mateix afirmà en una conferència pronunciada el 1934 que, si bé durant trenta anys *Le Roman Russe*, de Vogüé, havia estat el llibre de referència sobre la literatura russa, en aquest moments "el nostre guia [és] el llibre de Gide sobre Dostoievski". I, de fet, quan marxà a

⁵² Chumillas i Coromina, p. 206.

⁵³ Ibid. p. 205; Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, p. 255.

⁵⁴ Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, pp. 255, 61.

l'exili, de la seva extensíssima biblioteca (d'una quatre mil volums), Puig i Ferrer se n'endugué cinc llibres, entre els quals hi havia el *Dostoevski* de Gide.⁵⁵

This debate would become more apparent after the establishment of Edicions Proa in 1928, and its relationship with one of its main competitors, Carles Soldevila's Llibreria Catalònia, and its main collection, Biblioteca Univers. The awareness that French mediation might have been influencing the accuracy of the final translation, and Puig i Ferrer's announcement in the press that Edicions Proa would be publishing unmediated translations⁵⁶ prompted Soldevila to seek an alternative arrangement to find a competitive edge. Between 1928 and 1930, a certain Olga Savarin translated six novels for Univers, alongside a Catalan counterpart in what was described as a linguistic tandem. Josep Miracle penned two of those collaborations, whereas the other four were undertaken by Marçal Pineda, Melcior Font, Lluçà Canal and Enric Palau. Savarin's turned out to be a fabricated pen name. García Sala explains that 'segons Josep Miracle, la invenció del nom imaginari "no tenia altra missió que eludir els drets de traducció". Tanmateix, l'aparença eslava del nom suggereix que fou creat, com diu Ramon Pinyol, per tal de confondre el lector'.⁵⁷ In fact the main reason was to hide the fact that the translations published at the Biblioteca Univers were mediated from French. Proa accused Univers of using this strategy as a commercial trick, in an article that will be analysed later in this thesis. The reality of the situation, however, is that Univers only managed to publish shorter narratives, compared to Proa's full length novels. These narratives were novellas (Tolstoy's *Kàtia* and *La sonata Kreutzer*, and Chekhov's *Tres anys*, for example) which had been marketed as novels, a point I will return to later. Edicions Proa, thanks to the unprecedented unmediated translations that Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin produced, edged ahead in the 'race' to translate Russian literature into Catalan from the late 1920s.

⁵⁵ García Sala, *Olga Savarin i traducció indirecta* p. 153.

⁵⁶ Joan Puig i Ferrer, 'A propòsit de Tolstoi. A l'amic Carles Soldevila', *La Publicitat*, 12 June 1928, p. 4.

⁵⁷ García Sala, *Olga Savarin i traducció indirecta* p. 148.

2. A Note on Translations of Pushkin

After this contextualisation and historical background to translation from Russian into Catalan before the establishment of Edicions Proa, it is important to pause briefly to review the specific characteristics of translating Alexander Pushkin into Catalan. The reasoning for this is twofold; firstly, given the key position of Pushkin in Russian literary historiography and polysystem through the ages, it is necessary to explain why his presence in this thesis is limited to a brief section; and secondly, his was the first work by a Russian author translated directly from Russian into Catalan, and given the importance placed on the avoidance of mediated translations in the 1920s mentioned previously, a brief review of Rudolf J. Slaby's role in context is warranted.

Pushkin is widely considered the founding father of Russian literature, and the greatest Russian poet of all time.⁵⁸ Despite dying at the age of 37, his impact on Russian literature was unprecedented: he had become an influential member of the Russian polysystem by the time he finished his secondary education at the Imperial Lycée at the Great Palace at Tsarskoe Selo.⁵⁹ Born into a noble family in St Petersburg in 1799, his early political writings brought him plenty of attention from the authorities, and at age 20 he was banned from the capital.⁶⁰ He travelled to the south for several years, and later pleaded his case to return to St Petersburg to the tsar in 1825, which he was granted. He remained under the close watch of the government and his literature was subject to strict censorship throughout his life.⁶¹ In his lifetime, Pushkin modernised Russian literature, introduced new, western models, and mastered a great variety of genres, whilst also turning literary activity into a profession.⁶² Whilst he was well known and 'considered a classic' by the time of his death, only in the 1870s did a more sophisticated and consistent appreciation for his work began to emerge.⁶³

⁵⁸ Andrew Kahn, *The Cambridge Companion to Pushkin*. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 1; Robert Chandler, Stanley Mitchell, and Antony Wood, *Brief Lives: Alexander Pushkin*. (London: Hesperus Press, 2008), p. 99; David M. Bethea and Sergei Davydov, 'Pushkin's biography', in *The Pushkin Handbook*, ed. by David M. Bethea (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), (p. 19).

⁵⁹ Chandler, Mitchell, and Wood, p. 14.

⁶⁰ T. J. Binyon, *Pushkin: A Biography*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), pp. 101-02.

⁶¹ Kahn, p. 6.

⁶² *Ibid.* p. 5.

⁶³ *Ibid.* pp. 5-6.

From a Russian literary perspective, including Pushkin only briefly in this thesis without giving him the capital importance he had within the Russian polysystem could certainly be challenged. After all, his centrality in the Russian polysystem is undisputed, particularly given the high opinion of him that other significant authors had, among them Dostoevsky and Vladimir Nabokov. However, as I will present in this section, Pushkin was not translated with any consistency into the Catalan polysystem, and translations of his work were localised into two very specific periods: the last two decades of the nineteenth century, and the early 1920s. His work did not make the same impact as others in the Catalan polysystem of the 1930s because it was not translated as widely. This is not exclusive to the Catalan system, as Pushkin's work also struggled to gain the same recognition as Tolstoy or Dostoevsky in France during the introduction of Russian literature in the late 19th century.⁶⁴ Edicions Proa, despite Nin wishing to provide an anthology of Russian classics that was to include Pushkin, did not continue with that project, and focused on Russian novelists better known to the Catalan reading public. I have therefore limited Pushkin's presence to this section only, as an example of how the target polysystem appropriates the content of the source literature, and how, by not translating some authors, the target culture affects how the original source is perceived. Toury's argument that 'translations are facts of a 'target' culture' is put into practice in this context.⁶⁵

Regardless of his lack of presence in the Catalan polysystem, Pushkin was the first Russian author to be translated into Catalan in 1879 and allegedly 1883, as mentioned in the previous section: the 'little tragedy' *Mozart y Salieri* (*Моцарт и Сальери*, 1832) and love poem *L'Antxar* (*Анчар*, 1828).⁶⁶ In the last decade of the nineteenth century, literary magazine *La Renaixensa* became one of the leading periodicals in the publication of Russian literature. Brief works by Tolstoy, Turgenev, and Dostoevsky, as well as Pushkin were available from this magazine, most of them lesser known short stories or poems. The next three translations of Pushkin came in the 1890s, and they

⁶⁴ 'Undoubtedly, Pushkin knew the French far better than they knew of him, both during his lifetime and for many years after. [...] Alexandre Dumas wrote in [...] 1860: 'Pushkin, killed in 1837, as popular in Russia as Schiller is in Germany, is scarcely known at all in France.' David Baguley, 'Pushkin and Mérimée, the French Connection: On Hoaxes and Impostors', in *Two Hundred Years of Pushkin*, ed. by Joe Andrew and Robert Reid (Rodopi, 2003), (p. 178).

⁶⁵ Toury, p. 23.

⁶⁶ Pushkin and others ; Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, p. 259.

were all published in *La Renaixensa*, either in the magazine or in its literary collection. In 1892, Joan Duran translated *Doubrovski* (*Дубровский*, 1841, unfinished), in the same volume that contained over 150 pages of Tolstoy's work in the shape of short stories. Later on, in 1897, Francesc Rierola translated *Lo convidat de pedra* (*Каменный гость*, 1830) and *La Russalka* (*Русалка*, unfinished) for the magazine. Closing this first period of interest in Pushkin's literature, *La sota d'espasas* (*Пиковая дама*, 1834)⁶⁷ was translated by a 'G. de A.' in 1900.

The second period of translations of Pushkin takes place in the early 1920s. Two short poems opened the decade: *El general* in 1920, with an anonymous translator, and *Els ceps* in 1921, translated by Jaume Bofill i Ferro. Both texts were published in *La Revista*, both using French as their mediating source.⁶⁸ Additionally, given that these translations were produced after the publication of the *Normes Ortogràfiques*, grammar and spelling in these texts are normative, which presents an interesting contrast with the last Pushkin text available before the turn of the century.

The main characteristic of this second period is that the first direct translator from Russian into Catalan emerged. Rudolf J. Slaby, a Hispanist of Czechoslovakian origin, came into contact with some members of the Catalan and Spanish literary milieus in Barcelona in the early 1920s, and soon began translating Slavic texts into Spanish through the Editorial Cervantes.⁶⁹ The collaboration that is of interest in this research is with the *Biblioteca Literària* by *Editorial Catalana*, in which Slaby published two more substantial works by Pushkin in Catalan.⁷⁰ This was certainly a feat as previous translations of the Russian author were consistently brief. Slaby also focused on translating certain Spanish and Catalan works into Czech, a fact that made him gain

⁶⁷ This is a loose and erroneous title adaptation of the original title *Пиковая дама* (*The Queen of Spades*), which translates as *The Jack of Swords* in Catalan, with 'swords' referring to the Spanish deck rather than the French deck that the original Russian story uses. The transfer of this title into Catalan indicates that it was translated from Spanish, as *La sota de espadas* was published in 1851. The loose adaptation means that it is the jack who resembles the old countess, and not the queen. Aleksander Pushkin, *La sota de espadas, novela rusa por Pouchkin*. (Salamanca: Imprenta de Juan José Morán, 1851).

⁶⁸ Aleksander Pushkin, 'El general', *La Revista*, 1920, pp. 126-7; Aleksander Pushkin, 'Els ceps', *La Revista*, 1921, p. 230.

⁶⁹ Thomas S. Harrington, 'Rudolf J. Slaby i els sistemes literaris de la península ibèrica', in *Entre literatures: hegemònies i perifèries en el processos de mediació literària*, ed. by Gabriella Gavagnin and Víctor Martínez-Gil (Lleida: Punctum & Trilcat, 2011), (p. 126).

⁷⁰ Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, p. 255.

popularity in the press: 'Entre la gent de lletres el nom del senyor R. G. [sic] Slaby sona amb un timbre tan conegut que ningú no fa pas mostra [...] de curiositat o estranyesa.'⁷¹

Slaby translated a collection of stories in 1921, most of which are included in *The Tales of Belkin* (*Повести покойного Ивана Петровича Белкина*, 1831), with a few additions. At 204 pages, *El bandoler romàntic/La dama de pique/La pagesa fíngida/Temporal de neu/Un tret* (*Дубровский*, 1841; *Пиковая дама*, 1834; 'Барышня-крестьянка', 'Метель' and 'Выстрел', 1831) was the most representative translation of Pushkin into Catalan at the time. This was followed by *La filla del capità* (*Капитанская дочка*, 1836) a year later. With only these two works, Slaby became the main translator of Pushkin into Catalan. His contribution to the introduction of Pushkin in the literary system was certainly important. However, his work lacked continuity: there was no follow up to these translations, and Pushkin's figure never managed to achieve the centrality one would have expected for a figure of his magnitude in Russia. In addition to this, whilst some of Pushkin's renowned work was translated by Slaby, his main texts remained untranslated: *Eugene Onegin*, *The Bronze Horseman*, and *The Tales of Belkin* in their original format, with Pushkin/Belkin as the narrator of a cycle of stories, for example.⁷² Hence, the chance to make an impact on the Catalan literary system with essential works from the Russian system was missed.

Despite his importance in its original polysystem, and the value and central position that Pushkin's literature gained during the Soviet period, this did not transfer into the 1930s Catalan polysystem either. A ten-year hiatus followed Slaby's last original translation: the only translation of Pushkin's work of relevance to be published in the 1930s was Sebastià Juan Arbó's rendition of *Boris Gudónov*[sic] (*Борис Годунов*, 1825) in 1934. This was a mediated translation from French, and was the first Russian text to appear in *Quaderns Literaris*, a collection directed by Josep Jané i Olivé. In that same collection, Jané republished three of Slaby's 1920s translations (*La filla del capità*, *Dubrovksi*, *el bandoler*, and the collection *La dama de pique o el secret de la comtessa/La*

⁷¹ J. M. O., 'Rodolf Slaby', *La Veu de Catalunya*, 10/05/1922. 'Rodolf J. Slaby, l'escriptor texc tan amic nostre, ha traduït a la seva llengua una de les millors obres del teatre català: l'excel·lent "Misteri del dolor" del nostre Adrià Gual.' Bob, 'Teló enlaire', *L'Esquella de la Torratxa*, 22 July 1927.

⁷² In Slaby's defense, *The Belkin Tales* only began to be studied as one unit and not as an amalgamation of isolated stories in the 1960s and 1970s. Andrej Kodjak, *Pushkin's I.P. Belkin*. (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1979), p. 11.

pagesa fingida/Temporal de neu/Un tret), and an old Tolstoyan text translated by Joaquim Casas Carbó.

At a time when translations from Russian were entering the Catalan literary system in waves, Pushkin's literature was lacking a translator or another agent who could bring his literature to a central position. Consequently, the impact of his interference in the Catalan context of the 1930s is virtually non-existent. In the period between 1928 and 1937, the years in which Edicions Proa flourished, we find a long list of 'other' Russian authors being translated, albeit not consistently. The absence of Pushkin in Catalan translation can also be explained through his position in neighbouring systems, particularly the French. When Russian literature began its 'invasion' of France at the end of the nineteenth century, priority was given to contemporary writers, particularly Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, over older ones like Pushkin. He was a secondary figure in this invasion, and that affected his introduction into other polysystems, as in the case of the Catalan. However, when Pushkin's literature began to gather momentum in France in the first quarter of the twentieth century 'thanks to the combined efforts of some eminent French Slavists and Russian émigrés',⁷³ and a retranslation of *La dame de pique* by André Gide, this momentum did not translate into the Catalan literary system.

Consequently, his literature had no impact on the Catalan literary system of the 1930s. There are two factors that might have conditioned this situation. Firstly, and much like Chekhov's, Pushkin's available literature was outside the new repertoire that the agents of the Catalan polysystem were rebuilding. His texts were either poems or collections of short stories, which could have influenced the *Noucentista* period, but were no longer part of the canon in the 1930s, in which novels had taken the central stage. Secondly, his literature might have been at a disadvantage because of the very concentrated periods in which it was translated into Catalan. The long hiatuses between translation 'bursts' complicated the impact of his texts, which were already peripheral. This lack of continuity made it easier for Pushkin's literature to be buried under the literature of other authors, and quickly forgotten. Therefore, the fragmentary translations of Pushkin into Catalan are merely a token of his original production; their

⁷³ Baguley, p. 179.

limited impact on the Catalan polysystem is a reflection of the context in the target culture that received them.

3. Edicions Proa's Cultural Project (1928-1938)

3.1. Biblioteca A Tot Vent

In this environment of the rise of the novel, intense translation activity, the passivity of the dictatorial regime towards literary publication specifically,⁷⁴ and the creation of publishing houses and other institutions to develop Catalan culture, Edicions Proa was founded. It was established in April 1928 by Marcel·lí Antich and Josep Queralt, two agents whose intention was to spread culture and literature among the masses.⁷⁵ They entrusted the literary direction of their main collection, *Biblioteca A Tot Vent*, to a then peripheral writer, Joan Puig i Ferrer, whilst also involving themselves in the literary decisions. Puig i Ferrer had begun his career writing for the theatre with some success,⁷⁶ but had joined in the push to reintroduce novels in the repertoire⁷⁷ and published *Les facècies de l'amor* (1925), *Servitud, memòries d'un periodista* (1926), *Els tres al·lucïnats* (1926), and *Una mica d'amor* (1927) in a relatively short period of time. The context in which Edicions Proa was established was favourable, at a cultural and ideological level, and the political environment was soon to improve. The Catalan polysystem, after several decades of struggle among agents to define its canon, was finally open to the production of Catalan novels. Proa was founded with a strong focus on providing Catalan culture with works in the popular genre, both autochthonous production and in translation. It was also one of the main publishing houses established in the 1920s that had both a cultural commitment to the quality of its work

⁷⁴ 'La censura [...] fou més tolerant (fins i tot arbitrària) amb el llibre imprès que no pas amb la premsa escrita [perque] tenien una difusió escassa.' Chumillas i Coromina, p. 201.

⁷⁵ 'Eren lletraferits amb vocació pedagògica: posar a l'abast del poble la cultura.' Manent, *Antecedents i història d'una aventura cultural: Edicions Proa*, p. 190. 'Queralt representava la passió per la literatura. [...] Antich va introduir a Proa la dimensió social i compromesa.' Julià Guillamon, *La propera festa del llibre serà de color taronja! Cinquanta anys del relleuament d'Edicions Proa*. (Barcelona: Edicions Proa, 2015), p. 25.

⁷⁶ Joan Puig i Ferrer and Guillem-Jordi Graells, *Servitud: memòries d'un periodista*. (Barcelona: Proa, 2002), pp. 10-2.

⁷⁷ Castellanos, *Les influències europees i literatura catalans*, p. 106.

and a strong commercial sense, aiming to make publications in Catalan more accessible to the public.⁷⁸

From its inception, Proa had an eclectic approach to the content of the *Biblioteca A Tot Vent*; many styles and ideological positions were accepted and published, with the common denominator that all titles in the collection were novels: authors were chosen based not on the subject about which they wrote, but on the format. The channels of interference were open, but only to that specific genre.⁷⁹ This is one of the reasons why Russian literature became an influential stratum in *A Tot Vent*: at the time, Russian writers were considered the masters of novel-writing, with Tolstoy and Dostoevsky at the forefront.⁸⁰ The stylistic and ideological stance of Proa's director is reflected in a catalogue from 1936 quoted by Albert Manent:

Durant vuit anys una novel·la cada mes. Una antologia de la novel·la clàssica i moderna universals. Les millors obres estrangeres i traduïdes pels millors escriptors catalans. Les més important novel·les del nostre temps. Cap sectarisme, cap exclusivisme. Del catòlic *Baring* al comunista *Bogdànov*, del cristià *Dostoiewski* al sensualisme de *Proust*, totes les formes del pensament són acceptables en la nostra col·lecció mentre siguin encarnades en una intensa i pura obra d'art. Una gran col·lecció europea de novel·les digna germana de la "Nelson" francesa i la "Tauchnitz" anglesa, que hem volgut prendre per models.⁸¹

Therefore, the cultural aim of the collection was to bring classic and contemporary works of European writers to the newly formed Catalan readership, whilst also helping domestic writers promote their work. As Domènech Guansé argues, '[Proa pretenia] donar impuls a la novel·la catalana que en aquells temps de gran efervescència

⁷⁸ Chumillas i Coromina, p. 204.

⁷⁹ This is common trait of the time. 'Una base de dades que conté més de 370 títols literaris traduïts al català de 1923 a 1930. La narrativa s'enduu la part del lleó, amb un 70% dels títols traslladats. Hi destaca la presència de novel·les (146) i de clàssics grecs i llatins.' *ibid.* p. 202.

⁸⁰ Joan Puig i Ferrer, 'Francesc Payarols, traductor del rus', *La Publicitat*, 10 May 1929.

⁸¹ Manent, *Antecedents i història d'una aventura cultural: Edicions Proa*, p. 194. Italics are my own and are used to highlight the fact that all four examples refer to European authors, not Catalan.

intel·lectual es dividia en contradictòries tendències i apassionava els lectors'.⁸² Emerging Catalan authors such as Miquel Llor, Prudenci Bertrana, Alfons Maseras, and Maria Teresa Vernet saw their novels and translations published at Edicions Proa before 1930. This promising cohort was then followed by authors who would become important Catalan novelists of the first half of the twentieth century, like Sebastià Juan Arbó, Francesc Trabal, and Cèsar August Jordana. Even Mercè Rodoreda, arguably the most important Catalan novelist of the twentieth century, had one of her earlier novels, *Un dia de la vida d'un home*, published in the *Biblioteca A Tot Vent* in 1934.

Whilst collaborating in the development of Catalan authors, Proa's ideological and cultural stance stated in the quotation above reveals a particular focus on translated literature. By emphasising the publication of European novels, Proa turned translated literature into what Fuster had described as 'el fonament i el nervi del clima cultural autòcton [català]'.⁸³ The numbers support this statement: 31 novels were published in the *Biblioteca A Tot Vent* between 1928 and 1930, of which 19 were translations (5 of Russian texts specifically), and 12 were originals in Catalan. The republican period, between 1931 and 1938, saw the publication of another 61 books, 33 of them translations and 28 autochthonous pieces. In total, of the 92 titles published before the editors of Proa went into exile, the *Biblioteca A Tot Vent* had a combined 52 translated novels, 13 of which were Russian texts (which makes up a significant quarter of that total), and 40 novels were by Catalan authors.

Edicions Proa employed a large number of translators in their first epoch. Following the tradition established during *Modernisme*, an important percentage of these translators were in fact writer-translators. Some of them were renowned authors themselves, making up a group of 'leading writers [...] who produce the most conspicuous or appreciated translations',⁸⁴ such as Miquel Llor, Prudenci Bertrana, and Cèsar August Jordana, as well as personalities like Josep Carner. Even in the cases in which the translators were not involved in relevant creative literary work, these were

⁸² Domènec Guansé, 'Josep Queral i Clapés i les Edicions Proa', in *Commemoració dels 500 anys del primer llibre imprès en català. 1474-1974. L'aventura editorial a Catalunya*, (Barcelona: Fundació Carulla, 1972), pp. 102-03).

⁸³ Fuster, p. 309.

⁸⁴ Even-Zohar, *The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem*, p. 46.

part of the literary milieu in one way or another: normally by directing a magazine, working in journalism, or editing for a publication, as in the cases of Just Cabot and Rafael Tasis. Pau Romeva is a similar case to Andreu Nin: his main work was as a politician for the Lliga Regionalista. In this context of translator-man of letters, Francesc Payarols was an outsider, as he was not involved in the cultural milieu in any other capacity: he was an accountant and shop assistant.⁸⁵

Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin were hired for Proa by its literary director, Joan Puig i Ferrer, an influential member of the literary milieu. The importance of his role as an agent evolved quite dramatically over time: from his humble beginnings as a playwright, and his outsider role during the height of *Noucentista* years, to one of the key editors during the republican years, to an isolated figure in exile due to a defamation campaign and alleged political scandal. The following section addresses Puig i Ferrer's development into a main agent of the Catalan polysystem and his input into translated literature during his tenure at Proa.

3.2. Puig i Ferrer and Russian Literature

Joan Puig i Ferrer was chosen by Antich and Queralt to be the literary director of the *Biblioteca A Tot Vent* from the foundation of Proa in 1928 until his death in exile in 1956, a role he developed intermittently due to his political commitments and historical circumstances. Whilst this collaboration ended up being a success, it was originally a risky decision for the owners of Proa to choose a *Modernist* playwright to lead a project focused on the reintroduction of the novel into the literary canon. Puig i Ferrer's role in the development of Proa's literary fame, and the consequent impact on the Catalan polysystem of the 1930s, has been underestimated in Catalan literary historiography, possibly due to certain biographical circumstances.⁸⁶

The illegitimate son of a rich landowner, a fact that influenced part of his early novel-writing, Puig i Ferrer was born in 1882 in La Selva del Camp, south of Tarragona.

⁸⁵ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 49.

⁸⁶ Dari Escandell Maestre, 'Joan Puig i Ferrer: Ressonàncies d'un exili', in *Congreso Interdisciplinario Discurso sobre fronteras - Fronteras del discurso: Literatura, pensamiento y cultura del ámbito ibérico e iberoamericano*, ed. by Instituto Cervantes (Warsaw / Krakow, 2007), pp. 3-4).

Whilst in the same generational bracket as D'Ors and Carner,⁸⁷ he was a late *Modernista* whose early production focused on the drama of ideas influenced by Russian and Scandinavian authors.⁸⁸ He wrote mainly plays between 1904 and 1925, with inconsistent success.⁸⁹ The period between 1925 and 1929 was highly prolific in regards to narrative, as he published seven novels, one of which, *El cercle màgic* (1929) obtained the prestigious Premi Joan Crexells. His appointment at Proa was based on his literary track record of that period. His role at the publishing house continued throughout the 1930s and into exile, although this relationship was interrupted by his political activities. These caused him great difficulties in exile, as after his fall out with an old colleague, Ferran Canyameres, he accused him of embezzling public funds from the Generalitat. To this day, it is unclear where the truth lies; scholar Guillem-Jordi Graells explains both versions of the political scandal that surrounded Puig i Ferrer's later life, but leans towards Puig's version over Canyameres' defamation campaign:

És evident que la gestió política de Puig, en general, no presenta un aspecte gens brillant i està, certament, a la base de totes les complicacions posteriors que l'amargaren. [...] Puig arribà [a l'exili de] París a mitjan setembre. [...] La seva missió era doble: actuar com a delegat de la Generalitat en converses i negociacions amb polítics francesos, i com a pagador del mateix organisme en les operacions d'adquisició de material. [...] Les versions anti-Puig, escampades principalment per Ferran Canyameres i els seus amics, afirmen que en aquesta gestió Puig s'aproprià de grans sumes [...] i s'hauria fet una fortuna considerable. [...] Davant d'aquest allau difamatori Puig explicà a tothom [...] que la seva gestió com a pagador fou estretament vigilada des del començament per Josep M. Espanya. [...] El producte de totes les operacions, així com les quantitats derivades de les comissions, anaven a parar a un fons especial de la Generalitat. [...] Acabada la guerra [...] es procedí a repartir les quantitats acumulades entre una trentena de consellers [...] i Puig obtingué una d'aquestes trentenes parts.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Fuster, p. 247.

⁸⁸ Joan Puig i Ferrer, *Diari d'un escriptor: ressonàncies, 1942-1952*. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1975), p. 10.

⁸⁹ Puig i Ferrer and Graells, pp. 10-2.

⁹⁰ Puig i Ferrer, *Diari d'un escriptor: ressonàncies, 1942-1952*, pp. 13-14.

In any case, whilst he held the role of the literary director at Edicions Proa, Puig i Ferrer had an enormous influence on how the catalogue of the *Biblioteca A Tot Vent* was shaped. He delivered Proa's cultural project the way Antich and Queralt had envisioned: by making important texts of universal literature accessible to a wider readership and in Catalan, and giving Catalan writers the opportunity of showcasing their work. He was very passionate about his work; as Joan Oliver explained later, 'darrera una tauleta-escriptori, amb unes baranetes laterals, Puig i Ferrer rebia els joves novel·listes i es barallava amb els proveïdors que tenien massa pressa per cobrar. No era gens difícil que un diàleg amb l'autor d'*Els tres al·lucinats* degenerés en un petit altercat'.⁹¹ In addition to this, he created a pool of renowned writer-translators from French, English, German and Russian that provided the polysystem with classics of European narrative, from Dostoevsky to Stendhal, from Woolf to Zweig.

Puig i Ferrer had a predilection for Russian literature which is not only displayed through his work,⁹² but it is also reflected in the catalogue of the *Biblioteca A Tot Vent*. The statistics indicate that a quarter of all translations published in the collection were of Russian texts. This does not include the additional publications in other spin-off collections such as *Els d'ara*, where Nin published Pilniak (1 out of 4 texts) or *Històries curtes* (2 out of 8). In his development years as a writer, Puig i Ferrer found the writing models he required in Russian authors, and his narrative style has been described as 'eslàvic'.⁹³ The influence that Russian writers had over the new Catalan writers of the 1930s would not have been the same if Antich and Queralt had chosen a different literary director for their cultural project: Puig prioritised those authors that had made the most impact on his writing as central figures of the translated stratum.

All of this demonstrates his central hierarchical position within the polysystem of the 1930s: his contribution to the reshaping of the system places him as one of the key agents in Catalan literature during that period. The full extent of Puig i Ferrer's agency will be further explored and demonstrated in the body of this thesis through

⁹¹ Manent, *Antecedents i història d'una aventura cultural: Edicions Proa*, p. 193.

⁹² Dari Escandell Mestre, 'El pes de la literatura rusa en l'obra de Puig i Ferrer: el cas de *Camins de França*', in *XIVè Col·loqui Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes*, ed. by Associació Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes (Budapest, 2006).

⁹³ Fuster, p. 248.

specific examples. The next section follows on with the other two agents, translators Andreu Nin and Francesc Payarols, and the position of their work within the system.

4. Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin: Agents of the Polysystem

Following on from the literary contextualisation of the previous sections of this chapter, this final section now proceeds with an approximation into the figures of Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin. In the next few pages, a biographical and bibliographical snapshot on the lives and work of these two translators will be provided. This summary of their biographical endeavours should be understood in the spirit of the first aim of this thesis, which is explore the figure of Payarols alongside Nin within their cultural context and highlight their contribution to the literary system by producing unmediated translations from Russian into Catalan. Therefore, this segment is not exhaustive, nor it attempts to cover the lives of either translator in great length; for that purpose, please see Pilar Estelrich in the case of Payarols, and Pelai Pagès and Wilebaldo Solano for Andreu Nin.⁹⁴

In this section, an examination of the power dynamics between these translators will also be provided. These dynamics will play a part in the critical reception and overall position of their translations within the system, not only in the 1930s, but throughout the twentieth century and up to the present day. This section will outline the literary system's attitude towards Nin's translations, which have remained untouched yet have been republished on plenty of occasions over the past century, which directly contrasts with the position of Payarols' translations, which have been either fully revised or completely ignored.

In polysystem theory, agents are identified as members of the literary milieu, and more specifically, of the institution, which is defined by Even-Zohar as 'the aggregate of factors involved with the maintenance of literature as a socio-cultural activity'.⁹⁵ The institution, which is not a homogenous or clear cut entity, but rather resembles a

⁹⁴ Please see the Introduction for more information on these scholars, pp. 18-23.

⁹⁵ Even-Zohar, *The Literary System*, p. 37.

combination of rules that guide literary activity within a given system, is made up of agents that implement these rules. Agents are normally identified as influential literary critics, editors (due to their power to decide what is published and what is rejected and the publishing houses they work for), academies and other government-funded bodies, the media, and anyone with a direct involvement in the creation of culture. Agents should be understood as those figures and entities that have power of decision when it comes to influencing, changing, or maintaining the polysystem. As argued in the previous chapter, literary products and all other semiotic phenomena that make up the polysystem, as well as their authors, have no say in what position the particular item will gain within the system. It is the work of its agents that assign or deduct value from a specific work, or as Even-Zohar proposes, 'as part of the official culture, [...] [they] determine who, and which products, will be remembered by a community for a longer period of time.'⁹⁶

Given Even-Zohar's focus on translated literature as a stratum within the literary system in his studies, it is interesting to note that he does not specifically mention the possibility of translators being agents in the list of members of the literary milieu normally in charge, so to speak, of the implementation of the rules of the institution. However, translators, not only as producers of culture themselves, but also as intermediaries and facilitators of interference across polysystems, can be in a position of power to decide what is translated and how. As the body of this thesis illustrates, Puig i Ferrer played an essential role in assigning certain authors and texts to Nin and Payarols when they first started working for Proa. As Proa gained momentum as the leading publishing house in the edition of Russian novels, Puig i Ferrer gave these translators a certain degree of artistic freedom. This led to Nin and Payarols being able to choose what they wanted to translate, hence reinforcing their position as agents: they were able to influence the literary canon with these choices. Whilst I will go into further detail on this in Chapter 5, the preliminary idea is that these choices depended on their literary and political stances, with Nin translating plenty of twentieth-

⁹⁶ Ibid.

century/politically-oriented literature, and Payarols opting for a variety of nineteenth-century novels, which were significant from a cultural perspective.

Within agents in a determined polysystem, as with semiotic phenomena, we encounter a hierarchy: not all agents have the same amount of power or respect within the milieu. Some of them, as in the case of D'Ors or Carner during *Noucentisme*, are practically 'superagents'; their influence is such within culture that their work is taken as the only possible model of written prose, and their opinions on literature as gospel. Neither Nin nor Payarols had that power, but the difference in positioning between them is evident: Nin was a more established and respected member of the milieu, mainly because of his socio-political presence within the polysystem, hence both his work and his literary choices were more valued than Payarols'.

Finally, Andreu Nin and Francesc Payarols were the first Catalan translators from Russian into Catalan that could work without a mediating language or text. At the time in which they produced their translations, there was a literary void in unmediated translators in the Iberian Peninsula, according to Puig i Ferrer.⁹⁷ Allegedly, the Spanish system did not have a specific figure that did the job that Payarols and Nin were doing for Proa, and they relied on mediated translations during the 1930s. Therefore, for a short period, the Catalan polysystem was in a more receptive position to welcome direct interference from Russian literature, particularly at a time where there was a cultural fascination for the political situation of the Soviet Union.⁹⁸

4.1. Francesc Payarols, 'Traductor del Rus'

In contrast with the many biographical and political sources on Nin's life and work, there is very little literature on the figure of Francesc Payarols. The only available resources are a handful of academic articles written in the late 1990s, one of them containing a short message from Payarols himself, and a newspaper article written by Puig i Ferrer for *La Publicitat* in 1928 to announce the publication of the first direct translation from Russian into Catalan at Proa. The lack of biographical and academic

⁹⁷ Puig i Ferrer, *Francesc Payarols, traductor del rus*, p. 4.

⁹⁸ Breu, p. 15.

resources on the work of Payarols is one of the few facts that show the difference in treatment of either figure by the milieu over the years. Certainly, some elements of Payarols' biography would have also contributed to the obscuring of his figure; he stopped translating Russian literature at the end of the Spanish Civil War, and his work, as with the work of many others, was forgotten during the dictatorship.

Francesc Payarols was born in Girona in 1896. His upbringing was modest and it was his mother's wish for him to study to become a priest.⁹⁹ Thanks to a family connection, he managed to attend a private school in Barcelona where he learnt French. At age 14, he entered the official teaching school from which he obtained a diploma in *Magisteri Superior* four years later.¹⁰⁰ Instead of going into teaching after he graduated, he began working as a shop assistant at a warehouse in Can Banús. This position gave him financial stability and time to pursue other learning opportunities.¹⁰¹ Inspired by the events of the First World War, he learnt German and later English practically by himself. Not satisfied with the challenges of having learnt those languages, he then fixed his focus on learning Russian: he visited El Liceu often and was particularly fond of Russian operas. He obtained some resources from his bookseller connections, and found a lady, Sònia, to teach him Russian. The lessons were fruitless as he struggled to learn conversational Russian, however he ended up marrying her. The couple encountered many issues due to her Jewish background, and Payarols had to overcome the family scandal that marrying someone from a different religion represented in the Catalan context of the late 1920s.

Whilst speaking Russian was too difficult a task for Payarols, he learnt the written language to a satisfactory degree. Marcel·lí Antich, co-founder of Proa and old school friend introduced him to Puig i Ferrer in 1928. Whilst he could work with other languages, Puig i Ferrer was mainly interested in Payarols' ability to translate Russian. In fact, he did not translate into any other language whilst employed by Proa. His trial for the publishing house was based on a chapter of *Els germans Karamàzov*,¹⁰² which was accepted by Puig i Ferrer despite Payarols' insecurities about his own

⁹⁹ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 49.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid. p. 53.

abilities to translate an author as difficult as Dostoevsky. As Puig i Ferrer then explains, he proposed that Payarols continue with the rest of the translation, which he refused: ‘quan li vàrem proposar de traduir Dostoiewski [sic], ens va dir: ‘No; per començar, aquest genial turmentat em fa massa respecte. Per què no Turguenev? Turguenev és suau, delicat; un pintor deliciós de la naturalesa, un descriptor penetrant dels sentiments. En fi, un gran artista de la literatura russa, un clàssic.’¹⁰³ Similarly, Estelrich quoted Payarols arguing that starting his career translating *Els germans Kramàzov* ‘hauria estat ‘començar per la catedral’.¹⁰⁴ I will examine the consequences of Payarols’ initial reluctance to translate Dostoevsky thoroughly in Chapter 3.¹⁰⁵

His first translation was *Pares i fills* by Turgenev (1928), followed by several texts by Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Chekhov, and other authors like Saltikov-Shchedrin or Kuprin. In total, he translated 8 books (six novels and two collections of short stories) from Russian between 1928 and 1935, when the activity at Proa began to stall. During the Spanish Civil War, he translated from German into Spanish for Editorial Labor, and was forced to be General Vladimir Antonov-Ovseyenko’s Spanish tutor during his stay in Spain, fearing that ‘si no acceptava els russos el posarien a la llista negra’.¹⁰⁶

Whilst working for the same publishing house and from the same language, Nin and Payarols maintained a cordial relationship but had some literary disagreements.¹⁰⁷ Payarols collaborated in Antich’s short-lived spinoff project Editorial Atena in 1935, in which Nin was also involved, but ideological disagreements between them and the political circumstances of the time forced the new publishing house into disappearance.¹⁰⁸ At the end of the war, Payarols suffered minor Francoist repression and spent only several weeks in custody, but was released by the end of 1939. After his release, he secured a job in a school in La Seu d’Urgell as a German teacher through an acquaintance; however, due to staff shortages, he was forced to teach other subjects for several years. According to Estelrich, Payarols admitted that ‘aquest capítol de la

¹⁰³ Puig i Ferrer, *Francesc Payarols*.

¹⁰⁴ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 53.

¹⁰⁵ See pp. 166-7.

¹⁰⁶ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 58.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p. 55.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* Further discussion of Atena’s evolution and Payarols and Nin’s involvement in the publishing house can be found in Chapter 5, pp. 229-35.

seva vida li recorda les *Memòries d'ultratomba*, de Chateaubriand, per la seva sordidesa en molts aspectes'.¹⁰⁹ Despite the difficulties, he continued to work in La Seu for twenty years, and then in Lleida for another ten. Payarols returned to Barcelona after his retirement where he died in 1998, aged 102.¹¹⁰

During his time working as a teacher, he kept translating from both German and English into Spanish for Editorial Labor on a variety of topics, from German literature by Hans Christian Andersen or the brothers Grimm, to explorer's accounts, such as René Gardi's and Paul Herrmann's among many others. His production from German and English into Spanish vastly outnumbers his translations from Russian into Catalan of the previous period, although admittedly, these were carried out over a longer period of time. Payarols translated a total of 51 books from German into Spanish, and 11 from English into Spanish between 1940 and 1985,¹¹¹ compared to his 8 translations from Russian into Catalan. Historical circumstances had forced him to abandon Russian as a translating source, and later in life admitted to no longer being able to read the language.¹¹² Estelrich's accounts of Payarols biographical circumstances particularly after the war contain additional context to understand the figure of the translator, as well as a complete bibliography of all his translations.¹¹³

Payarols's situation in the 1930s was unique, as he was one of the very few professional Catalan translator that had no position within the polysystem as a writer: he was on the outskirts of the milieu even at the height of his activity during the Second Republic. Even during this time, a personality in the system such as Josep Pla did not believe that Payarols was real, and argued that his name was a invention by Antich and Puig i Ferrer, a pseudonym of either of them, much like Olga Savarin was for Carles Soldevila and Josep Miracle for Biblioteca Univers.¹¹⁴ Payarols confessed regretting not being more involved as a writer, particularly after meeting some important agents of Catalan culture before the war. Despite a life-long dedication to translation, he was

¹⁰⁹ Estelrich, *Payarols, traductor*, p. 149.

¹¹⁰ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 47.

¹¹¹ Ibid. p. 67.

¹¹² Estelrich, *Payarols, traductor*, p. 145.

¹¹³ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, pp. 66-72.

¹¹⁴ Manent, *Del noucentisme a l'exili*, p. 114; García Sala, *Olga Savarin i traducció indirecta* pp. 148-9.

quoted advising young translators to produce original writing as well: 'Si traduïu sempre, no us traduiran mai!'¹¹⁵

4.2. Andreu Nin, Translation and Politics

Andreu Nin is perhaps one of the most complex figures of the sociocultural milieu of the 1930s, and the first international (non-Russian) activist to have suffered Stalinist persecution and assassination during the Spanish Civil War.¹¹⁶ Famous and infamous for political reasons, his role in the reintroduction of novels into the literary canon was pivotal, given the influence of his translations from Russian over up-and-coming Catalan writers. However, the several biographical accounts of Nin's life prioritize the review of his political activities over his literary involvement;¹¹⁷ Judit Figuerola's thesis is the first scholarly text to focus primarily on Nin's translating activity, and cultural influence as an agent of the system during the 1930s.¹¹⁸ This section briefly contextualises Nin's biographical details and his work for Edicions Proa; for a comprehensive study of Nin's political translations and writings outside of Proa, please refer to Figuerola.

Nin was born in El Vendrell in 1892. From a modest upbringing, he trained to be a teacher and moved to Barcelona where he worked in a libertarian school.¹¹⁹ He was involved in politics from an early age, having joined the PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers Party) in 1913, and the trade union CNT (National Confederation of Workers) in 1919.¹²⁰ Shortly after joining the CNT, he travelled alongside four other members to Moscow to the Third Congress of the Communist International, where they were to decide the possible incorporation of the CNT to the newly created Red International of Trade Unions, or Profintern.¹²¹ During this trip, he was offered a position as the

¹¹⁵ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 55.

¹¹⁶ Genovès.

¹¹⁷ In fact, the most complete work in the field, Pelai Pagès' *Andreu Nin: Una vida al servei de la classe obrera*, covers mainly his political evolution, limiting the study of his literary influence to six pages of the 350+ page book. Pagès, pp. 347-51.

¹¹⁸ Figuerola, *El català de l'URSS: Nin*, pp. 19-60.

¹¹⁹ Andreu Nin, Wilebaldo Solano, and Pelai Pagès, *Els moviments d'emancipació nacional: l'aspecte teòric i la solució pràctica de la qüestió*. (Barcelona: Editorial Base, 2008), p. 205.

¹²⁰ Pagès, pp. 25, 69.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* p. 89.

secretary of the organisation, and remained in Moscow for nine years.¹²² Nin embraced Russian customs: he joined the party, sat in the city council, and married a fellow comrade. He also acted as a guide for Catalan visitors, such as the future president of the Generalitat Francesc Macià, and Josep Pla,¹²³ and showed an interest in political developments in Spain.

His proximity to Lenin and Trotsky meant that his position within the socio-political sphere became uncertain after the death of the former in 1924. Given his alignment with Trotsky and, according to Anton Antonov-Ovseyenko, his ‘independència, coherència i sobre tot, valentia, [...] [característiques] que eren absolutament insuportables per a Stalin’,¹²⁴ Nin was severely affected by the rise of the latter to power. He was under house arrest from 1928 at the Hotel Luxor; it was during this time that he sought to recapture his friendship with Puig i Ferrer, and when he offered to translate Russian literature into Catalan.¹²⁵ Their agreement involved a modest payment from Proa, compared with what Nin was being offered to translate Russian political manifestos into Spanish, however his drive was cultural more than financial. This is demonstrated in one of Nin’s unpublished letters to Puig i Ferrer, in which he explains these motivations:

[A]mb l’acollida calorosa que heu fet a la meva proposició, em doneu l’ocasió d’empendre [sic] una obra que serà per a mi una font inestroncable de satisfacció intel·lectual. Amb això queda dit que no us faré, com vós temeu, un “treball industrial”, “únicament pels diners”. M’estimo massa a mi mateix i als clàssics russos per a fer-ho. Tingueu la seguretat que jo hi posaré tot el que sàpiga. [...] En quant als diners, tingueu en compte que, actualment, puc traduir tant com vulgui literatura política (Lenin en primer lloc) – i la tradueixo – en condicions infinitament millors a les que em proposeu, [...] de manera que traduir, per a vosaltres, des del punt de vista material representa per a mi un

¹²² Ibid. p. 98.

¹²³ Josep Pla wrote about his experiences in Moscow and the figure of Andreu Nin in his book series *Homenots*. Pla and Sala.

¹²⁴ Genovès. Anton Antonov-Ovseyenko was a Russian writer-historian, son of the previously mentioned Bolshevik General Vladimir Antonov-Ovseyenko.

¹²⁵ It is unlikely, however, for him to have translated Pilniak into Catalan at this stage as stated in the documentary *Operació Nikolai*. Ibid. p. 9:51.

gran sacrifici. Sia que la satisfacció espiritual que em proporcionarà el vostre treball em compensa llargament aquest sacrifici.¹²⁶

Nin returned to Barcelona in very difficult circumstances in 1930,¹²⁷ and his main income came from his work as a translator, as he could not earn a living as a politician. His work rate during this time is unparalleled: between 1928, when he allegedly started translating, until his death in 1937, he signed a total of eight novels from Russian into Catalan, many of which will be discussed in the body of this thesis. He also translated Lenin and Marx into Spanish, wrote articles about literature, and published his own political essays.¹²⁸

His translating activity was affected by an increase in his political involvement in the second half of the 1930s. In 1935, he cofounded the communist opposition party POUM (Workers' Party of Marxist Unification) with his colleague Joaquín Maurín, a move that cost him his ideological separation from Trotsky.¹²⁹ Nin still managed to translate *Una cacera dramàtica* by Anton Chekhov, published in 1936, and Tolstoy's trilogy *Infantesa, Adolescència, Joventut*, which remained unpublished until 1974 due to political difficulties, as Figuerola acknowledges that "la situació bèl·lica impedeix o desaconsella donar a l'estampa [Edicions Proa]", [el llibre] romangués en l'arxiu professional d'un "redactor de la casa i un seu fill que el 1939 van quedar-se a Catalunya".¹³⁰

Heavily involved in the May Days of 1937, when communist-backed forces of the government of the Generalitat clashed against POUM and the CNT for control of the Telefónica building in Barcelona, Nin was arrested alongside many of his comrades from the POUM in June 1937. The 1992 documentary *Operació Nikolai*, directed by

¹²⁶ Letter from Andreu Nin to Joan Puig i Ferrer, 5th July 1928, Fons Ramón Borràs. Figuerola, *El català de l'URSS: Nin*, pp. 666-7.

¹²⁷ He was deported to Latvia but his family was denied a passport. His wife Olga threatened to kill herself and their two children in front of the Lubianka building, the headquarters of the NKVD, if they were not allowed to follow him. After many struggles, they were allowed to leave the USSR. Genovès.

¹²⁸ He is the author of *Les dictadures dels nostres dies* (1930) and *Els moviments d'emancipació nacional* (1935). The latter, and his position on the right to self-determination of small nations within the international revolution brought him into conflict with Trotsky and his ideas.

¹²⁹ Pagès, pp. 185-6.

¹³⁰ Figuerola, *El català de l'URSS: Nin*, p. 484.

Maria Dolors Genovès for TV3 and funded by the Generalitat unveiled a Stalinist plot that managed to force the Spanish republican government into illegalising the POUM, with the intention to ‘eliminate’ Nin as part of Stalin’s Great Purge.¹³¹ As Josep Fontana explains:

La crisi política més greu [...] va ser la de maig de 1937, quan va esclatar obertament l’enfrontament entre les forces antifeixistes catalanes. [...] En termes polítics el conflicte enfrontava republicans, socialistes i comunistes, partidaris de mantenir una disciplina centralitzada per tal de guanyar la guerra, i els anarquistes [...] i els homes del POUM, entestats a conservar la plena autonomia d’actuació per fer immediatament la “revolució socialista” [...]. El xoc, iniciat el 3 de maig de 1937 amb motiu de l’intent, realitzat per les forces d’ordre públic al servei de la Generalitat, de desallotjar els anarquistes de la Telefònica, on interferien en les comunicacions, va transformar-se en una nova guerra civil [...] [que] va produir almenys dos-cents divuit morts. [...] *Malgrat la culpabilització del POUM, instigada en especial pels serveis soviètics a Espanya, que van ser els responsables directes de l’assassinat d’Andreu Nin*, la vida quotidiana va recuperar a Catalunya un aire de tranquil·litat.¹³²

Nin was allegedly transported to Alcalá de Henares via Valencia, and interrogated and later tortured for days. He eventually died from his wounds and was allegedly buried in an unknown location in the outskirts of Madrid.¹³³ His disappearance caused unrest within the Republican side as unofficial reports suggested he had defected to the Francoist side, information that was distributed from Soviet sources.¹³⁴

In the literary context, Andreu Nin's articulate command of Catalan is evident from his first translation in 1928. His stylistic choices reflect his literary upbringing; he was in Russia for most of the 1920s and therefore missed the ‘debat sobre la novel·la’ and the crisis of *Noucentisme*. His vocabulary bears a resemblance to Carner's model of prose

¹³¹ Genovès.

¹³² Josep Fontana, *La formació d’una identitat: una història de Catalunya*. (Vic: Eumo, 2016), p. 5598 of 8190. Italics are my own.

¹³³ Pagès, pp. 309-10.

¹³⁴ Fontana, p. 8135 of 90; Genovès; Pagès, p. 308.

used in translation,¹³⁵ and Pericay and Toutain identify some characteristics that they define as ‘inevitables tics noucentistes’¹³⁶ in his style. This command of written Catalan is essential in understanding the popularity of Nin's translations among the literary milieu of the time. His texts were praised beyond measure, by both his contemporaries¹³⁷ and the critics of the 20th century.¹³⁸ A variety of sources agree that Nin was well established and highly regarded as a member of the literary system, due to a mixture of his literary activities and the political importance of his figure. Anna Murià explains that ‘el consideraven un intel·lectual de molta cultura, bon coneixedor de la literatura [...], que escrivia molt bé el català i feia unes traduccions admirables de la literatura russa’,¹³⁹ a version shared by other scholars such as Figuerola, Kharitònova, Pessarrodona,¹⁴⁰ and his biographer Pagès.

His intellectual esteem within Catalan culture has been constant throughout the past eighty years.¹⁴¹ Most of his major translations are still being reprinted, and none of them have been altered from their 1930s versions. There are no retranslations or revisions available for key texts such as *Anna Karènnina* or *Crim i càstig*, or any of his lesser known translations, although none of these has been reprinted since they were first published.¹⁴² These translations have not been reviewed, edited, or corrected in any way, and consequently still carry some errors that were made in the original manuscripts, as I will detail in the body of this thesis. His translations have become, to a certain extent, a fossilised text; a classic of a classic, to use a concept coined by Richard Armstrong in reference to old translations of Greek and Roman texts.¹⁴³ I will address this mythologisation of Nin's literary work in more detail in the upcoming chapters.

¹³⁵ Pericay and Toutain, p. 277.

¹³⁶ Ibid. p. 263.

¹³⁷ Pla and Sala, pp. 88-89.

¹³⁸ Figuerola, *Nin: Unyielding intellectual*, p. 326.

¹³⁹ Genovès, p. 14:20.

¹⁴⁰ Marta Pessarrodona, *Mercè Rodoreda i el seu temps*. (Barcelona: Rosa dels Vents, 2005), p. 71.

¹⁴¹ Figuerola, *El català de l'URSS: Nin*, pp. 469-80.

¹⁴² Further details can be found in Chapter 5, pp. 251-4.

¹⁴³ Richard H. Armstrong, 'Classical Translations of the Classics: The Dynamics of Literary Tradition in Retranslating Epic Poetry', in *Translation and the Classic: Identity as Change in the History of Culture*, ed. by Alexandra Lianeri and Vanda Zajko (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), (p. 171).

4.3. Power Dynamics Between Payarols and Nin

Thus far, this section has provided a biographical and socio-political framework of both translators in order to contextualise their production within the literary system. It has also outlined the argument that Nin and Payarols did not have the same position as agents within the Catalan polysystem of the 1930s, and therefore the value assigned to their work, and the behaviour of the literary milieu towards it, have been very different throughout the twentieth century, which consequently affected their role as agents and the influence of their translations.

Despite their commitment to translation, this task did not bring equal recognition to Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin, which reflects the power dynamics in operation between them. These power dynamics emanate mainly from three key areas: their broader role within Catalan society beyond literature and culture, their position within the literary milieu, and the actual texts they were asked to translate. This latter point will be examined further throughout the thesis, as it will become apparent that the centrality of the texts assigned to them correlates with their consideration within the system. That is, Nin was requested to translate texts that were central in neighbouring literatures whereas Payarols had to work with more peripheral novels, which in turn perpetuated his lower hierarchical position when compared to Nin. This is a consequence of the higher position of Nin within the cultural milieu, given the fame that he gained due to his political activity.

Their position within the literary milieu provides an initial insight into the power dynamics between them. The starting point for this difference in treatment can be found on each author's literary background. Despite his studies and his knowledge of languages, Payarols was not a writer: he was a shop assistant and accountant with a passion for learning. Other than Marcel·lí Antich, he did not have any other direct connection with the literary system. He did not share the bourgeois background that Antich and other members of the milieu had. In a context that valued the figure of the writer-translator, Payarols missed an essential element of that dyad: he did not have any original production, not even when he became part of the team at Proa. He acknowledged this situation as detrimental for his career in the literary circles later in

life to Estelrich, arguin that 'lamentava no haver-se atrevit a acostar-se més a aquest cercle [amb Riba, Llor, Fabra], que segurament li hauria tret la por d'escriure assajos, com hauria desitjat'.¹⁴⁴

Nin, on the other hand, had a background in journalism, however modest, to begin with. He had worked for local newspapers such as *La Comarca del Vendrell* from an early age,¹⁴⁵ and later in *La Publicidad*,¹⁴⁶ *El Poble Català* and the news agency *Agència Fabra* before moving to the USSR.¹⁴⁷ He used this medium as a platform for his political views, and he became a well-known figure within socio-political and cultural circles even before 1921. During his stay in Russia and on his return to Barcelona, he not only translated Russian literature into Catalan, but also works of political content into Spanish,¹⁴⁸ mainly Lenin and Trotsky, but also Marx, as well as other works of literary criticism such as Polonski's *La literatura rusa de la época revolucionaria*. This additional layer also brought him recognition in other areas of Spain. Nin, unlike Payarols, did write essays, mainly on political matters: *Les dictadures dels nostres dies* (1930) and *Els moviments d'emancipació nacional* (1935) are the best examples. He also wrote articles on Russian literature and gave conferences and lectures at the Ateneu.¹⁴⁹ This literary activity gave him a presence within the milieu: beyond his translating work, his political and cultural activities were already giving him great recognition.

Therefore, from the beginning of their literary relationship, Nin was in a position of power towards Payarols. In Puig i Ferreter's article, Proa's literary director explains the story of how he secured the two translators to work for the publishing house.¹⁵⁰ In this text, he states that Nin had already made contact with him and had agreed to translate certain works of Russian literature, whereas finding Payarols was a bonus. The article contains the same amount of information on Nin and Payarol's literary

¹⁴⁴ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 55.

¹⁴⁵ Benito and Nin.

¹⁴⁶ Pagès, p. 60.

¹⁴⁷ Nin, Solano, and Pagès.

¹⁴⁸ For a detailed account of Nin's evolution as a political writer and translator, please see Figuerola, p. 100-98.

¹⁴⁹ Alba, p. 129.

¹⁵⁰ Puig i Ferreter, *Francesc Payarols*, p. 6.

commitments, as well as a long introduction on Proa's cultural programme to translate European literature into Catalan, despite its title referring to Payarols only. The initial agreement was for Payarols to be involved in the translations of Dostoevsky, whilst Nin wished to focus on an anthology of classic writers, including Pushkin and Tolstoy, as well as Soviet writers, a plan that was frustrated by political circumstances. Whilst their literary preferences were different, Nin and Payarols did clash over the translation of *Els germans Karamàzov*,¹⁵¹ which demonstrated that Nin was the best regarded of the two in their power relationship. A deeper study of these translation 'wars' features in Chapter 3.¹⁵²

Beyond their participation in the literary sphere, Nin dwarfed Payarols' figure due to his political dimension. He was not just a politician or an activist: he had founded a party, the POUM, that gave the Spanish Republic and the Spanish Civil War a completely revolutionary spin. He was an outspoken individual for social change, and an independent thinker, which made him even more famous (or notorious) within the socio-political context. In essence, he was a key player in the political game and that brought him even more recognition in the literary field: everyone in the system was familiar with his work, which was backed by other influential agents. As a consequence of these circumstances, Nin's translations have been given more value by the members of the milieu, beyond their literary significance. Evidence of this status can be found in several forms: from critical reviews and literary mentions during the twentieth century, to the publication data of his translations and absence of retranslations, which will be examined in later chapters. The critical praise extends from other contemporary writers such as Josep Pla,¹⁵³ Puig i Ferrer,¹⁵⁴ and Mercè Rodoreda¹⁵⁵ to literary critics such as Ramon Xuriguera¹⁵⁶ and Rafael Tasis:

Una traducció directa i íntegra d'aquest llibre considerable [com *Anna Karenina*], [...] és una empresa que honora l'escriptor que la mena a bon terme.

¹⁵¹ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 54.

¹⁵² See pp. 165-9.

¹⁵³ Pla's praise of Nin despite their political differences is displayed in the Introduction, p. 21.

¹⁵⁴ Puig i Ferrer, *Francesc Payarols, traductor del rus*, Joan. 'Francesc Payarols, traductor del rus', *La Publicitat*, 10 May 1929, p. 6.

¹⁵⁵ Just d'Esvern, 'Recensió de llibres', *Clarisme*, 3 February 1934.

¹⁵⁶ Ramon Xuriguera, 'La influència de la literatura russa a Catalunya', *Mirador*, 19 November 1936.

[...] Aquesta versió fa honor a Andreu Nin i a les Edicions Proa, que han enriquit una vegada més la cultura catalana amb la incorporació d'una de les obres màximes de la literatura moderna.¹⁵⁷

Later, other writers continued this recognition in translations and works of their own, such as Joan Sales':

Andreu Nin [...] ens donà traduccions insuperables de gairebé totes les obres mestres del gran novel·lista rus [Dostoevsky]. [...] Retem homenatge públic a la memòria d'aquell traductor modèlic, que ens ensenyà com els personatges de Dostoevski podien parlar en català sense cap minva del seu caràcter.¹⁵⁸

Further examples of the critical acclaim will also feature in the upcoming chapters. Nin's more central position as an agent is a key factor in explaining the status of mythologisation of both his figure and his work achieved throughout the twentieth century. The translations into Catalan that Nin signed for Proa were acclaimed and praised by members of the literary establishment and given high value by fellow agents of the polysystem. This behaviour has continued over the past eighty years, ensuring that Nin's original texts, particularly those that brought him more fame, are intact and currently available without changes from the shelves of Catalan bookstores in the twenty first century. This mythologisation is the basis of the discussion of the final section of every chapter in this thesis, which is particularly extensive in Chapter 3.

Conclusions

This chapter has contextualised the historical and sociocultural circumstances in which Edicions Proa emerged and thrived, and in which Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin developed into agents of the Catalan system partly thanks to their translation work. The first section has examined the evolution of translations from Russian into Catalan in the period immediately preceding the focus of this thesis, from 1879 until 1928. The

¹⁵⁷ Rafael Tasis, 'Una novel·la única: Anna Karèlina, de Tolstoi, en català', *La Publicitat*, 9 May 1934, p. 2.

¹⁵⁸ Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Els germans Karamàzov*, trans. by Joan Sales. (Barcelona: Club Editor, 1961), p. 8.

main characteristic of these translations is brevity and mediation from other languages, as well as lack of consistency and planning between works and authors translated, all of which contributed to mainly only minor works by Tolstoy, Turgenev, and Gorki, among several others, to be translated. It has also addressed the important role played by Narcís Oller as a cultural link between Russian literature and the Catalan and Spanish polysystems, whilst also composing some of the lengthiest and more substantial translations of the period. The evolution of public opinion on mediated translations, and the competition between publishing houses to provide direct translations from Russian into Catalan has also been explored as a contributing factor to the success of Edicions Proa.

Section 2 has provided a useful example to illustrate that translations are facts of the culture that receives them, to paraphrase Toury, by reviewing the limited impact of Alexander Pushkin's figure on the Catalan literary system of the 1930s. This lack of impact is can be attributed to the very short periods in which Pushkin was translated into Catalan, despite being considered a key writer in his original literary system. The format of Pushkin's work, mainly in the shape of poetry and short stories, may have also contributed to this lack of translations, at a time in which the literary canon prioritised novel-writing. Section 3 contextualises the conditions that allowed the rise of Edicions Proa and Joan Puig i Ferrer as two of the main agents of the Catalan polysystem of the 1930s, which in turn helps explaining the level of agency achieved by Payarols and Nin. In selecting the works that best suited their ideological and literary preferences, they influenced what was translated and what was left untranslated in a rather important decade of development for the Catalan literary canon, and more specifically, for the inclusion or reinstatement of the Catalan novel into it.

Finally, an outline of the reasons behind the difference in treatment between Nin and Payarols' work has been laid out, with socio-political and cultural circumstances at the forefront. Nin's higher position in the hierarchy of agents could have contributed to the mythologisation of his work throughout the twentieth century, a phenomenon that will be studied in more depth in the following chapters. Their position within the system, much like the position of semiotic phenomena, depended on the value assigned to their contribution by other agents of the system. Despite the fact that Nin had a more central

position as an agent, it did not stop both translators from making an unparalleled contribution to Catalan literature, more specifically to the consolidation of the novel into the literary canon. The following chapters will review the texts that Payarols and Nin introduced into the system in the 1930s, the critical perspective taken by the milieu on these translations, and the potential impact of these novels as providers of models of prose for other Catalan writers, starting with the work of the best translated Russian writer of the period, Count Leo Tolstoy.

CHAPTER TWO

Translating Tolstoy: from Short Stories to Novels and Models of Prose¹

Count Leo Tolstoy has been traditionally considered one of the greatest novelists in world literature.² His works cover a wide range of genres and characters, and have been consistently translated into other languages for over a century. The impact of his literature on writers from other polysystems has been thoroughly studied in their respective contexts,³ and his enormous contribution to literature is often compared to that of Shakespeare, Dante, Voltaire or Homer, among others.⁴ Given the ascendance of Tolstoy in a central polysystem such as the French, it comes as no surprise that he was the most comprehensively translated Russian author in the Catalan system as well, and arguably one of the most influential in the introduction of models of narrative into the Catalan literary repertoire of the 1930s.

Tolstoy's prestige preceded him when entering the Catalan polysystem; the position of his literature within the relevant neighbouring systems was central. Following the French model, a selection of Tolstoy's shorter works was translated into Catalan between 1891 and 1913; however, during the years of *Noucentisme*, his presence in the literary system waned. The emergence of Edicions Proa was a significant boost to Tolstoy's popularity: the work of Puig i Ferrer's collaborators first, and Francesc Payarols' and Andreu Nin's translations later, contributed enormously to making Tolstoy's literature available to a wide range of readers. His central position helped in shaping the Catalan repertoire and the reintroduction of novels into the canon.

¹ An earlier version of Chapters 2 and 3 received funding from the Fundació Mercè Rodoreda.

² Donna Tussing Orwin, *The Cambridge Companion to Tolstoy*. (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 49, 57; John Bayley, *Leo Tolstoy*. (Plymouth, U.K.: Northcote House in association with the British Council, 1997), p. 59.

³ Marie Sémon, Association des amis de Tolstoï, and Bibliothèque-Musée Léon Tolstoï, *Les héritiers de Tolstoï dans la littérature russe*. (Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1994).

⁴ Petr Paliévski, 'L'importance de Tolstoï pour la littérature du XXe siècle', in *Tolstoï Aujourd'hui*, ed. by Institut d'Études Slaves (Paris: Bibliothèque russe de l'Institut d'Études Slaves, 1980).

This chapter identifies the importance of Tolstoy in the development of the Catalan polysystem of the 1930s, and illustrates the key role played by translators Andreu Nin and Francesc Payarols in the creation of a narrative model that Catalan autochthonous writers could use. It also assesses the extent of Tolstoyan interference at the centre of the Catalan polysystem by providing an overview of the use of the psychological novel by Catalan writers throughout the 1930s. In Section 1, I review Tolstoy's position in Russia and in polysystems that can be considered neighbouring to the Catalan system (the French, English, and Spanish systems). This provides essential historical and cultural contextualisation which will facilitate the discussion of Section 2, in which I analyse the volume of translations of Tolstoy's works into Catalan before Edicions Proa. Section 3 examines the unmediated translations from the 1930s as signed by Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin, and I discuss the power dynamics established between both translators as a consequence of their selected texts. Section 4 addresses the impact of Tolstoy within the literary canon, and presents a study of the position of Tolstoy's translations and their influence on Catalan authors of the 1930s.

1. Tolstoy in Translation

This initial section provides a preliminary sketch of Tolstoy's life and the position of his work, first in Russia, and then in literary systems that have a connection with the Catalan polysystem due to geography and prestige: the French, English, and Spanish systems. The 'life and work' of Tolstoy is one of the most researched topics in literary criticism of the twentieth century, hence the aim of this section is to serve as an introduction for the main purpose of the chapter; it is but a modest literature review of a colossal field of knowledge.⁵

Count Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy was born into a noble family in 1828 at Yasnaya Polyana,⁶ a family estate 200 kilometres south of Moscow. His parents died when Tolstoy was very young,⁷ and he was raised by his relatives, mainly his aunt Tatyana

⁵ For further biographical information on Leo Tolstoy, please refer to the work of Henri Troyat, Louise and Aylmer Maude, and Stefan Zweig, among many others.

⁶ Carol Z. Rothkopf, *Leo Tolstoy*. (New York: F. Watts, 1967), p. 4.

⁷ Modest Hofmann and André Pierre, *By Deeds of Truth: The Life of Leo Tolstoy*. (New York: Orion Press: Distributed by Crown Publishers, 1958), pp. 20,40.

Yergolskaya,⁸ alongside his siblings. He attended Kazan University for a brief period but soon abandoned his studies and moved to St Petersburg and then to Moscow, where he began accumulating gambling debts. He started writing shortly after joining the army in the Caucasus in 1851. His first novels, the autobiographical trilogy *Детство* (*Childhood*, 1852), *Отрочество* (*Boyhood*, 1854) and *Юность* (*Youth*, 1857), alongside the *Севастопольские рассказы* (*Sevastopol Sketches*, 1855-1856), written during the Crimean War brought him considerable fame upon his return to St Petersburg.⁹ He became part of the literary milieu almost overnight, and his central position within the Russian polysystem only solidified over time.

Tolstoy is generally regarded as having written three major novels: *Война и мир* (*War and Peace*, 1865-1869), *Анна Каренина* (*Anna Karenina*, 1875-1877) and *Воскресение* (*Resurrection*, 1899). He did not consider *Война и мир* to be a novel, but an epic canvas of realism through which to study the theory of history.¹⁰ It was indeed a work of epic proportions, one of the longest novels ever written and regarded as one of the key texts of world literature.¹¹ Depicting over 500 characters, both fictional and historical, it is considered the pinnacle of the historical novel.¹² The recognition achieved with this work only strengthened his central position within the Russian polysystem of the nineteenth century, which was enhanced even more after the publication of *Анна Каренина* in 1877. At the time he was still unknown in the West, a situation that was to change rapidly after the success of this work.

Due to the complexities of writing *Анна Каренина*, his feelings of aversion towards the theme of adultery, and some significant deaths in the family, Tolstoy experienced a spiritual crisis from the 1870s which led him to question the meaning of life. He wrote the autobiographical essay *Исповедь* (*Confession*) in 1880, which was initially banned

⁸ Ibid. p. 20.

⁹ A. V. Knowles and Leo Tolstoy, *Leo Tolstoy: The Critical Heritage*. (London: Routledge, 1978), p. 7; Henri Troyat, *Tolstoy*. (London: Allen, 1968), p. 128.

¹⁰ In an article defending his work, Tolstoy wrote: "What is 'War and peace'? It is not a novel, nor it is a poem, still less a historical chronicle". Knowles and Tolstoy, pp. 124-25.

¹¹ Troyat, p. 299.

¹² Aylmer Maude, *The Life of Tolstoy*. (Oxford [Oxfordshire]; New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 16; Derrick Leon, *Tolstoy, his Life and Work*. (London: Routledge, 1944), p. 136; William Woodin Rowe, *Leo Tolstoy*. (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986), p. 40.

in Russia,¹³ and then started exploring more Christian themes and questioning the authority of the Orthodox Church. His close readings of the Bible led him to conclude that the teachings of Jesus had been manipulated, and after several critical essays and the publication of *Воскресение*, he was excommunicated from the Russian Orthodox Church in 1901.¹⁴

Given the controversy of his moral teachings and writings, his friendship with Vladimir Chertkov,¹⁵ his open criticism of state and church oppression, and a long struggle over his will and the copyrights to his works,¹⁶ the ever-deteriorating family life with his wife Sofia reached a stalemate. In 1910, Tolstoy escaped from the family home at Yasnaya Polyana.¹⁷ His waning health forced him to stop for several days later at Astapovo, then an unknown station which is now part of Russia's popular culture, where he was carried into the station master's lodgings, and died of pneumonia.¹⁸ He was buried in Yasnaya Polyana, which was turned into a State Memorial and Tolstoy Museum in 1921.¹⁹

Tolstoy was a central symbol of the nineteenth century Russian polysystem from the publication of his first novels. He maintained this position throughout his life, and remained an overarching, central figure influencing home and foreign authors at both a literary and philosophical level.²⁰ In order to understand and contextualise the central position of Tolstoyan literature in the Catalan polysystem of the 1930s, it is essential to review how Tolstoy was introduced into neighbouring polysystems that, due to geographical proximity and prestige, are contiguous to, and in some cases overlap with, the Catalan system. For the purposes of this research, the French, English,

¹³ Rowe, p. 10.

¹⁴ Hofmann and Pierre, p. 222; Rothkopf, p. 119; Viktor Shklovsky, *Lev Tolstoy*. (Moscow: Progress, 1978), p. 662.

¹⁵ Troyat, p. 435. Chertkov edited most of Tolstoy's works and was perhaps the first Tolstoyan. His relationship with the Tolstoy household was controversial, and Chertkov was in constant conflict with Sofia Tolstoya.

¹⁶ Serge L. Levitsky, *Copyright, Defamation, and Privacy in Soviet Civil Law: de lege lata ac ferenda*. (Germantown / Alpehn aan den Rijn: Sijthoff & Noordhoff, 1979), pp. 331-33.

¹⁷ Rowe, p. 17.

¹⁸ Troyat, p. 692.

¹⁹ 'Yasnaya Polyana after Leo Tolstoy's death. Foundation and development of the museum', (2015) <<http://ypmuseum.ru/en/2011-04-13-17-30-44/mhistory/44-2011-08-16-21-22-37.html>> [accessed 20 November 2015].

²⁰ Sémon, Tolstoï, and Tolstoï.

and Spanish polysystems' reactions to Tolstoy have been studied. Tolstoy's literature arrived in France first, and then entered other polysystems through French translation, which provides us with a starting point to this review.

Tolstoy was first introduced in the French polysystem through the figure of scholar Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé.²¹ Whilst the first translation of Tolstoy's *La Guerre et la Paix*, was available in Paris as early as 1874,²² it was not until Vogüé published a compilation of essays in 1886 written for the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and *Journal des Débats* that the French public discovered the Russian novelist.²³ Vogüé's literary study *Le Roman Russe* proved to be a historical breakthrough for Russian literature in the French context; it brought awareness of not only Tolstoy's work, but also of other Russian novelists such as Dostoevsky and Turgenev.²⁴ This publication brought an instant outpouring of Tolstoyan works into the French system. It is important to note that this is the time, and more specifically, the year in which Oller, Yxart, and Pardo-Bazán travelled to Paris, and when Oller produced his first translation of a Russian text into Catalan. By 1890, only four years after Vogüé's book, twenty-five texts bearing Tolstoy's name had been published, including his main novels; between 1890 and 1900, thirty-three more texts had been translated into French.²⁵ Vogüé's rising position as an agent of the French polysystem is also illustrated by the fact that he became the

²¹ Born into a military family, Vogüé was taken as a prisoner in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, where he witnessed his brother die. At his return to France, he became a diplomat and travelled Europe and the Middle East, where he studied other cultures and religions. He took up a position at the French embassy in St Petersburg in 1877 as he was fascinated by Russian language; this role provided him with the relevant cultural knowledge to write *Le roman russe*. Thaïs S. Lindstrom, *Tolstoi en France (1886-1910)*. (Paris: Institut d'Études Slaves de l'Université de Paris, 1952), pp. 23-25; Michel Cadot, *Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé, le héraut du roman russe*. (Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1989), pp. 15-19.

²² Lindstrom, p. 29; Hemmings, pp. 3, 49. Lindstrom's and Hemmings' accounts differ: Lindstrom establishes 1874 as the date of publication, whereas Hemmings argues it is 1879. Lindstrom gives more data, background and references to this date, hence her version seems more plausible. Hemmings then argues that the earliest a text by Tolstoy was translated into French was 1866, with a brief version of *Childhood* titled 'L'enfance d'un seigneur russe'.

²³ Cadot, p. 9.

²⁴ Lindstrom, p. 9; Hemmings, p. 52.

²⁵ Lindstrom, p. 11; Hemmings, p. 51. Sales of *La Guerre et la Paix* increased from 550 copies in the first five years following publication to 20,000 copies in the second half of 1886 alone. Lindstrom, p. 29.

youngest member to enter the Académie Française in 1888, shortly after the publication of his essays.²⁶

The first and most notable translator of Tolstoy into French was J. W. Bienstock, who went on to publish the Russian writer's complete works in 43 volumes. Bienstock declared that the period between 1885 and 1900 was the 'golden age' of translators in France, as the interest in Russia became an obsession.²⁷ For a short period of time, the fever for Russian books led to a compromise in the quality of the translations, and a quick exhaustion of the available materials. Vogüé complained that 'publishers and translators have profited by the pronounced taste for books from Russia... Russian literature has been boosted like an issue of the shares in strong demand. I am afraid there may be a smash'.²⁸ Beyond the interest in Russian culture that critics like Vogüé had fostered in the French system, a greedier motivation sparked the translation of lesser known works by Tolstoy and his Russian peers. Russia had not signed the Berne Convention to protect authors' rights, which meant that translating from Russian was more profitable than doing so from other European languages, as no copyright royalties had to be paid to the original authors. As Hemmings argues, 'it accounts, too, for that curious phenomenon encountered, the same work being translated over and over again and issued by one publishing house after another'.²⁹ This may also partially explain why Russian texts were translated into Catalan during this period.

In 1889, critic Émile Hennequin included Tolstoy in his essay *Ecrivains francisés*, in which he studied writers who had the qualities to cross national borders with their literature. Hennequin praised the complexity and style of *La Guerre et la Paix*, but criticised its lack of moral judgement when compared to Tolstoy's later work and own

²⁶ Cadot, p. 10. Hemmings' opinion of Vogüé is less positive; he announces him as 'the vulgarizer that the hour required'. He also analyses the work by two French critics on Russian literature that had preceded him, Rimbaud and Courrière, who had less success than Vogüé. Hemmings, pp. 10-21.

²⁷ Hemmings, p. 53.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 54.

²⁹ *Ibid.* At times, a group of students of literature would be assembled to translate a particular piece. They were given page assignments, which would be published shortly after they were translated without anyone revising the overall content and the quality of the text produced. Vladimir Boutchik, *La littérature russe en France*. (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1947), p. 31.

beliefs.³⁰ Hennequin is the first French critic to outline the ‘fundamental conflict’ between the realist narrator and the Romantic moralist.³¹ Following Hennequin’s essay, most French critics composed their commentaries of Tolstoy’s fiction using this critical framework.³² Tolstoy’s literature was welcomed in the French polysystem as a change from the established Naturalist repertoire.³³ He went from being an unknown author to overnight success, in a similar fashion to his rise to fame in Russia. The fact that his literature became highly popular and reached the centre of the literary system shortly after his work was introduced in translation speaks volumes of the universal, cross-border nature of Tolstoy’s literary style, but also of the timing of his introduction in France.³⁴

The Russian ‘ink invasion’ of Paris, to paraphrase Hemmings, had a knock-on effect over the rest of Western European polysystems, given the ascendance of the French polysystem over the rest of literary systems. By 1900, Tolstoy’s reputation ‘was such as to ensure an immediate audience abroad for anything he wrote’.³⁵ Despite the fact that Tolstoy’s literature was discovered in France before it arrived in Britain, English holds the recognition of being the first language into which a Tolstoyan text was translated.³⁶ This was in 1862, when *Childhood and Youth* was published by Bell & Daldy, as translated by M. von Meysenburg. This text was an isolated incident, as there was no other translation into English until 1878, when *The Cossacks*, as translated by E. Schuyler, was published in America.³⁷ In April 1879, the first critical mention of Tolstoy’s literature in Britain was written by scholar W. R. S. Ralston, in his essay *Count Leo Tolstoy’s Novels*, published in the periodical *The Nineteenth Century*.³⁸ Scholars Julia Wedgwood and Matthew Arnold followed with critical essays in 1887. Initially, the

³⁰ Lindstrom argues that this critique is anachronistic, as it judges Tolstoy’s earlier work alongside his later, moral-conscious literature, on the basis that it arrived in France at the same time. Lindstrom, pp. 33-34.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 35.

³² Some critics that followed Vogüé’s and Hennequin’s praise of the Russian novel are Armand de Pontmartin and Théodore de Wyzewa.

³³ Hemmings argues that the Russian ‘invasion’ was perfectly timed, as ‘a very large body of opinion [...] had grown tired of [...] the Naturalists’. Hemmings, pp. 28-30.

³⁴ Even-Zohar, *Laws of Literary Interference*, p. 59.

³⁵ Hemmings, p. 51.

³⁶ Garth M. Terry, ‘Tolstoy Studies in Great Britain: a Bibliographical Survey’, in *New Essays on Tolstoy*, ed. by Malcolm V. Jones (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), (p. 223).

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Hemmings, pp. 49-59.

critics' reaction was to compare Tolstoy to contemporary French writers, as they originally read him in French.³⁹

In a similar way as had happened in France, it was a text by an acclaimed English critic and agent of the English polysystem that established Tolstoy's popularity among other critics, writers and readers in English. Matthew Arnold's essay, which commented on the stylistic successes and failures of *Anna Karenina*, raised Tolstoy's profile and popularity in Britain.⁴⁰ English critics of Tolstoy considered him less alien than some of his French counterparts; Gareth Jones argues that this is because part of Tolstoy's literary training was based on reading novels by Dickens and Sterne, and because he reached the English polysystem as a socio-political and philosophical writer as well as a novelist.⁴¹

The translation of the main Tolstoy novels followed over the second half of the 1880s: *Anna Karenina* (1886) and *War and Peace* (1889) were both translated by Nathan Haskell Dole from Russian and published both in Britain and in America.⁴² His recognition and fame across Europe from the mid-1880s meant that many of the translations of his texts written after 1890 were authorised by Tolstoy himself, and were published almost simultaneously with the originals in Russian; and on occasion, due to censorship of his work in the Russian empire, some of his most controversial essays were published in England in translation before they were available in Russia.⁴³

The popularity of his work provoked an unusual translation 'war' among his English translators. Louise and Aylmer Maude were personal friends of Tolstoy and had visited

³⁹ Roberta Rubenstein, *Virginia Woolf and the Russian Point of View*. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), p. 84.

⁴⁰ W. Gareth Jones, *Tolstoi and Britain*. (Oxford; Washington, D.C.: Berg Publishers, 1995), pp. 9, 105-24.

⁴¹ Jones argues that reading Tolstoy's educational and religious works alongside Levin's thought process made it easier to understand, and it bridged the chronological chasm that *Anna Karenina* and Tolstoy's next work had in Russia, where readers and critics saw a gradual progression in his philosophical thoughts. Ibid. p. 10.

⁴² The first version in English of *War and Peace* appeared in 1886 was a mediated translation from French by Clara Bell. Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace: A Historical Novel*, trans. by Clara Bell. (New York: W.S. Gottsberger, 1886).

⁴³ Jones, pp. 11-12.

him several times at Yasnaya Polyana.⁴⁴ Both had translated several shorter pieces, and together with Leo Wiener and T.C. Hagberg Wright edited *The Complete Works of Count Tolstoy* between 1904 and 1912, which did not include *War and Peace* or *Anna Karenina*, as they had been already translated by Dole. Constance Garnett retranslated *Anna Karenina* in 1901 and *War and Peace* in 1904; she felt compelled to do so after meeting Tolstoy in person at Yasnaya Polyana in 1903.⁴⁵ The Maudes, who were first working on a critical biography of Tolstoy, moved on to translating *Anna Karenina* in 1918 and *War and Peace* in 1922. The uncommon presence of three different versions of Tolstoy's novels in English sparked the debate over which version reflected Tolstoy's style more accurately.⁴⁶ This is a phenomenon that still occurs today, as up to eleven retranslations of *Anna Karenina*, for example, have taken place since Nathan Haskell Dole first translated it.

Tolstoy had a literary impact in the British polysystem, but his influence did not end there. His philosophical and religious texts also found an audience in Britain. The publication in 1893 of his religious treaty *Царство Божие внутри вас*, which was translated into English as *The Kingdom of God is Within You* only a year later, sparked the foundation of a movement amongst a group of his readers known as the Tolstoyan movement. Tolstoy did not approve of his moral texts being taken as a doctrine,⁴⁷ but certainly he had very little control over how his works would be interpreted, particularly abroad. This text caused a great impression on two religious figures, J.C. Kenworthy and Rev Bruce Wallace, who together founded the Brotherhood Trust,⁴⁸

⁴⁴ This was reflected in Aylmer Maude's biography titled *Life of Tolstoy*. George Bernard Shaw, 'A Review of Aylmer Maude's *Life of Tolstoy*', in *Tolstoi and Britain*, ed. by W. Gareth Jones (Oxford/Washington: Berg Publishers, 1995).

⁴⁵ Rosamund Bartlett, 'Tolstoy translated', *Financial Times*, (2014) [accessed 24 November 2015] (p. 197); R. F. Christian, 'The Road to Yasnaya Polyana: Some Pilgrims from Britain and Their Reminiscences', in *Tolstoi and Britain*, ed. by W. Gareth Jones (Oxford/Washington: Berg Publishers, 1995).

⁴⁶ Hugh McLean studies several versions of *Anna Karenina* in his chapter "Which English Anna?" Hugh McLean, 'In quest of Tolstoy', (2008), pp. 53-70. McLean is critical of all versions; Pevear and Volokhonsky's (from 2000) and the revision of Garnett's by Kent and Berberova (1965), are, after careful consideration, the ones that follow Tolstoy's style more closely, but in his own words, particularly Pevear and Volokhonsky's 'could be better'. Ibid. p. 70.

⁴⁷ M. J. de K. Holman, 'The Purleigh Colony: Tolstoyan Togetherness in the Late 1890s', in *Tolstoi and Britain*, ed. by W. Gareth Jones (Oxford/Washington: Berg Publishers, 1995), (p. 153).

⁴⁸ '[They] believed that by means of organizing the normal trading relationships of men, some form of communitarian or socialist society could be initiated.' W.H.G. Armytage, 'J. C. Kenworthy and the Tolstoyan Communities in England', in *Tolstoi in Britain*, ed. by W. Gareth Jones (Oxford: Berg, 1995), (p. 136).

and established the first colony in Purleigh, Essex in February 1897, based on Tolstoyan principles.⁴⁹ This soon became, as Armytage argues, ‘quite a mecca for Socialists’.⁵⁰ Despite the initial momentum, the community dissolved by 1900 due to organisational and ideological issues.⁵¹

Finally, Tolstoy was introduced into Spain following the French model in 1887. Scholars Pageaux and Lissorgues establish this date based on the publication of Emilia Pardo Bazán’s series of conferences at the Ateneo de Madrid collected in *La revolución y la novela en Rusia*, which was inspired by Vogüé’s *Le Roman Russe*.⁵² As mentioned in the previous chapter, Whilst Pardo Bazán did not know Russian, she had visited Paris in 1886 as invited by Narcís Oller, where she made acquaintance with Isaak Pavlovski and Catalan writer and critic Josep Yxart. Scholar García Sala considers this visit influential in the development of Pardo Bazán’s ideas on Russian literature, and their consequent introduction in Spain,⁵³ therefore it could be argued that Oller was not only a key agent in introducing Russian literature into the Catalan literary system, but also into the Spanish system.

A year later in 1888, *Ana Karenine: novela rusa* was translated into Spanish from French by Enrique L. De Verneuil, followed in 1889 by *La guerra y la paz*, whose translator remained anonymous.⁵⁴ Whilst these novels were translated then, some Spanish writers of the time received the influence of Tolstoy by reading him in French, not in Spanish. This is the case of Leopoldo Alas ‘Clarín’, who acknowledged Tolstoy’s

⁴⁹ The Sermon on the Mount principles, based on Tolstoy’s close reading of the Bible. Holman, pp. 156, 59.

⁵⁰ Armytage, p. 139. Four other socialist colonies had been created several years before Purleigh, but this was the first self-proclaimed Tolstoyan settlement.

⁵¹ Several explanations have been given for the dissolution, and they range from the lack of agricultural skills amongst the colonists, to tensions arising from the Tolstoyan principles, the most controversial of which was the so-called “Sex Question”: Tolstoy believed in complete abstinence even among married couples, which was naturally not a popular principle. Holman, pp. 179-80.

⁵² Margaret Tejerizo, *The Influence of Russian Literature on Spanish Authors in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Reception, Translation, Inspiration*. (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007); Daniel-Henri Pageaux, 'L'Espagne fin de siècle devant Tolstoï; Aperçus et réflexions', *Cahiers León Tolstoï*, (1995), p. 30; Yvan Lissorgues, 'La novela rusa en España (1886-1910)', *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*, (2012) <<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcbk201>> [accessed 25/11/2015]. Lissorgues reviews Pardo Bazán’s texts and argues that she knows her sources well in French, dismissing the claims of plagiarism of Vogüé’s text.

⁵³ García Sala, *Tolstoi en catalán*, p. 62.

⁵⁴ The second edition of the novel, published in 1902, acknowledges Eusebio Heras as the translator.

influence in his writing as early as 1888 when his works were not yet available in Spanish.⁵⁵ From 1890, literary magazine *La España Moderna* began the publication of some Russian short fiction in Spanish; according to Lissorgues, Tolstoy was the most translated author, with approximately thirty short stories.⁵⁶

The publication of Tolstoy's novels (both in French and Spanish) and the arrival of the texts in either form to the Spanish polysystem influenced novel-writing in Spanish before the turn of the century. Benito Perez Galdos' *Nazarín* and *Halma* (1895)⁵⁷ and Miguel de Unamuno's *Paz en la guerra* (1897)⁵⁸ have been identified as some of the main examples of Tolstoy's impact on Spanish literature. These may be considered evidence of the central position that Tolstoy's figure assumed in the Spanish polysystem in the late 1880s and 1890s, which followed a similar pattern to the Russian 'invasion' of the French system. The Catalan context, as the next section examines, will continue this tradition.

2. Tolstoy in Catalan Before Edicions Proa

In Section 1, I have historically contextualised the arrival of Tolstoy's literature to neighbouring systems of the Catalan polysystem. This has provided an essential cultural and historical framework for the study of the introduction of Tolstoy into the Catalan system, and the evolution of his work in translation, from the very first import to the establishment of Edicions Proa in 1928. Two main periods can be distinguished in the timeline that precedes the foundation of Proa. These periods sit at either side of the publication of the *Normes Ortogràfiques* by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans in 1913 written by Pompeu Fabra. As this section will illustrate, whilst Tolstoy was a very popular author in the pre-normative period, the translation of his texts declined in the late 1910s and throughout the 1920s, only to be picked up again after 1928. A specific

⁵⁵ Leopoldo Alas, *Ensayos y revistas, 1888-1892*. (Madrid: M. Fernández y Lasanta, 1892), p. 8; Lissorgues.

⁵⁶ Lissorgues.

⁵⁷ Pageaux, p. 31.

⁵⁸ H. Th. Oostendorp, 'Los puntos de semejanza entre *La Guerra y la Paz* de Tolstoi y *Paz en la guerra* de Unamuno', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 69 (1967).

mention will be made of three theatrical pieces translated between 1912 and 1913, and their reception in the Catalan polysystem as written publications.

Tolstoy was a popular author in Catalan before the establishment of Edicions Proa: during a time when translations were consistently brief (between 1879 and the 1910s), two lengthy compilations of his short stories were published – a total of 208 pages. This may be the case because of the influence of the French polysystem over the Catalan polysystem, particularly during the last decade of the nineteenth century, when most of Tolstoy's work rapidly became available and central in the French system. The introduction of Tolstoy's texts in the Catalan system was a slower process compared to their introduction into the French or British literary systems.

One of the characteristics of the Russian invasion of French literature when it comes to Tolstoy is that his acclaimed novels reached the French polysystem at the same time as his religious and philosophical essays. Whilst in Russia, readers of Tolstoy could see a gradual radicalisation and evolution of his literature and his philosophy throughout the years, the French (and consequently, the rest of Western Europe) received everything all at once. In barely four years, Tolstoy's entire pre-1880s production, which took him almost thirty years to write, was made available. In the 1890s, all of Tolstoy's essays were being published in French or English simultaneously with, or in advance of, his Russian versions. These moral essays brought interest towards Tolstoy's ideological positions not only from literary critics, but also from intellectuals and members of the working classes. Slowly but steady, essays and critical commentaries on his ideological approaches to literature and his moral teachings began to appear in the Catalan press, with many of these texts published in the front pages of newspapers, such as *La Publicidad*, or in magazines such as *L'Avenç*. His name is often associated with Ibsen and Zola, sharing with the former the label of being 'northern' writers.⁵⁹ The following passage shows not only this connection, but also the fact that certain agents of the system were reading Vogüé:

⁵⁹ 'En la nostra nacionalitat dingú s'ha vist am prou forces per a aspirar a l'egemonia fonda qu'en les nacions grans exerceixen talents de la mida d'en Zola, Tolstoi, Ibsen, Taine, Renan.' Jaume Brossa Roger, 'L'indpendència de la crítica', *L'Avenç*, 22 February 1893. '[Xavier de Ricard] va començar la seva campanya de propaganda amb un estudi dedicate a l'Ibsen, el felibre del Nord, an el grand autor

No obstant, el novo-cristianisme qu'a França vaticinen en Vogué i en Desjardis no pod equiparar-se en intensitat a l'influència qu'en l'esperit del temps present tenen la Rússia nihilista per un costat i la místico-anarquista d'en Tolstoi per un altre; els drames de l'Ibsen am sa cega propaganda de l'absoluta liberació de l'individu [...].⁶⁰

Particularly before the turn of the century, *La Publicidad* was one of the publications with the most mentions of Tolstoy's literature and ideology, with articles published that ranged from his views on schooling ('Tolstoi y la enseñanza oficial', 1894), to his behaviour towards the army ('En defensa de Tolstoi', 1897), his efforts in volunteering ('Tolstoi', 1892, in which his help at the local soup kitchen is described), or his opinions on modern literature ('Opiniones de Tolstoi', 1900). His name is mentioned on 102 occasions over 523 editions of this newspaper over the period between 1878 and 1899.⁶¹

It is also important to note that despite being one of the most widely translated Russian authors in Catalan before the Spanish Civil War, the availability of Tolstoy's translated texts is very limited when compared to the vast number of short stories and essays he wrote. The work of Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin was essential in bridging the gap in terms of volume of pages of Tolstoy's texts available, but not in terms of actual number of works: there was far too much Tolstoyan literature to catch up with. In this sense, the Catalan polysystem remained behind its European counterparts for the entire period covered in this study.

Table 1. Translations of Tolstoy from 1891 until 1928 (including novellas and briefer texts translated that year, but not lengthier novels)⁶²

dramatic qu'ha arribat a tenir, amb el seu immense talent, una influència tant grand en la litetarura moderna europea com la qu'han tingut Zola i Tolstoi.' Alexandre Cortada, 'La campanya autonomo-federalista', *L'Avenç*, July 1892, p. 215.

⁶⁰ Jaume Brossa Roger, 'Quimeres contemporànies', *L'Avenç*, 15 January 1893, p. 13.

⁶¹ Results obtained by searching "Tolstoi" in the *Arxiu de Revistes Catalanes Antiques*, under *La Publicidad* (1878-1899). Please refer to the following link for further information:

<<http://mdc2.cbuc.cat/cdm/search/collection/publi1/searchterm/tolstoi/field/all/mode/all/conn/and/order/title/ad/asc>>

⁶² This table is my own, and it has been compiled using bibliographical data from individual searches of the OCLC WorldCat database, as well as using Ramon Pinyol bibliographical statistics. Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*.

Year	Title	Genre	Collection/Publisher	Translator	Total pages
1891	El mujik Pakhom (Quant de terra cal per un home?)	Short story	L'Avenç	Casas-Carbó, Joaquim	11
1892	D'ahont vé'l mal	Short story	Novelas Catalanas y Extranteras / Fulletó La Renaixença	Bassegoda, Bonaventura	1
1892	Lo que fa viure als homes	Short story	Novelas Catalanas y Extranteras / Fulletó La Renaixença	Bassegoda, Bonaventura	11
1892	Historia d'un cavall	Short story	Novelas Catalanas y Extranteras / Fulletó La Renaixença	Moliné, Ernest	20
1892	Los dos vells	Short story	Novelas Catalanas y Extranteras / Fulletó La Renaixença	Farnés, Sebastià	12
1892	Un pobre diable	Short story	Novelas Catalanas y Extranteras / Fulletó La Renaixença	Bassegoda, Bonaventura	26
1892	Petita brasa crema una casa	Short story	Novelas Catalanas y Extranteras / Fulletó La Renaixença	Farnés, Sebastià	8
1892	Lucerna	Short story	Novelas Catalanas y Extranteras / Fulletó La Renaixença	Moliné, Ernest	11
1892	Katia	Novella	Novelas Catalanas y Extranteras / Fulletó La Renaixença	Bassegoda, Bonaventura	50
1892	Més gros fog com més llenya s'hi tira	Short story	L'Avenç	Casas-Carbó, Joaquim	11
1895	Burlar al dimoni	Short story	La Renaixença	n/a	3
1897	Un llibre trist: La mort d'Ivan Íltx/Tres morts/Mort al camp de batalla	Novella	L'Avenç	Oller, Narcís	164
1903	Contes (No es pot tirar llenya al foc/Historia veriable/El mujik Pakhom/Elis préssecs/El jutge savi)	Short story	Biblioteca Popular de L'Avenç	Casas-Carbó, Joaquim	91
1904	El cant del cigne: historia d'un músich	Novella	Fidel Giró	Campmany i Aymé, Antoni	62
1912	El domini de les tenebres	Play	Biblioteca Popular de L'Avenç	Puig i Ferrer, Joan	122
1912	El mort en vida	Play	Biblioteca De tots colors	Oller, Narcís	111
1912	Contes breus	Short story	De tots colors	Faura, Francesc	3
1913	Els fruits de la ciència	Play	Biblioteca De tots colors	Oller, Narcís	127
1918	No es pot tirar llenya al foc (revision)	Short story	n/a	Casas-Carbó, Joaquim	8

1928	La sonata a Kreutzer	Novella	Biblioteca Univers	Savarin, Olga / Pineda, Marçal	92
1928	Katia	Novella	Biblioteca Univers	Savarin, Olga / Miracle, Josep	93
1928	El prec de la mare	Short story	La Revista	n/a	4
1928	La novel·la d'un cavall	Novella	Col·lecció Popular Barcino	Navarro Costabella, J.	55
1928	Contes	Short story	Orfeo Atlàntida	Casas-Carbó, Joaquim	8
Total:				1104	

2.1. Short Narrative and Narcís Oller

After Pushkin, Tolstoy was the second Russian author to enter the Catalan literary system. His first text was published in 1891,⁶³ twelve years after the first text by Pushkin was printed in Catalan, and only five years after Russian literature had ‘conquered’ the French system. Tolstoy’s main arrival into the Catalan polysystem took place in that last decade of the nineteenth century; whilst other major Russian writers were also entering the Catalan system at the time, Tolstoy was the most translated author, with three short stories and two collections of short narrative before 1900.⁶⁴ In fact, most of his pre-normative translations are from before the turn of the century.

His first text in Catalan was ‘El mujik Pakhom (Quan de terra cal per un home?)’ and it is the Catalan version of ‘Много ли человеку земли нужно?’ (1886).⁶⁵ This text was first published in monthly literary magazine *L’Avenç* on the 31st August 1891, and whilst the translator is not mentioned, later publications of this same text suggest that it was rendered into Catalan by Joaquim Casas-Carbó. A close reading of this text and its French version from 1886 – which is also titled ‘Le Moujik Pakhom’ rather than the Russian original, with ‘Faut-il beaucoup de terre pour un homme?’ as a subheading – indicates that French was the mediating language.⁶⁶

We encounter a similar situation with the second text by Tolstoy in Catalan, also published in *L’Avenç* in April 1892, and titled ‘Més gros el fog [sic] com més llenya s’hi tira’. This is a text also attributed to Joaquim Casas-Carbó, who published updated versions of the text in 1903, 1918 and 1936. Both the French version of this text and of ‘El mujik Pakhom’ were included in the collection *À la recherche du bonheur* translated by Ely Halpérine-Kaminsky in 1886. In 1892, newspaper *La Renaixensa* began the publication of the collection *Novelas Catalanas y Extranjeras*, which ran until 1902. This was a collection based on texts they had published as part of the *fulletó de La*

⁶³ Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, p. 248.

⁶⁴ Pushkin had two poems and two plays translated before 1900, whereas Turgenev had four short stories. *Ibid.* pp. 254-59.

⁶⁵ This short story has been often translated into English as ‘How much land does a man need?’ by the Maudes. Leo Tolstoy, *What Men Live By And Other Tales*, trans. by Aylmer Maude and Louise Maude. (Auckland: Floating Press, 1885).

⁶⁶ Lindstrom, p. 189.

Renaixensa. In the first volume published, the first 146 pages are taken over with eight short stories by Tolstoy translated by a variety of writers, again from French.⁶⁷ These were translated by known Modernista writers such as Bonaventura Bassegoda, Sebastià Farnés and Ernest Moliné.

Another pre-normative translation published in *La Renaixensa* in 1895 was ‘Burlar al dimoni’, from the Russian ‘Как чертенок краюшку выкупал’ (1886). This is a moral short story similar to ‘El mujik Pakhom’, often translated into English as ‘The Imp and the Crust’. There is no mention of the translator or the source, and the fact that this text was not republished or updated makes it a dead end in that respect. The last publication before the turn of the century was *Un llibre trist*, a collection translated by Narcís Oller which included the novellas *La mort d’Ivan Ílitx*, *Tres morts* and *La mort al camp de batalla*. It was edited by the *Tipografia de L’Avenç* in 1897 as a one-off publication, several years before the establishment of the *Biblioteca Popular de L’Avenç* in 1903.⁶⁸

When the *Biblioteca Popular de L’Avenç* was created, Joaquim Casas-Carbó translated two series of short stories by Tolstoy with the title *Contes*. The first collection included two previously published, updated stories (‘No es pot tirar llenya al foc’ and ‘El mujik Pakhom’) and three new ones: ‘Historia veritable’ (‘Бог правду видит, да не скоро скажет’, 1872),⁶⁹ ‘Els préssecs’, and ‘El jutge savi’ (‘Праведный судья’).⁷⁰ This was only the second published item by the *Biblioteca Popular de L’Avenç*, which focused on both translations of European great authors and Catalan writers. The second series included “24 contes molt curts i un de 41 pàgines” according to Pinyol, including ‘Lo que fa viure ls homes’ [sic] (‘Чем люди живы’, 1881).⁷¹

In 1904, *Biblioteca Nova Catalunya* published *El cant del cigne: història d’un musich* [sic], translated by Antoni Campmany i Aymé. This is the Catalan version of ‘Альберт’

⁶⁷ Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, p. 248.

⁶⁸ Leo Tolstoy, *Un llibre trist*, trans. by Narcís Oller. (Barcelona: Tipografia de "L’Avenç", de Massó, Casas & Elias, 1897).

⁶⁹ This story was translated into French as ‘Histoire vraie’, and into English as ‘God sees the truth, but waits’.

⁷⁰ The latter two stories were included in several volumes of tales to teach children reading skills. Leo Tolstoy, *Povesti i Rasskazi 1872-1886*. (Moscow: Khudoschestvennaya Literatura, 1982).

⁷¹ Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, p. 254.

(1858), which was rendered in English as 'Albert', but in French as 'Histoire d'un musicien'. The French version is included in a trilogy of novellas titled *Le chant du cygne*, which includes 'Histoire d'un cheval' and 'Les Decembristes'.⁷² 'Historia d'un cavall', an unfinished novella whose title in Russian is 'Холстомер' (1888), will be translated into Catalan in the late 1920s. The fact that the Catalan titles match the French translations rather than the Russian originals indicates that French acted as an intermediary. In 1930, Joan Puig i Ferrer provided an updated, normative version of *El cant del cigne* for Col·lecció Nova.⁷³ Finally, the last text to appear before the publication of the *Normes Ortogràfiques* was a selection of short stories titled 'Contes breus' in the magazine *De tots colors* in 1912. These were translated by Francesc Faura.⁷⁴

2.2. Noucentista Translations: Tolstoy's Plays

Tolstoy might have been the most translated Russian author of the pre-normative period, but with the development of *Noucentisme*, his popularity dwindled. From the mid-1910s until the late 1920s, his narrative works did not find a translator or publication; this was not unique to Tolstoy, as translations from Russian literature were much less featured during the first part of this period overall. Between the publication of *Els fruits de la ciència* in 1913 and Nikolai Gogol's *L'inspector* in 1921 as translated by Carles Riba, only a reprint of *No es pot tirar llenya al foc* was published (1918) alongside an anonymous translation of Pushkin's *El general* (1920). A text by Tolstoy would not be published again until 1927, with the serialisation of *Guerra i pau*, which will be further examined later in this chapter. From 1920, a variety of other Russian authors were translated, but texts were generally very brief, and normally printed in literary magazines.⁷⁵ This would align with *Noucentista* aesthetics of prioritising shorter texts and poetry over novels. Tolstoy's narrative would not re-

⁷² Leo Tolstoy, *Le Chant du cygne*. (Paris: Perrin, 1889).

⁷³ "Transcripció al llenguatge d'avui." Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, p. 254.

⁷⁴ Leo Tolstoy, 'Contes breus', *De tots colors*, trans. by Francesc Faura, 29 November 1912. All these fables were published in French in the same volume *Contes et fables* in 1888.

⁷⁵ Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, pp. 261-2.

enter the Catalan system until after the emergence of publishing houses focused on the edition of novels in the late 1920s.

The reasons behind the lack of interest in Tolstoy during this period are unclear. Whilst Tolstoy's bibliography had been exhausted in France and Britain only a decade after the discovery of his literary abilities in Europe, this was not the case in Catalan. There were still plenty of key texts to translate into Catalan: his major novels, novellas and short stories, for example, as up until then, most of the translations were of minor, shorter texts. His death in 1910 was in itself an editorial event, with biographies and critical essays following up on the market's renewed interest in the deceased author, which was not reflected in the Catalan context. Ramon Pinyol argues that during this period, several popular publishing houses like Maucci were editing Tolstoy's works in Spanish.⁷⁶ This could have affected the translations into Catalan, as these works might have satiated the market demands for Tolstoy's narrative, which might partially explain this situation.

This lack of interest in Tolstoy in translation may have also been a reaction of the *Noucentista* cultural elite to *Modernista* translations. In one of the *Glossaris* titled 'La psicologia de Tolstoi' and published in 1917, Xènius presents a draft argument that Tolstoy's morals are being discussed as having a selfish background, although he also states that this subject requires further discussion. His portrayal of Tolstoy's psychology is seen in negative terms:

Els crítics, els psicòlegs, els moralistes revisen avui la qüestió del caràcter de Tolstoi. La conclusió no és pas favorable al gran escriptor! Es troba com característic de la seva personalitat "un egoïsme materialista". Freimark, psicoanalista agut, sosté que la pretesa conversió de Tolstoi no fou sinó un efecte aparent: àdhuc després d'ella sapigué, tot i evangelisant a intenció dels altres, servir per ell mateix avantatges de la fortuna, del renaixement i de la situació selecta.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Pinyol, *La difusió de Tolstoi en català*, p. 38.

⁷⁷ Xènius, 'La psicologia de Tolstoi', *La Veu de Catalunya*, 20 September 1917, p. 4.

It is unclear whether d'Ors' opinion correlates with the opinions of other key *Noucentista* agents, but it may have contributed to the lack of translations of Tolstoy's literature during this period.

Whilst this chapter deals mainly with Tolstoy's narrative in translation, the only published texts written by Tolstoy's during the years of highest influence of *Noucentista* aesthetics were plays. Three out of the six plays Tolstoy wrote were translated, which is a very high percentage compared to the relatively small amount of his short stories available. These texts have their own particularities, and they provide the perfect example to illustrate the transition from pre-normative to normative Catalan that the written language experienced around the time of the publication of the *Normes Ortogràfiques*. Whilst it was a relatively brief process, the standardisation of written Catalan did not happen in a vacuum. An important part of the political involvement in culture initiated by Prat de la Riba was focused on codifying and standardising written Catalan, so that it could be used as the official language of Catalan institutions and Catalan culture.⁷⁸ Members of the literary milieu were aware of the process of language standardisation that Pompeu Fabra and other members of the IEC's *Secció Filològica* had been assigned; texts printed around the time of the publication of the *Normes Ortogràfiques* displayed, in general, fairly standardised language.⁷⁹

The two writers involved in the translation of Tolstoy's plays were Joan Puig i Ferrer and Narcís Oller. They were at very different stages in their literary careers: whilst Puig i Ferrer was an emerging playwright, Narcís Oller's narrative work had come to a standstill because of ideological clashes with the agents of the system. As the *Noucentista* ideals took centre stage of the literary canon, previous items of cultural stock were rejected; Oller's novels were made the main example of what was not to be written. As Yates argues in response to Josep Carner's ideological musing in 1908, 'només els novel·listes són separats de la mobilització política d'artistes i intel·lectuals

⁷⁸ Enric Prat de la Riba, Albert Balcells, and Josep Maria Ainaud, *Obra completa*. (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans: Proa, 1998), p. 344; Josep Grau Mateu, *La Lliga Regionalista i la llengua catalana, 1901-1924*. (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2006), p. 197.

⁷⁹ Pompeu Fabra, Joan Costa Carreras, and Alan Yates, *The Architect of Modern Catalan: Pompeu Fabra (1868-1948) Selected Writings*. (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2009), pp. 135-42.

engegada pel Noucentisme [...]. Però el nou programa té un aspecte encara més negatiu: l'aplicació d'un tabú general sobre la novel·la i els novel·listes, o més ben dit, exnovel·listes'.⁸⁰ In fact, during the last period of his literary career, Oller focused on translation. Their approach to the process of normativisation was also very different; whilst Puig i Ferrer embraced it, Oller struggled to adapt as most of his own writings were still rooted in pre-normative language.⁸¹ This was not uncommon, as not all writers embraced normativisation equally.

Although the three above-mentioned plays were published during a period of dominance of *Noucentista* aesthetics, Enric Gallén has classified them as belonging to the ideological and cultural precepts of *Modernisme*, as some of them were published by the *Biblioteca Popular de L'Avenç*, the recognised key publication of *Modernista* writers and agents, and others by the *Biblioteca De Tots Colors*, '[que] es va convertir en la més nombrosa de totes les col·leccions del període modernista'.⁸² His argument is that

[Son] textos dramàtics en les col·leccions de caràcter literari, més estretament identificades amb el programa general de modernització cultural més genuí. Es tracta, en general, de traduccions fetes directament de l'original – en casos concrets i justificats històricament, de traduccions intermèdies-, caracteritzades perquè el traductor, sovint un escriptor actiu amb una significativa trajectòria literària, mostra una atenció especial per aconseguir l'equivalència i adequació expressiva pròpies de la llengua i la cultura d'arribada amb l'afany de mantenir la màxima fidelitat en relació amb el text original.⁸³

⁸⁰ Yates, p. 113.

⁸¹ Oller was one of the main figures against normativisation, alongside other Modernist writers like Caterina Albert or Francesc Matheu. Maria Martí Baiget, *Francesc Matheu i la revista Catalana: l'oposició a la normativització del català (1918-1926)*. (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2007), p. 26.

⁸² Enric Gallén, 'Traduir i adaptar teatre a Catalunya (1898-1938)', in *La traducción en la Edad de Plata*, ed. by Luis Pegenante (Barcelona: PPU, 2001), pp. 49-74, (p. 55).

⁸³ Ibid. p. 50.

Several years before there were any translations into Catalan of Russian plays, Alexandre Cortada wrote two essays for *L'Avenç* in which he discussed the characteristics of Russian theatre:

El teatre rus és veritablement fill de la realitat i d'aquella terra. Aixís com bona part del teatre francès avia sigut fins ara mondain i cosmopolita, sense gaires lligaments am la vertadera realitat, el de Rusia, al contrari, és rus per tot quatre costats. [...] En ell hi és tot anotat, desde el detall més infim, més vulgar i més corrent, fins al més significatiu. [...] Els personatges del teatre rus no són, com els d'altres, d'una sola peça, sinó que són complexos am la realitat. [...] El teatre rus ha fet la revolució dret an el realisme am tota la perfecció i puresa ja desde els principis de la segona meitat d'aquet sigle, i fins avui die no ha començat a influir per Alemania i França.⁸⁴

In 1912, Puig i Ferrer published *El domini de les tenebres* (*Власть тьмы*, 1886) as part of the *Biblioteca Popular de L'Avenç*. In that same year, Oller translated *El mort en vida* (*Живой мрпн*, 1900) for *Biblioteca De tots colors*. A year later, Oller published *Els fruits de la ciència* (*Плоды просвещения*, 1891) for the same series. These translations were announced and reviewed in various literary magazines of the time. Of the two writers, Puig i Ferrer was closer to the teachings of Fabra.⁸⁵ The fact that the publication of his translation, which displays plenty of normative linguistic choices, preceded the publication of the *Normes Ortogràfiques* indicates that he was close to the members of the *Secció Filològica* and their work.

El domini de les tenebres was not an unknown play for the Catalan audience, as Italian actor Ermete Zacconi had chosen this text, as well as Gerhart Hauptmann's *Lonely People* (*Einsame Menschen*, 1891), to showcase his acting abilities on his visit to

⁸⁴ Alexandre Cortada, 'El teatre a Barcelona', *L'Avenç*, November 1892, p. 331.

⁸⁵ One of the reasons Puig i Ferrer argued for having hired Nin as a translator of Russian is that his written Catalan was normative despite having lived abroad for so long. '[Nin] mai no ha negligit el català, ans al contrari, lluny de nosaltres és un assedegat de llibres nostres i segueix al dia el nostre moviment literari. Les darreres produccions millors, tota l'obra de Pompeu Fabra li són familiars'. Puig i Ferrer, *Francesc Payarols, traductor del rus*, p. 6.

Barcelona in 1901. *Pèl i ploma* then described the play as unable to reach its bourgeois audience:

No logrà convencer als senyors de la majoria, perquè tenint-los sense cuidado el que passa als disset millions d'espanyols, encara'ls deixa es frescos que les tenebres imperin sobre mes de sexanta millions de russos sino tant naturalment degradats com Nikita, ben prop de serho; els paliatius introduïts per en Zacconi pera fer possible la representació a Rússia, no treuen l'horror d'aquells epissodis de mort que fan que l'obra de Tolstoï, se sembli am tot el seu tenebrós vigor esclau, als mes crudels autors i als mes mitxevals misteris.⁸⁶

A decade later, several magazines of the time mentioned the publication of this work and lauded Puig i Ferrer for his translation. It remains unclear whether this play reached the stage using his translation, although from the commentary in *La Escena Catalana*, it may have been the case at the Teatre Català / Teatre Romea. In fact, the article states that 'en Puig, home de Teatre, duent al Català *El domini de les tenebres*, desfà –definitivament,- una estúpida llegenda: la que sha volgut presentar nostres artistes com a enemics sistemàtics de tota traducció'.⁸⁷ On the other hand, the feature on *La Il·lustració Catalana* praised the work as one of Tolstoy's best, and Puig i Ferrer's translation as having a 'fidelitat molt remarcable', with no mention as to whether it had been taken to stage, despite the article being written eight months after *El domini de les tenebres* was published.⁸⁸

Oller's translation of *El mort en vida* was published in instalments in the weekly magazine *De tots colors* throughout October 1912. In the magazine, it was advertised as *El mort amb vida*, which corresponds to the sense of 'living corpse' that the original title has, as well as to subsequent translations in French (*Le cadaver vivant*, 1911) and Spanish (*El cadaver viviente*, 1912). The final title, however, was *El mort en vida*, which suggests a sense of lifeless existence closer to some of the English translations.⁸⁹ The proximity of the dates between the French, Spanish, and Catalan version of this text

⁸⁶ El del Galliner, 'Ermete Zacconi', *Pèl i Ploma*, December 1901, p. 221.

⁸⁷ 'Llibres', *La Escena Catalana*, 7 December 1912.

⁸⁸ 'Publicacions rebudes', *Il·lustració Catalana*, 17 August 1913, p. 774.

⁸⁹ In English, it was both translated as *The living corpse* and *The man who was dead*.

suggests these are connected. In fact, the Spanish version came only months earlier, in March 1912, as announced in *La Veu de Catalunya*: 'En cambi EL CADAVER VIVIENTE, traducció del cèlebre drama pòstum de Tolstoi feta acertadament per J. M. Jordà y Rafael Marquina y pertanyent a la ben escullida Biblioteca Domènech [...] porta ja una certa complicació a l'esperit, per tractarshi intricats problemes sociològichs, morals, en la foma y dintre'l caracter del peculiar novelista rus.'⁹⁰

Oller's translation and his literary commitment were thoroughly praised by *De tots colors* during the serialisation of *El mort en vida*:

Seràn les primers de la extraordinaria producció intitulada *El cadaver viviente* original del malograt comte en Lleó Tolstoi, obra qu'el nostre pulcríssim mestre en Narcís Oller va traduir amb el títol de *El mort amb vida*. Se tracta de sis actes y dotze quadros espléndits, y amb aquell relleu característic del gran autor rus, condicions que'l nostre Oller ha sabut conservarles perfectament en la seva notable traducció per lo que devém agrahirli doblement el permis de publicació, puig que no duptém fervos contents a tots amb tants mérits reunits com els que us donarem amb aytal obra.⁹¹

The translation of these two texts at this specific time may be related to the alleged popularity that those two plays had in Paris around that time.⁹² Oller's contribution is highlighted by Gallén in a category of its own, given the large amount of plays he translated during this period, mainly from French, and by authors with whom he shared a similar ideological conception of literature.⁹³ His work as a translator was recognised by the critics of the time despite the ideological differences between artistic currents and Oller's novelistic baggage; the following quote is, however, from *De tots colors*, magazine in which he was a regular collaborator:

⁹⁰ J. M. Grau, 'Llibres de la quinzena', *La Veu de Catalunya*, 5 March 1912, p. 2.

⁹¹ 'Noves', *De tots colors*, 4 October 1912, p. 812. Further advertisements of the publication of this text can be found in the editions on the 11th October and the 18th October. 'Noves', *De tots colors*, 11 October 1912, pp. 840, 909.

⁹² 'De París estant', *La Escena Catalana*, 1 Febrero 1913, p. 7.

⁹³ Gallén, p. 51.

L'Oller ha traduït ab aquella esquisidesa a que ja'ns té acostumats. [...] En quan a la traducció que n'ha fet l'eminent novel·lista, podriem demanarnos allò de: ¿que'n direm que no s'hagi dit? ¿qué so es pulcre, qué si es esquisida, qué si es fidel?... Qui'n dubta! Mes *Atxa*, ha llegides moltes traduccions que's guardaria ben be de combater y en totes ells hi ha trobat sempre a mancar la vibració, la puresa de tò dels originals, sempre li ha semblat veurehi aquell *tapiz vuelto al revés*. En les traduccions de l'Oller això no passa, aixís es, que si bé *El Més Fort* shi sent l'Italia, un se podría fer, sens grans esforços, el càrrech de que'n Giacosa l'ha escrita en català a Milán. Aquestes traduccions no son versions d'un idioma a altre, no son cambi, son reffloriment del mateix arbre'n altre terra, son vera encarnació al català llenguatje de tot l'esperit, fins de lo més escapadís y matisat, de la obra estranya.⁹⁴

On the other side of 1913, *Els fruits de la ciència* is a text closer to Puig i Ferrer's translation than to Oller's own, which reflects the evolution of language following the introduction of the first spelling rules. Unlike the previous translation, *De tots colors* did not market this publication at all, with no mention of either Tolstoy or Oller found for the year 1913.⁹⁵

As a final point, it is important to note that *Els fruits de la ciència* had been translated into English (1890) and French (1891) shortly after its publication in Russia, but this text was not available in Spanish until the 1950s, unlike the previous examples. These texts were the most significant Tolstoyan contribution during the mid-1910s, and although they may lack interest in terms of content compared to other translations of the Russian author, they serve as the perfect example to track the evolution of literary Catalan through the standardisation period.

⁹⁴ Atxa, 'Llibres', *De tots colors*, 3 April 1908.

⁹⁵ A Boolean search was performed using the terms 'Tolstoi' and 'Oller' in the *Arxiu de Revistes Catalanes Antiques* database, first broadly and then specifying *De tots colors* as the magazine. No results were returned for 1913. For further reference, please see:
<<http://mdc2.cbuc.cat/cdm/search/collection/totscolors/searchterm/tolstoi:oller/field/all!all/mode/all!all/conn/and!and/order/title/ad/asc>>

3. The 1930s

As highlighted in the previous section, the currency of Tolstoy's translations was in decline during the *Noucentista* period. However, by the end of the 1920s, following the relative tolerance of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera towards literary editions, many new publishing houses were established or reinstated.⁹⁶ Tolstoy's most important literary works were translated over the period between 1928 and 1934, turning the Russian author into one of the most popular Russian writers of the time in the Catalan context. Of the 31 bound publications of Russian literature during this time, seven were of works by Tolstoy; 7 out of 24 of short Russian texts published in magazines were his, more than any other Russian author.

Table 2. Translations of Tolstoy published between 1928 and 1934.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Chumillas i Coromina, p. 201.

⁹⁷ This table is my own, and it has been compiled using bibliographical data from individual searches of the OCLC WorldCat database, as well as using Ramon Pinyol bibliographical statistics. Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, pp. 245-64.

Year	Title	Genre	Collection/Publication	Translator	Pages
1928	Guerra i pau	Novel	La Publicitat (fulletó)	Capdevila, Carles	1702
1928	Ressurrecció	Novel	Proa: Biblioteca A tot vent	Llates, Rossend / Maseras, Alfons	659
1930	La mort d'Ivan Íltx / Amo i criat / Tres morts	Novella / Short stories	Proa: Biblioteca A tot vent. Històries curtes	Payarols, Francesc	257
1933	Els cossacs	Novella	Proa: Biblioteca A tot vent	Payarols, Francesc	242
1933	Anna Karèmina	Novel	Proa: Biblioteca A tot vent	Nin, Andreu	1147
1934	Hadji-Murat	Novella	Proa: Biblioteca A tot vent	Payarols, Francesc	251
				Total:	4258
				Total (Edicions Proa only)	2556

3.1. 1928

Whilst Payarols and Nin are responsible for the main bulk of translations of Tolstoy in the 1930s, two of Tolstoy's three main novels were in fact published in 1928. These texts were not the work of Edicions Proa's direct translators from Russian, and consequently both were texts sourced from French. One of them, in fact, was not edited by Edicions Proa at all. On May 1st, 1927 newspaper *La Publicitat* started the serialised publication of *Guerra i pau* as translated by writer and critic Carles Capdevila; the bound version appeared a year later in four volumes.⁹⁸

Carles Capdevila was an agent of the polysystem of the time in his own right. His work as a translator was an integral part of his theatrical work: he staged his own translations on many occasions from the beginning of the century until the 1920s.⁹⁹ He then became a journalist and was the chief editor of *La Publicitat* from 1923 until his death in 1937.¹⁰⁰ Josep Marco argues that translating *Guerra i pau* had a two-fold motivation: this work was seen as one of the great classics of world literature and its translation into Catalan was well overdue, and the fact that its original publication was serialised must have attracted interest from readers towards his newspaper.¹⁰¹

Marco proposes that the development phase of the Catalan literary system at the time granted Capdevila liberty to choose what to translate. His position in *La Publicitat*, and within the literary system supports this idea. After all, *War and Peace* is Tolstoy's most acclaimed work, and one of the first to be translated in neighbouring polysystems alongside *Anna Karenina*. If Catalan literature was to catch up with other European literatures, then this was a title that needed to be translated; the reasoning behind Capdevila's choice appears obvious.

In 1928, Edicions Proa published its first Russian translation, Tolstoy's *Resurrecció*, as translated by Alfons Maseras and Rossend Llates. This was only the fourth title

⁹⁸ Leo Tolstoy, *Guerra i pau*, trans. by Carles Capdevila. (Barcelona: La Publicitat, 1928).

⁹⁹ Josep Marco, 'Una aproximació a l'*habitus* de Carles Capdevila, traductor i home de lletres', *Quaderns. Revista de traducció*, 17 (2010), pp. 89-90.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 97.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p. 100.

published in the *Biblioteca A tot vent*, and the third translation.¹⁰² The text is presented without an introduction, and consists of two volumes; as mentioned above, this was also an indirect translation from French. Whilst in 1928 Proa had already secured Andreu Nin and was about to hire Payarols, in the lead up to these signings the task was given to somebody else. Puig i Ferrer's need to counteract Capdevila's translation in *La Publicitat* led him to assign the mediated translation of *Resurrecció* to two relatively known writers, Maseras and Llates, who complemented their literary work with translations of English and French writers.¹⁰³

From a cultural perspective, providing Catalan readers with a full version of this novel was long overdue. The only Spanish translation until that date had been published in 1901 under the title *Resurrección*, and was translated by Augusto Riera and included a prologue by Clarín. It was published by Editorial Maucci in Barcelona, and had been reprinted throughout the first quarter of the twentieth century; the public had access to the text, but not in Catalan.¹⁰⁴ Given the reputation that Maucci had among the Catalan literary milieu, and its notorious shortening of novels that were deemed too long,¹⁰⁵ it seems a culturally strategic move by Puig i Ferrer to make this text the first Russian novel to be included in the *Biblioteca A Tot Vent*.

Early in 1930, Edicions Proa published Stefan Zweig's biography of Tolstoy, translated from German by Alfred Gallard. This was an important investment in the Russian author, whose main work was still in the process of being translated into Catalan. The publication of this text aimed to engage Catalan readers with the personality of the

¹⁰² The only novel originally written in Catalan was *Tàntal* by Miquel Llor.

¹⁰³ Montserrat Corretger, *L'obra narrativa d'Alfons Maseras*. (Barcelona: Curial Edicions Catalanes : Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1996), pp. 5-19; M. Elena Carné i Masllorens, 'Llates i Serrat, Rossend' (2018) <<http://www.visat.cat/diccionari/cat/traductor/437/llates-i-serrat-rossend.html>> [accessed 3 August 2018]

¹⁰⁴ Maucci had its headquarters in Barcelona, with branches in Madrid and Buenos Aires. It was arguably the first publishing house to be set up in Barcelona with a solely commercial purpose. Manuel Llanas, 'Notes sobre l'editorial Maucci i les seves traduccions', *Quaderns. Revista de traducció*, 8 (2002), p. 12.

¹⁰⁵ Josep Pous i Pagès accused Maucci of committing "delictes literaris" with their translations and publications. Josep Piula and [Josep] [Pous i Pagès], 'El moviment editorial á Barcelona', *Catalunya Artística*, 89 (1902), p. 119; Llanas, p. 15.

author, and to use the momentum that the 1928 translations had gathered. Puig i Ferrer assigned the first direct translation of Tolstoy at Proa to Francesc Payarols.

3.2. Francesc Payarols' Translations

Payarols was originally hired by Puig i Ferrer because of his translating abilities, and his fascination with the work of Dostoevsky, which convinced the former to bring him on board as his literary interests appeared different from those of Andreu Nin.¹⁰⁶ According to Puig, Proa's aims were so that 'Nin amb els clàssics, amb Tolstoi i els autors de després de la revolució, Payarols lliurat a Dostoievski, pensem donar, en pocs anys, el millor de les lletres russes'.¹⁰⁷ Despite these original arrangements and Payarols' literary interests, he translated more novels by Tolstoy than by any other Russian author. In fact, Nin translated one more text by Dostoevsky (2) than Payarols (1); Payarols did translate three key texts by Tolstoy, whilst Nin only published one.¹⁰⁸

When Payarols took up the baton of translating Tolstoy, he had plenty of experience in dealing with Russian authors. He had rendered Turgenev's *Pares i fills* and Dostoevsky's *L'etern marit* into Catalan, both in 1929, which helped him to establish himself as a translator of Russian. His first translation of Tolstoy came in 1930, when he published *La mort d'Ivan Íltx; seguit de Amo i criat; i Tres morts* in one single tome. As indicated in the title, the content of this volume includes the novella *Смерть Ивана Ильича* (1886), and the short stories 'Хозяин и работник' (1895), and 'Три смерти' (1859). As the dates suggest, these stories are not necessarily related by epoch, but they present similar themes and patterns: all three have a strong philosophical focus as they deal with the attitude of men towards death.

This was not the first time that these texts had been translated into Catalan. In 1897, Narcís Oller had compiled and translated *Un llibre trist: La mort d'Ivan Íltx, Tres morts i Mort al camp de batalla* for the *Biblioteca de L'Atlàntida*. It is likely that Payarols and

¹⁰⁶ Puig i Ferrer, *Francesc Payarols, traductor del rus*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷ Puig i Ferrer, *Francesc Payarols, traductor del rus*.

¹⁰⁸ Nin also translated *Infància, adolescència, joventut*, but this 'trilogy in one volume' was only published in 1974. In the 1930s, Payarols translated over 750 pages of Tolstoy, whilst Nin translated 1,147.

Puig i Ferrerter took inspiration from this volume in order to compile Proa's 1930 collection; there are no similar collections in French or in any of the neighbouring polysystems, and whilst the stories are related by their topic, many other Tolstoyan texts fit in that category, which suggests it is too coincidental that two out of the three texts are the same. Payarols failed to acknowledge the intertextual connection between his translation and Oller's work, and as the following paragraph illustrates, he was not short of opportunities.

The most relevant part of this collection for the purpose of this thesis is the twelve-page prologue that Payarols titled 'L'autor i l'obra', and in which the translator provided a critical introduction both to Tolstoy as an author and philosopher, and to his work. This essay is a unique opportunity to understand Payarols' perspective and critical thinking on literary matters beyond the text itself. In fact, whilst other introductions written by Andreu Nin incorporate a commentary on the linguistic challenges of translating a certain author, Payarols strictly focuses on how *La mort d'Ivan Ílitx* develops Tolstoyan topics. It is a rare chance to read Payarols' ideas, as samples of his own writing are scarce. After all, he did not write any other introduction to any of his translations; even in his rendition of Saltikov-Shchedrin's *Els senyors de Golovliovi*, the prologue with biographical notes on the author was written by Andreu Nin.¹⁰⁹

In this essay, Payarols displays a solid knowledge of Tolstoy's work in context, and quotes some of his literary critics (Vogüé, biographer Zweig, and 'un crític alemany').¹¹⁰ Whilst this is a long introduction, Payarols only studies the stories contained in the volume, as well as their thematic relationship with *Resurrecció*, which was published without a prologue of its own. In fact, this prologue begins by referencing the text: '*Resurrecció* ha de marcar forçosament la fita darrera de la producció tolstoiana'.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin, *Els senyors de Golovliovi*, trans. by Francesc Payarols. (Badalona: Proa, 1931), p. 10.

¹¹⁰ Leo Tolstoy, *La Mort d'Ivan Ílitx; seguit de Amo i criat; i Tres morts*, trans. by Francesc Payarols. (Badalona: Proa, 1930), pp. 6-7.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 5.

Payarols praises Tolstoy's literary style and psychological realism, but criticises his utopian views on man and societal organisation.

La mort d'Ivan Ílitx was reviewed in the Catalan press several times by Domènec Guansé,¹¹² a known critic and agent of the system, who praised Payarols on providing an unmediated translation, but also mentions some of the language issues that the translator found in Catalan, as 'algunes assonàncies sovint li resten fluïdesa'.¹¹³ His reviews were published at different times during 1930 (when the book was first published, and several months later), but their message is consistent, as the following extract shows:

La traducció de les tres narracions és feta directament del rus, com correspon a una literatura que ha entrat en la major d'edat i que ha pogut alliberar-se de tutors. Francesc Pallarols [sic], que ha ens havia traduït "Pares i fills", de Turguenev, és un dels intel·lectuals catalans als quals es deu aquest alliberament. Cal regraciar-lo per això i encoratjar-lo a seguir la seva tasca. En conjunt, la seva traducció és fresca i el·loquent. Té simplicitat i noblesa. Algunes vegades, portser per una excessiva fidelitat més a la lletra que a l'esperit, hi ha algunes assonàncies que endureixen la frase. Hi ha també algun que altre castellanisme que seria ben fàcilment evitable. I, finalment, una certa abundància de "quelcom", mot que si féu fortuna un quants anys enrera, avui sembla que els nostres prosistes més elegants i àgils es complauen a bandejar.¹¹⁴

Payarols' second translation came later that year: *Els cossacs* (*Казак*, 1863) was volume number 58 of the *Biblioteca A tot vent*. This is one of Tolstoy's early works, and it was inspired by his own adventures in the Caucasus. The novella tells the story of a young man, Olenin, who leaves Moscow in debt and joins the army in the Caucasus, in a journey of self-discovery amidst those who live simpler lives. In 1934, after the

¹¹² Domènec Guansé, 'Tolstoi: L'esperit dels dies', *La Rambla de Catalunya*, 28 July 1930, p. 11.

¹¹³ Domènec Guansé, 'Tolstoi, Lleo.- 'La mort d'Ivan Ílitx' (traducció de F. Payarols) - Edicions Proa', *La Revista de Catalunya*, November 1930, p. 276.

¹¹⁴ Domènec Guansé, 'Les Lletres: "La mort d'Ivan Ílitx", de Lleó Tolstoi, traducció de F. Payarols, per Domènec Guansé', *La Publicitat*, 6 August 1930, p. 4.

publication of *Anna Karèнина*, Payarols translated *Hadji-Murat* (*Хаджу-Мурат*, published posthumously in 1912), volume 71 in the *Biblioteca A tot vent*. A short historical novel, it was one of Tolstoy's final works of fiction, and it presents the same physical setting as *Els cossacs*: the war at the Caucasus. Tolstoy retells the story of Avar rebel Hadji Murat, a historical figure forced to forge an unnatural alliance with the Russians to save his family.

The main action in both novels occurs in the Caucasus, and involves the interaction between Russians, Chechens, Avars, and other ethnic and linguistic groups, who are residents of the mountains. Consequently, the specific vocabulary of the Caucasus is one of the key features of these texts and it differs greatly from other works by Tolstoy. There is a perceptible evolution in the translation of culturally difficult language; we can deduce that Payarols became gradually more used to the different linguistic issues.

The optimal way to explore Payarols' changing relationship with the vocabulary is through a study of the footnoting in both *Els cossacs* and *Hadji-Murat*. Footnoting, or the translator's comments, are an essential part of the text, and their main function is to aid comprehension, not only in linguistically complex situations, but also as a bridge to introduce foreign cultural items that have no equivalence in the source context. Whilst they are a necessary tool for the translator, their usage is not always consistent throughout the text. In spite of their professional approach to translation, Payarols and Nin lacked formal training, a fact that is occasionally exposed in some of their choices, not only at textual level but also in terms of formatting.

In *Els cossacs*, Payarols struggles on two specific cultural fronts: the aforementioned vocabulary of the Caucasus and the Old Russian units of measurement. This struggle develops in roughly half of the cases that appear in the text. In terms of the first group, Payarols provides additional information in cases like 'busà', 'teliega' o 'nagaets', but misses the opportunity with 'abrek' (footnoted three pages after its first appearance),¹¹⁵ 'stànitsa' (footnoted twice in the space of four pages),¹¹⁶ and

¹¹⁵ Leo Tolstoy, *Els cossacs*, trans. by Francesc Payarols. (Badalona: Proa, 1933), pp. 34,37.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. pp. 25,29. The first comment reads 'Els burgs i ravals indicats', whereas the second is more specific: 'Stànitsa = el poble'.

'urban'/'urvan' (not footnoted, and used with different spellings).¹¹⁷ The improvement of Payarols footnoting in *Hadji-Murat* is noticeable: up to 23 comments on specific Caucasian vocabulary are included, and only very few are left out. Among these, Payarols includes a note at the beginning of the novel in regards to the pronunciation of the name Hadji-Murat as well as *h* and *kh* in italicised words.¹¹⁸

Despite having translated several other novels in which Old Russian measurements were used, Payarols found difficulties in dealing consistently with these in *Els cossacs*. Whilst some units are explained, others remain in the text without further details, although these are normally italicised to indicate that they are not part of Catalan vocabulary. This irregularity is illustrated with the footnoting of 'arxina' or 'vedro',¹¹⁹ but the lack of information on 'versta' or 'saixen'.¹²⁰ The latter example is very relevant, as both Nin and Payarols had difficulties in dealing with 'сажень', with a previous version of the word spelled 'sagen'. It is plausible, however, that the inconsistency in the translation and footnoting of these units comes from their constant presence in this text, and in most Russian novels of the time, making it difficult to gauge the extent of the readers' knowledge of them. There are no significant units of measurement used in *Hadji-Murat* with which to draw a comparison, with the exception of 'una sagen', which is given in feminine form.¹²¹

In terms of reception in the press, Payarols was recognised as the translator of both novellas, and the reviews are generally more positive than those of *La mort d'Ivan Ílitx*, particularly in regards to his linguistic choices. He is described as the 'practical translator' of *Hadji-Murat* by an anonymous critic in *La Publicitat*, who in the same paragraph defines *Anna Karènina* as 'la inobidable'.¹²² This translation is then lauded as 'pulcra i magistral' by critic Joan Sariol, who announces that Payarols 's'ha afermat [...] el títol de traductor [competent i] responsable', in an environment in which there was an awareness that some previous translations of Tolstoy had been severely abridged. In regards to *Els cossacs*, there is a disagreement among critics on the 'quality'

¹¹⁷ Ibid. pp. 34,48.

¹¹⁸ Leo Tolstoy, *Hadji-Murat*, trans. by Francesc Payarols. (Badalona: Edicions Proa, 1934), p. 5.

¹¹⁹ Tolstoy, *Els cossacs*, pp. 29,60.

¹²⁰ Ibid. pp. 24,25.

¹²¹ Tolstoy, *Hadji-Murat*, p. 56.

¹²² 'El correu d'avui', *La Publicitat*, 8 January 1935, p. 5.

of the original work; Ant Gabernet from *La Publicitat* states that ‘és una de les millors del gran escriptor rus, [i] ha tingut un excel·lent acolliment entre el nostre públic’,¹²³ whereas ‘J. M. V.’ from *La Veu de Catalunya* declares that ‘no és pas aquesta la millor novel·la de Tolstoi’, and then gives Payarols the recognition of making it a better text in translation by saying that ‘Payarols ha fet una traducció que ens fa augmentar – si és possible – l’interès de l’obra’.¹²⁴ Finally, an anecdotal reference worth mentioning can be found in satirical magazine *El Bé Negre*, which makes fun of the difficult pronunciation of *Hadji-Murat* and compares it to a sneezing onomatopoeia:

Traduïda del rus per un senyor que per cert ho fa bastant bé i signa Francesc Payarols, amb una modèstia i discreció que parlen molt alt a favor seu, tot i ésser conegut – el tartamut, no el Payarols.¹²⁵

This last excerpt provides an insight, even if superficial, into the general lack of awareness of Payarols’ presence in the literary system despite the recognition given to his work by some critics.

In conclusion, Payarols translated three shorter, key texts by Tolstoy which fulfilled Edicions Proa’s objective of making essential classics of European literature available in Catalan. Over the course of these three short novels, Payarols became a more confident translator, with a noticeable improvement in his skills. He established himself as the main translator of Tolstoy, at least by number of works. The interruption of his career due to the consequences of the Spanish Civil War prevented him from moving on to his preferred author. He may have eventually become the Catalan translator of Dostoevsky, as Puig i Ferrer envisioned, had the circumstances been different. In any case, his contribution to making Tolstoy one of the key Russian authors in Catalan in the 1930s, and a central figure in the Catalan literary system, remains unparalleled.

¹²³ Ant Gabernet, ‘El correu d’avui’, *La Publicitat*, 15 July 1933, p. 4.

¹²⁴ J. M. V., ‘Notes Bibliogràfiques’, *La Veu de Catalunya*, July 1933, p. 17.

¹²⁵ ‘El Be...rnat Metge’, *El Bé Negre*, 24 December 1934, p. 4.

3.3. Andreu Nin's *Anna Karènina*

Nin's work on *Anna Karènina* was initially announced in the same article in which Puig i Ferrer promoted the figure of Payarols. The director of Proa also announced several other works by Nin that did not materialise: an anthology of Russian short stories that was meant to include Nin's preferred authors 'Puixkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Turguenev'.¹²⁶ Whilst it took several years, *Anna Karènina* was the only one of these projects to be completed.

Anna Karènina, as translated by Andreu Nin, was published in the *Biblioteca A tot vent* early in 1934 in four volumes.¹²⁷ Scholar Natalia Kharitònova argues that this translation had stimulated a fair deal of expectation among the Catalan literati.¹²⁸ The reasons behind this expectation are two-fold: the prestige of the source text in neighbouring polysystems, and both the intellectual and political importance of Andreu Nin within Catalan society of the 1930s. Andreu Nin's literary popularity was at its peak after not only translating *Crim i càstig* by Dostoevsky, but also joining the political sphere with his Left Marxist contributions. Tolstoy's popularity was also on the rise thanks to the growing number of translations of his texts by Proa. *Anna Karènina*, in an unabridged and direct translation from Russian was the missing piece of the Catalan Tolstoyan puzzle, and as such it was given to Puig i Ferrer's trusted man, Nin.

This translation brought Nin admiration and an added layer of popularity: if he was already famous before *Anna*, his essential contribution to Catalan literature was confirmed with this text. Members of the literary milieu and important agents of the Catalan polysystem instantly praised Nin's translation, which contributed to making the text a central element in the literary system.¹²⁹ Most of the compliments focused on the ability of Tolstoy's characters to sound genuinely Catalan, and this text being the

¹²⁶ Puig i Ferrer, *Francesc Payarols, traductor del rus*, p. 4.

¹²⁷ Although the date of publication appears as 1933, the Edition went on sale in January 1934 according to *La Publicitat*. Editorial, 'Anna Karènina', *La Publicitat*, 3 January 1934, p. 2.

¹²⁸ Kharitònova, p. 53.

¹²⁹ Rafael Tasis, 'Falles d'una literatura: variacions sobre la novel·la', *Mirador*, 27 September 1934, p. 2.

best translation available in a Romance language, in an obvious reference to both the French and Spanish systems.¹³⁰

Rafael Tasis was one of the critics to review *Anna Karèrina*, and Nin's translation. His opinion focuses on the integrity of the text, Nin's use of language, and how errors in the text affected the overall reading experience:

Una traducció directa i íntegra d'aquest llibre considerable, si hom té en compte les inexplicables mutilacions que castiguen gairebé totes les edicions franceses i espanyoles [...]. Andreu Nin, coneixedor del rus i en possessió d'un bon estil català, s'ha emprès la dura tasca [...]. Fora d'alguna escassa impropietat del llenguatge i d'alguna -molt poques- errada, que fóra comprensible si l'extensió de la novel·la abastament *alguna falla en la correcció de les proves*, aquesta versió fa honor a Andreu Nin i a les Edicions Proa, que han enriquit una vegada més la cultura catalana [...].¹³¹

Tasis justifies Nin's errors given the length of the text, and diverts responsibility towards the publishing house, as the italicised sentence shows. He also refers to the Spanish and French versions, and places Nin's above them given this translation is unabridged. In the context of the Spanish polysystem, there were several versions of *Ana Karenine*¹³² in circulation. The most relevant to this study was first published in 1890, and then reprinted in 1901 and 1911. This version was translated by J. Santos Hervas, illustrated by Isidro Gil and published in Barcelona by Maucci. Consistently with Maucci's notoriety for shortening texts, this version is only under 400 pages long over two volumes. It is then understandable that figures like Josep Pla and Puig i Ferrerter praised Nin's translation as '[una de] les millors [...] en un idioma d'arrel no eslava',¹³³ mainly because at this point in literary history the Catalan *Anna* was genuinely closer to the Russian original than the Spanish *Ana*.

¹³⁰ Pla and Sala, p. 242.

¹³¹ Tasis, p. 4. Italics are my own.

¹³² This was the Spanish title of the novel in all its versions until 1943.

¹³³ Pla and Sala, p. 242.

Other critics, such as Maurici Serrahima and Josep Palau, reviewed *Anna Karènia* on its literary merit, and discussed issues such as the question of who the real protagonist of the novel might be, the moral teaching of the story and Tolstoy's psychological style. In fact, Palau does not mention Nin's name as the translator, nor is any reference made to Edicions Proa as the publisher, which may seem uncommon given that his review was published by *Mirador*, a periodical with specific interest in translations, and Russian culture in general. Serrahima, whilst critical of the theme of the novel, possibly due to the conservative ideological stance of *El Matí*, in which his article was published, did not spare admiration for the work of Tolstoy, Nin and Edicions Proa, and defined the publication of the novel as 'un esdeveniment literari'.¹³⁴

Nin's translation received praise for its use of Catalan in articles and studies through the twentieth century.¹³⁵ The first scholar to challenge that assumption from a stylistic perspective is Kharitònova, who in an article from 2004 studied Nin's translations, and their 'faithfulness' in reflecting the style of the Russian author?, in this case Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, and Pilniak.¹³⁶ Kharitònova examines the texts from a style and format point of view, rather than from a cultural or lexicographic perspective, as a way to determine the 'faithfulness' of the translations. One of the texts studied is of course *Anna Karènia*.

A typical challenge identified in translations of Russian texts in general is the strategies used with Russian names, and the cultural differences between addressing subjects in formal and informal situations. As Birdwood-Hedger argues, *Anna Karenina* is one of the best examples of these cultural differences given the great variety of characters and contrasting social statuses between them.¹³⁷ The main issue she identifies in the English translations of Anna, which also apply to Nin's Catalan translation, is that the Russian formal address of name and patronymic does not exist in Western societies. Birdwood-Hedger illustrates this phenomenon with the example of Levin's

¹³⁴ Maurici Serrahima, "Anna Karènia' en català (Proa)", *El Matí*, 17 April 1934, p. 9.

¹³⁵ In an article of 2005, Judit Figuerola stated that 'for the modern Reader, the Catalan in [Nin's translations] is anything but archaic and it continues to be as alive now as it was seventy years ago'. Figuerola, *Nin: Unyielding intellectual*, p. 326; Kharitònova, p. 53; Pla and Sala, pp. 240-1; Dostoevsky, p. 9.

¹³⁶ Kharitònova.

¹³⁷ Maya Birdwood-Hedger, 'Tension between Domestication and Foreignization in English-language Translations of *Anna Karenina*', (University of Edinburgh, 2006), p. 127.

embarrassment when he fails to remember Karenin's name and patronymic in a social encounter.¹³⁸

This is an issue that comes to the fore more clearly in a novel with a long list of characters, but it is also present in shorter texts, and neither Nin nor Payarols addressed this culturally contentious point in any of the books that have been studied in this thesis. Readers are left to figure out by themselves what the conventions are in Russian, which can be a great source of confusion.¹³⁹ One of the best examples in *Anna Karènina* is that Nin is forced to footnote in part 2, chapter 17 that 'Katerina Alexandrovna' is not a new character, but Kitty's real name and patronymic, when he had the opportunity of doing so much earlier in the text, for example when Kitty is introduced as 'Kitty Xerbàtskaia' in part 1, chapter 12.¹⁴⁰

As a solution to the name convention problem, some English translators of *Anna Karenina* such as Dole,¹⁴¹ the Maudes,¹⁴² and Pevear and Volokhonsky¹⁴³ have used an introductory note which lists the main characters, with their full names and nicknames. This is a helpful strategy in a novel with so many characters, and with the different cultural uses of diminutives in Russian. A similar approach in Catalan would have prevented a situation like the one highlighted above and would have aided comprehension. The lack of information seems to be common among translations of Russian into Catalan. As an example, the translation of *Guerra i pau*, a novel that arguably has many more characters than *Anna Karènina*, is also presented without an

¹³⁸ Nin's translation of this passage leaves a few questions for the reader who is not familiar with Russian tradition. ' - El revisor [...] em volia treure, però aleshores vaig començar a usar unes quantes expressions una mica pujades de to i... vós també - digué, adreçant-se a Karenin, el nom del qual havia oblidat.' Leo Tolstoy, *Anna Karènina*, trans. by Andreu Nin. (Barcelona: Aymà, 1967), p. 374; Birdwood-Hedger, p. 127; John Lyons, 'Pronouns of address in *Anna Karenina*: the stylistics of bilingualism and the impossibility of translation', in *Studies in English Linguistics for Randolph Quirk*, ed. by Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartivik (New York: Longman, 1980), pp. 235-49, (p. 247).

¹³⁹ Whilst a rather helpful article was written by Candi Brossa about the spelling of Russian names, it only referred to transliteration and not to the use of name and patronymic. Candi Brossa, '¿Com cal escriure els noms russos en català?', *La Publicitat*, 18 January 1934.

¹⁴⁰ Tolstoy, *Anna Karènina*, p. 46.

¹⁴¹ Leo Tolstoy, *Anna Karenina*, trans. by Nathan Haskell Dole. (New York: T.Y. Crowell & Co., 1886), p. x.

¹⁴² Leo Tolstoy, *Anna Karenina: A Novel*, trans. by Louise Maude and Aylmer Maude. (London: Humphrey Milford, 1918).

¹⁴³ Leo Tolstoy, *Anna Karenina: A Novel in Eight Parts*, trans. by Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky. (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2002).

introduction or a list of characters and name conventions. The absence of a cultural bridge for name conventions in a novel as popular as *Anna Karèнина* assumes a great deal of background knowledge on behalf of the reader. Added to the significant number of passages in French or English that remained either untranslated or without further explanation, it reflects that this translation was not addressed to the general public, but to a specific, literary-minded, middle class audience.

As previously indicated, irregular footnoting appears to be one of the main problems that Catalan translators encounter during their task. Nin, like Payarols, also struggles in balancing the amount of information with which to provide the reader. After name conventions, the use of Old Russian measurements is the second main cultural complexity of these texts. There are several examples within the text in which there is an inconsistency between what is explained, and what is left out. Early in the novel, when Oblonsky introduces Levin, he underlines that ‘Konstantin Dmítrievitx Levin, [...] un dels nous elements del *zemstvos*, gimnasta que alça cinc *puds* amb una mà, ramader, caçador i amic meu’,¹⁴⁴ the measure ‘pud’ is explained, but the ‘zemstvos’ are not. There is no reference to what the ‘zemstvos’ are other than the contrast with the previous social organisation, and it is not footnoted earlier or later in the text.

We find a similar situation in the description of the racecourse where Vronsky competes. In the text, the course is described as ‘[el]camp de quatre verstes i de forma el·líptica que hi havia davant la tribuna [...]. [...] Hi havia nou obstacles: un rierol, una barrera massissa, de dues *arxines*, [...]’.¹⁴⁵ Però les curses no començaven al camp, sinó a una distància de cent *sagen*’.¹⁴⁶ In this excerpt, ‘arxina’ is footnoted, and ‘sagen’ appears several chapters before,¹⁴⁶ but *versta* is neither italicised nor explained at this point or elsewhere in the novel. Whilst this word appears in the Catalan dictionary in its latest version, the date of its first inclusion is not certain. Later in the novel, Levin walks ‘una trentena de verstes’,¹⁴⁷ but it remains unclear whether readers are familiar with that

¹⁴⁴ Tolstoy, *Anna Karèнина*, p. 23.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 194.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 166.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 573.

unit or not, which reinforces the assumption that a great deal of background knowledge is required to understand the text.

As a final note, an important element is missing from the introduction: Tolstoy's initial statement 'Мне отмщение, и Аз воздам', often translated in English as 'Vengeance is mine, I shall repay'. Whilst this might appear as a very small detail within the bigger picture of a four-volume translation, the amount of attention that this epigraph has drawn in the literary analysis of the novel over the centuries in neighbouring polysystems¹⁴⁸ warrants the question of why this line was omitted from the final version. As I will evaluate in the coming pages, the fact that this novel has been reprinted over the past eighty years without corrections has perpetuated the 'accidental censorship' of this important element of the text into the twentieth century.

Kharitònova's conclusion is that whilst Nin found some difficulties in reflecting the style of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky in his translations, the fact that his texts are engrained in the context of the Catalan polysystem of the 1930s, in which there was not an established school of translation and where dictionaries and other linguistic tools were scarce or non-existent, justifies his lexical shortcomings up to a certain extent.¹⁴⁹ It could be added that regardless of the format inconsistencies, cultural complexities, and the fact that this is a novel addressed to other members of the literary milieu and not a work for the wider Catalan readership, translating *Anna Karèнина* is an achievement in itself. Following Proa's cultural project, this text was a step that reaffirmed Tolstoy's centrality within the literary system, and allowed the members of the milieu to compare Catalan literature to other European systems as far as translating Tolstoy's most relevant work is concerned.

3.4. The Power Dynamics of Translating Tolstoy

The previous two sections have illustrated the impact of Payarols and Nin's involvement in the translation of Russian novels during the 1930s with a focus on Tolstoy. The quantitative improvement of Tolstoy's literature in Catalan is appreciable,

¹⁴⁸ Martha M. Flint, 'The Epigraph of Anna Karenina', *PMLA*, 80 (1965).

¹⁴⁹ Kharitònova, pp. 68-69.

as Tables 1 and 2 have shown: from 1,104 approximate pages in 37 years between 1891 and 1928, to 2,556 pages between 1928 and 1934 (excluding *Guerra i Pau*). The texts were also an evolution on previous Tolstoyan translations: from lesser known short stories, to his acclaimed longer novels. Despite Ramon Pinyol's argument in his bibliographical study, in which he states that figures like Tolstoy and Dostoevsky were extensively translated before Proa's involvement in the publication of classics of European literature,¹⁵⁰ it appears clear that he refers to the higher number of briefer texts, rather than the combined volume of pages translated during either period. It can be argued that Edicions Proa, with its three agents of the system (Puig i Ferrer as literary editor, and Nin and Payarols as translators), made one of the two most important contributions to the central positioning of Tolstoy's literature within the Catalan system of the 1930s, the other being Capdevila's translation.

Despite their commitment to the task of translation, working with Tolstoy's texts did not bring equal recognition to Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin, which reflects the power dynamics in operation between the two translators. These power dynamics emanate mainly from three key areas: their position within the Catalan milieu, their broader role within Catalan society beyond literature and culture, and the actual texts they chose (or were asked) to translate. Nin's participation in the Catalan milieu as a translator and literary critic, combined with his political and trade union role in society, for which he was better known, gave him the upper hand in his relationship with Payarols, regardless of the texts he translated. As a consequence of these dynamics, Nin's translations have been treated differently to Payarols'.

The question is, how much of this privileged treatment is due to the texts themselves, and how many other cultural (and political) factors are in play? Payarols translated three novellas by Tolstoy: a total of 750 pages worth of text, approximately. Andreu Nin worked only on one text, but this was one of the most acclaimed novels in world literature. His translation output was also larger: *Anna Karènina*'s original publication was over a thousand pages spread over four volumes.¹⁵¹ In terms of the prestige of the

¹⁵⁰ Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, p. 251.

¹⁵¹ Whilst using pages as a way to measure a translator's output can be rather inaccurate, the fact that these texts were edited by the same publishing house in practically the same format provides us with reasonable grounds for comparison in terms of volume of production.

source text, the central position of *Anna Karènina*, both in neighbouring polysystems in general and in the Catalan system in particular meant that Nin was not only praised for his translation skills, but also for the status of the text within world literature.¹⁵² Hence Nin's prestige over Payarols has roots at both a cultural and political level, given his position within the literary milieu and Catalan society, but also at a textual level because of the role of *Anna Karènina* in other polysystems. So, as an initial conclusion, all three variables to determine the power dynamics between these translators mentioned above point to Nin as the stronger figure. This means that his work in general was more valued by other agents of the polysystem than Payarols', regardless of the specific quality and/or quantity, and hence his texts were treated differently by scholars and other translators of the twentieth century.

Nin's status within the polysystem can be observed beyond the verbal praise he accumulated for his translations. A review of the reissues and reprints of the four works by Tolstoy covered here reveals how much Nin's work was valued over Payarols'. In order to ascertain the number of reeditions of both Payarols and Nin's translations, a search was performed through the WorldCat database, and the catalogue of the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya. *Anna Karènina* was first reissued by Aymà in 1967; Proa published the third edition in 1985, with subsequent reprints in 2001 and 2005. Sàpiens and El Periódico published their own edition in 2005. The latest available format dates from 2013 and corresponds to the fourth edition by Edicions Proa. The text and translator of all of these editions is Andreu Nin, and no amendments or corrections have been made to his original text.

In the case of Payarols' texts, the situation is completely different. A reissue of *La mort d'Ivan Íltx* was published by Eliseu Climent editions in 1989; in 2001, Anna Estopà retranslated the novella for Quaderns Crema, which was reissued in 2013. In 2004, Destino published a translation by Victòria Izquierdo and Àngels Margarita Riu which combined *La mort d'Ivan Íltx* and *La sonata a Kreutzer*. These two translators also worked on the retranslation of *Hadji-Murat*, published by Destino in 1996. As for *Els*

¹⁵² 'Andreu Nin [...] [ha] enriquit una vegada més la cultura catalana amb la incorporació d'una de les obres màximes de la literatura moderna.' Tasis, p. 4.

cossacs, it was reprinted once in 1992 by L'observador de l'actualitat; it has been recently retranslated (2015) by Francesc Permanyer Netto for Edicions Proa.

As this data illustrates, Francesc Payarols' texts have never been reissued in the same way as Nin's *Anna Karènina* has. When a new edition of these novellas has been published, they have in fact been translated again. In contrast to this, Nin's text has been constantly reprinted and reissued over the past eighty years without corrections, amendments, or the intervention of a modern translator. After this analysis, we can conclude that Andreu Nin was in a privileged position when compared to Francesc Payarols, thanks to both his influential position in Catalan culture and society, and the mythologisation of his texts, and consequently his translations were more highly valued, to the point that they are still being reprinted as they were originally published.¹⁵³

4. Tolstoy's Role in the Development of the Catalan Literary Repertoire

This final section concludes the analysis of the role of Tolstoy's translations in the development of Catalan novels of the 1930s through the translations published by Edicions Proa. It addresses the reintroduction of novels in the Catalan repertoire in the 1930s using Tolstoy's models of prose as one of the pillars. Proa was the key agent in making Tolstoy a central figure of the system, and therefore his literature may have played a part in how Catalan novels were written in the 1930s. Psychological prose, of which Tolstoy was a major exponent, was used as a model of narrative to rebuild the literary repertoire. Consequently, as this section explores, it became the model for Catalan authors of the 1930s, the so-called *neonoucentista* or *postnoucentista* generation.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ A deeper insight into the consequences of this mythologisation can be found in the following chapter. See pp. 178-80.

¹⁵⁴ The first term is Fuster's, and the second Pericay and Toutain's. Fuster; Pericay and Toutain, p. 129.

4.1. Tolstoy's Position at the Centre of the Literary System: the Role of Proa

The full impact of Tolstoy's central position in the Catalan polysystem of the 1930s is concentrated in the period between 1930 and 1938. As this chapter has illustrated, the perception of Tolstoy started to gain centrality as his literature reached the French polysystem first, and the Catalan polysystem later. During the period between 1891 and 1913 studied in this chapter, whilst there was a general awareness of Tolstoy's status and his role in world literature, his major works remained untranslated. From the introduction of his name in the Catalan system in 1891, Catalan media reflected the centrality of Tolstoy's figure in other systems by constant mentions of his status and his literature, whether it was available in Catalan or not.

As identified in this study, Edicions Proa is behind the consolidation of Tolstoy's figure at the centre of the Catalan polysystem in the 1930s. After all, Tolstoy's central presence had drifted outwards during *Noucentisme*; there were no new translations of his work between 1913 and 1927. It was then that Carles Capdevila started the serialised publication of *Guerra i pau*, which was followed in 1928 by Proa's first translation from Russian in *Resurrecció*, and in 1930 Zweig's biography of Tolstoy. It was also in 1928 when Puig i Ferrer assigned Nin the translation of *Anna Karènia*.

By publishing works by Tolstoy in a short succession of time between 1928 and 1934,¹⁵⁵ Edicions Proa turned him not only into the most translated Russian and European author of the time, but also one of the most important literary figures at the centre of the polysystem. His psychological narratives became a part of the redeveloping Catalan repertoire. Although there is no documentary evidence of why Puig i Ferrer showed a predilection for Tolstoy over other authors when it comes to editing his works at Proa, there are several clues that suggest the choice was not gratuitous.

¹⁵⁵ This could have continued well into the second half of the 1930s if Nin's final translation *Infància, adolescència, joventut* had not encountered logistical publication issues during the Spanish Civil War. Leo Tolstoy, *Infància, adolescència, joventut*, trans. by Andreu Nin. (Barcelona: Proa, 1974), p. 10.

Proa was founded a year after Capdevila began the publication in instalments of *Guerra i pau*. On the other hand, Llibreria Catalònia, Proa's main competitor in the landscape of Russian literature, was established in 1924, although its *Biblioteca Univers* only began publishing around the same time as Proa's *A tot vent*. It is not coincidental that Tolstoy was the first Russian author translated by both publishing houses in 1928; it was, after all, the centenary of his birth, and both Puig i Ferrer and Soldevila referenced this milestone in their opposing newspaper columns published in 1928.¹⁵⁶ From a marketing perspective, publishing a novel by Tolstoy whilst the serialisation of *Guerra i pau* was ongoing was a strategic move: Puig i Ferrer consciously used the momentum gathered by Capdevila's translation of Tolstoy, and he himself admitted that '[Capdevila] ens ha donat un exemple a seguir, tant per la cura amb què fa el seu treball com per l'empenta que ha demostrat en escometre una tan llarga empresa'. He then agreed with Soldevila that Tolstoy had been neglected for a certain period of time, as 'la moda ha volgut que certs mestres russos, entre ells Tolstoi, estiguessin una mica pretèrits. Només una mica per això i entre les esferes literàries', a direct reference to *Noucentista* stylistics and its agents.¹⁵⁷ Readers who were enjoying *Guerra i pau* saw the publication of *Resurrecció* shortly afterwards, making two of Tolstoy's most important works available in Catalan within a very brief timeframe, followed by his biography in 1930.¹⁵⁸ This worked both as a cultural and a marketing strategy: Tolstoy's influence in other polysystems ensured his central position in the Catalan system, and Capdevila's translation provided Proa's publications of the Russian author with a popular platform.

Puig i Ferrer's relationship with Capdevila and the rest of the staff at *La Publicitat* was not amicable, despite being a casual collaborator from the mid-1920s; he was not on great terms with Soldevila or Josep Pla either, against whom he published a rather controversial article in *Mirador*, 'Ja vinc, senyor Pla'.¹⁵⁹ In his literary memoirs, Puig i Ferrer accused Capdevila of being 'l'amargat metzinós' and 'l'home negre de la casa',

¹⁵⁶ Puig i Ferrer, *A propòsit de Tolstoi*, p. 13; Carles Soldevila, 'Vida Literària', *La Veu de Catalunya*, 20 September 1928.

¹⁵⁷ Puig i Ferrer, *A propòsit de Tolstoi*, p. 13.

¹⁵⁸ Fuster, p. 248; Escandell Maestre.

¹⁵⁹ In this article, Puig i Ferrer accused Pla of defending the translations of the fictional Olga Savarin, and remaining silent towards Proa's translations from Russian, specifically Nin's. Edicions Proa, 'Ja vinc, senyor Pla', *Mirador*, 19 February 1931, p. 4.

and the newspaper writing team of being 'una capelleta' that did not welcome outsiders.¹⁶⁰ Puig i Ferrer's ideological stance and his non-bourgeois background had placed him in a peripheral position from the beginning of his career in literature, according to Pericay and Toutain:¹⁶¹ his anti-*Noucentista* approach did the rest.

Given the relationship between the two editors, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Puig i Ferrer used the publication of *Resurrecció* to challenge Capdevila's success and to use *Guerra i pau*'s momentum for Proa's own benefit. It is also possible that he was attempting to keep the interest in Tolstoy going and buy Proa time until Nin could deliver on *Anna Karènina*, the publication of which was constantly mentioned in the press in the years leading to it.¹⁶² After all, Puig i Ferrer assigned the translation of *Resurrecció* to two regular collaborators at *La Publicitat* of whom his opinion was just as negative,¹⁶³ although he publicly praised their work.¹⁶⁴

He then found Payarols, which granted Proa the opportunity to prioritise Tolstoy in much better conditions, and Payarols' direct translations of shorter texts acted as 'curtain raisers' to the main event that was to come in 1934. Puig's strategy of publishing Tolstoyan translations before *Anna Karènina* was available made him win his 'war' against Capdevila and *La Publicitat*: in terms of cultural relevance, Nin's *Anna Karènina* clearly overshadowed *Guerra i pau*.

However, in terms of literary value, Puig i Ferrer's choice of Tolstoy is unlikely to have been an accident: his own novels reflect an admiration for the Russian author he did not necessarily admit, at least not as much as he admitted his fascination for Shakespeare or Dostoevsky. This is reflected in the excessive length and epic aspirations of most of his work, with the twelve-volume series *El pel·legrí apassionat* (1952-1977) as a representative Tolstoyan example. Fuster illustrates the interference of Tolstoy's narrative models in Puig i Ferrer's novels through his characters, who

¹⁶⁰ Puig i Ferrer, *Diari d'un escriptor: ressonàncies, 1942-1952*, pp. 224, 25, 36.

¹⁶¹ Pericay and Toutain, p. 174.

¹⁶² Gabernet, p. 4; 'Els llibres', *La Publicitat*, 10 January 1934, p. 2.

¹⁶³ 'Amb Llates no hi podia contar [sic], només es posava de la banda de qui podia treure profit.' Puig i Ferrer, *Diari d'un escriptor: ressonàncies, 1942-1952*, p. 237.

¹⁶⁴ Joan Puig i Ferrer, 'A propòsit de Tolstoi. A l'amic Carles Soldevila', *La Publicitat*, 12 June 1928, p. 4.

are 'characteritz[ats], en general, per una psicologia torturada, aberrant, en constant desequilibri; [...] el narrador els sotmet a drames violents i a aventures fantàstiques. [...] [L]a "despietada sinceritat" (Tasis) de moltes pàgines de Puig i Ferrer l'acosten al llinatge d'obsessionats, adolorits i paradoxals tipus amb què topem en els llibres de Tolstoi, de Dostoievski, de Gorki'.¹⁶⁵

One of the main arguments in Even-Zohar's polysystem theory is that elements at the centre of the polysystem actively participate in the shaping of how literature is written in the given system. In the context of 1930s Catalonia, Russian literature as published by Edicions Proa had gained a central position, which meant that it had the potential to influence how literature was written. Fuster proposes that Puig i Ferrer's narrative is constructed from models borrowed from Russian literature in general, with specific intertextual connections with both Tolstoy and Dostoevsky's particular styles.¹⁶⁶ After all, one of Puig i Ferrer's cultural objectives was to provide the literary system with models of prose that Catalan writers could use to build their own narrative.¹⁶⁷ Given that Tolstoy is considered one of the greatest novelists of world literature, investing in his figure for the purposes of literary rebuilding of the novel was a reasonable strategy for Proa.

Edicions Proa, according to Albert Manent, was founded to defend and promote novels in a context in which for over a decade *Noucentistes* and anti-*Noucentistes* had debated over the lack of novel-writing in Catalan.¹⁶⁸ Yates identifies 1925 as the year the debate ended,¹⁶⁹ and Manent demonstrates that the late 1920s provided the perfect environment for a publishing house like Proa to appear, on the back of the popular and intellectual demand for novels. Given that the general perception was that novels could be accepted back into the repertoire, and that they were necessary in order to rebuild it after the cultural constraints in relation to novels during the years of dominance of *Noucentista* aesthetics, Proa managed to establish itself as one of the leading cultural forces in this process. By translating authors like Tolstoy, Proa was in fact creating its

¹⁶⁵ Fuster, p. 248.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. pp. 248-49.

¹⁶⁷ See Chapter 2, pp. 77-8.

¹⁶⁸ Manent, *Antecedents i història d'una aventura cultural: Edicions Proa*, pp. 185-87.

¹⁶⁹ Yates, p. 201.

own repertoire, providing tools for the writers in the Catalan polysystem to develop their texts under the influence of selected classics of European literature. The fact that it became one of the most popular publishing houses in Catalonia in the 1930s, with a strong marketing strategy that saw them publish a book every month with recognisable orange covers,¹⁷⁰ meant that Proa's repertoire soon became the literary system's.

4.2. Rebuilding the Repertoire on Psychological Prose

Whilst elements at the centre of the polysystem actively determine how literature is written, there are no established patterns for the recognition of this influence. In fact, the very nature of systems theory, in which every possible connection between semiotic phenomena needs to be analysed and considered in order to understand the whole system,¹⁷¹ makes for a complex identification process. In the 'Laws of Literary Interference', Even-Zohar argues that literatures are continuously in contact, and therefore interference, or influence, normally occurs even when there are no obvious signs of it happening. As defined in the introduction, interference is a 'relationship between literatures whereby a certain literature A (a source literature) may become a source of direct or indirect loans for another literature B (a target literature)'.¹⁷² Whilst identifying whether Russian literature as a whole was a source of direct loan to Catalan literature is a complex and perhaps subjective process, the rebuilding of the repertoire around psychological novels indicates a degree of interference coming from abroad.

In general terms, we can establish that the emerging literary repertoire of the Catalan novel of the 1930s presented certain characteristics that can be intertextually linked to Tolstoy's literature. Proa brought to the Catalan scene an influx of psychological novels, which were in vogue in neighbouring polysystems. The European texts chosen by Proa mainly focused on that type of novel, with recognisable examples published before 1930, such as Benjamin Constant's *Adolf*, Stendhal's *El roig i el negre*,¹⁷³ and

¹⁷⁰ Manent, *Antecedents i història d'una aventura cultural: Edicions Proa*, p. 194.

¹⁷¹ Even-Zohar, *Polysystem theory*, p. 13.

¹⁷² Even-Zohar, *Laws of Literary Interference*, p. 54.

¹⁷³ Lydia Ginzburg considers these two novels the precursors of the psychological novel as we know it. She also establishes Tolstoy's literature as the pillar of what she calls "analytical, explanatory

Dostoevsky's *El somni de l'oncle*, but also Catalan autochthonous novels like Miquel Llor's *Tàntal*, or Maria Teresa Vernet's *Eulàlia*.

This output of psychological novels is rooted in the tradition started in the mid-1920s by the *neonoucentista* generation, who attempted to create a model for novel-writing using foreign repertoires and their own knowledge of the language. Joan Fuster identifies three authors as being the most successful of the *neonoucentista* generation: Carles Soldevila, Cèsar August Jordana, and Francesc Trabal.¹⁷⁴ By *neo* or *postnoucentista* we refer to authors that come historically after *Noucentisme* but who are still heavily influenced by the *Noucentista* models, as most of their learning and training occurred under the literary repertoire created by Eugeni d'Ors and Josep Carner.¹⁷⁵ Fuster's selection is similar to Rovira i Virgili's, who in 1929 included Tomàs Garcés instead of Trabal as the three 'autors modèlics':¹⁷⁶ by model writers he did not mean exemplary, but rather able to write in a type of standard prose that could be used as a model for other writers to compose their novels. These three writers were very different from each other, and had come to writing from very different backgrounds. They all shared, however, the 'duty' of having to produce novels because the cultural environment and the milieu required them to do so.¹⁷⁷ Out of the three, Soldevila and Jordana focused on the psychological models to build their novels.

Soldevila's first novel dates from 1917, but his three major contributions to the genre were much later: the female-themed trilogy *Fanny* (1929), *Eva* (1931) and *Valentina* (1933). These novels are embedded in the *neonoucentista* repertoire and are examples of psychological prose: Soldevila's most innovative trait is the use of the popular interior monologue, and the creation of worlds that explore female psychology. Fuster argues that Soldevila's prose reflects his excessive intellectualism, as well as an

psychologism. [...] The creations of Tolstoi are thus a unique resource for formulation of the theoretical issues involved in artistic psychologism." Lydia Ginzburg and Judson Rosengrant, *On Psychological Prose*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 21.

¹⁷⁴ Fuster, p. 263.

¹⁷⁵ Pericay and Toutain, p. 129.

¹⁷⁶ Antoni Rovira i Virgili, 'Literats i literatura', *Revista de Catalunya*, January - February 1929, p. 6.

¹⁷⁷ 'La generació següent al Noucentisme estricte es va proposar el conreu de la novel·la [...] com una "obligació". La literatura catalana necessitava una narrativa "normal" i els escriptors d'aquesta època assumiren el risc i la responsabilitat de bastir-la.' Fuster, p. 263.

inability to create a historical atmosphere of its time.¹⁷⁸ In spite of this, he is considered one of the most successful Catalan writers of the 1930s.

Cèsar August Jordana's narrative was influenced by his journalistic background. Four of his novels were published within a very short timeframe (1927-28), and they were praised more for the clever twists of the plot, than for, as Fuster argues, 'la força creadora i la humanitat dels personatges i de les aventures'.¹⁷⁹ His most famous work was *Una mena d'amor* (1931), which has been connected to DH Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, despite its intellectualism. The novel caused something of a stir due to its sexual explicitness in such a Catholic society, and was much spoken about in the press, which also led to intertextual mentions in other works of the time. As a response, *Clarisme's* director Delfí Dalmau wrote the parody *Una altra mena d'amor* (1934), whilst Mercè Rodoreda made it the book that the young female protagonist buys and reads in secret in *Aloma* (1938).

In a context that favoured psychological prose, Tolstoy's literature helped in the consolidation of the Catalan repertoire around the novel of the emotions. An important number of Catalan authors who saw their novels accepted by Puig i Ferrer and published by Proa shared an interest in psychological themes, from Sebastià Juan Arbó to Prudenci Bertrana, and of course Rodoreda. In addition to this, some of the most important Catalan novels of the time were published by Proa, such as Llor's *Laura a la ciutat del sants* (1931), Agustí Esclasans' *Víctor o La rosa dels vents* (1931), and Vernet's *Les algues roges* (1934),¹⁸⁰ which contributed to the increasing the popularity of both Proa and the psychological novel.

As a final note, among all the new writers who were developing in the 1930s, Mercè Rodoreda's pre-war production is another example to illustrate the influence of Edicions Proa as an agent of the Catalan polysystem in general, and the centrality that Tolstoy achieved in particular. Rodoreda was a self-taught writer who first attempted

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. pp. 264-65.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 265.

¹⁸⁰ Llor and Vernet's novels won the Premi Crexells in 1930 and 1934 respectively.

to enter the milieu in 1932.¹⁸¹ She published four works during that decade which she openly rejected later in life, only including a heavily revised version in her *Obres Completes of Aloma*, with which she won the Premi Crexells in 1937. Rodoreda's learning process can be observed through the study of these four novels and *Aloma*: the mimetic traits of the early 'tentative novels' evolve into a more confident yet still novice author finding her voice and position within the milieu.¹⁸² From the beginning, Rodoreda chose the psychological novel as a means to enter the polysystem, rooting her texts in the tradition that Catalan novel writers were trying to establish.¹⁸³ Several scholars agree that the style of Rodoreda's pre-war novels was a direct result of the literary environment in which she was developing as an author,¹⁸⁴ with a repertoire constructed from psychological models like Tolstoy's.

In her literary development, Rodoreda read a great deal of literature in Catalan. Arnau points to Proa as a reference in publishing European classics and deduces that 'Rodoreda, dona de gust, els degué llegir [els llibres editats per Proa] amb interès'.¹⁸⁵ Figuerola adds that, from an ideological point of view, Proa fitted with her novel-writing aspirations, and is perhaps the reason that Rodoreda's third novel was published by them, also in 1934.¹⁸⁶ Rodoreda's first version of *Aloma* reflects her connection with the publishing house, as all chapters were introduced by a quotation from a novel edited by Proa, from Stendhal to Constant, and of course Tolstoy. The quotation on the first chapter is, in fact, from *Anna Karènina*, part of a dialogue in which Kitty, broken-hearted after Vronksy's rejection, reflects on her stance on romantic love by saying: '[i] bé, tot m'apareix en la forma més grollera, més repugnant'.¹⁸⁷ This

¹⁸¹ Roser Porta, *Mercè Rodoreda i l'humor (1931-1936): les primeres novel·les, el periodisme i Polèmica*. (Barcelona: Fundació Mercè Rodoreda, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2007), p. 19.

¹⁸² Carme Arnau, *Introducció a la narrativa de Mercè Rodoreda: el mite de la infantesa*. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1979).

¹⁸³ Ibid. p. 9. Arnau calls this phase 'arrelament.'

¹⁸⁴ Neus Real i Mercadal, *Mercè Rodoreda: l'obra de preguerra*. (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2005), p. 64; Porta, p. 22; Carles Cortés i Orts, *Començar a escriure: la construcció dels primers relats de Mercè Rodoreda (1932-1938)*. (Alicante: Instituto Alicantino de Cultura "Juan Gil-Albert", Diputación Provincial de Alicante, 2002), p. 240.

¹⁸⁵ Arnau, *Mercè Rodoreda: una biografia*, p. 45.

¹⁸⁶ Figuerola, *Nin: Unyielding intellectual*, p. 389.

¹⁸⁷ Mercè Rodoreda, *Aloma*. (Barcelona: Educaula, 2009), p. 47; Tolstoy, *Anna Karènina*, p. 127.

example comes to illustrate the interference of Tolstoy's narrative models on the generations that followed the *Noucentista* period.

As a final note, Rodoreda not only referenced Nin's translation in intertextual connections, but more directly through a review for magazine *Clarisme*, in which she was heavily involved alongside Delfí Dalmau. Her connection with this text and this review is also studied in Figuerola's thesis, her angle focusing on Rodoreda's connection to the theme of the novel. In her review, the author used the pen name Just d'Esvern, which Neus Real identified in her study as Rodoreda's criticism of the role of the literary critic. Whilst *Anna Karènina* is not the only book reviewed in this 'Recensió de llibres', it certainly is the only one that includes a photograph of the translator rather than the author, as Andreu Nin's solemn expression accompanies the article. Rodoreda does not comment directly on the linguistic side of the translation, but does underline its cultural importance:

Andreu Nin, conegut a bastament per anteriors traduccions que figuren al rengle de l'excel·lent tasca de les edicions "Proa", ens ha donat *íntegra i directa* del rus la traducció d' "Anna Karènina", tasca lloable en tots els sentits, si hom considera l'esforç i el treball immens que representa fugir de les mutilacions inacceptables que, fins avui, almenys en traduccions castellanès, "Anna Karènina" havia sofert. [...] Quatre volums té el llibre; quatre volums que valen per una dotzena de novel·les. [...] Bella tasca la d'Andreu Nin [...] en donar al públic una de les més emocionants obres del gran novel·lista rus.¹⁸⁸

Conclusions

This chapter has examined the translations of Tolstoy into Catalan from their first appearance in the last decade of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the Spanish Civil War and has analysed the interference of the Russian authors' literature in the formation and rebuilding of the Catalan repertoire of the 1930s. The arrival of Tolstoy's literature in the Catalan system has been contextualised by evaluating his position in

¹⁸⁸ d'Esvern, p. 2.

neighbouring systems, in order to provide a framework to understand the evolution of his literature in the Catalan context.

In Sections 2 and 3, translations of Tolstoy both before and after the establishment of Edicions Proa, have been studied. Whilst the Russian author was often translated and published in Catalan between 1891 and the mid-1910s, most of these texts were brief short stories, and only a small representation of his opus. From 1928, the centenary of his birth, and the year of the establishment of Proa, Tolstoy's most well-known novels, and other lengthier texts were published. Following Carles Capdevila's translation of *Guerra i pau*, Proa entered the literary scene and gradually built its own repertoire based on novels, both autochthonous and translated. The key contribution of Payarols and Nin by translating some of Tolstoy's major works has been demonstrated, as the writer was one of the most translated Russian authors into Catalan. Tolstoy's literature provided models of prose that may have contributed to the development of new generations of Catalan novelists in the 1930s. The number of pages translated by Payarols and Nin for Proa puts into perspective how very little of the Russian writer's works had been rendered into Catalan before them and further highlights their contribution.

This chapter has set up the structure that will guide the following chapters on Dostoevsky, Chekhov, and other nineteenth and twentieth century writers that Payarols and Nin translated. Given the importance of Tolstoy in the literary milieu, the review of the translations of his works before Proa has put into perspective the vast amount of work carried out by Nin and Payarols, as well as challenging the mythologised status of Andreu Nin's texts, a point that will be revisited in subsequent chapters. Their involvement was essential in securing Tolstoy's central position within the polysystem, and their work was a crucial contribution to the formation of the Catalan repertoire of the 1930s.

CHAPTER THREE

Translating Dostoevsky into Catalan: Translation 'Wars', Mythologisation, and Atextual Centrality

The introduction of Fyodor Dostoevsky's literature into European systems occurred alongside Tolstoy's.¹ Due to the centrality that Russian literature had gained in France and later in England, they were translated at the same time, usually by the same translators. In fact, this meant that during the early years their styles were blurred, as in the case of English with Constance Garnett,² prompting Dostoevsky scholar Joseph Frank to coin the term 'Tolstoevsky'.³ During this introductory period, when their literature was being discovered around Europe, the main contextual difference between the two authors was that Tolstoy was still alive. Whilst he benefited from interaction with the systems he was entering, Dostoevsky did not have such a privilege, prompting a comparative neglect of his literature until the First World War.⁴

In the Catalan context, Tolstoy's available production in Catalan 'dwarfed' every other Russian author, including Dostoevsky. In fact, Dostoevsky's literature was relatively ignored until 1928, and even then, it was not as widely translated as in neighbouring systems. That did not stop his 'figure' from playing a role in the development of the repertoire; his work entered the system through agents who had read him in other languages.⁵ This is illustrated by the fact that some important authors of the 1930s,

¹ Eugène-Melchior De Vogüé, *Le Roman Russe*. (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1886); Muchnic, p. 9.

² David Remnick, 'The Translation Wars', *The New Yorker*, 7 November 2005.

³ Joseph Frank, 'Tolstoyevsky', *The Hudson Review*, 42 (1990).

⁴ '[Tolstoy's] public figure reached an apogee in his very last years.' *ibid.* p. 651.

⁵ Even-Zohar, *Laws of Literary Interference*, p. 57.

including Sebastià Juan Arbó⁶ and Joan Sales⁷ claimed to be fervent admirers of the Russian genius way before any of his texts were published in Catalan.

The relative central presence of Dostoevsky's literature in the Catalan literary system of the 1930s was made possible in great part thanks to the publications of Edicions Proa: four long works were translated, albeit not his most famous with the exception of *Crim i càstig*. The contribution of Nin and Payarols in making Dostoevsky's production available in Catalan as a model of prose is unparalleled. However, it is with this author that we can best observe the negative consequences of Andreu Nin's mythologisation. The disputes that the right to translate Dostoevsky provoked also affected the availability of his texts in Catalan, making him, statistically speaking, one of the least translated Russian authors of the time.⁸

The structure of this chapter is similar to Chapters 2-5, albeit with some variations which reflect the small number of texts available. Therefore, section 1 introduces the figure of Fyodor Dostoevsky in translation in relevant neighbouring polysystems. In section 2, I review all indirect translations of his work in the Catalan system, from the earliest in 1885 until the last before the end of the war in 1937. Section 3 provides a detailed analysis of the three works translated by Nin and Payarols, which reveal important information to understand the level of mythologisation of Nin's figure in the Catalan system of the twentieth century. In section 4 I focus on the Catalan authors of the 1930s (and beyond) most indebted to Dostoevsky's production, and discuss the role of translated literature in other languages in the reshaping of the literary repertoire which explains Dostoevsky's textless centrality in the polysystem.

⁶ Carme Arnau, *Marginats i integrats en la novel·la catalana (1925-1938): introducció a la novel·lística de Llor, Arbó, Soldevila i Trabal*. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1987), pp. 54-55.

⁷ Mercè Rodoreda and Joan Sales, *Cartes completes (1960-1983)*. (Barcelona: Club Editor, 2008), p. 143.

⁸ By number of works and not by volume of pages. The length of the works translated by Nin and Payarols put Dostoevsky just behind Tolstoy in volume of work available in Catalan in the period specified.

1. Dostoevsky in Translation

Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky was born in 1821 on the outskirts of Moscow.⁹ His father was a doctor and he grew up in the family home in the grounds of the Mariinskaya Hospital for the Poor, where he witnessed the stories of many underprivileged patients.¹⁰ Although he was devoted to literature from his childhood, he studied engineering in St Petersburg.¹¹ He was forced into novel writing at a young age due to gambling debts, which would become a constant in his life: in 1845 he published *Бедные люди* (*Poor Folk*), and *Двойник* (*The Double*). Shortly afterwards he joined the Petrashevsky circle, in which he discussed 'revolutionary' political and social ideas with likeminded individuals.¹² The members of the circle were accused of conspiracy against the Tsarist regime in 1849 and sentenced to death by firing squad. Their sentences were famously commuted to hard labour in Siberia at the last minute.¹³

Dostoevsky remained under the watch of the Tsarist police for the rest of his life, and was only granted permission to return to Russia in 1859. Shortly afterwards he published some of the works that he had completed in exile, such as *Униженные и оскорблённые* (*The Insulted and the Injured*, 1861) and *Записки из Мёртвого дома* (*The House of the Dead*, 1860-2).¹⁴ His health never recovered from the traumatic experiences of prison and exile, and he suffered chronic epileptic seizures. His financial position was very precarious as his gambling addiction continued, which forced him to write feverishly to meet the deadlines imposed by editors. Several literary critics have

⁹ L. P. Grossman, *Dostoevsky: A Biography*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1975), p. 3.

¹⁰ Konstantin Mochulsky, *Dostoevsky; His Life and Work*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 3; De Vogüé, p. 205; Joseph Frank, *Dostoevsky: The Seeds of Revolt, 1821-1849*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 30.

¹¹ Mochulsky, p. 10. During his time as a student, his father died in dubious circumstances, and Dostoevsky's epileptic seizures began. According to Freud, these two episodes bear a relation. There are conflicting stories about whether Dostoevsky's father was murdered by a group of peasants, or his death was natural. Whilst Joseph Frank initially leans towards murder, natural causes (an apoplexy confirmed by two doctors) are also suggested by G Fedorov, which leads Frank to admit that the murder might have been a rumour. Frank, *Dostoevsky: The Seeds of Revolt, 1821-1849*, pp. 86-87.

¹² Frank, *Dostoevsky: The Seeds of Revolt, 1821-1849*, p. 241. He had a short and tumultuous friendship with Belinsky, perhaps one of the greatest literary critics of the time.

¹³ Mochulsky, p. 140; Grossman, p. 165.

¹⁴ Grossman, p. 217.

pointed at this editorial pressure to justify the apparent untidiness of his literary composition.¹⁵

He wrote and published *Преступление и наказание* (*Crime and Punishment*) in 1866 in instalments, whilst also writing *Игрок* (*The Gambler*). Despite his dubious economic standing, he and his wife embarked on a honeymoon across Western Europe for four years. On their return, Dostoevsky began writing essays on a variety of socio-political and philosophical topics, which he unsuccessfully attempted to establish as the magazine *Дневник писателя* (*A Writer's Diary*). His figure began to be widely known in Russia, to the point that the Tsar Alexander II asked him to educate his children.¹⁶ His seizures only got worse and he spent the last few years of his life with a pulmonary condition. His last work, the masterpiece *Братья Карамазовы* (*The Brothers Karamazov*), was only completed four months before his death in 1881. His was a mass-attended funeral, although exact numbers are disputed.¹⁷

Unlike Tolstoy, whose literature remained central within the Russian polysystem from his very first publication, Dostoevsky's position fluctuated throughout his life. Russian critic Belinsky fully praised *Poor Folk*, which turned Dostoevsky into an overnight sensation in Russia.¹⁸ However, his impact was short-lived as his next novel disappointed the agents of the system: the status gained was taken away barely a few weeks later with *The Double*, to this date one of his lowest rated compositions.¹⁹ Dostoevsky only regained a central position within the Russian polysystem thanks to the publication of his major novels, *Crime and Punishment* and *The Brothers Karamazov*.

Categorising the production of Fyodor Dostoevsky as solely literary would be a frivolity: his contribution to other fields of knowledge make him a well-rounded central

¹⁵ Frank, *Dostoevsky: The Seeds of Revolt, 1821-1849*, p. 164.

¹⁶ Maria R. Bloshteyn, *The Making of a Counter-Culture Icon: Henry Miller's Dostoevsky*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 6.

¹⁷ Joseph Frank, *Dostoevsky: The Mantle of the Prophet, 1871-1881*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 755-56.

¹⁸ Eugène-Melchior De Vogüé, *The Russian Novel*, trans. by Herbert Anthony Sawyer. (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1913), pp. 209-10.

¹⁹ Frank, *Dostoevsky: The Seeds of Revolt, 1821-1849*, pp. 308-09; Daniel Kalder, 'Has any author's reputation fallen further or faster than Dostoevsky's?', *The Guardian*, (2010) [accessed 04 July 2016].

figure of the European and world (macro)polysystem of the twentieth century, despite being a nineteenth century writer.²⁰ His style, based on the 'realistic' exploration of his characters' minds, brought him plenty of attention from critics in many areas, from Bakhtin in his study of Dostoevsky's polyphonic novel, to Nietzsche and Freud for his philosophical and psychological depth.²¹

Both in Russia and in translation, his production is often related and compared to Tolstoy's, his contemporary. Whilst they were aware of each other's work, their lives never crossed paths, and they developed almost antagonistic styles in extremely different biographical circumstances. As Joseph Frank argues, '[s]uch textual contiguity only dramatizes the close relations between the two that were felt to exist through their lives, and which has made a juxtaposition of their life and work a set piece of Russian criticism and of all those who write on the history of modern Russian culture'.²² It is important to underline that the use of Tolstoy for contextualisation in this chapter serves a specific purpose: as the most central Russian writer in the Catalan polysystem, Tolstoy sets the benchmark for works available and the impact of his interference. Dostoevsky's work, as with the work of Chekhov, Turgenev, and Gogol, among others, would remain peripheral to Tolstoy's in the Catalan context. However, the impact of his interference should not be underestimated: his figure, despite the decisive lack of translations, still managed to compete with Tolstoy's at the centre of the literary system in the 1930s.

In the previous chapter, introducing the figure of the Russian author in neighbouring polysystems was an important component to understanding the reception of their work in the Catalan context. This is due to the peripheral position of the Catalan system within the European (macro)polysystem, and the specific centrality of the French system within it: whatever was popular in France reached its neighbouring systems in a similar fashion. In the case of Dostoevsky, the contextualisation of his figure within these neighbouring systems is additionally important, given the very few texts available in Catalan. The writers who claimed to be influenced by his literature were

²⁰ Bloshteyn, pp. 4-5.

²¹ Harvey Mindess, 'Freud on Dostoevsky', *The American Scholar*, (1967); Janko Lavrin, 'A Note on Nietzsche and Dostoevsky', *The Russian Review*, 28 (1969), p. 160.

²² Frank, *Tolstoyevsky*, p. 651.

sourcing his texts from a different polysystem. Examining how those texts were made accessible to a Catalan readership is an essential step in understanding the importance of the figure of Dostoevsky in influencing literary production in Catalan despite his limited presence in the system in that language, and the contribution of Payarols and Nin's work to increasing awareness of his literature in Catalan.

The introduction of Dostoevsky's literature across Europe did not occur as homogeneously as Tolstoy's. His literature was first introduced in Germany, closely followed by France, mainly due to Dostoevsky's relationship with Germany, a place he had toured several times. Given the lack of direct relevance to the Catalan system and space limitations, I will only mention that the first German translation of his work was as early as 1850 and that most of his production was available by 1890,²³ which is comparable to his introduction in France.

Dostoevsky's novels entered the French polysystem through the same agent as Tolstoy: Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé's essays compiled in his study *Le Roman Russe* in 1886 put his name on the map. Whilst selected extracts from *Poor Folk* had appeared without much success in 1853,²⁴ the first translation of his work was published in 1884, when Victor Derély translated *Le Crime et le Châtiment*.²⁵ This was followed by *Humiliés et offenses* in the same year, as translated by Ed Humbert, which had previously appeared in a Russian-circulated French journal, the *Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg*.²⁶ Given the rush in demand for Russian literature that followed the publication of *Le Roman Russe*, Dostoevsky's main works were translated before 1890, and most of his minor texts were made available between then and the turn of the century, with few exceptions. Unfortunately, as Hemmings states, 'Dostoevsky was more rapidly exhausted [than Tolstoy]'.²⁷ The fact that Dostoevsky could not produce any new literature gave Tolstoy an advantage in their initial position within the French system: Dostoevsky's pool of

²³ Muchnic, p. 1.

²⁴ Hemmings, p. 50.

²⁵ Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Le crime et le châtement*. (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, 1885).

²⁶ Hemmings, p. 50.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 51.

texts was certainly limited in comparison to Tolstoy's, who kept producing new material after the so-called 'ink invasion'.²⁸

When it comes to critical reception, Dostoevsky's writings could not compete with Tolstoy's in this first period either. Whilst French critics appreciated his literary skills, as well as the psychological, religious, and moral insights of his work, they considered him a troubled personality. Vogüé's essays had focused on his complex biography as a means to explain to a French audience why, when compared to Tolstoy's composure, Dostoevsky's literature appeared sorrowful, obsessive, and unstable.²⁹ French critics based their readings on the author's personality and history, and on Vogüé's parameters; the style that Dostoevsky proposed was excessively different from the naturalism that agents were accustomed to, which affected his reception. Hemmings argues that Dostoevsky's eventual triumph in France is based on Vogüé's efforts to reduce his literature to easily understandable precepts, that is to say, to adapt his literature to the French canon, which whilst distorting the essence of his work in Russian, made it possible to engage French readers.³⁰ This initial apathetic reception from the literary milieu did not stop Dostoevsky from being one of the most translated authors in France in the 1880s and 1890s. The main translators of his work were Victor Derély, Ely Halpérine-Kaminsky, and later J. Vladimir Bienstock, who were also involved in translating other Russian authors.

Between 1886 and 1910, Tolstoy kept a more central position in the French system in relation to Dostoevsky because of his ongoing literary and political production. However, the appreciation of the latter's work returned after the death of the former. This new critical perspective on his work had a knock-on effect on neighbouring polysystems such as the British, which had also preferred Tolstoy in the prior decades. In the years leading up to the First World War, the figure of Dostoevsky was rediscovered by a specific group of new French writers, led by André Gide, who

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ 'The whole-heartedness of the welcome extended to Dostoevsky was tempered by certain misgivings, chiefly on aesthetic grounds.' *ibid.* p. 57.

³⁰ 'If Vogüé had not succeeded in reducing Dostoevsky to a few happy formulas – 'the apostle of the religion of human suffering', 'a man who travelled everywhere, but travelled only by night' – then the chances are that Dostoevsky would have had a far longer struggle to win readers.' *ibid.* p. 237.

considered him 'a serious challenger to the fame of Tolstoy'.³¹ Gide was the first critic to explore the work of Dostoevsky since Vogüé's essays; he exposed that the study of his novels had been distorted and neglected after the late 1880s, as the critical focus was placed on the narrator from Yasnaya Polyana. Gide was not to become an authority on Dostoevsky until his lectures at Vieux-Colombier in 1923, but an article in 1908 portrayed the Russian author in a different, more positive light, which encouraged other critics to explore his work in deeper detail. This opened the door to further readings, such as André Suares's *Trois hommes* (1913) or Elie Faure's *Les Constructeurs* (1914). Whilst they approached their studies differently,³² they depicted an image of the author and his work that moved beyond Vogüé's simplifications. From that point onwards, Dostoevsky has been studied more consistently and with 'a more kindly disposed attitude',³³ and he has remained an acclaimed figure of world literature within the French polysystem.

The introduction of Dostoevsky's literature in Britain was a slightly more complex and turbulent process than it had been in France, although some characteristics were similar. There were mentions of his work in reputable journals of the time such as *The Athenaeum* and *The Academy* as early as 1875,³⁴ a decade before any of his texts were genuinely available in English or French. These two journals also published obituaries in 1881, when Dostoevsky was still an unknown figure to the British literary milieu. In that same year, 'a rather free rendering of [his] Siberian memoirs'³⁵ titled *Buried Alive or Ten Years of Penal Servitude in Siberia* was published and received some positive reviews. In spite of this early interest, his literature was not to be translated consistently until after the arrival of Vogüé's essays to Britain.

The first works to be translated in 1886 were *Crime and Punishment* and *Insulted and Injured*, which had been published in France two years prior. In addition to this, echoes

³¹ Ibid. p. 225.

³² Faure focuses more on the reading of Dostoevsky's novels whilst Suares draws his conclusions from the author's complex biography. In Hemmings' words, 'Dostoevsky is emerging as a figure of an altogether different calibre from the mentally deranged sentimentalist, oscillating between sadistic frenzies and maudlin lamentations, the picture which had obsessed too many of his nineteenth-century readers in France'. Ibid. pp. 232-33.

³³ Ibid. p. 226.

³⁴ Muchnic, p. 7.

³⁵ Ibid. p. 9.

of Vogüé's *Le Roman Russe* reached the British system, at the same time that Nathan Haskell Dole, who was to become one of the most prolific American translators of Russian literature, translated and published Ernest Dupuy's *The Great Masters of Russian Literature in the Nineteenth Century*.³⁶ Vogüé's essays were the key to Dostoevsky's popularity amongst British readership in this first epoch,³⁷ and *Le Roman Russe* was translated twice into English in a short period of time: in 1887 as *The Russian Novelists* by Jane L. Edmans in Boston, and in 1900 as *The Russian Novel* by H. A. Sawyer in London.

Vogüé's influence on the reception of Dostoevsky in Britain may be observed by the fact that English critics and other members of the milieu reviewed the Russian author's literature using the parameters set by the French scholar. The 'most Russian of the Russians' and 'his religion of sufferance' were expressions quoted time after time when referring to his work in literary magazines of the era.³⁸ However, much as in France, Dostoevsky's literature had a mixed reception: it was praised and hated in equal amounts.³⁹ When in 1887 another four novels were translated by Frederick Wishaw and published by Henry Vizetelly, some critics considered the plots tedious and the characters excessively realist, while other praised Dostoevsky's psychological insight and declared 'Russian fiction superior to English'.⁴⁰

Dostoevsky's position within the British system was put in jeopardy after the arrest of Vizetelly in 1889, as no further editions of his translations were published, and no further translations were commissioned until the 1910s.⁴¹ This period of relative neglect still witnessed the publication of studies in Russian literature that included Dostoevsky, such as *Landmarks of Russian Literature* by Michael Baring in 1910. Between 1888 and 1912, members of the literary milieu still heatedly discussed

³⁶ Ibid. p. 15.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ These were expressions used by Vogüé when describing Dostoevsky's style. De Vogüé, *The Russian Novel*, p. 204.

³⁹ 'The reception accorded *The Idiot* was much like that which *Crime and Punishment* received: vociferous in both praise and blame, and on the same grounds.' Muchnic, p. 21.

⁴⁰ Muchnic refers to two articles by Perry and Lomas to back up this statement. Ibid. p. 23.

⁴¹ Edward Garnett, Constance Garnett's husband, lamented this situation in an article in *The Academy* in 1906. Ibid. p. 51.

Dostoevsky's style and read him in French, but his work had been exhausted in English and his general readership declined.

This situation changed dramatically after the publication of *The Brothers Karamazov* as translated by Constance Garnett in 1912.⁴² Garnett was to become Dostoevsky's main translator during this period: in under ten years, she had published all of his work, including his collected short stories.⁴³ Despite the fact that there had been another four authors to have translated this particular novel, Garnett's was the first to be widely read, and it provoked the emergence of a Dostoevsky trend reinforced by the momentum of English modernism.⁴⁴ This is a similar situation to the experience of Dostoevsky's introduction in the Catalan system: his name was used by members of the milieu before his works were even available, and the contribution of the translators (Payarols and Nin) was essential in consolidating his centrality in the system at a later stage – albeit for a short period of time, given the historical circumstances.

Over the decade that followed Garnett's first translations, Dostoevsky's figure and work not only reached a central position within the British system, matching the reputation that Tolstoy had steadily acquired, but also began to affect the literary canon and influence novel writing. Authors either admired him or loathed him, but their reaction to his novels shaped the development of English literature in the pre and post war period.⁴⁵ From that moment onwards, Dostoevsky's name began to appear in articles that were not directly related to him:⁴⁶ he became a benchmark not only for literary creation, but also psychological, philosophical, and religious discourses. Through the twentieth century, Dostoevsky's figure in Britain and in America became

⁴² Peter Kaye, *Dostoevsky and English Modernism, 1900-1930*. (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 1; Muchnic, pp. 61,62.

⁴³ Remnick.

⁴⁴ 'On the whole, admiration of Dostoevsky was ardent not to say excessive; within four years of the publication of *The Brothers Karamazov* it reached the proportions of a cult.' Muchnic.

⁴⁵ Peter Kaye's book expands on the importance of interpreting Dostoevsky in the original creation of authors like Lawrence, Woolf, and Bennett, to name a few. Kaye, pp. 3-10.

⁴⁶ Muchnic, p. 85.

iconic, and in some contexts, it surpassed Tolstoy in terms of ideological contribution to twentieth century culture.⁴⁷

Finally, the case of Spain is highly relevant to the study of the reception of Dostoevsky in the Catalan system. This is due to both its similar connection with the French system, and the fact that translations of Dostoevsky into Spanish arrived much earlier than they did to the Catalan system, thus raising the question of which language Catalan writers were using to read his literature. Whilst there were sporadic mentions in magazines of the time previous to his wide introduction into the Spanish system,⁴⁸ it was Emilia Pardo Bazán's lectures *La revolución y la novela en Rusia* in 1887 that introduced Dostoevsky to the Spanish readership. The Spanish system reacted to the arrival of Russian literature, in particular Dostoevsky, with slightly more enthusiasm than the French: indirect translations, mostly abridged, began to appear, and scholars started to produce critical studies on the subject encouraged by Pardo Bazán's essays.

In this first period, agents of the Spanish polysystem were not reading Dostoevsky in Spanish either. Leopoldo Alas 'Clarín', who was previously quoted as revealing a familiarity with Tolstoy's main novels *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*, wrote his essays before these works were available in Spanish. The records from the Biblioteca Nacional de España support this: the first translation of Dostoevsky's work in the Spanish system comes in 1890 with *La casa de los muertos*, which included a preliminary study by Pardo Bazán, followed by a handful of short stories published in *La España Moderna*.⁴⁹ There were no further complete novels published until 1900 when *Memorias del subsuelo* was released by El Cid Editor. There is no information on the translator of any of these texts. We then find *El crimen y el castigo* in 1901 as translated by Francisco Fernández Villegas, and *El jugador (y Las noches blancas)* in 1902 as translated by Eusebio Heras Hernández; the latter was published in Barcelona

⁴⁷ 'Any student of Dostoevsky's work cannot help then but be profoundly mystified by how this right-wing Russian Orthodox monarchist could have become a mascot for so many left-wing, irreverent, anarchically minded groups [...]. The response to Dostoevsky outside of his Russian homeland represents one of the more curious paradoxes in the history of intercultural literary interaction.' Boutchik, p. 5.

⁴⁸ Yvan Lissorgues, 'La novela rusa en España (1886-1910)', *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*, (2012).

⁴⁹ Ibid.

by Maucci.⁵⁰ The main bulk of Dostoevskian texts was translated between 1918 and 1930, whilst the members of the milieu kept reading the Russian author in French. Despite this discrepancy between available texts and critical studies, the work of agents such as Pardo Bazán, Miguel de Unamuno, and Pío Baroja was essential in disseminating the knowledge of Dostoevsky and appreciation for his art. After all, to a certain extent, subscribers to journals like *La España Moderna* or *Los Lunes de El Imparcial* were in a similar position to the agents of the milieu: members of the financially established classes who could afford a formal education and therefore access European literature via French.

In this early period, Pardo Bazán was the leading critical voice in appreciating and studying Russian literature.⁵¹ In her lectures and essays, the *condesa* was particularly interested in Dostoevsky's depiction of human psychology: '¿es esto belleza? Me dirán. [...] [A]raña el alma, pervierte la imaginación y subvierte las nociones del bien y el mal hasta un grado increíble. [...] Pues con todo, digo que es belleza, belleza torturada, retorcida, satánica, pero intensa, grande y dominadora'.⁵² Through her efforts, the aforementioned authors, among others, not only gained a critical perspective on Dostoevsky, but also echoed his interference in their writings. In fact they all share an intertextual connection with the Russian author, as has been suggested by several scholars. Pardo Bazán's realism is compared to Dostoevsky's realism;⁵³ Unamuno's library held several of his works and essays,⁵⁴ and some of his work contains resonances of the Russian writer's characters;⁵⁵ Pío Baroja acknowledged his

⁵⁰ Whilst published in Barcelona, Maucci had a branch in Madrid and distributed books across the Atlantic, so in this case, the location of the initial release is irrelevant, as the novel did enter the Spanish polysystem. Llanas, p. 12.

⁵¹ In a letter to Narcís Oller in 1896 she declared that '[e]n España creo ser una de las pocas personas que tiene cabeza para mirar lo que pasa en el extranjero'. Mercedes Etreros, 'Influjo de la narrativa rusa en doña Emilia Pardo Bazán: El ejemplo de *La piedra angular*', *Anales de la Literatura Española*, 9 (1993).

⁵² Emilia Pardo Bazán, *La revolucion y la novela en Rusia*. (Madrid: [Ministerio de Información y Turismo], 1961), pp. 374-77.

⁵³ Etreros, pp. 35-36.

⁵⁴ Richard A. Cardwell, 'Miguel/Mijail: La (dia)lógica de *Amor y pedagogía*', in *Tu mano es mi destino: Congreso Internacional Miguel de Unamuno*, ed. by Cirilo Flórez Miguel (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2000), (p. 56).

⁵⁵ Kiril Korkonosenko, 'La novela *San Manuel Bueno, mártir* de Unamuno y la *Leyenda del Gran Inquisidor* de Dostoievski', in *Actas de la II Conferencia de Hispanistas de Rusia*, (Moscow: Embajada de España en Moscú, 1999).

fascination with, and his indebtedness to, Dostoevsky's work, particularly in his essay *El desdoblamiento psicológico de Dostoyevski*, published in 1943.⁵⁶

The interference from Russian literature in the Spanish system is a result of the work of its agents. These agents had access to his works from a different polysystem, and they either incorporated certain elements of the narrative style of the writer into their own literature or engaged in critical discussions of the author's work. Thus, Dostoevsky was a central figure of the Spanish system even before his literature was introduced in the system as translations of his texts did not become available until 1918: anyone attempting to enter the literary milieu was expected to be familiar with his work and critical interpretations of it in the system. This situation shares many similarities with the situation of Dostoevsky in the Catalan literary system in the late 1920s and 1930s.

2. Translations of Dostoevsky before Payarols and Nin

The previous section has provided a functional historical and cultural contextualisation of Dostoevsky's position in literary systems that are directly connected to the Catalan system due to geographic proximity and cultural prestige. How his figure was interpreted in those systems, and how translations of his work were produced in those contexts is extremely relevant when studying the evolution of his fame in Catalan culture in the period between 1879 and 1928, when Nin and Payarols first translated Dostoevsky's work. The key characteristic of this period is the general lack of translations of Dostoevsky in Catalan, compared to his popularity in other systems, and compared to other Russian authors and texts available. This situation, however, did not stop Dostoevsky's name to be present in the media and in literary circles, as the data in the following pages will illustrate.

Only two Dostoevskian texts were translated into Catalan in the nineteenth century, and they have a common denominator: they were both edited by *La Renaixença*. In 1892, the magazine published the anonymously translated short story 'Lo lladre honrat' ('Честный вор', 1848); in 1893, 'Un vell amant'⁵⁷ was published in the *Fulletó*

⁵⁶ Tejerizo, p. 125; Pío Baroja, *Obras completas*. (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1978), p. 1066; Andreu Navarra Ordoño, 'Pío Baroja y Rusia', *Sancho El Sabio*, 34 (2011), p. 16.

⁵⁷ I have been unable to locate the original story in Russian.

de *La Renaixença* collection, as translated by Juli Gay. This is a very small sample of his work, as by the time of the publication of the second story, most of his literature was available in French, for example. Between 1886 and 1900, other Russian authors were being translated into Catalan via the French system, but Dostoevsky was not one of them. This tendency would continue well into the twentieth century.

Between the turn of the century and the 1920s, there were no translations of Dostoevsky published in Catalan. Whilst this period is remarkably void of Russian translations in general, the lack of presence of Dostoevsky in the system coincides with the negligence of his figure in neighbouring polysystems, like the British or the Spanish. During this time, consumption of Dostoevsky's literature was indirect, and guided through agents of the polysystem, a situation that continued between 1920 and 1928, when some translations of his work entered the Catalan system. Mentions of his name appeared in literary and cultural publications, not in direct relation to his novels, but as a contextual figure in the European (macro)polysystem. As literary periodicals emerged in that decade, so did their interest in what was in fashion in other systems, particularly the French. In this period, we find plenty of articles translated from prestigious French journals such as *La revue des deux mondes*, *La nouvelle revue*, and many more.⁵⁸ Whilst the mention of Dostoevsky in passing in these articles made sense in the French context, given that his figure had been in the system for several decades and interest in his literature was on the rise at the time, it made very little sense in the Catalan system, a language into which his work was not being translated.

These press mentions slowly increased over time.⁵⁹ Whilst there were only 17 mentions to Dostoevsky in the periodicals published in Barcelona between 1885 (when his name first appears) and the end of 1919, the 1920-1927 period produced 109

⁵⁸ 'És indecent, propiament parlant, que no tinguem encara [...] una bona traducció de [...] Dostoievski, que l'edició de les obres completes de Tolstoï es trobi sospesa tant de temps, etcètera.' This article was originally published in *L'Europe Nouvelle* and it reflected the situation in France, not Catalonia. Louis Thomas, 'La revolució editorial', *La Revista*, 19 September 1919; Hubert Lagardelle, 'El caràcter i la raça', *El Poble Català*, 1 January 1914, p. 1.

⁵⁹ The data mentioned in this paragraph was obtained by performing Boolean searches in the Arxiu de Revistes Catalanes Antiques using the spelling Dostoievski and Dostoiewski, and collating the results by year, month, and publication title. Since the archive of these newspapers is organised by month, that is, all daily editions for one specific month only constitute one record in the results, in the case of Dostoevsky's name being included in more than one daily edition, only one mention has been recorded in my data.

references to the Russian author, which may indicate that whilst his literature was not directly available in Catalan, his name and the title of his novels was present in the literary system through indirect sources. These mentions can be found in a variety of contexts. From the early 1885 mentions in *La Publicidad*, which offered a serialisation of *Crimen y castigo* in Spanish using French as mediating source, to mentions in articles which review another author's work, using Dostoevsky as a benchmark, in a similar way to Tolstoy's.⁶⁰ Some references have little to do with the Russian author, such is the case of Carles Soldevila's 'Full de dietari', in which the absence of similarities between *Crime and Punishment* and a crime committed in Barcelona are discussed.⁶¹ In this compilation, there is an important article written by Josep Pla in 1924, in which he, as a correspondent in Paris, describes the French reaction to a new, unabridged translation of *The Brothers Karamazov*, and criticises the lack of action of Catalan publishers:

França ha descobert, finalment, Dostoiewski. [...] La gent s'ha tirat damunt d'aquests tres volums. [...] En pocs dies l'editor Bossard n'ha venut 80.000 exemplars. [...] I els editors catalans què fan? S'haurà d'escriure un pamflet contra els nostres editors. Hi ha una conxorxa del pletisme hipòcrita, de la pedanteria intel·lectual, del burgesisme poruc que priva que el nostre públic s'encari amb la bona literatura estrangera. [...] La gent també es queixa que no hi ha novel·listes, ni contistes. No hi ha novel·listes, perquè no hi ha editors. A Catalunya seria un gran negoci fer una casa editorial basada en la llibertat.⁶²

Edicions Proa would be one of those publishing houses to answer Pla's plea. The Catalan writer, despite the tentatively positive report above, admitted his despise for Russian literature shortly afterwards,⁶³ which gave other members of the milieu plenty to discuss.⁶⁴ In any case, and to sum up, of all mentions of Dostoevsky between 1885

⁶⁰ To reference a few, Fly, 'Lletres estrangeres', *La Veu de Catalunya*, 18 July 1923, p. 6; J.L. Gili i Serra, 'D.H. Lawrence (l'artista)', *La Publicitat*, 29 October 1933; Josep Sol, 'Un llibre cada dia: "James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses" per Frank Budgen', *La Publicitat*, 13 January 1935.

⁶¹ Carles Soldevila, 'Full de dietari', *La Publicitat*, 23 January 1926, p. 1.

⁶² Josep Pla, 'París: El que la gent llegeix', *La Publicitat*, 20 March 1924, p. 1.

⁶³ 'Els autors russos em fan fàstic. He llegit molt poca literatura russa.' Josep Pla, 'Algunes lectures', *La Publicitat*, 27 April 1926, p. 2.

⁶⁴ 'Dostoiewski, doncs, ha renyit amb Josep Pla'. Rosend Llates, 'Lletres al director', *La Revista de Catalunya*, May 1926, p. 544.

and 1938, a little over 26% of these occurred before 1928, and hence before any significant translation of his novels was available in Catalan.

During the 1920s and before the establishment of Edicions Proa, two texts by Dostoevsky were published in Catalan. The first one, albeit not directly a Dostoevskian work, was the theatrical adaptation of *Els germans Karamàzov*, written by Jacques Copeau and Jean Croué. It was translated into Catalan by Josep Maria Millàs-Raurell in 1923 and published by the Escola Catalana d'Art Dramàtic. This play was performed at the Teatre Romea around the time of this publication, with relative success.⁶⁵ The other publication was the novella *La dispesera* (*Хозяйка*, 1847) in 1928, translated by Josep Maria Castellà-Roger and released by Biblioteca Univers as a 'novel', similar to the publication of long short stories by Tolstoy or Chekhov by the same publishing house.⁶⁶ This volume had a mixed reception. There was a certain degree of praise, with the writing team of *La Veu de Catalunya* stating that 'la traducció és acurada com correspon a una Biblioteca dirigida per Carles Soldevila', but on the other hand, satirical publication *Papitu* described this novel as the worst by Dostoevsky.⁶⁷

Before the arrival of Payarols and Nin, Edicions Proa published *El somni de l'oncle* (*Дядюшкин сон*, 1859) as translated by Prudenci Bertrana in 1928. This translation came after Puig i Ferrer had announced in *La Publicitat* that Nin was preparing *Crim i càstig*, and on the occasion of the introduction of Payarols as the new Russian to Catalan translator for Proa.⁶⁸ This text serves a similar function to *Resurrecció* by Tolstoy translated by Maseras and Llates; they are both indirect translations using French as a mediating source which were published in 1928, the same year Proa was founded. *El somni de l'oncle* was defined in the press as one of Dostoevsky's most 'joyful' works, an unusual text from the time following his return from Siberia, full of outrageous happiness. This text allowed the readers to observe 'les primícies d'un geni lliurat a un esbogerrament d'imaginació, a un furor caricaturesc, sota els quals hi ha,

⁶⁵ Xarau, 'Glosari: Vetllades selectes al "Romea"', *L'Esquella de la Torratxa*, 7 September 1922, p. 583; J. Pérez-Jorba, 'Teatre', *La Veu de Catalunya*, 4 March 1923, p. 11.

⁶⁶ Fyodor Dostoevsky, *La dispesera*, trans. by Josep M. Castellà-Roger. (Barcelona: Llibr. Catalònia, 1928).

⁶⁷ Soldevila, p. 1; Puig i Ferrer, *A propòsit de Tolstoi*, p. 13.

⁶⁸ Puig i Ferrer, *Francesc Payarols*, p. 6.

tanmateix, el psicòleg i el visionari insuperat. ¿Què és, doncs, “El somni de l’oncle”? Una farsa genial que en el fons conté una riallada compasiva i amarga.’⁶⁹

The last text by Dostoevsky translated before the end of the war was published in 1937, distinctly after Nin and Payarols had rendered some of Dostoevsky’s literature into Catalan. The long story *Les nits blanques* (*Белые ночи*, 1848) was translated by Pere Montserrat-Falsaveu for Edicions de la Rosa dels Vents, a continuation of Quaderns Literaris under the direction of Joan Janés i Olivé.⁷⁰ This text was a special edition for the *Servei de Biblioteques del Front*, the cultural project that aimed to provide republican soldiers of the Spanish Civil War with reading materials. It was one of the last few books edited by Janés i Olivé, who discontinued his activity due to the war in 1938. This text, along with *La dispesera*, was first retranslated and published in 1972, with the direct translation from Russian into Catalan by Francesc Pagès. The latest version, translated by Miquel Cabal Guarro and inspired by the theatrical production of the same name directed by Carlota Subirós, was published in 2015.

As a final note to this section, it is important to mention that, despite the very limited number of translations of Dostoevsky into Catalan between 1879 and 1928, there were a few translations into Spanish in circulation. Editorial Maucci had a presence in the market with titles such as *Crimen y castigo*, translated by J. Z. Barragán (1915), *La casa de los muertos*, by Augusto Riera (1910), and *La pobre gente*, by Fernando Accame (1910s) among others. In fact the first few mentions of Dostoevsky’s name in the Catalan press came from the serialisation of *Crimen y castigo* in 1885, as mentioned earlier. This text, published in *La Publicidad* over the course of a few months, is an interesting one: produced in the Catalan system for a Spanish-speaking audience, it sits too uncomfortably on the fence between systems for either milieu to have claimed it.

According to Elisa Martí-López, ‘in mid-nineteenth-century Spain, the book industry was limited to provincial and regional markets; the production and circulation of foreign books was local and so was most of the autochthonous creation and reception

⁶⁹ Pau Vila, ‘La novel·la russa’, *La Publicidad*, 5 April 1936, p. 4.

⁷⁰ Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Les nits blanques*, trans. by P. Montserrat-Falsaveu. (Barcelona: Edicions de la Rosa dels Vents, 1937). Biblioteca La Rosa dels Vents was founded by Joan Janés i Olivé after Quaderns Literaris was seized by Francoist forces in 1936.

of literature'.⁷¹ The serialisation of *Crimen y castigo* did not lead to a bound publication, unlike *Guerra i pau* by Capdevila, but was only addressed to the readers of *La Publicidad*; it is not unreasonable to believe that this text's market was very limited, even within its geographic location. In her study, Martí-López also contextualises the reception of the French novel in Spain during this time, explaining that on many occasions, publishing houses would purchase the rights to translate French texts into Spanish shortly after (and sometimes before) the original publication in France. This translation of Dostoevsky uses Victor Dérely's 1884 version as a mediating source, which can be noticed from the French-heavy linguistic structures used as early as the first instalment.⁷²

Andreu Nin may have been aware of this version, as he indirectly acknowledged it in the prologue to the first edition to *Crim i càstig* in Catalan in 1929. Nin, as with other translations, used it to locate his own text, and position it against the Spanish versions. His reference is not direct, but the subtext is a declaration of intentions: he criticised Victor Dérely's version, as well as all other translations who had used this French text as a mediating source, most likely Maucci's, and stated that his Catalan version was the best in a Romance language, mainly because it was unmediated.⁷³ It is unclear whether he meant this 1885 version, Maucci's, or both, but he certainly established his opinion on French translations and mediated texts, which had fallen out of favour in the Catalan system by the end of the 1920s, in this introduction. Further analysis of this prologue will continue in the following section.

3. Dostoevsky Translated by Payarols and Nin

In his article *Les traduccions de la literatura russa a Catalunya fins a la guerra civil*, Ramon Pinyol argues that translations of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky were widely available before Andreu Nin began his collaboration with Proa.⁷⁴ From the data offered in the previous section, whilst he may technically be correct about Tolstoy (in the

⁷¹ Elisa Martí-López, *Borrowed Words: Translation, Imitation, and the Making of the Nineteenth-Century Novel in Spain*. (Lewisburg; London: Bucknell University Press; Associated University Presses, 2002), p. 79.

⁷² Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Le crime et le châtement*, trans. by Victor Dérely. (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, 1884).

⁷³ Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Crim i càstig*, trans. by Andreu Nin. (Badelona: Proa, 1929).

⁷⁴ Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, p. 251.

number of texts, rather than the combined length of these), the available texts by Dostoevsky in Catalan before 1928 were scarce. The contribution of Payarols and Nin to increase the presence of the Russian author in the system was truly significant, as it will be explored in the following pages.

This section provides an analysis of this contribution within its historical and literary context. The study of the translation of Dostoevsky into Catalan in the 1930s presents two very important characteristics. On the one hand, it offers an illustrative example of the mythologisation of Andreu Nin's work in the Catalan polysystem. This behaviour is not limited to the 1930s, as the reprinting of Nin's original text continues well into the twenty-first century. On the other hand, we encounter a mild yet unique case of 'translation wars' in the Catalan polysystem. Section 3.1. analyses the consequences of Nin and Payarols' dispute over translating the same novel, *Els germans Karamàzov*. In addition to this, a review of some of the reception of Payarols and Nin's work in the Catalan press is provided, as well as some of the linguistic issues that the translators faced. I conclude by analysing Nin's mythologised status, highlighting the errors that have been preserved by the constant reeditions of his translation, and the challenges that it poses for the future of the text.

3.1. The Translation 'Wars'⁷⁵

As mentioned previously, the distribution of translations and texts between Payarols and Nin was not even and it did not follow Puig i Ferrer's original masterplan. He had argued that Catalan literature (or rather, Edicions Proa, and himself as its literary director) had found a gold mine in these translators: 'Nin amb els clàssics, amb Tolstoi i els autors de després de la revolució, Payarols lliurat a Dostoievski, pensem donar, en pocs anys, el millor de les lletres russes, gràcies a les traduccions directes d'aquest dos benemèrits catalans.'⁷⁶ This was a statement of his intentions in 1929, rather than accomplished facts: as the records show, whilst Nin did translate some of Tolstoy and the Soviet authors, and Payarols did translate Dostoevsky, their roles reversed with

⁷⁵ The title of this section was inspired by an article with the same name which discussed the controversies of translating Tolstoy and Dostoevsky. Remnick. *Translation Wars*.

⁷⁶ Puig i Ferrer, *Francesc Payarols*, p. 6.

time. Nin completed two Dostoevskian translations to Payarols' one; Payarols translated more titles by Tolstoy whilst Nin translated more pages.⁷⁷

The circumstances around the translation of Dostoevsky's literature into Catalan during this period are rather curious. How the work was distributed between Payarols and Nin depended on two main factors: a combination of Puig i Ferrer's marketing strategies, and Payarols' insecurity towards his own work. The latter reason is specifically observable when it comes to translating Dostoevsky. Payarols was suggested to Puig i Ferrer as a translator for Proa by one of the publishing house's owners and an old classmate, Marcel·lí Antich.⁷⁸ Antich secured him an interview with the director of Proa. It was a question of good timing for Payarols: at the time, Puig i Ferrer, an admirer and devoted reader of Russian literature, was desperately looking for someone who could translate Russian into Catalan. This was part of his plan to establish Proa as a serious publishing house in the Catalan system.⁷⁹

Puig i Ferrer tested Payarols' translating skills by requesting him to render the first chapter of *Els germans Karamàzov* into Catalan.⁸⁰ Payarols accepted the task reluctantly, 'per modèstia'.⁸¹ Puig was satisfied with the result and asked Payarols if he would be willing to continue and translate the whole text, but he refused. For Payarols, starting his career with Dostoevsky's masterpiece implied too much responsibility: it would have been, he admitted, 'començar per la catedral'.⁸² He then convinced Puig i Ferrer that Turgenev was an equally interesting and less challenging author, and the director proposed for Payarols to translate the highly acclaimed *Pares i fills*.⁸³

Whilst this was a profitable short-term solution for all involved (Payarols managed to translate an author he admired and was comfortable with, Puig i Ferrer got Turgenev's first complete translated novel into Catalan,⁸⁴ and the literary system

⁷⁷ See Chapter 2, pp. 121-32.

⁷⁸ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 53.

⁷⁹ Puig i Ferrer, *Francesc Payarols*, p. 6.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 4.

⁸¹ Manent, *Del noucentisme a l'exili*, p. 114.

⁸² Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 53.

⁸³ Puig i Ferrer, *Francesc Payarols*, p. 6.

⁸⁴ Whilst some of his novellas and short stories had been translated between 1900 and 1928, the only one of his novels to have been published in Catalan to that date was *Niuada de gentilhomes*

gained a Russian classic text), it influenced Puig's perception of Payarols' capabilities as a translator and confirmed his bias towards Nin. Puig's initial idea was to turn Payarols into the translator of Dostoevsky's literature because of the translator's interest in the author and the contrast with Nin's preferences. However, the plan did not play out in the way Puig originally envisaged it.

Payarols did get as his next assignment a text by Dostoevsky, *L'etern marit*. He completed the translation in the same year as he had completed *Pares i fills*, 1929, and it was published a few months before Nin's *Crim i càstig*. However, despite being a legitimate novella, *L'etern marit* could not compete in influence and interest with the upcoming Nin translation of Dostoevsky's widely acclaimed novel. In fact, this publication was not critically reviewed in the press at all. The archival search for mentions to Dostoevsky's text only brought one relevant result in *La Publicitat*, on a list of published novels in August and September 1929, which only reads 'Dostoiewski, F. L'etern marit, traducció íntegra del rus per Francesc Paiarols [sic]'.⁸⁵ All mentions in the press to Francesc Payarols during 1929 refer to his translation of Turgenev's *Pares i fills*, which was published a few months before *L'etern marit*. In comparison, Turgenev's novel was much better received, with articles in the main publications, and therefore Payarols' translating skills were reviewed then. Domènec Guansé and Just Cabot, the critics involved in these reviews, agreed that Payarols had accomplished the objectives of the translation, with only minor 'inseguredats de llenguatge' or 'alguna expressió en estat de larva';⁸⁶ these comments, however, cannot guarantee that the translation of Dostoevsky's novella would have been as successful. The lack of presence of Dostoevsky's text in the literary press has no apparent explanation however a satirical comment published in *Papitu* in regards to *La dispesera* may suggest that the perceived quality of the Dostoevskian text might have played a part. Intended as a criticism of Carles Soldevila's Biblioteca Univers' subscription practices, and the

(*Дворянское гнездо*, 1859), and only in an abridged version published by Biblioteca Univers. Ivan Turgenev, *Niuada de gentilhomes: Costums de la vida de província a Rússia*, trans. by Olga Savarín and Enrique Palau. (Barcelona: Llibreria Catalònia, 1930).

⁸⁵ 'Index bibliogràfic dels mesos d'agost i setembre', *La Publicitat*, 31 October 1929, p. 6. This search was performed using the Arxiu de Revistes Catalanes Antiques online database, with Boolean combinations of Dostoevski/Dostoiewski and Payarols/Paiarols, both common spelling of the authors' names in 1929.

⁸⁶ Domènec Guansé, 'Les lletres', *La Publicitat*, 6 June 1929, p. 4; Just Cabot, 'Els llibres', *Mirador*, 6 June 1929, p. 6.

publication delays of some of their books, the writing team at *Papitu* ironically stated: 'I pensar que et fan esperar una munió de dies, i al capdavall t'encolomen un rave de la categoria de 'La Dispesera', la pitjor obra de Fidor Dostoiewski.'⁸⁷ *L'etern marit* may have followed a similar critical fate.

L'etern marit was the only published text by Dostoevsky translated by Payarols. According to Pilar Estelrich, Payarols had begun, or rather, had continued translating *Els germans Karamàzov* as assigned by Puig i Ferrerter whilst working on other translations.⁸⁸ There is no information about the timeframe in which this assignment was issued, however Payarols was reasonably busy with other texts up to 1935, when his last translation for Proa, Kuprin's *Iama (El femer)*, was released. Whilst Puig i Ferrerter could have asked him earlier, or at least gauge whether Payarols now felt ready to tackle the complex novel, it is likely that the official assignment came in 1935. The controversies around this text would explain why Payarols did not translate any further Russian texts for Proa either in 1936 or 1937, when the publishing house was still relatively active, albeit in a difficult political context.

Estelrich's article continues with the following statement: 'Quan [Payarols] ja havia traduït els tres primers llibres, Nin va interessar-se per traduir-la ell, i Puig i Ferrerter va accedir-hi; en complicar-se el panorama polític, Nin no va continuar i l'obra es va quedar sense traduir.'⁸⁹ Payarols had in fact translated a quarter of Dostoevsky's twelve-book masterpiece before Nin intervened; it would have been counterproductive, at that point, to stop Payarols from translating the text and give the work to someone else. The fact that Puig i Ferrerter changed his mind and accepted Nin's offer can only be explained by the latter's strong position within the literary milieu, and Puig's bias towards him. To recommence this translation on the eve of the Spanish Civil War was a risky move. In the end, it meant the text was left unpublished until Joan Sales' translation in 1961.

⁸⁷ Puig i Ferrerter, *A propòsit de Tolstoi*, p. 13.

⁸⁸ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 54.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

It is a matter of speculation whether translating *Els germans Karamàzov* was a genuine request from Nin, or he was trying to assert his power over Payarols. The facts indicate that Nin was active in translation during the Spanish Civil War as he managed to complete Tolstoy's three-volume *Infància, Adolescència, Joventut* at some point between 1936 and his disappearance in June 1937. It is likely that he wanted the prestige associated with translating such a key work, rather than just to antagonise Payarols, with whom he had a working relationship. It might have been a case of taking on more than he could handle given the circumstances. However, for all we know, the manuscript of *Els germans Karamàzov* could have been lost during the Civil War, and never found, unlike *Infància, Adolescència, Joventut*.

The unstable working relationship between the two translators continued beyond Proa. Nin and Payarols had a short-lived collaboration at the Editorial Atena, between 1935 and 1936. Atena was an offshoot of Proa, conceived by Payarols and Marcel·lí Antich, and partly sponsored by Joan Cruells, to counterbalance the slowdown of the main publishing house's activity due to Puig i Ferrer's involvement in politics.⁹⁰ Atena published a handful of novels in one tumultuous year, most of them translations, but also some politically-driven books commissioned by Andreu Nin.⁹¹ Whilst these were a complete success among the working classes, they were also the publishing house's downfall. Nin wished to continue editing political literature, and Antich knew that that was a winning move in terms of marketing strategy, but Payarols was against it. His interest was solely cultural, and he did not wish to politicize his translations, whilst Nin's work always served an ideological purpose. Disagreements on the ideological direction, and political circumstances, ended the Atena adventure abruptly.⁹²

These stylistic and political disagreements between Payarols and Nin, and the historical context in which they were framed, are ultimately responsible for both the existence of translations of Dostoevsky into Catalan, and the lack of more texts during the 1930s. Despite the original blueprint set out by Puig i Ferrer, neither author could

⁹⁰ Ibid.; Manent, *Del noucentisme a l'exili*, p. 115.

⁹¹ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 55.

⁹² Chapter 5 provides a more detailed study of these political translation 'wars'. See Chapter 5, pp. 227-32.

be considered 'the translator of Dostoevsky', although it could be argued that Nin holds that privilege having worked on *Crim i càstig*, a very successful translation. The following section provides further examples of the different reception of either translator's work by the milieu.

3.2. Payarols' *L'etern marit*

Francesc Payarols' translation of *L'etern marit* (*Вечный муж*, 1870) came at the beginning of his career in 1929; it was his second translation following *Pares i fills*.⁹³ The novella, marketed in its Catalan version as a novel, tells the story of Velchaninov and his old acquaintance Trusotsky, whose late wife was the former's lover. The tragicomedy illustrates Trusotsky's lack of power, perennially subdued as the 'eternal husband' as his new wife enjoys the company of a young military officer, and the unstable relationship between the two emotionally tormented men.⁹⁴

Unlike other translations by Payarols, *L'etern marit* was reprinted rather early, in 1969, including a new introduction presumably written by the editorial team at Proa.⁹⁵ This two-page foreword reflects several inaccuracies and a general lack of knowledge of the Russian author, to a certain extent understandable given the undertranslation of his work into Catalan. The text argues that *L'etern marit* is one of Dostoevsky's most autobiographical works, given his negative relationship experiences with his first wife.⁹⁶ It also mentions one of his other known works, with a creatively translated title, in *Memòries escrites en un soterrani* (*Записки из подполья*, 1864), with 'подполья' understood literally as a 'basement flat', and not as the concept of 'underground'. This may appear confusing, as the novel was never translated into Catalan until the twenty first century and other versions in neighbouring systems do not interpret 'подполья' in such a literal manner, however Alfonso Nadal's Spanish translation in 1932 had a similar meaning with the title *Memorias desde el subterráneo*.

⁹³ Fyodor Dostoevsky, *L'etern marit*, trans. by Francesc Payarols. (Badalona: Proa, 1929).

⁹⁴ Lyudmila Parts, 'Polyphonic Plot Structure in Dostoevsky's "The Eternal Husband"', *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 50 (2006).

⁹⁵ Fyodor Dostoevsky, *L'etern marit*, trans. by Francesc Payarols. (Barcelona: Proa, 1969), pp. 5-6.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 5.

In this introduction, the editorial team at Proa state that a slight spelling review has been carried out throughout the text to align Payarols' original with the current state of Catalan grammar in the late 1960s. Whilst a spelling revision may not be comparable to Ana Quelbenzu's reedition of Payarols' *Pares i fills*, it is at least an attempt to update the language in the translation,⁹⁷ which is more than has been done to Nin's *Crim i càstig* since its original publication.

In his translation, Payarols displays an awareness of the cultural knowledge (or lack thereof) of the target audience and makes an effort to help the text read seamlessly in Catalan. Hence, when it comes to footnoting, Payarols finds relevant examples to explain further, such as 'bitllet blau',⁹⁸ or a Russian play on words in 'Pròstakova, senzilla. Pròixvostova, desvergonyida'.⁹⁹ However, much like Nin in *Anna Karènina*, he misses the chance to explain 'versta', a word that, although it entered the Catalan context through these translations, and the dictionary in the late 1930s, would have been fairly new to the vocabulary of the readership of this novella.

In terms of accuracy, the translation seems to cover certain areas of the text with ease, including a specific conversation between Velchaninov and Trusotsky, in which the latter acknowledges that he knew his wife was cheating on him with younger officers, including a common friend who happened to die on the day Trusotsky called to visit. In this conversation, the visual effects are as important as the dialogue, as Trusotsky makes a symbol bringing his hand to his forehead and shaping it into horns, which has a similar cultural meaning in Russian as it does in Catalan; he knows of the adultery, and 'proudly wears his horns':

И Павел Павлович вдруг, совсем неожиданно, сделал двумя пальцами рога над своим лысым лбом [...]

– Это что ж такое означало? – спросил он небрежно, растягивая слова.

– Это означало рога-с, – отрезал Павел Павлович, отнимая наконец свои пальцы от лба.

⁹⁷ See Chapter 6, pp. 239-246.

⁹⁸ His footnote reads 'bitllet de deu rubles'. Dostoevsky, *L'etern marit*, p. 111.

⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 129.

- То есть... ваши рога?
- Мои собственные, благоприобретенные! – ужасно скверно скривился опять Павел Павлович.¹⁰⁰

I Pàvel Pàvlovitx, bruscament i d'una manera inesperada, s'aplicà dos dits en forma de banyes al front calb [...].

- I això què significa? – preguntà amb indiferència, arrossegant les paraules.
- Això significa banyes! – replica Pàvel Pàvlovitx traient-se finalment els dits del front.
- És a dir... les vostres banyes?
- Les meves pròpies, honorablement guanyades! – féu Pàvel Pàvlovitx amb un nou gest terriblement repugnant.¹⁰¹

The similitudes in the cultural reference help the translation in a way that translators in other languages have not been able to render. In the English version by Wishaw for Vizetelly from 1888, the whole paragraph about the horns has been removed,¹⁰² whilst the French version from 1894 keeps the mention of the two fingers to the forehead but does not mention the 'horns'.¹⁰³

Payarols, however, mistranslates an important cultural reference: the main street in St Petersburg. In his version, *Невский проспект* appears as 'la Perspectiva de Nevski',¹⁰⁴ a rather literal take on the Russian, which should have been translated as 'l'Avinguda (de) Nevski'. On the other hand, Payarols does choose to use the word 'vodka' in the text, rather than use the similar Catalan equivalent 'aigüardent', which is common in Nin's texts. This is an appropriate use of the word, as 'vodka' entered the Catalan dictionary midway through the 1930s. All things considered, Payarols succeeds in making *L'etern marit* a readable text in Catalan, and it is a much smoother text than later translations such as *Els cossacs*. It was outside of Payarols' control that the text

¹⁰⁰ Internet-Biblioteca Aleksey Komarova, 'Fyodor Dostoevsky. Vechny muzh.' (2010) <<http://ilibrary.ru/text/1720/index.html>> [accessed 10 September 2016]

¹⁰¹ Dostoevsky, *L'etern marit*, p. 92.

¹⁰² Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Uncle's Dream and, the Permanent Husband*, trans. by Frederick Whishaw. (London: Vizetelly, 1888), p. 254/373.

¹⁰³ Fyodor Dostoevsky, 'L'éternel mari', in *Collection À tous les vents*, (Quebec, 1894).

¹⁰⁴ Dostoevsky, *L'etern marit*, p. 21.

that he was assigned to translate was largely ignored in neighbouring polysystems, and hence put him at a disadvantage compared to Nin. His positive attempt to render Dostoevsky's style into Catalan shows that, had the circumstances played out differently, he had the potential to fulfil the role for which Puig i Ferrer had hired him.

3.3 Nin's *Crim i càstig*

Andreu Nin began working on the translation of *Crim i càstig* (*Преступление и наказание*, 1866) at the tail end of his stay in Russia, in the summer of 1928.¹⁰⁵ The increased political pressure and his deteriorating position within the party due to his criticism of Stalin and his support for Trotsky forced him to seek a return to Spain. Given his knowledge and appreciation for the language and culture of his host country, Nin was in a prime position to become Proa's first Russian into Catalan translator. Puig i Ferrer was an old acquaintance, and the timing was right: Puig needed someone who could translate from Russian, Nin needed a *modus vivendi* to facilitate his return to Barcelona. They reached an agreement while Nin was still in Russia, and he committed to deliver classics of Russian literature to the Catalan polysystem.¹⁰⁶ At the time, Nin was not only employed by Proa, and, as he argued to Puig i Ferrer, he was better remunerated to translate political texts into Spanish.¹⁰⁷ His commitment to Proa was based on a cultural interest to translate into Catalan.

Crim i càstig was published by Proa in 1929; according to Natàlia Kharitònova, this was an instant success, a 'fet literari'.¹⁰⁸ Since it was his first literary translation for Proa into Catalan, Nin chose to write a lengthy introductory note about the text, the author, and his approach to the task. This introduction ceased to be included in the reprinted versions after 1977, which is unfortunate, as it illustrates an uncommon first-hand experience of how Dostoevsky was interpreted by Soviet society. This introduction also displays Nin's political ideas in his interpretation of Raskolnikov's moral failures, when arguing that '[I]a societat no la pot modificar un individu, sinó tota una classe; l'heroi

¹⁰⁵ Puig i Ferrer, *Francesc Payarols*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁶ Figuerola, *El català de l'URSS: Nin*, p. 666.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p. 218.

¹⁰⁸ Kharitònova, p. 54.

és fort quan es recolza en la massa'.¹⁰⁹ He puts the blame on capitalist society for having left him isolated, and not on the individual that has committed the crime.

Beyond his critical insight into the narrative structure of *Crim i càstig*, Nin also addresses his methodology by directing criticism towards previous translators. Nin claims that his translation is the only integral text available in a European language, an argument later reinforced by repetition by the press and the literary milieu,¹¹⁰ and asserts his position on this phenomenon by stating that '[e]n certes traduccions aquesta intolerable manca de respecte per una de les figures més gegantines de la literatura universal adquireix proporcions veritablement escandaloses. En la traducció francesa de *Crim i Càstig* feta per Derély, per exemple, ha estat suprimit almenys un terç de l'obra.'¹¹¹ Derély's version was the first translation of this novel into a European language in 1884, and it is also the mediating text used by the first translation into Spanish published by *La Publicidad*, hence his criticism is directed to this version as well. Whilst it is understandable for Nin to promote his own work, these assertions have only contributed to the mythologisation of his figure. Josep Pla, for example, uses similar vocabulary to describe Nin's work by stating that 'aquestes traduccions són les millors que d'aquest autors s'han produït en un idioma d'arrel no eslava',¹¹² whilst also acknowledging that he cannot judge the rest. This type of statements lead to a situation which will help to explain, to a certain extent, why this translation is still being reprinted integrally as the 1929 original, with the exception of the omitted introduction.

Crim i càstig was printed and bounded in 1929, but it was not released for publication until early 1930. In an interview in 1935, Proa co-founder Josep Queralt revealed that *Crim i càstig* had become *A Tot Vent's* best-selling novel, 'per un gran marge'.¹¹³ Most of the press commentaries focused on the fact that this was an unabridged text, echoing Nin's stance in his introduction, and that this was due to the fact that it was a direct translation, rather than a mediated one via French. One of the reviewers, Josep Maria

¹⁰⁹ Dostoevsky, *Crim i càstig*, p. 3.

¹¹⁰ Pla and Sala, p. 242; Josep Maria de Sagarra, 'L'aperitiu', *Mirador*, 13 March 1930, p. 2.

¹¹¹ Dostoevsky, *Crim i càstig*, p. 3.

¹¹² Pla and Sala, p. 242.

¹¹³ Josep Sol, 'Parlen els editors...', *La Humanitat*, 27 October 1935, p. 5.

de Sagarra, focused most of his discussion on this fact, without expanding much on the actual novel. He commented on Nin's performance as a translator, with a critical point about his linguistic style:

Andreu Nin[...] ens ha donat precisament aquest dies una traducció sencera i vivíssima de *Crim i càstig*, que és potser la primera que surt en una llengua romànica sense mutilacions. I és impressionant llegir en el nostre català d'ara, tota la nerviosa putrefacció del llibre genial. Es nota, però, en la versió d'Andreu Nin com una falta de contacte amb el nostre llenguatge de carrer, un excessiu puritanisme gramatical que potser encarcara una mica la bona qualitat del diàleg. Malgrat aquesta petita tara, la nostra llengua amb les puntes de verdor o d'acidesa, de vegades tan directament biològiques, s'encasta d'una manera brutal al realisme sense contemplacions de Dostoiewski.¹¹⁴

Sagarra is one of the few agents to have highlighted linguistic issues when reviewing a translation by Nin. Similarly, from a scholarly point of view, Kharitònova is the only scholar to have studied the linguistic aspects of Nin's main translations, and to have shed light on some of his choices and inaccuracies. Her analysis of Nin's version of *Crim i càstig* suggests that whilst he acknowledged Dostoevsky's style and the concept of the 'polyphonic novel', he did not completely succeed in achieving this differentiation in the characters' speech and personalities. Her article shows that Nin used set expressions, perhaps in excess, in order to recreate the Russian author's inaccurate and untidy style.¹¹⁵ These 'frases fetes' are not only part of the dialogues, but also of the main narrative, with examples such as 'tan velles com anar a peu', 'traient foc pels queixals', or Kharitonova's example of 'com gat i gos'.¹¹⁶ These are not in themselves inaccurate, but the excessive use distorts the 'untidy style' by making it familiar, sometimes overly colloquial in the context.

¹¹⁴ de Sagarra, p. 2.

¹¹⁵ Kharitònova, p. 55.

¹¹⁶ Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Crim i càstig*, trans. by Andreu Nin. (Barcelona: Proa, 2009), pp. 78, 111. 'A l'original [...] correspon al llenguatge literari elevat, i la veritat és que no s'entén en què es fonamenta la decisió del traductor de substituir [aquesta frase] [...] per [una] frase feta [...] que s'aproxima a un discurs col·loquial.' Kharitònova, p. 56.

One of Nin's strengths in this translation is his use of footnotes. These help address cultural references that cannot be resolved within the text, and in this work, he manages to find the right balance between what needs a note and what does not, unlike in *Anna Karènina*, as previously mentioned. His first-hand experience of Russian society comes in handy when describing how muzhiks drink tea, when explaining a word play that Raskolnikov's friend Razumikhin uses to refer to himself, or to indicate where the first floor is located in Russian homes.¹¹⁷ He also succeeds in footnoting Old Russian units of measurement, which will end up becoming one of the flaws of his Tolstoyan translation.

Overall, Nin's translation is engaging, albeit the language is definitely archaic, as it will be discussed shortly, and errors in the text tend to be minor. However, one specific error in this text shows that the editors of all reprints of this novel after 1929 did not pay full attention towards the end. The epilogue of *Crim i càstig* shows Raskolnikov in Siberia, serving time for the murders of Alena and Lizabeta: 'el tribunal [...] el condemnà només a *vuit* anys de treballs forçats de segona categoria.'¹¹⁸ However, several pages later, the protagonist questions his own will to go on: 'I què hi feia que al cap de *vint* anys només en tingués trenta-dos i pogués començar una nova vida? Per que[sic] viure?'¹¹⁹ In the space of ten pages, Raskolnikov's sentence goes from eight (*vuit*) to twenty (*vint*) years. This is likely to have been a printing error from the 1929 original, rather than Nin's mistake, however it has been reprinted in every reedition of the text; a detailed reading would have inexpensively removed this blemish and given the impression that a thorough update, as in Payarols' *L'etern marit*, had been undertaken. Unfortunately, this is not the case, and at the time of completing this chapter, the latest edition of *Crim i càstig* (2015) in Catalan still contains this error from the original translation.

Nin's translations of both *Crim i càstig* and *Anna Karènina* have been reprinted and reissued over the past eighty years without corrections, amendments, or the intervention of a modern translator. This has led to a situation in which the figure of

¹¹⁷ Dostoevsky, *Crim i càstig*, pp. 136, 32, 509.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. p. 587. Italics are my own.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. p. 594. Italics are my own.

Andreu Nin as a translator has become mythologised, and his texts have assumed a central status that have made them almost 'untouchable'. The accumulation of non-revised reprints over generations has provoked a situation in which the text has crystallised as the only possible translation, and there is no perceived need for a retranslation. The translation itself has become a classic with its own particular influence on the literary system, a phenomenon that Richard Armstrong identifies with old translations of Greek and Roman classics.¹²⁰

Several aspects contribute to this mythologisation that explain the lack of a retranslation. Douglas Robinson argues that retranslations normally occur when there is an awareness in the literary system that a translation is no longer fulfilling its role and it is 'widely perceived as being outdated'.¹²¹ He also argues that the perception is that translations are temporary and their rate of decay is much faster than the original work, which is considered timeless. French scholar Berman identifies other motives behind retranslations, but coincides that retranslations provide 'an updated conception of the original'.¹²² Both agree that the agents of the system determine whether a text is retranslated or not, although Robinson questions how that works logistically,¹²³ and whether a single translator (presumably of great prestige) could convince a publishing house that his or her retranslation of Nin, for example, is both necessary and worth publishing, financially and culturally speaking

One of the causes of the crystallisation of these translations is that there has not been a perception, within the Catalan polysystem of the twentieth century and beyond, that a retranslation was required because the translation kept generating praise from the agents of the polysystem throughout the years. Without a general perception that the text is outdated or in need of a revision the status quo is unlikely to change. In her thesis, Figuerola coincides that the cultural mythologisation of his figure went beyond his work as a translator, but also as an agent of the system: 'Hem trobat un bon grapat de crítiques literàries que, per tal de lloar la qualitat dels trasllats [d'August Vidal i

¹²⁰ Armstrong, p. 171.

¹²¹ Douglas Robinson, 'Retranslation and the Ideosomatic Drift', in *Modern Language Association Annual Convention*, (University of Massachusetts, 2009).

¹²² Antoine Berman, 'La retraduction comme espace de traduction', *Palimpsestes*, 13 (1990), p. 5.

¹²³ Robinson, p. 3.

Josep M. Güell], no dubtaven a declarar-los hereus del degà dels traductors del rus al català [Andreu Nin]'.¹²⁴ Figuerola provides both sides of the argument, for and against retranslation, without favouring either. Translator Helena Vidal, in an interview with Figuerola, is presented as one of the voices in favour of retranslation, as her opinion as a professional is that ageing of translations is a common occurrence:

És una evidència que les traduccions tenen tendència a envellir. Cada trenta anys es podria perfectament tornar a traduir una obra. A banda, em consta que a la gent molt jove, estudiants de filologia, el català que hi apareix els resulta passat de moda, fins al punt que alguns s'estimen més llegir les traduccions en castellà. Diria que és pràcticament un problema de sociolingüística, no es tracta només d'un problema de traducció. I això no vol dir pas que les traduccions de Nin o Payarols no siguin molt valuoses, però cal reconèixer que la llengua ha evolucionat.¹²⁵

Vidal points at two facts to explain the lack of retranslations: publishing houses not wishing to invest in translation and their lack of global vision on Russian literature which has led to the current fragmented landscape of translations from Russian into Catalan. Xènia Dyakonova, another scholar to have studied some of Nin's translations, agrees that the ageing of the text is perceivable, and might affect its reception by a modern audience: 'Malgrat el talent de Nin, el seu català, viu i fresc de l'època, per a un lector d'avui resulta antiquat en alguns aspectes i potser ja no es pot gaudir de la mateixa manera.'¹²⁶

This situation poses some challenges for the future of this text. The mythologisation of Andreu Nin's figure has created a situation within the current Catalan literary system in which editors and publishers are unwilling to commission a review of this translation or consider a retranslation, likely due to a combination of cultural and financial concerns. The perpetuation of the impression that this text is one of the best translations of Dostoevsky in a Western European language prevents the possibility of

¹²⁴ Figuerola, *El català de l'URSS: Nin*, p. 474.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 658.

¹²⁶ Dyakonova.

the idea of an update gathering support and momentum. Nin's translation served its purpose for the time it was written perfectly, but the signs of ageing, and the preponderance of 1930s linguistic traits are evident: it is not an easy text to tackle for the modern reader, as Vidal and Dyakonova point out. If not addressed, this situation might deter future Spanish and Catalan bilingual readers from choosing to read this version, and make the novel become truly obsolete.

Crim i càstig was not Nin's only translation of Dostoevsky. In 1933, Proa published his version of *Stepantxikovo i els seus habitants* (*Село Степанчиково и его обитатели*, 1859). Also known as *The Friend of the Family* in its English translation, this text was originally conceived as a play.¹²⁷ Its unconventional structure, rural setting, and satirical characters make it the most un-Dostoeskian and post-Gogolian of his novellas,¹²⁸ which explains the relative indifference shown by critics in both the Russian polysystem and in subsequent systems via translation.¹²⁹ Given the lack of popularity in these neighbouring systems, it seems unlikely for Puig i Ferrer to have been familiar with this text, and to have actively assigned its translation to Andreu Nin; it is likely to have been Nin's suggestion instead. As a choice, it is hard to explain why this text was selected ahead of others with more popular and critical support in other systems. There are indeed plenty of other novels and novellas of similar length (246 pages) which had far wider recognition, and that the Catalan readership might have been aware of, either by mentions in the press, or by knowledge of neighbouring polysystems such as the Spanish or the French.

The only plausible explanation behind this choice is that whilst books such as *Humillados y ofendidos*, *Memorias del subsuelo*, and *El jugador*¹³⁰ (among others) had been translated into Spanish, *Stepantxikovo i els seus habitants* had not been at that point. It was only published in Spanish by Maucci in Barcelona as translated by Joaquin Balanyà Macip in 1946. Hence this was possibly the only text that could make an exclusive appearance in Catalan ahead of its version in Spanish. By translating a novel

¹²⁷ Joseph Frank, *Dostoevsky: The Years of Ordeal (1850-1859)*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 263.

¹²⁸ Mochulsky, p. 180.

¹²⁹ Kristin Vitalich, 'The Village of Stepanchikovo: Toward a (Lacanian) theory of parody', *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 53 (2009), p. 203.

¹³⁰ In 1917, 1900, and 1902 respectively. *El jugador* was published in Barcelona by Maucci.

not previously available in Spanish, Proa took a risky bet in order to attract the public towards an exclusive text. This makes sense from a marketing point of view, as translating one of the novels mentioned above meant the Catalan text would have to compete with its Spanish version already in the market, as well as the French in some cases. However, the gamble did not pay out the expected dividends as the text had a similar reception in Catalan as it had had in other literary contexts previously.

Despite the peripheral position of this novel in the Catalan context, the text itself provides an excellent platform for Nin to showcase his ‘insider knowledge’ of Russian society and culture. This knowledge is illustrated mainly in a broad variety of footnotes intended to aid his Catalan readership both at a linguistic and a cultural level. His awareness of the cultural gap between the text and the Catalan readers is greater than in previous translations, and he leaves no stone unturned in making sure that key areas of the text are adequately understood. On several occasions, Nin identifies obscure areas of Russian literature, such as the nickname of 1850s writer-journalist Druginin,¹³¹ or a popular text by Pissenski,¹³² both completely unknown in the Catalan polysystem. He also makes reference to the pen name ‘Kusmà Prutkov’ by arguing that ‘[e]scrivien sota aquest nom els germans Jemtxúixnikov i Alexei Tolstoi [...] a la revista *Sovremènnik*’, and explains that *El Komàrinski* is a traditional peasant song.¹³³ While the choice of the novel might have affected its position within the polysystem, the actual text provides us with one of Nin’s best works in cultural adaptation, and another Dostoevskian piece in a system in great need of them.

4. Dostoevsky and the Reshaping of the Catalan Literary Repertoire of the 1930s

The previous section has illustrated the importance of Payarols and Nin’s work on Dostoevsky in making the Russian author accessible in Catalan. Their efforts put into perspective the modest previous attempts at translating him in the Catalan polysystem,

¹³¹ Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Stepàntxikovo i els seus habitants*, trans. by Andreu Nin. (Badalona: Proa, 1933), p. 101.

¹³² *Ibid.* p. 65.

¹³³ *Ibid.* pp. 196, 86.

despite only producing three ‘novels’.¹³⁴ Therefore, their role in contributing to Dostoevsky’s favourable position within the system has been demonstrated. However, their contribution is not the sole factor in determining Dostoevsky’s centrality. The preponderance of neighbouring polysystems over the Catalan system, and the access to other literatures by members of the Catalan milieu also played an important role in consolidating the Russian author’s position. This section offers a review of the position of Dostoevsky’s literary figure within the Catalan system of the 1930s by discussing examples that illustrate his textless presence in the media and in literary circles. It then revisits the work of two Catalan writers normally associated with Dostoevsky for different reasons, Sebastià Juan Arbó and Joan Sales, and their connection to Payarols and Nin’s work on the Russian ‘master’.

4.1. Position in the Polysystem: Atextual Centrality

In her book *Marginats i integrats en la novel·la catalana*, Carme Arnau argues that Dostoevsky was a widely recognised literary figure in the Catalan polysystem of the 1930s; according to the scholar, his work had an unprecedented influence over writers of that generation.¹³⁵ Her main example is Sebastià Juan Arbó and his literary connections to the Russian writer. However, given the rather modest number of translations of Dostoevsky’s work into Catalan during the 1920s, it is not unreasonable to suggest that his readings of the author’s novels were done in a language other than Catalan. As polysystems are interdependent entities, Dostoevsky’s atextual centrality may be attributed to the interference from neighbouring literatures, and in the work of agents and other members of the milieu in enabling this interference. Studying the centrality of Dostoevsky’s figure despite the lack of textual support is one of the areas of focus of this chapter.

Following the publication of Proa’s 1929 novels, mentions of Dostoevsky in the media continued. The mentions peaked in 1929 with 52, and 1930 with 57; from then on and

¹³⁴ Whilst they were marketed as novels in Catalan, only *Crim i càstig* fits the description: *L’etern marit* and *Stepàntxikovo i els seus habitants* are considered novellas.

¹³⁵ Arnau, *Marginats i integrats*, pp. 54-55.

until 1935, the average of mentions per year is approximately thirty.¹³⁶ These mentions were mostly in articles which reviewed works published in neighbouring polysystems, regardless of whether a Catalan or Spanish version was to be released or not. On certain occasions, newspapers published direct translations from articles originally written for a different context; most of these articles came obviously from the French system. Whilst these made views from outside the system available to the Catalan public, the lack of cultural references rendered these articles contextually pointless on some occasions. For example, *Mirador* published a text in February 1929 in which French critic André Beucler reviewed a handful of new Soviet films, including *El cuirassat Potemkin*. This contains an unrelated comparative note to the work of Dostoevsky, up until that point practically unknown to the Catalan readership: 'Hi ha una successió de situacions tan tenses [...] semblant a aquells passatges de Tolstoi i de Dostoevski que fan pensar en els drames més profunds de l'home.'¹³⁷ However, Dostoevsky is not the only unknown concept for the Catalan audience: the Spanish version of *El acorazado Potemkin* was only released for a short period in 1930,¹³⁸ and it became a clandestine film due to heavy censorship even before the Civil War.¹³⁹ The average reader of *Mirador*, even the well-educated, pro-European middle classes, would have been largely unaware of this film given that the article preceded its release in Spain by over a year.

This situation continued well into the 1930s: Dostoevsky's literary figure steadily established its presence in the polysystem through mentions in the press. As in the previous example, his character served as a benchmark; other authors' work was commented on in opposition or comparison to his. For instance, he appears in articles on D. H. Lawrence and Katherine Mansfield in *La Publicitat*;¹⁴⁰ both authors having strong opinions on his work, alongside his peers Tolstoy and Chekhov. His work is also mentioned in reviews on James Joyce, Sigmund Freud, Luigi Pirandello, and many

¹³⁶ Collection of this data was done following the same patterns explained in footnote 59 of this chapter.

¹³⁷ André Beucler, 'Els films russos', *Mirador*, February 1929, p. 6.

¹³⁸ Felipe Centeno, 'Studio - Cinaes', *La Vanguardia*, 16 November 1930, p. 21.

¹³⁹ "El acorazado Potemkin", mejor película de todos los tiempos', *La Vanguardia*, (2013) <<http://www.lavanguardia.com/hemeroteca/20130919/54386679924/acorazado-potemkin-peliculas-rusia-revolucion-1905.html>> [accessed 29 September 2016].

¹⁴⁰ Ramón Esquerri, 'Caterina Mansfield', *La Publicitat*, 11 January 1935, p. 4; Gili i Serra, p. 2.

others.¹⁴¹ This development continues throughout the decade despite the lack of translations into Catalan. In fact, Dostoevsky's appearances in the press match those of Tolstoy, as they tended to be included in the same context, despite the significantly smaller amount of his literature available to the Catalan audience.

In order for this centralised position to crystallise, those who wrote about him, whether journalists, writers, critics, or foreign collaborators, had direct access to his literature, either by reading it in a different language (possibly French, but also Spanish) or by reading about him through the critical work of others. This does not necessarily mean that the authors of these articles fully understood Dostoevsky or had read extensively about him, but rather had included him in their text in order to raise the cultural and intellectual bar of their commentaries on many occasions. It also means that in order to access the milieu, new writers had to be either aware of the work of Dostoevsky, or at least understand the critical conventions that had developed in the polysystem around his literature, much like a recited literature lesson. As had occurred in the French polysystem of the 1880s and 1890s through Vogüé, no new interpretations of his work were allowed, and all critical references had to conform to the norm: to the preconceived idea of Dostoevsky as a tortured author who depicted the human soul through his 'religion of suffering'.¹⁴²

With the Russian author now in a central position, his name was used to benchmark not only foreign writers, but Catalan ones too. As Malé i Peguerolas illustrates in his article on Arbó, many Catalan critics rushed to see Dostoevsky's work as having a direct influence on the Catalan writer's literature, and on other authors of the time, without truly understanding the characteristics of the Russian writer's style. Often the vague expressions 'els (autors) russos' or 'la literatura russa' are used in a context in which the style of these Catalan authors is analysed, but rarely are more specific examples used to justify these claims. Whilst Arbó might be one of the most obvious cases, Malé points at the fact that any novel with a certain 'irrational' spirit, that is, not conforming to the more standard French or English models of prose, was deemed to have an

¹⁴¹ Rafael Tasis, 'Freud, vist per Zweig', *Mirador*, 18 February 1932, p. 6; Rafael Tasis, 'Falles d'una literatura: variacions sobre la novel·la', *Mirador*, 27 September 1934, p. 6; Sol, p. 4.

¹⁴² De Vogüé, *The Russian Novel*, p. 204; Pérez-Jorba, p. 11.

influence from 'els russos'.¹⁴³ These 'russos' were by default anything that the French, English, or Spanish were not, and the interpretation of their style was not based on solid scholarship, but in echoing and simplifying the critical reception of their work in neighbouring polysystems.

4.2. Claiming Textless Influence

This final section proposes a closer look at two individual authors who, in one way or another, were associated with Dostoevsky, and indirectly, with the work of Payarols and Nin, during the twentieth century. This is, of course, not an exhaustive study of their styles and how they relate to the Russian author: plenty of Catalan scholars have addressed that over the past decade.¹⁴⁴ The aim of this section is to illustrate Dostoevsky's central yet textless position within the Catalan polysystem, and to showcase how the lack of translated literature can have a similar impact as the presence of translated literature in a peripheral polysystem. Reviewing the connection of these authors to Dostoevsky and to Payarols and Nin's work provides an insight into this phenomenon.

Of the new wave of writers that began their careers in the 1930s, Sebastià Juan Arbó was possibly the most directly linked to Dostoevsky's literature and writing style. Both critics of the time and later scholars have reported the influence of the Russian writer over the young author to a degree that it is hard to dispute.¹⁴⁵ In fact, Arnau goes as far as to state that Arbó was nicknamed 'Petit Dostoevski' at the beginning of his career.¹⁴⁶ However, Malé identifies this 'influence' as being a product of Arbó's own rapport with the press and not necessarily a rigorous comparative study of the two writers' literature, particularly in regards to his first novel, *L'inútil combat*.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Jordi Malé i Pegueroles, 'Gide o Dostoevski? Els inicis literaris de Sebastià Juan Arbó', *Els Marges*, 76 (2005).

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.; Iván García Sala, 'La traducció d'*Els germans Karamàzov* de Joan Sales: Les notes a peu de pàgina', *Quaderns*, 18 (2011).

¹⁴⁵ Malé i Pegueroles, pp. 34-36; Arnau, *Marginats i integrats*, pp. 60-1.

¹⁴⁶ Arnau, *Marginats i integrats*, p. 55.

¹⁴⁷ Malé i Pegueroles, p. 36.

As in many of his interactions with the media, Arbó indicated his preference for Russian literature, and his dislike for mainstream writers. In an interview with Mercè Rodoreda for *Clarisme* in 1933, he stated that ‘no m’agraden [els escriptors catalans]. Com no m’agraden ni els anglesos, ni els francesos, ni els castellans; no s’adiuen amb el meu temperament. En canvi, els russos, amb Dostojevskij [sic] al davant, i els alemanys, per la seva força i puixança, no em cansaria de llegir-los’.¹⁴⁸ In this interview, Arbó also ‘confesses’ to being a self-taught, self-made writer, hence his predilection for Russian literature and Dostoevsky could be indicative of his writing influences: Arbó’s novels, specifically those written in the pre-war period, contain a high level of psychological exploration of his characters’ lives.¹⁴⁹ His statements in regards to his literary preferences, together with his psychological narrative style, rather in vogue at the time, meant that the critical commentaries about his early work pointed towards Dostoevsky as his main influence. This does not necessarily mean that the Russian author was his sole reference, in fact Malé proposes Gide as well; but rather that the agents of the system had labelled his literature as Dostoevskian for convenience, and this conception that remained unchallenged for over 75 years.

Arbó’s statements pose a few questions in regards to the language in which he was studying Dostoevsky. According to his memoirs, when he moved to Barcelona in 1930 to begin his career as a writer, he was carrying his two opening novels, *L’inútil combat* and *Terres de l’Ebre*, both of which were considered to have Dostoevskian traits. Dostoevsky’s work did not truly enter the system until 1929, when *L’etern marit* and *Crim i càstig* were published. Since Arbó claims to have been reading and studying ‘els russos’ to aid his development as a writer, it is most unlikely for him to have read Dostoevsky in Catalan.¹⁵⁰ The most plausible explanation, if he was truly reading the Russian writer, is that he was doing so in Spanish or French. This situation is similar to that of other members of the milieu who were including the Russian author in their articles and commentaries, and referred to works that were not available in Catalan.

¹⁴⁸ Mercè Rodoreda, ‘Parlant amb Sebastià Juan Arbó’, *Clarisme*, 11 November 1933, p. 2.

¹⁴⁹ Given Arbó’s rural background, the setting of his novels tends to be in the context of what Arnau calls the fight between (land)owners and serfs, in which he takes the point of view of the latter. Arnau, *Marginats i integrats*, p. 54.

¹⁵⁰ His memoirs suggest he had been reading and studying Russian authors for years before his move, at a time when Dostoevsky’s work was practically non-existent in Catalan. Malé i Pegueroles, p. 31.

This reinforced Dostoevsky's 'textless' position at the centre of the polysystem. Everybody knew who he was and what he stood for, but no one had truly read him in Catalan.

The final literary figure linked to Dostoevsky in this study is Joan Sales. Whilst he is a much later addition to the Catalan milieu, given that he was too young during the republican years and only began to be known in the system in the early 1950s, his connection to the Russian author is also a direct connection to the war between Payarols and Nin. Sales translated and published *Els germans Karamàzov* in Catalan in 1961 for his new editorial adventure *Club Editor*, from a mixture of linguistic sources.¹⁵¹ This publication was made possible indirectly by the translation 'wars': had Nin and Payarols not been in a dispute over translating Dostoevsky's masterpiece, the opportunity would not have existed for Sales. Along with *El Crist de nou crucificat*, Dostoevsky's novel was one of Sales' translation masterpieces.

Both in the prologue to this novel, and throughout the text, Sales' editorial and translation criteria are indebted to Nin's work. He introduced the book stating its complexity, supported by the fact that even 'Andreu Nin, que ens donà traduccions insuperables de gairebé totes les obres mestres del gran novel·lista rus, ni tan sols intentà la d'*Els germans Karamàzov*'.¹⁵² This is factually inaccurate at several levels; Nin only translated two texts, which do not represent most of Dostoevsky's masterpieces, and whilst he did not succeed with this particular one, he in fact requested to translate it, so an attempt was made. It was time and historical circumstances that got in the way, not ideological disagreements with the work, as Sales suggests. He then continues the prevailing mythologisation by asserting that '[r]etem homenatge públic a la memòria d'aquell traductor modèlic, que ens ensenyà com els personatges de Dostoievski podien parlar en català sense cap minva del seu caràcter'.¹⁵³

Sales' homage to Nin does not end at the prologue. In his translation criteria, the Catalan writer sets himself the aim of reproducing Dostoevsky's style in a similar

¹⁵¹ Montserrat Bacardí, 'Joan Sales i els criteris de traducció', *Quaderns. Revista de traducció*, 1 (1998), p. 35.

¹⁵² Dostoevsky, *Els germans Karamàzov*, p. 8.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

manner to Nin, by understanding his character and using his colourful, and incorrect expressivity. This means that Sales prioritised the use of familiar and colloquial expressions in the dialogue of the characters to reproduce natural speech, much as Nin had done. At the time of this translation, this choice reveals a transgressive approach to writing and publishing; as Garcia Sala explains, ‘Sales intentà donar un cert to col·loquial al discurs dels personatges fent ús de termes que el català literari no solia admetre per tal d’aproximar-se a la idea, molt extesa, que l’estil de Dostoievski voreja la incorrecció, i també per tal d’aplicar els propis criteris sobre el model de llengua literària’.¹⁵⁴

His idea of bridging the gap between spoken and written Catalan belongs to the continuous twentieth century debate between the ‘català que ara es parla’ and literary Catalan, rooted in its *postnoucentista* archaic language. Sales strived to recreate orality by presenting a melting pot of speech varieties, distinctly removed from purist ideas of how written Catalan should look, that was often criticised for its overuse of Castilian barbarisms, which in reality were and are part of the spoken language.¹⁵⁵ Nin’s reproduction of Dostoevsky’s style through untidy, colloquial language provided Sales with the opportunity to push his editorial agenda whilst also ensuring continuity between his translation and Nin’s.

Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed the translation of Dostoevsky’s work into Catalan before and after Edicions Proa and highlighted the contribution of Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin in increasing the volume of his available literature in Catalan. For that purpose, it has contextualised how Dostoevskian texts entered the Catalan system by studying his introduction to the French, British and Spanish literary systems. His position in these contexts is one of the keys that explains his centrality in Catalan despite his limited textual presence

¹⁵⁴ García Sala, *Els germans Karamàzov de Joan Sales*, p. 70.

¹⁵⁵ Jordi Cornellà-Detrell, *Literature as a Response to Cultural and Political Repression in Franco’s Catalonia*. (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: Tamesis, 2011), p. 178.

This chapter has proven that Dostoevsky's position within the Catalan system had very little to do with how many of his texts were available in translation. He was rather poorly translated into Catalan, not only compared to Tolstoy, but also among Russian authors in general. His textual presence in the system before Edicions Proa is practically non-existent. The work of Payarols and Nin is responsible for the change in that presence, but only to a certain extent: Payarols translated a text that was largely ignored by the milieu, in contrast with Nin, whose rendition of *Crim i càstig* brought him recognition as a cultural agent. The role of *Crim i càstig* within the system throughout the twentieth century is a double-edged sword: whilst it is considered a translation classic, the mythologisation of both Nin's figure and the text itself has led to the fossilisation of the novel. This means that whilst the text remains full of *postnoucentista* archaic language, there is no perception that a retranslation or revision is needed, which in the long run can affect the novel's position in the system in generations to come.

Dostoevsky's fame and availability in neighbouring systems, combined with the intermediary role of the various agents of the polysystem who introduced his name and occasionally his literature into the system, are the key arguments that explain his atextual central position. From this 'ghostly' presence we can deduce that any claimed influence on writers of the Catalan system took place whilst reading him in other languages, particularly before the 1930s. Additionally, since neither agents nor most writers had access to his complete works, the milieu created an interpretation of what criticism of his literature looked like, much like Vogüé had done in the French system in the 1880s, and reinforced it by repetition. Therefore, no new knowledge or scholarship was produced, and a distorted image of the author and his literature continued throughout the century, a common occurrence with such a complex and obscure character.¹⁵⁶ In conclusion, whilst his central presence in the polysystem greatly differed from Tolstoy's, his position had a definitive impact on the reshaping of the Catalan repertoire of the 1930s and novel-writing in Catalan.

¹⁵⁶ Bloshteyn, p. 6.

CHAPTER FOUR

Chekhov in Catalan: Translating in the Periphery¹

Anton Chekhov is arguably one of the most versatile and gifted Russian authors of the nineteenth century. Whilst he made a name for himself at home with his mastery in short story writing first and with his plays later, he was introduced into the specific European polysystems as either one or the other, depending on the needs of the receiving systems. In fact, before the First World War, he was only known as a short story writer in the French system, and as a playwright in the English.² Following this irregular arrival across Europe, his introduction into the Catalan polysystem occurred later than some of his contemporaries, and his presence was limited to short stories, although his figure was known in the milieu as that of a playwright as well. Chekhov's literature remained on the periphery of the system, particularly when compared to Tolstoy and Dostoevsky's position, and consequently his impact was much smaller.

One of the keys to Chekhov's peripheral position can be found in the incompatibility of his literary format with the Catalan repertoire of the 1930s. Agents of the system, particularly publishing houses like Proa, focused on the reintroduction of novels to the literary canon, favouring them over shorter narratives and theatre.³ This made translators focus on other writers whose works required less adaptation. However, this peripheral position does not necessarily mean that Chekhov did not have an impact in the 1930s. Two important works by Chekhov were translated by Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin, and Edicions Proa made a conscious effort to include him in the *Biblioteca A Tot Vent* as part of its cultural project. Whilst these works remained on the outskirts of the literary system, their role was still important in the given circumstances. In this chapter I argue that massive exposure to interference is not the only possible way in which it can occur; exchanges might also happen on the periphery

¹ An earlier version of Chapter 4 received funding from the Fundació Mercè Rodoreda.

² Laurence Senelick, *The Chekhov Theatre: A Century of the Plays in Performance*. (Cambridge, U.K.; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 1.

³ Castellanos, *Literatura catalana i compromís*, p. 105.

of the literary system, which tend to be less evident, but equally important. This ‘interference in the periphery’ is illustrated in this chapter using the intertextual role that Chekhov’s literature played in the development of Mercè Rodoreda’s short stories in exile.

This chapter follows a similar structure as in previous chapters. Section 1 analyses Chekhov’s position at home and in translation and reviews the varied introductions of his literature in the French, British, and Spanish systems. Section 2 focuses on translations of his works into Catalan before the Edicions Proa era, specifically reviewing Josep Carner’s mediated translations of the 1920s, and the presence of Chekhov’s literary figure in the milieu. Section 3 discusses the translations carried out by Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin in the 1930s, with some notes on their reception. Finally, Section 4 reviews the position of Chekhov’s works in the Catalan polysystem of the 1930s and beyond with a brief study of their interference in the periphery through Mercè Rodoreda’s short stories.

1. Chekhov in Translation

Anton Chekhov is one of the main actors on the stage of world literature. Born to a modest family in 1860 in Taganrog,⁴ on the shores of the Sea of Azov in Southern Russia, he studied to become a doctor in Moscow. His father’s bankruptcy burdened young Chekhov with having to sustain his family, so during his early years as a student, he wrote brief humorous stories for satirical magazines as a way to generate an income. As early as 1880, he was a regular collaborator in the magazine *Осколки* (*Fragments*), to which he contributed very short satirical stories depicting Russian life.⁵ The financial stability he acquired from these contributions helped him to elaborate his sketches further; in time, he published longer and more mature stories that earned him praise from literary critics and contemporary writers alike, including Leo Tolstoy.⁶ These

⁴ Alexander Chudakov, 'Dr Chekhov: A Biographical Essay (29 January 1860 - 15 July 1904)', in *The Cambridge Companion to Chekhov*, ed. by Vera Gottlieb and Paul Allain (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), (p. 3).

⁵ Ibid. pp. 6-7.

⁶ 'An incomparable artist, an artist of life [...] Anton Chekhov, *Selected Stories*, trans. by Ann Dunnigan. (New York: New American Library, 1960), p. vii. See also S. S. Koteliansky and Anton Pavlovich Chekhov, *Anton Tchekhov; Literary and Theatrical Reminiscences*. ([New York: B. Blom, 1965), pp. 40-48.

critics, as well as modern scholars, have recognised Chekhov's essential contribution to the evolution of the modern short story, and his impact upon Western writers in this literary format.⁷

Chekhov admitted that his medical training influenced his thinking as well as his literature.⁸ He was famously quoted as saying that 'medicine is my lawful wife, but literature is my mistress',⁹ and he used his privileged position as a doctor to observe people's behaviour and find inspiration for his stories. He developed a bond with the peasants he treated: after purchasing an estate in Melikhovo in 1892, he often refused to take payment from those who were in need of medical treatment but could not afford it.¹⁰ He also financed the construction of several schools and was heavily involved in all local affairs, although he was never truly political.¹¹

He had suspected tuberculosis from a young age but he was not diagnosed until 1897, when doctors recommended him to change his lifestyle.¹² Whilst his health was quickly deteriorating, he wrote most of his best and most acclaimed work: the four plays for which he is most broadly recognised, *Чайка* (*The Seagull*, 1896), *Дядя Ваня* (*Uncle Vanya*, 1899-1900), *Три сестры* (*Three Sisters*, 1901) and *Вишнёвый сад* (*The Cherry Orchard*, 1904). He also wrote some of his most famous short stories such as 'Дама с собачкой' ('The Lady with the Little Dog', 1899) and 'Архиепeй' ('The Bishop', 1902). Chekhov died in Badenweiler, a German spa town he was visiting with his wife Olga Knipper. The circumstances of his death are certainly famous in popular culture due to their Chekhovian nature.¹³ His body returned to Russia in a refrigerated freight train

⁷ Charles Meister, *Chekhov Criticism: 1880 through 1986*. (Jefferson, London: McFarland, 1988), p. 3.

⁸ 'There is no doubt that my study of medicine strongly affected my work in literature.' Anton Chekhov and C. D. Balukhaty, *Polnoye sobrannye sochineny i pisem A. P. Chekhova*. (Moscow: Гос. изд-во кудож. лит-ры, 1944), p. 271. Extracted from Chekhov's 1899 autobiography. Chudakov, p. 6. Boris Eichenbaum, 'Chekhov at Large', in *Chekhov: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. by Robert Louis Jackson (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967), (p. 26).

⁹ Letter to Alexei Suvorin, 11 September 1888. Anton Chekhov and Constance Garnett, *Letters of Anton Chekhov to his Family and Friends, with Biographical Sketch*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), p. Location 1381/5022.

¹⁰ Donald Rayfield, *Chekhov: the evolution of his art*. (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1975), p. 172.; Henri Troyat, *Chekhov*. (New York: Dutton, 1986), p. 187.

¹¹ Chudakov, p. 11.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 12.

¹³ The episode of his death was fictionally depicted by Raymond Carver in his short story 'Errand'. Lyudmila Parts, *The Chekhovian Intertext: Dialogue with a Classic*. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2008), p. 169.

for the transport of oysters, which offended some and amused many.¹⁴ His funeral caused chaos and confusion in Moscow as it coincided with the funeral of a famous general from the Russo-Japanese War.¹⁵

Unlike Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, Chekhov's introduction in France was irregular, inconsistent, and much slower. Several factors can explain this difference, starting with the fact that his literature was not reviewed by Vogüé in *Le Roman Russe*. This omission is understandable as Chekhov's work was outside of the French scholar's scope: he was neither a novelist, nor had he yet acquired a central position in the Russian polysystem at the time of the composition of the essays later published in 1886.

He was introduced in France as a short story writer. The first critical mention of one of his works is attributed to Polish émigré Stanislas Rzewuski in 1888.¹⁶ The earliest translation of Chekhov into French dates from 1895, when 'Ennemis' ('Враги') was included in a collection of short stories with the title *Les conteurs russes*, as translated by Julie Zagoulaieff.¹⁷ In 1896, 'L'Étudiant' ('Студент') was published followed by the first bibliographical approach to the Russian author made by its translator Jean Moskal.¹⁸ The breakthrough came in 1897 when two major Chekhovian texts were published: 'Le Moine noir' ('Чёрный монах'), translated by L. Golschmann for *La Revue de Paris* and 'Les Moujiks' ('Мужики'), anonymously published in *La Quinzaine* and later attributed to Denis Roche.¹⁹ These two translations show the contemporary connection between the Russian and French polysystems, particularly in regards to 'Мужики', which was published in the same year in both countries. According to Michel Cadot, the cusp of Chekhov's introduction in France was in 1901-1902 when *Les Moujiks*, this time as a collection of short stories, was published.²⁰ This is the same title

¹⁴ Maksim Gorki was outraged. 'Lui, il lui serait bien égal que son corps voyageât même dans une corbeille à linge sali, mais à nous, à la société russe, je ne puis pardonner ce wagon avec son inscription « Transport d'Huîtres ».' Troyat, *Chekhov*, pp. 394-95.

¹⁵ Gorki also reported on the confusion that the double funeral caused. Allegedly, when people noticed the error, funeral goers grinned and laughed. David Magarshack, *Chekhov: A Life*. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970), p. 388.

¹⁶ Michel Cadot, 'Les débuts de la réception de Tchekhov en France', in *Chekhoviana*, ed. by Jean Bonamour (Moskva; Paris: "Nauka" ; Institut d'études slaves, 1992), (pp. 151-52).

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 147.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 146.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 149.

as the collection of short stories that Payarols translated into Catalan, which will be discussed later.

Additional short stories in journals followed these publications. Chekhov's collected works appeared in France in the 1920s, as published by Pron and translated, mostly, by Denis Roche.²¹ Whilst Roche is responsible for many of his texts, Chekhov was rendered into French by a variety of translators in this initial period, such as G. Mostkova and A. Lamblot,²² A. Chaboseau,²³ Henri Chirol, G. Savitch, and E. Jaubert among others.²⁴ This situation differs greatly from the British context, in which Constance Garnett emerged as the sole figure dedicated to the Russian narrator. This suggests that in the French polysystem of the early twentieth century, the translation of Chekhovian texts was the responsibility and/or personal choice of the individual translators.

Whilst Chekhovian short stories seemed to have been generally accepted in France during this period,²⁵ the same cannot be said for his plays, which did not enter the system until the 1920s. According to critic K. Waliszewski, Chekhov's plays were 'completely devoid of action and psychological differentiation of characters'.²⁶ Scholar L. Senelick borrows Henry James' idea that 'French culture at the turn of the nineteenth century was so fine that no idea from abroad could penetrate it',²⁷ which illustrates the tight cultural environment that prevented Chekhov's plays from being translated, adapted or performed. The perception of the quality, even superiority, of French plays within the French context at the turn of the century made the agents of the polysystem, particularly critics, to attempt to critically dismiss any interference from abroad in that

²¹ Anton Chekhov, *Oeuvres complètes. Traduites du russe par Denis Roche.*, trans. by Denis Roche. (Paris: Plon, 192-?).

²² Anton Chekhov, *Une demande en mariage; comédie en un acte*, trans. by A. Chaboseau. (Paris: Stock, 1922).

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Cadot, *Les débuts de la réception de Tchekhov en France*, pp. 147-48.

²⁵ Whilst translations of Chekhovian short stories kept appearing, criticism was not necessarily favourable. Critic K. Waliszewski, for example, argued that Chekhov '[c]'est un écrivain supérieur dans un genre inférieur'. Ibid. pp. 151-52.

²⁶ Senelick, p. 107.

²⁷ Ibid.

format,²⁸ whilst there were no objections to the introduction of short stories, or novels, from Russian authors.

Georges Pitoëff was the key to the production of Chekhov's plays in France. A fervent follower of the Russian author, he was responsible for adapting his plays in a complex cultural atmosphere. Consequently, not only did he translate the plays, but also made significant changes, eliminating some speeches and asking actors to put on a thick Russian accent.²⁹ Pitoëff's first production was *Oncle Vanya* in 1921, followed by *La Mouette* in 1922; *Les trois soeurs* came in 1929. *Le cherisai* was first performed by the visiting Moscow Art Theatre in 1922 but in Russian;³⁰ it was not performed in French until 1944.³¹ These distorted versions appear to have been the only way Chekhov's drama entered the French stage in the first half of the twentieth century.

The arrival of Chekhov's literature in the British system greatly differed from the evolution of his position in France, but similarly to the French context, he was also a late entry when compared to some of his contemporaries and the authors studied in the previous two chapters. In fact, he was not published in Britain until after his death in 1904. Whilst there were critical mentions of Chekhov as early as E.J. Dillon's in 1891,³² he was first known in Britain for his theatre. The first adaptation of his work in Britain was staged in November 1909, when George Calderon famously translated *The Seagull* for the Glasgow Repertory Theatre.³³ The introduction of Chekhov's theatre in Britain was a long, winding process; the lack of knowledge about Russia and the reluctance of critics and spectators alike to learn about its culture significantly affected the productions of *The Seagull* and *The Cherry Orchard* in the 1910s. These perceptions gradually shifted from cultural shock to artistic acceptance as time went by.³⁴

²⁸ Olav Lundeberg, 'Ibsen in France: A Study of the Ibsen Drama, its Introduction, Vogue and Influence on the French Stage', *Scandinavia Studies and Notes*, 8 (1924), pp. 99-103.

²⁹ Senelick, pp. 162-64.

³⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 166-67.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 273.

³² Meister, p. 10.

³³ Jan McDonald, 'Chekhov, naturalism and the drama of dissent: productions of Chekhov's plays in Britain before 1914', in *Chekhov on the British Stage*, ed. by Patrick Miles (New York, NY: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), (p. 29). ; Senelick, p. 132.

³⁴ Patrick Miles, *Chekhov on the British Stage*. (New York, NY: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993).

After the First World War, the need to gain awareness of Britain's new ally provided an ideal environment for Russian literature to flourish at the centre of the English polysystem. It was Constance Garnett, already famous at the time for her work on Tolstoy and Dostoevsky's literature, who translated fifteen volumes of Chekhov's short stories between 1917 and 1924 for publishing house Chatto & Windus.³⁵ This interest also translated into his theatre. According to scholar Stephen Le Fleming, in 1920 'Chekhov was now confirmed as a modern dramatist whom any theatre director or producer aspiring to be serious should consider attempting'.³⁶ Charles W. Meister argues that it was in the 1920s when 'Chekhov's drama received its current high status', for which he identifies four reasons: 'the popularity of his fiction; publication of his personal papers and letters; the post-war disillusionment; and visits from the Moscow Art Theatre.'³⁷ In addition to this, important Modernist authors such as Katherine Mansfield, Virginia Woolf, and D. H. Lawrence, expressed their admiration for Chekhov's short stories, and his sharp narrative style.³⁸

Constance Garnett is the figure that made possible the movement of Chekhov to the centre of the British literary system during the Modernist era. Her translations allowed English readers to become familiar with most of Chekhov's short fiction in a relatively short period of time. While these translations were praised by some of her contemporaries, her translating voice also received harsh criticism, mainly from Russophones and émigrés, like Vladimir Nabokov and Joseph Brodsky.³⁹ However, without her immense linguistic contributions, Chekhov would not have held a central position in the British and American polysystems of the 1920s and beyond.

Finally, the reception of Chekhov in Spanish presents elements of both the French and British/American systems. Whilst two anecdotal short stories were published in the magazine *La España Moderna* during Chekhov's lifetime, the first hardcover publication appeared in 1904 with the title *Un duelo: Novela* as translated by Juan

³⁵ Meister, p. 11.

³⁶ Miles, p. 59.

³⁷ Meister, p. 12.

³⁸ Among others. Ibid. p. 3.

³⁹ Nabokov's criticism was particularly colourful and angry. Other critics like Kornei Chukovsky, accepted Garnett's Chekhov but rejected her Dostoevsky. Remnick. *Translation Wars*.

García Rodríguez.⁴⁰ It was followed by the brief collection *Vanka*, translated by Miguel Abril, and undated.⁴¹ Chekhov's work was largely ignored in Spain until 1919, when translator Nicolás Tasin published *La sala número seis: novela*, followed by *Los campesinos: novelas cortas* in 1920 for publishing house Calpe. It is again important to note that whilst the title of the latter suggests a connection with the French collection *Les Moujiks*, published two decades earlier, and the Catalan collection *Els múgics*, published a decade later, the selected stories in this volume differ completely from the other two compilations. Their only connection is their title.

Chekhov's rising popularity in Europe during the interwar period was reflected in Spain through his short stories. Similar to the situation in France, Chekhov was translated into Spanish by a broad cohort of translators and writers, led by Tasin and Saturnino Ximénez, who published *El jardín de los cerezos* in 1920 and *Historia de una anguila y otras historias* in 1922. This group included names like Rudolf Slaby, who also translated into Catalan, G. Portnoff, or Raúl Carranca among others.⁴² The next bound text to appear in Spanish as translated by Tasin was *14 cuentos rusos* in 1930, which included short stories by the most popular Russian authors.⁴³ While some short stories might have still been translated in the literary journals of the 1930s, the next Chekhovian popular publication was not until 1940 with *La señora del perro y otros cuentos*.

In the case of theatre, Spanish audiences did not have the possibility of seeing Chekhovian plays performed in Spanish until well after the Second World War. While Ximénez had translated *El jardín de los cerezos* as early as 1920, the play was not

⁴⁰ This short story was originally published in January-April 1903 in *La España Moderna*, with no mention of the translator. Anton Chekhov, 'Un duelo: novela', *La España Moderna*, January 1903. The other short story published was 'La princesa' in December 1903, without a mention of the translator either. *Ibid.*

⁴¹ The record of this collection in both WorldCat and the Biblioteca Nacional de España appears as undated, but as suggested by scholar Roberto Monforte, this collection follows *Un duelo: Novela* and was published before 1920. Roberto Monforte Dupret, "'Relatos" de A. P. Chéjov, en la traducción de Nicolás Tasin (1920)', *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*, (2012), p. 1.

⁴² Carranca translated *Un crimen* in 1924, which contains a critical study of Chekhov's work by André Beaunier. Anton Chekhov, 'Un drama', *Bella Terra*, trans. by Josep Carner, September 1924, p. 292.

⁴³ This publicatiois also includes a short story by Nicolás Tasin himself. He had published several works during that period, showing his intention to be considered an author as well as a translator.

performed in Madrid until 1932 by the Moscow Arts Theatre on tour, and in Russian.⁴⁴ The Spanish audience had to wait until 1960 to see Ximénez's translation on stage. The other major Chekhovian plays faced the same destiny: *El tío Vania* was first performed in 1957, *La gaviota* in 1959 and *Las tres hermanas* in 1960.

Given its broad diversity and complexity, the reception of Chekhov's work differed greatly among polysystems. While in the British and American systems Chekhov's plays preceded his short stories, in France the translation and reception was not only more contemporary, but also based on the needs of the receiving system. This confirms Even-Zohar's argument that once a text in translation enters a polysystem, it is the forces within that system that determine its position and potential movement, as the item no longer belongs to its original system.⁴⁵ The British, French and Spanish agents of the polysystem determined the role that Chekhovian literature was to play within the system, which was beyond the control of the Russian system.

Even-Zohar also argues that the target polysystem chooses which elements from other systems are missing from the autochthonous system, therefore allowing the acquisition and/or interference of the particular item.⁴⁶ For example, the agents of the French polysystem did not consider the introduction of Chekhov's theatre until the 1920s; the self-perception being that external interference may not have been necessary.⁴⁷ In this case, the agents of the French system may have hindered the channels of interference to Chekhovian plays. The rise in attention towards Russian in the interwar period changed this tendency and promoted interference.

This section has provided a contextualisation of Chekhov's literature in Russia and abroad, and the role of his works in translation in polysystems that, due to proximity and prestige, can be considered neighbouring to the Catalan literary system of the 1930s. Availability, often due to power relations, and prestige are two of the key reasons identified by Even-Zohar that may promote interference.⁴⁸ How Chekhov was

⁴⁴ Armin Mobarak, 'La primera presencia escénica de Chéjov en Madrid (1920-1936)', *Cuadernos de Aleph*, 5 (2013), pp. 124-25.

⁴⁵ Even-Zohar, *Laws of Literary Interference*, pp. 70-71.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 69.

⁴⁷ Lundeberg, pp. 98-99.

⁴⁸ Even-Zohar, *Laws of Literary Interference*, p. 59.

perceived and appreciated (or not) in neighbouring polysystems affects his introduction into the Catalan polysystem. The following section will take up from this point and closely examine Chekhovian texts translated into Catalan that preceded Payarols and Nin's time.

2. Chekhov in Catalan Before Edicions Proa

In order to understand Chekhov's role on the periphery of the Catalan literary system, the presence of his translations in Catalan before the 1930s need to be contextualised. This is important because it provides a framework of comparison with the texts published after 1930, which illustrates the improvement that the work carried out by Payarols and Nin's and brought to the translations of Chekhov.

Chekhov's literature entered the Catalan polysystem much later than that of some of his contemporaries. The first published translation of one of his works did not occur until 1909. Authors like Tolstoy, Turgenev, Dostoevsky and Pushkin had already been translated into Catalan, mostly before 1900, albeit in limited doses.⁴⁹ Despite the fact that Chekhov wrote mainly short stories, which theoretically could have facilitated translation and distribution of his texts, he did not have the popularity amongst Catalan writers-translators that other Russian writers had. The following section examines Chekhov's literary works translated into Catalan during the period between 1909 and 1928. It will illustrate the precarious position that his literature had within the Catalan polysystem when Payarols and Nin started working for Edicions Proa.

The first text by Chekhov published in Catalan was the short story 'Un dels seus coneguts' ('Знакомый мужчина'), in the volume *Contes estrangers* [sic] by Biblioteca del Poble Català in 1909.⁵⁰ This is one of Chekhov's earlier short stories,⁵¹ and its translator remained anonymous. This collection contains eighteen short stories by mostly French writers, which suggests that it might have originally been a French short

⁴⁹ Tolstoy in 1892, Dostoevsky in 1893, Pushkin circa 1893 and Turgenev circa 1900. Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, pp. 253-54.

⁵⁰ Anton Chekhov, 'Un dels seus coneguts', in *Contes estrangers*, (Barcelona: Biblioteca del Poble Català, 1909), pp. 127-37).

⁵¹ Originally published in May 1886.

story compilation published in France. The only non-French author in this collection, and arguably the most renowned in the list, is Rudyard Kipling.

The second translation dates from 1911. In this case, the short story is 'Спать хочется', which was translated into Catalan as 'Ulls ensonyats'.⁵² This is a well-known Chekhov short story, originally published in January 1888; part of its fame is due to the intertextual rewriting done by Katherine Mansfield in her collection *In a German pension*, also published in 1911.⁵³ In the Catalan context, this text is also relevant because it was translated again in 1936 by Agustí Bartra.⁵⁴ Both these texts were indirect translations from French; the style of language in both, with heavy reliance on French structures, vocabulary and syntax, is testament to this mediation.

Between the publication of 'Ulls ensonyats' and the next translation, thirteen years and most of the central period of *Noucentisme* had elapsed. Three Chekhovian short stories were published between 1924 and 1926, penned by Josep Carner. Carner used translations as a space to experiment with language, and his personal style was taken as an exemplary model of prose, according to Pericay and Toutain.⁵⁵ He adapted models from neighbouring polysystems and manipulated the original style of language to develop the main ideological aims of *Noucentista* stylistics:⁵⁶ the creation of a Catalan literary language that would be clearly distinguishable from spoken Catalan, and that the new generations could use to build their own narrative. Whilst Carner established his reputation as a translator of English-language texts,⁵⁷ he also experimented with other authors via mediated texts, including Chekhov.

Catalan scholar Martínez-Gil, in an article comparing Chekhov and Carner's short story styles, argues that Chekhov's stories must have been popular amongst *Noucentista*

⁵² Anton Chekhov, 'Ulls ensonyats', *De tots colors*, 14 April 1911, pp. 230-3.

⁵³ Elisabeth Schneider, 'Katherine Mansfield and Chekhov', *Modern Language Notes*, 50 (1935), pp. 394-97.

⁵⁴ Published in *Mirador* with the title 'Ganes de dormir', Bartra uses Denis Roche's 1926 French version 'L'envie de dormir' as an intermediate. Compared to the 1911 version, Bartra's translation is illustrated, much to the periodical conventions of the time. Anton Chekhov, 'Ganes de dormir', *Mirador*, trans. by Agustí Bartra, 26 November 1936, p. 4.

⁵⁵ Pericay and Toutain, p. 260.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Carner translated works by English-speaking authors as diverse as Dickens, Carroll and Twain, among others. *Ibid.* pp. 262-74.

writers, given that the Russian author's main characteristics as a writer (brevity, sharpness, precision) were similar to the ideals that *Noucentisme* pursued.⁵⁸ Whilst his contribution is the first to draw attention to Chekhov and Carner's intertextual link, there is no documentary evidence to support the argument that Chekhov was extensively read in *Noucentista* times,⁵⁹ as only three short stories by Chekhov were translated in the 1920s.

Chekhov's short stories appeared in *Bella Terra*, a literary magazine edited by Carner himself. He translated 'Un drama' in 1924 ('Драма', 1887), 'Una obra d'art' in 1925 ('Произведение искусства', 1886), and 'El noi dolent' in 1926 ('Злой мальчик', 1883), and used both his name and his pen name, 'Bellafila'.⁶⁰ The publication of these stories was also announced on the front page of *La Veu de Catalunya*, in a snippet which summarised the content of the magazine in order to promote it, probably written by Carner himself. These snippets were in fact published over several days and in different pages of the newspaper.⁶¹

Whilst all three stories belong to Chekhov's earlier production, there are no thematical connections between them. They all depict mundane stories which take an odd plot twist, from the writer who agrees to listen to an old lady's play draft, and accidentally kills her while attempting to stop her, to the doctor who regifts an embarrassing figurine, only for it to be gifted back after being passed on between social classes. This particular plot line will also feature in one of Carner's own short stories, 'L'objecte magic', which was published in 1918, several years before this translation.

The stories are not particularly set in a Russian context, and beyond the name of the characters, there is nothing that would culturally locate them in that setting. Therefore, they do not generally present complexities associated to the translation of cultural references. There is only one particular instance of mistranslation of a cultural element in one of the texts, *Una obra d'art*, which provides a good example of either accidental omission or domestication and it is worth mentioning. 'Una obra d'art', as well as the

⁵⁸ Víctor Martínez-Gil, 'Txèkhov i Carner: del realisme al realisme màgic', *Els Marges*, 56 (1996).

⁵⁹ Unless he was read in Spanish or French.

⁶⁰ Anton Chekhov, 'Una obra d'art', *Bella Terra*, trans. by Josep Carner, August 1925.

⁶¹ Josep Carner, 'Bella Terra', *La Veu de Catalunya*, 16 October 1924, p. 1.

other two stories, was translated by Carner using the English version as an intermediary, most likely Constance Garnett's, which was published three years prior. A comparative analysis of the opening sentence including this English version reveals that the omission is in the Catalan text and not in the mediating one. Chekhov begins his short story in this manner:

Держа под мышкой что-то, завернутое в 223-й номер «Биржевых ведомостей», Саша Смирнов, единственный сын у матери, сделал кислое лицо и вошел в кабинет доктора Кошелькова.⁶²

In English, Garnett rendered this paragraph as follows:

Sasha Smirnov, the only son of his mother, holding under his arm, something wrapped up in No. 223 of the *Financial News*, assumed a sentimental expression, and went into Dr. Koshelkov's consulting-room.⁶³

Carner opted for a simplification on the newspaper front, and instead translated:

Tot estrenyent sota l'aixella un objecte embolicat en un periòdic, Saixa Smirnov, fill únic de sa mare, penetrà nerviosament a la consulta del doctor Koixelkov.⁶⁴

This simplification makes the sentence in Catalan flow - it is less rigid than Garnett's Russianised structure - at the cost of omitting all details on the newspaper. This is a very specific detail; it would not have been included in the original otherwise. In the number 223 of *Биржевых ведомостей*, an instalment of Emile Zola's *L'Oeuvre* was published.⁶⁵ In this novel, the protagonist falls in love with the painting of a female nude. The presence of the female nude in Chekhov's story in the shape of a bronze candelabrum suggests that this reference to *Биржевых ведомостей* is an intertextual link that the Russian author establishes with the French novel. This omission then becomes highly important, as the intertextual connection is lost in Catalan. Carner's error transforms the target text by disconnecting it from its original link, which, it can

⁶² Anton Chekhov, 'Proizvedeniye iskusstva', in *Chekhov, A. P. Polnoye sobranie sochinennyi i pisem: b 30 tomakh*, (Moscow: AN SSSR. Internet mirovoy lit. im. A. M. Gorkovo, 1976), (p. 447).

⁶³ Anton Pavlovich Chekhov, 'A work of art', in *Love and Other Stories*, ed. by The University of Adelaide (Adelaide: eBooks@Adelaide, 2014).

⁶⁴ Chekhov, *Una obra d'art*, p. 72.

⁶⁵ Chekhov, p. 672.

be argued, it is a more severe mistake than the slight change of meaning that the mistranslation of a sentence can produce.

Finally, in 1927, *La Nova Revista* published another short story, 'De viatge' ('На пути', 1886) translated by Alfred Gallard. This short story was not documented in Pinyol's bibliography, yet it is the lengthiest of the translations of Chekhov before 1930 at 15 pages.

As with Dostoevsky in the previous chapter, it is important to gauge the presence of Chekhov's name in the press leading into the 1930s, given the limited availability of his texts in Catalan. In this research, no mentions of Chekhov's name have been found before Carner's first publication, although that does not necessarily mean that there were none; particularly before 1930, the Russian author's surname found a wide variety of spellings in Catalan. The two most popular spellings, Txèkhov (which is the current accepted transliteration) and Txecov were used in the compilation of data using the Biblioteca de Catalunya ARCA database. A total of 80 mentions between 1924 and 1938 were found, 36 of them before 1930. A large number of these mentions are similar to Dostoevsky's: Chekhov's name was used as a benchmark for something else, whether it be another author's literature, a specific writing style, or the plot of a play.⁶⁶ In fact, his presence in the press tends to be connected to his work as a playwright rather than as a short story writer, from as early as 1925.

Josep Maria Millàs-Raurell appears to be the Catalan writer with a stronger connection to Chekhov during this period, so much so that Carles Soldevila pointed at this literary engagement in one of his articles: 'Millàs-Raurell té l'obsessió de Txecov com pugui tenir-la un francès o un alemany'.⁶⁷ His is the brief review of *Literary and Theatrical Reminiscences* of Chekhov published by S. S. Koteliansky, in which he concludes that 'és interessant de constatar que les poques vegades que Txecov deixa veure les seves preferències, és davant dels actors. De la lectura del llibre es ve en coneixement que

⁶⁶ Josep Maria Millàs-Raurell, 'Charles Vildrac a Barcelona', *La Revista*, 1 February 1925, p. 48; Edward Reeve, 'El teatre a Londres', *Mirador*, 7 December 1933, p. 5.

⁶⁷ Carles Soldevila, 'Cara o creu: Reflexions sobre literatura', *Revista de Catalunya*, June 1925, p. 526.

tenia dues passions, l'una a favor i l'altra en contra.'⁶⁸ During the late 1920s and the 1930s, Chekhov was defined in the press as the writer of mundane things, 'el gran artista del temes insignificants però rics de contingut humà,'⁶⁹ introducing 'les tonalitats grises, les passions secretes, [...] del silenci, de les veus apagades',⁷⁰ and the lack of closure in his work, and the work he influenced.⁷¹ His plays were also referenced and thoroughly praised, with agents like Soldevila declaring that 'les [obres de teatre] de Txecov son la Bíblia del gènere[sic]' in a review of an Elmer Rice play at the Teatre Romea. The main argument given against the performance of his works in a Catalan theatre setting is that the public would fail to understand the nuances and meaning of the play. Millàs-Raurell is particularly critical of this, and as early as 1925 stated that 'les obres que avui dia es fan pel món, estic segur que tindrien entre nosaltres un fracàs. Perquè, si seria difícil a un auditori català escoltar una obra de matís, com les de Txècov ('Les tres germanes').'⁷² The first announcement of a play would come in 1926 in *L'Esquella de la Torratxa*, 'estrena de les traduccions catalanes [...] d'obres encara sense determinar queines, de Txecov, d'Andreief i de Pushkin, traducció d'en J. Millàs-Raurell'.⁷³ The vagueness of the statement puts into question whether a play by any of the mentioned authors was ever performed, and there were no follow up mentions to confirm this had taken place. All in all, Chekhov's name did appear in the press from 1924, which suggests that the literary milieu was aware of his figure and his literature, although certainly his presence is not comparable to that of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky.

3. The 1930s

Despite the relative lack of translations of Chekhov compared to other more popular Russian authors, like Turgenev, Pushkin, or Gogol, the 'master of brevity' was the only other Russian writer besides Tolstoy and Dostoevsky to be translated by both Payarols and Nin for Edicions Proa. Given the difficulties in adapting his literary format to

⁶⁸ Josep Maria Millàs-Raurell, 'Passions i aversions de Txecov', *La Nova Revista*, December 1927, pp. 377-8.

⁶⁹ Vila, p. 2.

⁷⁰ Domènec Guansé, 'Llibres! Llibres!', *La Rambla de Catalunya*, 6 October 1930, p. 12.

⁷¹ 'La majoria dels espectadors [...] resta desconcertada davant d'obres que, seguint perfilant una tradició txecoviana (vull dir creada conscientment per Txecov) s'esforcen precisament a no concloure.' Carles Soldevila, 'Full de dietari: Una mica de cinema', *La Publicitat*, 17 March 1933, p. 1.

⁷² Josep Maria Millàs-Raurell, 'Un teatre al marge', *La Veu de Catalunya*, 6 July 1925, p. 7.

⁷³ Bob, 'Teló Enlaire', *L'Esquella de la Torratxa*, August 1926, pp. 528-9.

conform to the requirements of the Catalan repertoire of the time, the fact that two considerably lengthy books by Chekhov were made available in Catalan speaks of Proa's cultural commitment. The following section reviews said publications, and their reception by the literary milieu, highlighting the key contribution of Payarols and Nin in increasing the volume of Chekhovian literature available in Catalan.

3.1. Francesc Payarols' *Els múgics*

Payarols completed the first translation of Chekhov for Edicions Proa, a collection of short stories entitled *Els múgics* and published in 1931.⁷⁴ At this point in his career, Payarols had already translated Turgenev, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky,⁷⁵ and Proa had published seven other works of Russian literature between 1928 and 1931 before the publication of this first Chekhovian piece. In other words, some ground work had been laid by both the translator and the publishing house to facilitate the engagement of the public with the Russian author. *Els múgics* was the final volume to be released in the collection *Biblioteca A Tot Vent Històries Curtes*, a branch of the main *Biblioteca A Tot Vent*, aimed at rendering into Catalan the most renowned short story writers of world literature, as its name indicates. The eight books published in this secondary collection between 1929 and 1931 comprised a mixture of European authors and Catalan writers, and included *La mort d'Ivan Ilitx, seguit de Amo i criat; i Tres morts* by Leo Tolstoy as translated by Payarols himself.⁷⁶

In the compilation *Els múgics*, there are no apparent editorial criteria behind the choice of short stories, and it remains unclear whether this choice was Payarols' or Puig i Ferrer's. Some stories are from Chekhov's earlier époque, such as 'La bruixa'

⁷⁴ The full title of this work in Catalan is *Els Múgics; seguit de L'Eixelebrada; Agàfia; Anna al coll; Viatjant; El Monjo negre; La Dama del gosset; La Bruixa*.

⁷⁵ *Pares i fills (Отцы и дети)* by Turgenev and *L'etern marit (Вечный муж)* by Dostoevsky. Estelrich, Payarols, traductor, p. 142.

⁷⁶ The other authors published in this *Històries Curtes* section were Joseph Kessel, Guy de Maupassant, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Catalan authors Maria Teresa Vernet, Miquel Llor and Ernest Martínez Ferrando. Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, 'A tot vent (Edicions Proa). Històries curtes / Catàleg de la Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya', (2015) <https://cataleg.bnc.cat/search~S13*eng?/sA+tot+vent+%28Edicions+Proa%29.+Hist{u00F2}ries+curte/sa+tot+vent+edicions+proa+histories+curtes/-3%2C-1%2C0%2CB/exact&FF=sa+tot+vent+edicions+proa+histories+curtes&1%2C8%2C> [accessed 21 May 2015].

(‘Ведьма’, 1886) and ‘Agàfia’ (‘Агафья’, 1886), and others are from his later production, such as ‘Els múgics’ itself (‘Мужики’, 1897) and ‘Anna al coll’ (‘Анна на шее’, 1895). Whilst there had already been collections in French and Spanish named after ‘Мужики’, one of Chekhov’s most famous stories, the selection of texts is different from those other volumes. This suggests that either Payarols or Puig (or both) were aware of these other compilations but decided to select their own. All these stories were available in English and French, as translated by Constance Garnett and Denis Roche respectively, and given Puig i Ferrer’s comprehensive knowledge of these neighbouring systems, he may have influenced the selection.

Whilst the collection understandably opens with ‘Els múgics’, it is relevant to note that the most famous story in the book, ‘La dama del gosset’ (‘Дама с собачкой’, 1899) is located in the penultimate spot, between ‘El monjo negre’ (‘Чёрный монах’, 1894) and ‘La bruixa’, which suggests that neither Payarols nor Puig i Ferrer were necessarily aware of the central position of this text within Chekhov’s production in other literary systems.⁷⁷ The criteria for the choices do not respond to one particular theme either, as the stories differ greatly from each other: from marital problems to the struggle of peasants, or the immoral life of the rich.

In terms of reception, the reviews seem to focus on the content of the text rather than on the work of the translator. In the review published in *L’Esquella de la Torratxa*, Chekhov is described as ‘un dels escriptors russos més característics, de personalitat més acusada’, and ‘La dama del gosset’ as ‘un dels [contes] més reeixits del gran escriptor’, which suggests that there may have been an awareness of the importance of this short story within Chekhov’s production, making Puig i Ferrer and Payarols’ placement choice the more intriguing. Chekhov is then compared to Cervantes because ‘les característiques d’aquest [contes] són el pessimisme, la crueltat, l’amargor, el torment de les ànimes. La lectura d’aquests contes de Txèkhov és depriment, angoixosa’.⁷⁸ In fact, the name of the translator is not even mentioned in this review.

⁷⁷ Meister, p. 13.

⁷⁸ Alpha, ‘Paperam’, *L’Esquella de la Torratxa*, 29 May 1931, p. 346.

Perhaps the only issue that can be raised in regards to Payarols' translating style is the presence of sporadic comprehension errors, and similarly to Nin, his footnoting is occasionally irregular.⁷⁹ An example of the former can be illustrated with the title of one of the short stories, 'L'Eixelebrada'. With the Russian original 'Попрыгунья' meaning grasshopper,⁸⁰ this title is an intertextual reference to the Aesopian fable 'The Grasshopper and the Ant'. In Spanish, for example, the title 'La cigarra' maintains the intertextual reference with a cultural adaptation.⁸¹ However, Payarols chooses an adjective meaning 'scatterbrain', which although it refers to the main character of the story, it loses the Aesopian reference that Chekhov intended, and other translators have captured. This mistranslation is similar to Carner's, with the aggravation that Payarols, as a specialist in Russian and more committed translator than Carner, fails to identify the cultural reference in the source text.

3.2 Andreu Nin's *Una cacera dramàtica*

Finally, the last translation of Chekhovian text before the Spanish Civil War is *Драма на oxome*, which was published in Catalan with the title *Una cacera dramàtica* in 1936 as translated by Andreu Nin. *Una cacera dramàtica* was one of the last texts that Andreu Nin translated for Edicions Proa, and his final published translation before his disappearance in 1937.⁸² The publication of this text was announced in the press in June 1935, alongside other potential future texts to be translated and edited by Edicions Proa.⁸³

⁷⁹ Anton Pavlovitx Txèkhov, *Els Mugics ; seguit de L'Eixelebrada ; Agàfia ; Anna al coll ; Viatjant ; El Monjo negre ; La Dama del gosset ; La Bruixa*. (Badalona: Proa, 1931), p. 20. The Russian measure of weight 'pud' is given an equivalent, but 'versta', which refers to distance, is ignored, among other examples.

⁸⁰ 'The Grasshopper' is the most common translation of the title in English. Anton Chekhov, 'The Wife and Other Stories', (The Project Gutenberg, 2006), (p. Location 830/3139).

⁸¹ 'La cigarra y la hormiga' is the name that this fable has in Spanish, which dates as far back as the eighteenth century. Esopo, *Fabulas de Esopo, filosofo moral; y de otros famosos autores, corregidas de nuevo*. (Barcelona: Viuda Piferrer, vendese en su libreria administrada por Juan Sellent, [n.d., 18th cen.?.]).

⁸² His last recorded translation was *Infància, Adolescència, Joventut* by Leo Tolstoy, which was published in 1974. In the prologue, a friend of the publishers claims to have found this translation in his father's book collection, a man who was allegedly linked to Edicions Proa. The identity of this family friend remains anonymous. Tolstoy, *Infància, adolescència, joventut*, p. 9.

⁸³ Focius, 'El correu d'avui', *La Publicitat*, 27 June 1935, p. 4; M., 'Noticiari', *La Humanitat*, 29 June 1935, p. 4.

This is a very particular and curious choice, as *Драма на охоте* is one of Chekhov's lesser known and possibly most underappreciated works, even by the author himself. When Chekhov sold the rights to his collected works in 1899, which were published in a ten-volume collection, *Драма на охоте* was not included.⁸⁴ The story was only translated into English as *A Shooting Party* in 1926 and into Spanish as *Un drama de caza* in 1958.⁸⁵ Puig i Ferrer's knowledge of neighbouring polysystems is likely to have influenced the choice: *Un drame à la chasse* was published in France also in 1936, probably before Nin was assigned the translation. It is likely that both Puig i Ferrer and Nin agreed that a figure like Chekhov had to be translated as part of Proa's policy of bringing the best of European literature into the Catalan polysystem. Being a novel, the text also conformed to the rules of the repertoire without the additional adaptations that any of his short stories or plays would have required.

Драма на охоте is a detective novel that was serialised between 1884 and 1885⁸⁶ in the magazine *Новости дня*, and it is by far the longest and most ambitious work by Chekhov up until that point.⁸⁷ The novel is characteristic in itself for being Chekhov's first 'serious' work of literature, very different from the satirical snapshots he was producing at the time, and the first time he used his real name, and not a penname, to sign a text. Critic Julian Symons argues that it is rather surprising that the novel was ignored at the time of its publication due to its unique construction and innovative ideas for the nineteenth century detective genre.⁸⁸ In fact, this was Chekhov's first and last attempt at writing a novel and experimenting with crime fiction. Due to its odd position within Chekhov's overall production, *Драма на охоте* was originally deemed to be juvenilia by Chekhov critics.⁸⁹ Symons goes as far as to argue that '[i]t is a landmark in the history of the crime story, not in the work of Chekhov'.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Anton Chekhov, *The Shooting Party*, trans. by Julian Symons. (London: Deutsch, 1986), p. 9.

⁸⁵ This refers to the year it was published in Spanish in Spain. The novel was published in Spanish in Argentina in 1945, with the title *Extraña confesión*.

⁸⁶ There are discrepancies in the original date of publication. Symons argues it was serialised in 1884, John Sutherland argues it was first published in 1885. Anton Chekhov, *The Shooting Party*, trans. by Ronald Wilks. (London; New York: Penguin Books, 2004), p. 7%.

⁸⁷ Chekhov, *The Shooting Party*, p. 10; Chekhov, *The Shooting Party*, p. 7%.

⁸⁸ Chekhov, *The Shooting Party*, p. 10. Symons underlines the originality of the use of the editor in chief correcting and casting doubts over the main character's account, with the abundance of fake footnotes.

⁸⁹ Meister, pp. 172-74.

⁹⁰ Chekhov, *The Shooting Party*, p. 12.

The narrative devices deployed by Chekhov in the text make *Una cacera dramàtica* a very innovative detective story. The structure is divided in two main parts: a slower, more descriptive introduction, in which Chekhov depicts an accurate reflection of rural Russia, and a fast-paced murder mystery, in which the narrator turns out to be the murderer. This narrative mechanism was original at the time of its publication in Russia, and it would have been unusually new in the Catalan polysystem of the 1930s as well.

In linguistic terms, Nin's translating style maintains some of the archaic characteristics already present in *Anna Karenina* and *Crim i càstig* and attributed to the influence of *Noucentista* literary models in the written language of the 1930s.⁹¹ Uncharacteristically, some spelling errors that suggest rushed editing are present in the text.⁹² Firstly, the name of the count is used late in the text in the Latinised version 'Alexis', when previously it had been used in the Russian form 'Alexei'. Secondly, also at the end of the text, the narrator compares himself with pioneer detective novelist Emile Gaboriau's character Monsier LeCoq; however, the spelling of the name 'Lecok', which is a direct transliteration from the Russian, suggests Nin failed to acknowledge Chekhov's intertextual reference. These errors point towards a lack of critical editing and support the argument that this translation was turned out in a short period of time in 1936, when Nin's political commitments were becoming pressingly important.

On a positive note, Nin's use of footnoting is exponentially improved in *Una cacera dramàtica* from previous translations. His tone as a translator in this respect is almost interactive with the reader.⁹³ Establishing this rapport is particularly important in this novel due to the presence of fictionalised footnotes, in which the editor in chief that 'reads the novel' for the reader exposes some of the failures of the main protagonist as a narrator. Some footnotes are particularly well used and show Nin's improved awareness of the need for cultural bridging rather than plain equivalence.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Pericay and Toutain, p. 277.

⁹² Anton Chekhov, *Una cacera dramàtica*, trans. by Andreu Nin. (Badalona: Proa, 1936), p. 39.

⁹³ Ibid. pp. 115,21

⁹⁴ For example, the note that accompanies the word 'stàrosta' reads '[a]utoritat rural que pot ésser equiparada al nostre alcalde'. Nin uses a cultural approximation to aid comprehension. Ibid. p. 201.

The publication of the text in France earlier in 1936 seems to be behind the commission of this translation by Puig i Ferrer. However, Chekhov's depiction of moral corruption in the higher ranks of society must have been an important point for Nin regardless: a chance to criticise social injustice through literature. Whilst Chekhov himself despised narrative morality and Tolstoyan philosophy,⁹⁵ his realistic depiction of the abuse of power is easily turned into a critique of the social status quo. The fact that at the end of the novel the protagonists, who belong to the nobility and the justice system, leave unscathed after having killed two peasants, ruined another, and drunk themselves into oblivion to terrorise an entire country town must have been a motivational political reading for Andreu Nin whilst working on this translation.

In terms of reception, the publication of *Una cacera dramàtica* was announced in *La Publicitat* and *La Humanitat* in June 1935,⁹⁶ despite not being published until 1936. It was then reviewed in *Mirador* in February 1937, which is remarkable given the historical circumstances of the time, which are referenced in the beginning in the praise of Edicions Proa's work, 'amb lentitud obligada a causa de les dificultats del moment.' This review provides a snapshot of what the novel is about in a short paragraph and what it represents within Chekhov's production: 'un llibre representatiu dintre de l'obra de Txèkhov i, per tant, d'un gran interès per a la història literària'.⁹⁷ It then focuses on analysing the philosophical and literary work of Chekhov, what he intended as a writer, and his role within the Russian literary system of his time, with no reference to any of his actual texts, or the rest of the novel. Whilst the article is rather lengthy, it avoids mentioning the translator and his work. In the circumstances, mentioning Andreu Nin's name may not have been in the newspaper's best interest, however compared with all other reviews used in this thesis, it is an unusual omission to not discuss aspects of the translation.

Whilst the limited prestige that *Una cacera dramàtica* had both in Russia and in other neighbouring polysystems⁹⁸ was a prelude of the position that the novel was going to

⁹⁵ Chekhov, *The Shooting Party*, p. 8. Lyudmila Parts, 'Down the Intertextual Lane: Petrushevskaja, Chekhov, Tolstoy', *Russian Review*, 64 (2005), p. 77.

⁹⁶ M., p. 4; Focius, p. 4.

⁹⁷ L. M., 'Els llibres: Antoni Txèkhov', *Mirador*, 5 February 1937, p. 7.

⁹⁸ *Драма на охоте* was only translated into English after all short stories had been published and most plays had been staged, which means this translation was published on the back of Chekhov's existing

have in the Catalan polysystem, the text was still translated and available to the Catalan readership. In this case, instead of having an immediate impact on the centre of the polysystem like previous novels by Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, Chekhov's novel went straight into the periphery of the polysystem. Section 4 will pick up from this point and follow the interference that Nin's translation had in the periphery of the Catalan polysystem after the Spanish Civil War.

3.3. Power Dynamics in the Translation of Chekhov

Unsurprisingly, the most obvious difference between Francesc Payarols' translation of Chekhov and Andreu Nin's is length. This appears to be a recurring theme carried over from the previous two chapters: Nin's translations of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky overshadowed Payarols' in volume, but also in prestige, as both authors two Russian authors had in the Catalan and Western polysystems before the texts were published. In the case of Chekhov, however, length is relative; Payarols was assigned a collection of short stories, whilst Nin translated Chekhov's only and almost unknown novel. The short stories that Payarols translated might have been brief individually, but the collection was actually twenty pages longer than *Una cacera dramàtica* (272 compared to 253).

In terms of prestige and recognition in neighbouring polysystems (and in Chekhov's home system), Payarols' translated stories had been given more value by both Chekhov and the agents of the relevant polysystem(s) than Nin's translated novel.⁹⁹ For the first time in the power dynamics between Payarols and Nin, the former had worked with the more important text(s), the text(s) that had attained a central position in the British and American polysystems only several years before, as well as in the source literary system. Chekhov's refusal to include *Драма на охоте* in his *Complete Works* speaks volumes of the peripheral position this particular work had within his production and in the Russian system of the late 1880s, and by extension in any other context within the European (macro)polysystem. Despite the difference in position in neighbouring

literary prestige in the polysystem, not out of particular interest in the novel due to its content or narrative style. The same situation occurred in France.

⁹⁹ Particularly judging by the little value given by critics to *Драма на охоте*. Chekhov, *The Shooting Party*, pp. 9,12.; Meister, pp. 172-73.

polysystems between the two source texts, Payarols did not obtain the recognition associated with translating Chekhovian short stories that his French and British counterparts achieved.

In terms of power dynamics between publishers, Edicions Proa had to compete with Soldevila's Biblioteca Univers when it came to translations of Chekhov. Univers only published one text, the novella *Tres anys* ('Три года'), but it was advertised thoroughly and reviewed in several periodicals.¹⁰⁰ Whilst the date of publication is not listed in its bibliographical record, the data from the newspapers indicates it was published at a similar time as *Els múgics*, in October 1930. It was allegedly translated by Olga Savarin and Josep Miracle and was marketed as a novel by Chekhov with a total of 101 pages;¹⁰¹ with the Slavic nature of Savarin's surname, the assumption is that the text was translated directly from Russian. This was not the case, as Savarin, as mentioned earlier in this thesis, was a fake name used by Soldevila to give the impression that this translation was unmediated.¹⁰² Edicions Proa had begun its work on Russian classics a few years before that and was a direct competitor to Biblioteca Univers. When Proa published *Els múgics* in 1931 it included the disclaimer 'Traducció directa del rus per Francesc Payarols',¹⁰³ to highlight this fact. This might have not been common knowledge at the time, as in the review of this novella in *La Nostra Terra*, an anonymous reviewer states that 'Olga Savarin i Josep Miracle ja treballaren junts, abans, en una traducció tolstoiana.'¹⁰⁴ It is likely, however, that this review was commissioned or influenced by Biblioteca Univers, as it refers to Carles Soldevila as 'un esperit tan selecte i despert' and *Tres anys* as 'una de les novel·les més famoses de Txecov', which are hardly impartial statements.

Biblioteca Univers had published three other Russian texts allegedly translated by Savarin in conjunction with other Catalan writers. These texts were *La sonata a Kreutzer* (*Крейцерова соната*, 1889), and *Katia* (*Семейное счастье*, 1859, often

¹⁰⁰ For more than two months following its publication, it was advertised in the pages of *La Veu de Catalunya*.

¹⁰¹ Anton Chekhov, *Tres anys*, trans. by Olga Savarin and Josep Miracle. (Barcelona: Catalònia, 193-?).

¹⁰² García Sala, *Olga Savarin i traducció indirecta* pp. 149-50.

¹⁰³ Anton Chekhov, *Els Múgics; seguit de L'Eixelebrada; Agàfia; Anna al coll; Viatjant; El Monjo negre; La Dama del gosset; La Bruixa*, trans. by Francesc Payarols. (Badalona: Proa, 1931), p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ 'Els llibres', *La Nostra Terra*, October 1932, p. 392.

translated in English as *Family Happiness*) by Tolstoy and *Taras Bulba* (*Тарас Бульба*, 1835) by Gogol, and all three were marketed as novels despite their limited length. On the back of *Tres anys*, 'altres novel·les de Tchehov [sic]'¹⁰⁵ are announced, including *La sala número 6* ('Палата № 6'), *L'estepa* ('Степь (История одной поездки)'), and others. These titles are given in Catalan, which suggests that either these were planned for further translation and were never completed or were given for context under the false pretence that they were available in Catalan from Biblioteca Univers. In either case, the issue that Univers raises is the marketing of Chekhovian short stories and novellas under the label of 'novel', proving Even-Zohar's principle of interference that argues that once an epistemological item moves from one polysystem to another, it normally loses the functions (and format) of the source system, and it is adapted by the receiving polysystem according to the rules of its repertoire.¹⁰⁶

Finally, in previous chapters, the question that arose from the continuous re-printing of archaic, anachronistic texts in the current Catalan polysystem was whether these novels needed to be retranslated, or at least thoroughly reviewed, to ensure that the text thoroughly engaged with the new generations of readers of Russian classics in Catalan. In the case of these Chekhovian texts, neither has been reedited or even reprinted since their original publication in the 1930s. This means these books are no longer commercially available and therefore can only be accessed by scholars via specialist libraries, like the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona as is the case in this research.

The efforts to translate Chekhov into Catalan over the last thirty years have not bridged the gap with neighbouring polysystems. From the first post-war publication of a Chekhovian short story in 1982, only four brief collections have been published in Catalan, and most of Chekhov's production is still to be translated. Whilst the Catalan system cannot realistically compete with the English or French polysystems, in which the complete works of Chekhov appeared in the early and mid-1920s, a neighbouring polysystem like the Spanish is currently reintroducing Chekhov's complete collection

¹⁰⁵ Chekhov, *Tres anys*, p. 107.

¹⁰⁶ Even-Zohar, *Laws of Literary Interference*, pp. 70-1.

of short stories through the work of translator Paul Viejo and his team.¹⁰⁷ This compilation casts some doubts over the possibility of translating Chekhov's complete works into Catalan, as Viejo's work addresses the inconsistency in translation of the Russian author's literature in a market that is very much Spanish and Catalan bilingual.

The translation of Chekhov's theatre enjoyed far more success than his short stories in the Catalan polysystem after the Spanish Civil War. As early as 1959 Joan Oliver was involved in the production of *Un promenatge*, performed by the Agrupació Dramàtica de Barcelona at the Cercle Artístic de Sant Lluç.¹⁰⁸ Oliver adapted *L'hort dels cirerers* in 1963 and *Les tres germanes* in 1972. He then published his adaptation of various plays for Aymà in 1982 in the series Quaderns de Teatre ADB.¹⁰⁹ Although the introduction of Chekhov into Catalan was based around his narrative work, his theatre did considerably better within the post-war Catalan polysystem thanks to Joan Oliver.

Section 3 presented an analysis of the two works by Chekhov translated by Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin and published by Edicions Proa during the 1930s, and studied the power dynamics between these texts, as well as the power dynamics between publishing houses in the race to translate from Russian. Section 4 will address the difficulties of adapting Chekhov's narrative format to the conventions of the Catalan repertoire, and the impact that his work had despite being in the periphery of the polysystem.

4. Position and Interference in the Catalan Literary System

The final section in this chapter addresses the role of Anton Chekhov in the reintroduction of novels into the Catalan literary repertoire. Throughout this chapter all signs pointed towards a lack or a limited impact, given mainly the fact that Chekhov was not a novelist. However, the following section identifies two essential issues that

¹⁰⁷ To this date, only two collections have been published, *Cuentos completos (1880-1885)* and *Cuentos completos (1885-1886)*, out of the four expected by Viejo's team. José Andrés Rojo, 'Antón Chéjov, el relojero', *El País*, 02 December 2013.

¹⁰⁸ The ADB had to shut down due to political pressures only a few years later, in 1963. ARA Barcelona, 'Homenatge a la generació de la represa del teatre català', *Diari Ara*, 15 December 2014.

¹⁰⁹ Anton Chekhov, *El Cant del cigne; L'ós; Un promenatge; L'aniversari; Els danys del tabac; La gavina; Les tres germanes; El cirerar*, trans. by Joan Oliver. (Barcelona: Aymà, 1982).

will illustrate the role played by Chekhov in the Catalan literary system of the twentieth century: the adaptation of his texts to the home repertoire, and interference of his literature in the periphery of the Catalan polysystem, mainly through the work of Mercè Rodoreda in exile.

4.1 'A Novel by Chekhov': Repertoire and Adaptation

The difficulties in the adaptation to the repertoire of Chekhovian texts is an issue that has arisen several times throughout this chapter. Defining and conforming to the repertoire was not a problem for the authors discussed in previous chapters, on the basis that their literary productions were seen as exemplary for the rest of the polysystem and were translated into Catalan with that objective in mind: Catalan writers were encouraged to imitate those models of prose to create their novels because there were no quality examples of novel-writing in Catalan. However, Chekhov's literature is a completely different story, which grants the opportunity to revisit the theory about the concept of repertoire.

Even-Zohar defines the repertoire as 'the aggregate of rules and materials which govern both the making and use of any given product'.¹¹⁰ When considering that one of the products of literary systems is texts, 'the literary repertoire is the aggregate of rules and items with which a specific text is produced and understood'.¹¹¹ In long established central polysystems, the repertoire is built progressively, and abrupt changes are rare and limited. In peripheral polysystems, its agents will often seek models from other literary systems, making the construction of the repertoire a less gradual process, as it was the case of the Catalan polysystem. An example of this concept of rapid change in peripheral repertoires is *Noucentisme*, a period of cultural development in which the previous repertoire was overhauled and deemed unsuitable for the new cultural and political objectives.

The norms promoted by *Noucentista* agents, from the creation of normative Catalan to the promotion of brief literature over lengthy novels, established the a relatively stable

¹¹⁰ Even-Zohar, *The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem*, p. 39.

¹¹¹ Even-Zohar, *The Literary System*, p. 40.

repertoire. The set of rules that constituted the repertoire were an essential toolkit for any aspiring writer to become part of the Catalan literary milieu:¹¹² normative language; short narratives, journal articles or poetry; and the idea of being part of a process to restore Catalan language and literature to a 'European' level. This was not to last: from the cultural restrictions of *Noucentisme* that banished novels, the tide quickly turned during the 1920s and novels were considered back into the repertoire. Publishing houses like Edicions Proa invested in novels as a way to reshape the repertoire, and in turn rebuild Catalan novel-writing.

The translation of Tolstoy or Dostoevsky into Catalan presented no repertoire issues. Whilst Nin's translations of these two authors were very lengthy, the Catalan repertoire was ready for this type of text. Chekhov's literature, however, posed an issue to the agents of the polysystem: its format did not conform to the rules of the repertoire anymore. This challenge was a complex issue because of Chekhov's literary prestige in neighbouring polysystems. He was considered one of the masters of Russian and world literature and that meant that, for Edicions Proa's mission of providing readers with access to the classics of Western literature, Chekhovian texts had to be translated.

Even-Zohar proposes two essential points that are the key to understanding the process of adaptation of Chekhovian structures into the Catalan repertoire of the 1930s. According to the 'Laws of Literary Interference', '[a]n appropriated repertoire does not necessarily maintain source literature functions' and '[a]ppropriation tends to be simplified, regularised, schematized'.¹¹³ The untranslatability of Chekhov's format left editors with two choices: amalgamating several short stories into a collection, or the appropriation of the text and its conversion into a format that did not maintain source literature functions but conformed to the target polysystem's repertoire.

In the latter option, this phenomenon is exemplified by the appearance of 'novels' by Chekhov. As mentioned previously, *Tres anys* was published as 'una novel·la de

¹¹² Even-Zohar defines this toolkit as 'the shared knowledge necessary for producing (and understanding) a text'. Ibid.

¹¹³ Even-Zohar, *Laws of Literary Interference*, p. 59.

Txèkhov'¹¹⁴ and is the best example of this type of adaptation, which was followed by the fabricated titles of other 'novels' by Chekhov according to Biblioteca Univers. It is important to note that the re-marketing of Chekhov's stories or novellas into 'novels' is not exclusive to the Catalan polysystem; there are several examples in Spanish in which the label 'novel' has been used consistently in reference to Chekhovian texts.¹¹⁵

The appropriation of the source text and transformation into a product with a different format worked to some extent when publishing Tolstoy's *Hadji-Murat* as a novel, or the collection *La mort d'Ivan Ilitx; seguit de Amo i criat; i Tres morts* as 'tres novel·les curtes'.¹¹⁶ After all, Tolstoy was a novelist, and that applied to both his lengthy and shorter narratives. The situation is different for Chekhov, because his literary fame comes from being a narrator of short stories and a playwright. In this sense, adapting Chekhov's format is more of a transgression than a mere adaptation to the target repertoire. This cultural distortion affected how the Russian author was perceived in the Catalan polysystem, and consequently had an impact on the position of his literature within the system in the 1930s. Considering the importance that *Noucentisme* placed on short formats, Chekhov's literature encountered what can only be described as bad timing when it entered the Catalan polysystem as late as it did. This positioning made his role in the reshaping of the literary repertoire a seemingly peripheral one. However, the impact of his literature over one of Catalan's most acclaimed writers of the twentieth century will bring Chekhov's role back to the foreground.

4.2. Interference in the Periphery: Mercè Rodoreda

According to Even-Zohar's Laws of Interference, direct interference occurs when a source literature is accessed by agents of the polysystem without intermediaries.¹¹⁷ Interference is not necessarily an obvious process, and it is harder to identify when it

¹¹⁴ Chekhov, *Tres anys*, p. 2.

¹¹⁵ The examples found are from texts published before 1930. Anton Chekhov, *La sala número seis: Novelas*, trans. by Nicolás Tasin. (Madrid: Calpe, 1919).; Anton Chekhov, *Un crimen (novela)*, trans. by Raúl Carranca. (Madrid: Editorial América, 1924).

¹¹⁶ Tolstoy, *La Mort d'Ivan Ilitx; seguit de Amo i criat; i Tres morts*, p. 2.

¹¹⁷ Even-Zohar, *Laws of Literary Interference*, p. 57.

occurs in the periphery,¹¹⁸ away from the spotlight of literary agency and the official culture. Even-Zohar goes as far as arguing that interference should be the main hypothesis to explain phenomena like the integration of Chekhovian literature within the Catalan polysystem unless stronger evidence of a different cause can be identified.¹¹⁹ The generalised assumption is that massive exposure is required in order to obtain general cultural interference.¹²⁰ However, a high degree of exposure is not a condition sine qua non for localised, specific interference. In individual cases, in which interference does not widely occur in all the strata, the exposure to one particular type of literature (in this case, to one particular author) does not need to be extensive across the polysystem for interference to occur. Interference might occur in only one area of the polysystem;¹²¹ the centre or the periphery, for example, or across one particular genre within the repertoire. In the case of Chekhov, the work that had a stronger impact on the periphery of the Catalan polysystem was Nin's *Una cacera dramàtica*.

Interference happens when there are no external conditions (resistance) to prevent it.¹²² All it takes for interference to occur is one author and one mediating agent at a particular point in time. This is the case of *Una cacera dramàtica* and one of the most important Catalan writers of the twentieth century, Mercè Rodoreda. At the time of this interference, however, Rodoreda was a young author trying to join the Catalan literary milieu of the 1930s. She had produced four novels that were later to be discarded as juvenilia,¹²³ and she had started to gain recognition for these modest literary efforts. This recognition, however, was very minor compared to the prestige her mature novels earned her and the status she achieved not only as a writer, but as the cultural symbol of Catalan novel-writing in exile.¹²⁴ In the 1930s, however, most of Rodoreda's work was peripheral.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. p. 59.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. pp. 59-60.

¹²⁰ Ibid. p. 57.

¹²¹ Ibid. p. 69.

¹²² Ibid. p. 65.

¹²³ Arnau, *Introducció Mercè Rodoreda*, p. 25.

¹²⁴ She was awarded the very prestigious Premi d'Honor de les Lletres Catalanes in 1980. Arnau, *Mercè Rodoreda: una biografia*, pp. 137,57.

The interference from Nin's translation of Chekhov's work into the Catalan writer's literature can be identified in the shape of an opening quote, which was one of Rodoreda's early literary traits.¹²⁵ Published on the 11th March 1937 in working-class, feminist journal *Companya*,¹²⁶ Rodoreda used a quotation from *Una cacera dramàtica* to introduce her short story 'Els carrers blaus'. The quote reads '[h]i ha moments pels quals hom pot donar mesos i anys'¹²⁷ and is found in the second half of the novel, soon before the murder occurs. It is the closing sentence of a paragraph in which the main character, Zinoviev, describes the end of the spring, and compares the withering of the flowers with the deterioration of feelings.

Whilst the argument and purpose of both works are completely different, the emotion conveyed in the quotation is similar to the moment of nostalgia expressed by the female protagonist in 'Els carrers blaus'. However, it is perhaps more plausible to suggest that Rodoreda was establishing a connection with Nin as a fellow intellectual and his position within the polysystem, or referencing a personal one, rather than with Chekhov and his novel.¹²⁸ Whilst this is similar to the opening quote of *Aloma*, from Tolstoy's *Anna Karèнина* as translated by Nin, the intertextual relationship between these two texts is stronger; this suggests that the connection that Rodoreda establishes is with *Anna Karèнина* (Kitty in this context) and *Aloma*, and not with Nin or Tolstoy.

This intertextual reference proves that Rodoreda had read this particular Chekhovian text, and it is likely that her first contact with the Russian author's literature was through *Una cacera dramàtica*, but it was not her last. In a letter to her fellow writer and confidant Anna Murià in May 1946 whilst in exile, Rodoreda stated that 'el 'meu amor en aquest gènere' és la meravellosa K. Mansfield. Després segueix Txèkhov'.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Arnau, *Introducció Mercè Rodoreda*, p. 45.

¹²⁶ Real i Mercadal, p. 317.

¹²⁷ Mercè Rodoreda, *Un cafè, i altres narracions*. (Barcelona: Fundació Mercè Rodoreda, 1999), p. 61.

¹²⁸ Lluís Masaguer argues that Rodoreda includes quotes in her early literature not necessarily in relation to the main text, but as a proof of the enciclopaedic knowledge of the cultural system to which she belongs. In this case, the slim narrative connection between *Una cacera dramàtica* and *Els carrers blaus* supports Masaguer's argument. Lluís Meseguer, 'Pragmàtica de la cita en l'escriptura breu', in *Actes del Primer Simposi Internacional de Narrativa Breu : 1, al voltant de la brevetat : 2, Mercè Rodoreda*, ed. by Vicent Alonso, Assumpció Bernal i Gimenez, and Carme Gregori (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1998), pp. 418-19).

¹²⁹ Mercè Rodoreda and Anna Murià, *Cartes a l'Anna Murià, 1939-1956*. (Barcelona: Edicions de l'Eixample, 1991), p. 86.

Her vital circumstances had changed dramatically from the publication of 'Els carrers blaus'. In those nine years, Rodoreda had headed into exile to France following the defeat of the Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War and survived the Second World War under difficult personal circumstances, which had severely affected her literary production.¹³⁰ When interviewed by Baltasar Porcel in 1966, Rodoreda admitted that, when she resumed writing in 1945, she felt she had never written before: 'El món d'abans de la guerra em semblava irreal. [...] No hauria pogut escriure una novel·la baldament m'haguessin apallissat.'¹³¹ This graphic analogy of the difficulties of writing a novel under the circumstances illustrates the significance of her early short stories as the connecting cog between pre-war and post-war production. The strategic importance of the stories written between 1945 and 1948 in reigniting Rodoreda's literary career¹³² surpasses the possible stylistic failures and thematic crisis reflected in the collection in which they were published, *Vint-i-dos contes* (1958).¹³³

The effort that Rodoreda put into writing her short stories is reflected in her letters to Anna Murià.¹³⁴ When composing short stories, she sought to read other writers, mainly those who were considered masters in the genre. Alongside Chekhov and Mansfield, Rodoreda also mentions Hemingway, Steinbeck and Henon to Murià.¹³⁵ Her commitment to short story writing at the time was intense, in spite of what an overall look at her production and the position of her early exile stories might suggest. For Rodoreda, writing short stories implied more than just a literary break from novel-writing, but a commitment to write well in every single format, and to provide literature that would serve a function,¹³⁶ not only within the context of her production, but in the broader context of Catalan literature in exile. Later in her life, she opened the prologue of her masterpiece *Mirall trencat* with the quote: 'I Txèkhov [deia]: s'ha

¹³⁰ Arnau, *Mercè Rodoreda: una biografia*, pp. 52-54,61-65.; Rodoreda and Murià, pp. 70-77,93.

¹³¹ Arnau, *Introducció Mercè Rodoreda*, p. 98.

¹³² *Ibid.*; Rodoreda, *Un cafè, i altres narracions*, p. 7.

¹³³ Mercè Rodoreda and Joaquim Molas, *La meva Cristina i altres contes*. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1967), p. 13.; Jaume Aulet, 'Mercè Rodoreda i els seus *Vint-i-dos contes*. Ni més ni menys.', in *Actes del primer Simposi Internacional de Narrativa Breu : 1. Al voltant de la breuetat ; 2. Merce Rodoreda*, ed. by Vicent Alonso, Assumpció Bernal i Gimenez, and Carme Gregori ([València] :, Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1998), pp. 460-62).

¹³⁴ Rodoreda and Murià, pp. 77,81,85,90.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 86.

¹³⁶ Marta Pessarrodona, 'Els contes de l'exili: *Vint-i-dos contes*', in *Una novel·la són paraules*, ed. by Magda Mirabet and Nina Valls (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2010), (p. 127).

d'intentar l'impossible per dir les coses com no les ha dites mai ningú',¹³⁷ acknowledging the importance of the Russian writer in her literature.

These mentions provide a glimpse of the role played by Chekhov's literature in the development of Rodoreda's short story writing. At a very difficult time in her life, Mercè Rodoreda turned to short stories to restart her career, and she did so with the help of masters like Chekhov. The impact of his literature on the Catalan system might not have been as obvious and central as Tolstoy's or Dostoevsky's, but it was equally important in this specific example. Without the irruption of short stories in Rodoreda's career, she might not have developed to be the important author she was. Nin and Payarols' efforts to translate Chekhov despite repertoire and adaptation issues may not have had an immediate impact, but they paid off eventually.

Conclusions

This chapter has contextualised the introduction of Chekhov into neighbouring polysystems, which was particularly necessary in the case of this author given the differences in format (short stories versus plays) that different agents and systems focused on when translating and adapting him. Whilst in the French and Spanish systems, Chekhov was first a short story writer, then a playwright, it was the opposite in the British context. In the Catalan system, Chekhov was a late introduction in comparison to other Russian authors, and a handful of short stories came first, although his name was used in the press in relation to his theatrical work in more occasions. Josep Carner was the main translator of Chekhov in the 1920s, and some of his plays were performed, however his true potential was never realised despite the fact that his literature shared plenty of characteristics with the *Noucentista* repertoire.

In the 1930s, Payarols and Nin translated two lengthy works by Chekhov, an exponential increase in volume compared to what was previously available. On this occasion, Payarols translated the most culturally and popularly acclaimed work of the two in the shape of a collection of short stories, whilst Nin translated his only novel, a piece that did not have an impact in any of the polysystems it entered. However, neither

¹³⁷ Mercè Rodoreda, *Mirall trencat*. (Barcelona: Cub Editor Jove, 2009), pp. 9-10.

of the two publications made a significant instant impact and were positioned in the periphery. Section 4 addressed this situation, and explored the interference of works in the periphery, with the example of Mercè Rodoreda's intertextual connection with Chekhov in exile.

This chapter has shown the contribution of Payarols and Nin in rendering a known yet not previously translated author into Catalan, as well as the illustrated that interference in the periphery might be more complex to identify but is just as important and influential as interference in any other stratum of the literary system. Whilst Chekhov's literature went unnoticed in this first period, it was later picked up by Rodoreda in the periphery, and it became an important model for short story writing for an author that was considered minor at the time, but went on to become one of the most prestigious Catalan novelists of the twentieth century. Despite the initial issues of adaptation to the repertoire, the efforts put in by Payarols and Nin to translate an author who did not have an acknowledged prestige in the Catalan polysystem were eventually fruitful.

CHAPTER FIVE

Translating ‘the Other Russians’: Ideological Chasm and Translators’ Agency

In previous chapters, I have argued that the work of translators Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin made Russian literature accessible to the Catalan readership, and have provided examples of how their output was unprecedented within the system. The role of translated Russian literature in the reshaping of the Catalan repertoire and the reintroduction of novels has also been discussed. Previous research in this field has mainly focused solely on Nin’s work on political texts, or on major writers who have also been studied in this thesis:¹ mainly Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, with Chekhov a more secondary figure. Their translation of less central, lesser known Russian writers has been largely understudied, which has turned these ‘others’ into peripheral figures, with their texts sitting on the fringes of the polysystem both in the 1930s and throughout the twentieth century.

Whilst the effect of these ‘other Russians’ in the reshaping of the repertoire may be limited, the translation of their work into Catalan provides us with an important insight into the working relationship between Payarols and Nin. Their political and literary disagreements, and their eventual textual choices, reveal both an almost symbiotic arrangement between them, and a level of translator’s agency that begs the question of whether different texts would have been translated had Payarols and Nin not been involved in the decision-making process.

The purpose of this chapter is to unearth another layer to the power relationship between Payarols and Nin by illustrating their input into which texts were translated in the periphery of the polysystem. In addition to this, this chapter highlights the

¹Figuerola, *El català de l’URSS: Nin; Pinyol, Traduccions literatura russa.*

paradoxical situation of these translators' production in the twenty first century: Nin's original translations, which have not been revised and republished, are currently out of print, whilst some of Payarols' texts have been updated through review, ensuring the continuity of the original rather than the preservation of the translation at all costs.

Considering the different approach to the topic in this chapter, its structure differs considerably from the previous three. Section 1 explores the political, literary, and stylistic differences between Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin, and how these affected the reconstruction of the polysystem. These differences are best exemplified through their disagreements whilst working for Editorial Atena. Their textual choices brought authors to the system that were virtually unknown, and hence provide the perfect scenario to discuss the translators' agency. Section 2 presents a comparative study of the authors and the texts selected, as well as some of the reception that these novels received when first published, and the evolution of their reeditions throughout the twentieth century. The existence of two revised and updated translations of Payarols' work sets up the argument for Section 3, in which the mythologisation of Nin's figure and fossilisation of his literature is discussed and linked to the preservation of Payarols' figure and texts through retranslation.

1. The Ideological Chasm²

The literary differences between Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin have been reviewed in every chapter of this thesis. Their existence hardly comes as a surprise given their very opposite personalities, their position within the Catalan milieu of the 1930s, and the behaviour of other members of the system towards their work. However, in this chapter these differences become more relevant than before, as they reveal an essential aspect of their role as translators: their power to influence which texts entered the polysystem. Up until this point, the figure of Joan Puig i Ferrer had embodied the institution as per Even-Zohar's definition, or the patron as per André

² The use of this expression is inspired by the title of an article on the ideological differences between the CNT and the Third International. Jason Garner, 'Separated by an 'Ideological Chasm': The Spanish National Labour Confederation and Bolshevik Internationalism, 1917-1922', *Contemporary European History*, 15 (2006).

Lefevere's,³ in his role as literary director of Proa and as promoter of the rebuilding of the system. His commitment to securing Russian literary 'classics' to enter the system was limited to the key authors Tolstoy and Dostoevsky; his agenda was rather vague beyond these authors.⁴ The following section identifies and evaluates Payarols and Nin's position as agents of the polysystem, and the importance of their conflicting political standpoints in determining which peripheral Russian texts were translated in the period after 1931.

1.1. Translator Agency

If this thesis has reinforced one message, it is that translators are agents of the polysystem, much like critics, editors, literary scholars, members of the academy of the language, and other culturally influential personalities. Agents and producers, as part of the institution, 'determine who, and which products, will be remembered by a community for a longer period of time'.⁵ Whilst translators might not necessarily have a direct influence on how long a specific text maintains a central position, if at all, and textual choices are normally outside of their scope, linguistic choices are a key element of the translator's job and a definitive sign of agency. As Lefevere argues, patrons delegate the poetic 'authority' to translators, which empowers them as rewriters,⁶ and ultimately as influencers and agents of the system. Linguistic selection is thus the first layer of the translator's power, but it is not the only one.

The specific context in which Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin developed their work allowed them to become agents of the literary system at other levels. Firstly, they manipulated⁷ the original Russian texts in their own translations and adapted them to reflect the main characteristics of the cultural environment that received these novels. Nin's command of Fabrian, Carnerian, and *Noucentista* stylistic trends is an example of

³ André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*. (London; New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 15.

⁴ Puig i Ferrer, *Francesc Payarols*, p. 6.

⁵ Even-Zohar, *The Literary System*, p. 37.

⁶ Lefevere, p. 15.

⁷ Let us note that manipulation, in this argument, is not taken in a negative sense, but rather from the perspective of the Leuven group (the so-called Manipulation School), and the work of theorists Andre Lefevere and Theo Hermans. See Introduction, pp. 27-9.

this adaptation. Secondly, they suggested and chose other texts to translate outside of the main Russian authors; consequently, those choices made a specific impact on the system. In this case, the patronage delegated not only the authority on poetics, but also on textual choice: if the texts conformed to the rules of the canon, and the translation was produced in normative Catalan, they had the power to choose. Some authors were translated, others were not, and their choices are not gratuitous; there is a correlation between their ideological position, and the texts they picked. A translator with a different political stance would have perhaps not gambled on unknown writers like Bogdanov and Saltikov-Shchedrin, for example. Therefore, the texts made available by Proa directly depended on the ideology of the translator.

The power of Payarols and Nin to influence the reshaping of the Catalan repertoire of the 1930s becomes more evident after analysing their work on these 'other Russians'. As previously identified, Puig i Ferrer's main aim was to bring Russian literature to the Catalan system without depending on mediating sources.⁸ Hiring both Nin and Payarols was the first step in his plan; translating Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, the second. By 1931, two novels by Dostoevsky, one by Tolstoy, and a short story collection by Chekhov had been published, as well as Turgenev's *Pares i fills*. The immediate demand was met, and the audience was engaged. Newspapers and literary magazines were filling with criticism on these new writers: 'els russos' had become part of daily literary life.⁹ Russian literature was in vogue across Europe, and the psychological style developed by Tolstoy and applied by other nineteenth century and early twentieth century writers was a trend in neighbouring polysystems: from the French existentialists to the English modernists. For Proa, translating Russian literature ensured an instant appeal to their intellectually developing readership.

Proa, as well as other publishing houses like Llibreria Catalònia, had created a popular interest for Russian literature, but the Catalan audience was still widely unaware of the existence of many of these 'russos'. At this point in time, any text bearing the exotic label of the Russians would have been sufficient, regardless of its content. Whilst there may not be specific documentary evidence that Puig gave freedom to Nin and Payarols

⁸ Puig i Ferrer, *Francesc Payarols*, p. 6.

⁹ Malé i Pegueroles, pp. 34-35.

to choose their translations, the eventual published novels are a testament that the translators had their say. Half of the authors studied in this chapter had not been mentioned in the Catalan press at all before their books were published by Proa, as Section 2 will illustrate; two others had a continuous presence in the press, but their work had never been translated into Catalan. Turgenev is the only exception in this group; he was also an earlier addition to *A Tot Vent* with his novel being published in 1929.

Whilst Puig i Ferrer's patronage was obvious in the selection of Tolstoyan and Dostoevskian texts, it is unlikely for him to have been a major instigator of the choices outside these authors. This is particularly true with Nin's Soviet novels given the lack of presence in the polysystem of some of these writers. The awareness of Pilnyak in the Catalan system was limited to a handful of mentions in passing of one short story, and an article based on a review of a French piece; Bogdanov's name had never previously been mentioned, and Zoshchenko's was never to be mentioned again.¹⁰ It is more plausible for Puig to have made suggestions to Payarols in regards to nineteenth century authors, given that, for example, Alexander Kuprin had been widely translated into Spanish, and that his novel *Iama (El femer)* was rather famous in neighbouring polysystems.¹¹ In any case, the novels that were eventually translated reveal a high level of delegation on behalf of Puig i Ferrer: Payarols and Nin's cultural and ideological positions are heavily represented in those texts.

1.2. Politics Versus Culture at Atena and Beyond

From an ideological and political perspective, Andreu Nin and Francesc Payarols could not have been more different. These differences affected their translations of 'other' Russians: whilst Nin focused on politically-oriented authors of the revolution, such as Pilnyak, Bogdanov, and Zoshchenko, Payarols was dedicated to nineteenth century writers like Turgenev, Saltikov-Shchedrin, and Kuprin. These literary preferences evolved and consolidated during their respective careers and are deeply rooted in their

¹⁰ Further statistics will be provided later in the chapter to sustain these claims.

¹¹ Rafael Tasis, 'Els llibres: Alexandre Kuprin, Iama (El Femer)', *Mirador*, 27 February 1936, p. 6.

conception of culture. A brief overview of their background will introduce their ideological clash at Editorial Atena.

In her thesis, Judit Figuerola outlines that Nin's access to translation was neither accidental, nor a consequence of adverse political circumstances; politics aside, his cultural motivation was to contribute to the development of Catalan literature.¹² Nin's involvement with Proa came undoubtedly from a wish to provide the Catalan polysystem with items of Russian literature that were lacking. The modest economic remuneration for his work as a translator into Catalan, compared to his financial gains when translating political literature into Spanish, meant that he was committed to contributing to literary development through translation at an emotional level.¹³ To a certain extent, Nin's ideological position in translation was twofold: when allowed to choose, he chose Soviet writers in line with his political agenda; however, his translation work into Catalan was motivated by the wish to improve the literary system, which led him to also translate more classic, mainstream writers.

His strong political convictions surface in his literary choices beyond Tolstoy and Dostoevsky. Whilst Puig i Ferrer had pencilled him in for a broad variety of translations when he joined Proa (from Pushkin and an anthology of classic writers to the *poputchik* or 'fellow travellers' of the revolution), Nin mainly focused on that last group, the Soviet authors. His strong Left Marxist principles made him very passionate about sharing his political ideas. When Josep Pla wrote about him in his collection *Homenots*, reminiscing about a trip to Moscow in which Nin acted as his tour guide, he stated that 'quan parlava de la societat futura, era una mica pesat'¹⁴ and 'hi havia moments que feia por. Por literal, explícita'¹⁵ in reference to their heated political conversations. Pla also observed his interest in Russian culture, both old and new, which explains the wide spectrum of translations he was expecting to undertake for Proa.

¹² Figuerola, *El català de l'URSS: Nin*, p. 7.

¹³ Figuerola, *Nin: Unyielding intellectual*, p. 323.

¹⁴ Pla and Sala, p. 208.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 223.

On the other hand, Payarols' ideological upbringing was much different. Raised in a modest family, he studied under the influence of Esteve Isern, described by Estelrich as 'un exseminarista carlí intensament religiós'.¹⁶ Payarols owed his intellectual development to him, as Isern not only convinced him to keep studying, but also provided a financial arrangement for Payarols to be able to afford his degree: he helped Isern as a teacher's aide at his primary school. Estelrich hints at Isern's influence in Payarols' by noting, for example, that the translator's interest in German language is partly indebted to his mentor's germanophilia.¹⁷ Payarols' more introvert personality seems to have played a role in his cultural opinions. For example, he joined a religious confraternity briefly due to family pressures; as he told Estelrich, his questioning of the Catholic teachings made him abandon the confraternity and he found himself reading Rousseau on the same day he left.¹⁸ Whilst he never expressed a specific political position publicly like Nin did, his literary choices reveal a culturally-focused approach to translation, with a combination of both conservative traits and progressive thinking. The ambiguity of his ideological stance contrasts with Nin's Left Marxist, politically-focused approach.

Their ideological differences worked rather well for Proa and Puig i Ferrer, as it made them complementary; their interests did not clash, which ensured that a greater variety of texts were translated into Catalan. However, this does not mean that their relationship was smooth. The height of their political disagreement came in 1935, the year Nin and Payarols worked together in Proa's spin off branch Editorial Atena. The publishing house edited seven books in rather tumultuous political circumstances, but it was their professional clash that brought Atena to an end, not censorship nor the establishment.

The original idea for Editorial Atena has been attributed to Marcel·lí Antich, the original cofounder of Proa.¹⁹ Puig i Ferrer was increasingly involved in politics; he had been elected a member of the Spanish Parliament for Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya in

¹⁶ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 47.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 50.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 51.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 54; Manent, *Del noucentisme a l'exili*, p. 115.

1931, and a representative of the re-established, provisional Generalitat government.²⁰ His commitment to politics began to interfere with his publishing activity. This is reflected in the quantity of novels published by Proa in 1935: only six, compared to nine in 1934 and eleven in 1933, and overall less than Atena in that year. Of those six texts, two were translations by Andreu Nin; *La primera noia* by Nikolai Bogdanov, and *L'insurgent* by Jules Valles from French.²¹ Antich brought the idea to Francesc Payarols, and together with Josep Cruells as main investor, they began their collaborative project. At Atena, Payarols was now developing the role that Puig i Ferrer had at Proa; he was the literary editor, a position of relative power to decide on what was to be translated. His level of agency determined four out of the seven publications that year: all four were translations, although only one of them by Payarols himself.²² According to Estelrich, who interviewed Payarols about this matter, Atena was also in talks with Stefan Zweig, who was allegedly willing to postpone the release of his biography on Mary Queen of Scots until the Catalan version was ready,²³ so that it could be published in the same year as the versions in English, French and Spanish.²⁴ This translation, however, never occurred.

Payarols' openness to new ideas and cultures is reflected in the translations that he gave the green light to during this period. Whilst Atena was meant to follow in the footsteps of Proa, Payarols was now in a position of power to control what was being published; hence if he had felt that, at an ideological level, a translation was not suitable for Atena's cultural project, he was in a position to veto it. The most remarkable example is the translation of *Manuela: novel·la del film Noies d'uniforme (Gestern und heute/Mädchen in Uniform, 1930-1)* by Christa Winsloe, as translated by Pau Cirera. This novel by Winsloe, originally published under the title *Das Mädchen Manuela*, had been turned into a stage play and later a film released in 1931 that became quite

²⁰ Puig i Ferrer, *Diari d'un escriptor: ressonàncies, 1942-1952*, p. 12.

²¹ 'Fairy Tales and True Stories: the History of Russian Literature for Children and Young People (1574-2010)', (Leiden: Brill, 2013), (p. 2).

²² Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 55. Estelrich, however, incorrectly argues that only five texts were published.

²³ Albert Manent indicates that Atena had obtained the translation rights. Manent, *Del noucentisme a l'exili*, p. 115.

²⁴ The 1935 Spanish version of *Maria Estuardo* was published in Chile. Stefan Zweig, *María Estuardo*. (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ultra, 1935). It was first published in Spain, in Barcelona specifically, one year later by Juventud. Stefan Zweig, *María Estuardo*. (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1936).

popular. This was the first all-female cast film in Europe to portray an implicit lesbian storyline.²⁵

Payarols' only translation, *Hell al llac de les dames* (*Hell in Frauensee*, 1927), had a *donjuanesque* plot. One of Vicki Baum's earlier and lesser known works, this publication was an attempt to utilise the author's popularity in Europe.²⁶ Critic Rafael Tasis's description of it as a 'novel·la rosa'²⁷ is an indicator of the peripheral position this text occupied in the system. The other two texts published by Atena are historical biographies which had been recently released in neighbouring polysystems. These were *Eduard VII i la seva època* (*The Edwardian era*, 1933) by André Maurois translated from French by Marçal Olivar, and *La reina Victòria* (*Queen Victoria*, 1921) by Lytton Strachey translated from English by Pau Romeva. Of the four titles published by Atena, women were either the subject or the author (or both) on three occasions, which demonstrates the publishing house's progressive thinking, and is testament to Payarols' cultural and social awareness.

The publication of translations by Editorial Atena was well received by the press, with the publishing house being praised for their presentation, as their volumes are described as being 'correctament imprès',²⁸ 'amablement presentada',²⁹ and they display 'la pulcritud i excel·lència a què ens té avesats [l'Editorial Atena]'.³⁰ However, the reviews are mixed when it comes to evaluating Payarols' translation of *Hell al llac de les dames*. Whilst an unknown reviewer from *La Humanitat* considers that 'Payarols ha vestit l'original germànic amb un estil català perfecte i una fraseologia insuperable',³¹ Rafael Tasis considers that the translator 'ha traduït l'obra amb deseiximent', although acknowledging that his lack of knowledge of German prevents

²⁵ Richard W. McCormick, 'Coming Out of the Uniform. Political and Sexual Emancipation in Leontine Sagan's *Mädchen in Uniform*', in *Weimar Cinema: An Essential Guide to Classic Films of the Era*, ed. by Noah Isenberg (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), (p. 271); Emily M. Daworth, 'Mädchen in Uniform', *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*, 27 (2010), p. 353.

²⁶ Baum had become quite the sensation in the 1930s thanks to her novel *Menschen im Hotel*, which was made into the Hollywood film *Grand Hotel*.

²⁷ Rafael Tasis, 'Els llibres', *Mirador*, 22 August 1935, p. 6.

²⁸ 'El correu d'avui: Llibres i llurs autors', *La Publicitat*, 8 March 1935, p. 4; 'El correu d'avui: Hell al llac de les dames', *La Publicitat*, 20 July 1935, p. 4; Ramón Esquerra, 'Els llibres: Hell al llac de les dames', *La Veu de Catalunya*, 23 August 1935, p. 6.

²⁹ Esquerra, *Els llibres: Hell al llac de les dames*, p. 6.

³⁰ F., 'Hell al llac de les dames', *La Humanitat*, 2 August 1935, p. 4.

³¹ *Ibid.*

him from judging whether certain colloquial expressions are adequately used.³² Domènec Guansé, on the other hand, is rather critical with Payarols translation, or rather, with his use of Catalan:

La prosa, sovint sincopada, llisca lleugera. Té un dring poètic que no deixa d'endevinar-se al través de la traducció de Francesc Payarols. No és, però, una victòria massa esclatant la seva. El català falla de vegades. Sobretot aquella insistència a anomenar mosses i mossetes les noies no és del millor gust.³³

On the other side of the ideological spectrum, Atena also published three politically-oriented, non-fiction books in 1935. Two referred to recent events in Spain, whilst the third was a politico-historical biography. In May 1935, Atena released *Bakunin*, a Marxist critique of the anarchist philosopher's ideas, by Vyacheslav Polonski, as translated by Andreu Nin.³⁴ The two other texts were political and journalistic accounts of the *Fets d'Octubre*. One of them was on the Catalan perspective of that conflict, with the title *El 6 d'octubre tal com jo l'he vist* by Lluís Aymamí i Baudina, journalist and chief of *La Humanitat* first, and *La Rambla* later, who had witnessed the events of the day from the Palau de la Generalitat.³⁵ The other text was an account on the Asturias revolution of October 1934, *U.H.P.: la revolució proletària d'Astúries*, by Narcís Molina i Fàbrega, who was a colleague of Nin's and a member of the POUM. According to both Manent and Estelrich, this book was very popular among the working classes and several editions had to be printed to meet the demand, as people queued up outside their printing headquarters to get a copy.³⁶

The ideological disagreements between Nin and Payarols came after the publication of this latter text. Nin was openly vocal about the need to publish proletarian literature, works that would both engage the working classes and sell large numbers of copies. Antich, whilst not necessarily involved at an ideological level, was aware of the popularity of political literature, and knew that continuing down that path was the best

³² Rafael Tasis, 'Els llibres: Hell al llac de les dames', *Mirador*, 22 August 1935, p. 6.

³³ Domènec Guansé, "'Hell al llac de les dames", de Wicki Baum', *La Publicitat*, 7 August 1935.

³⁴ Ramón Esquerra, 'Un llibre cada dia: Bakunin', *La Publicitat*, 03 Maig 1935.

³⁵ His name appears in the list of arrests released by the police on October 7th. Manifestaciones del Auditor de Guerra, 'Lista oficial de detenidos', *La Vanguardia*, 20 October 1934, p. 7.

³⁶ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 55; Manent, *Del noucentisme a l'exili*, p. 115.

business decision if they wanted Atena to succeed commercially.³⁷ Payarols opposed the move, as he wanted to continue publishing works of fiction of cultural interest. He would have found himself on the losing end of the argument had the circumstances been different, as the main investors Antich and Cruells favoured Nin's idea.

Consequently, this is not so much a case of clash of political positions, but rather of approaches to literature: Payarols was not a conservative, right-wing figure opposed to Nin's Left Marxist convictions. He had demonstrated an openness to European, progressive ideas, perhaps from a moderate perspective. His interest in literature was cultural, not political, hence his opposition to turning Atena into the printing ally of the POUM, Nin's party. Their disagreement was soon followed by a police raid of their offices in which all their correspondence and subscriptions were seized.³⁸ The publishing house was consequently dismantled, and Payarols lost all his investments. The lack of understanding between Nin and Payarols led to the loss of a project with plenty of potential.

2. Nineteenth vs Twentieth Century Literature: Illustrating Translator's Agency

The following section presents a review of Payarols and Nin's translating choices beyond Tolstoy and Dostoevsky for Edicions Proa to demonstrate their position of power as agents of the polysystem. It presents six very contrasting texts, by authors that were generally unknown to the Catalan audience before their publication. Reception of these novels in the Catalan press of the 1930s has been identified using the ARCA database as in previous chapters; some of the commentaries by the critics of the time will shed some light on the importance of the work carried out by Payarols and Nin, and the value the literary milieu gave to some of their translations. A brief description of the work and the author is also provided for contextual purposes; I do not intend to be exhaustive in my review of the original author's work, but rather paint an image of what the textual choice reveals about the translator.

³⁷ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*, p. 55.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

This review shows a series of important traits about the translators and their legacy that will open the door to the mythologisation discussion in Section 3. In fact, the following section highlights that one of the main contrasts between Payarols and Nin's choices, beyond the century in which the authors wrote their literature, lies in their impact on the system beyond the 1930s. Two out of three of Payarols' translations have been reviewed and reprinted recently, putting the texts in a position to be read by a modern audience whilst acknowledging the original translator; Nin's novels have all been out of print for decades, and are confined to the storage area of selected specialist libraries.

2.1. Payarols' Choices

Beyond Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and Chekhov, Payarols chose nineteenth century authors in his work for Proa: Ivan Turgenev, Aleksandr Kuprin, and Mikhail Saltikov-Shchedrin. These three writers were rather different from each other despite living most of their life in the 1800s. All three present characteristics that would make them stand out as an oddity when compared to each other, which illustrates Payarols' broader interests in the cultural aspect of Russian literature when compared to Andreu Nin's. The following section contextualises their position in the Catalan polysystem before and after these translations and offers an insight into the style of literature that Payarols favoured.

If there is a novel that has had a more central role in the Catalan system than some of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky's novels, that would be *Pares i fills* (*Отцы и дети*, 1862) by Ivan Turgenev (1818-1883). This is barely a surprise given the centrality of the text not only in Russia, but also in translation in neighbouring systems. The text preceded most major novels of the nineteenth century with perhaps the exceptions of Lermontov's *A hero of our time* (1840), and Gogol's *Dead Souls* (1842), and it has been declared one of the best compositions of its time by a large array of critics, from Nabokov to Berlin.³⁹ The generational struggle between the old regime, those who were young in the 1830s and 1840s, and the up and coming nihilistic ideals of the

³⁹ Vladimir Nabokov, *Lectures on Russian Literature*, trans. by Fredson Bowers. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich/Bruccoli Clark, 1981), p. 49.

1860s personified by young student Bazarov, serves as the engaging argument for Francesc Payarols' first translation for Proa.

The background story behind this choice has been explained in previous chapters: Payarols suggested to Puig i Ferrer that Turgenev's novel would be an easier, and equally engaging work for him to translate, rather than Dostoevsky's *Els germans Karamazov*, for his first assignment for Proa. This was a win-win situation for the publishing house as Turgenev was not an unknown figure to the Catalan milieu when *Pares i fills* was launched; his main work, however, had not been translated until that point. Several of his short stories had been translated over the years and published in a variety of magazines from as early as 1896. No other than Narcís Oller was responsible for this first translation of short stories in *Poemes en prosa/L'execució de Troppman* (*Poems in Prose*, 1883).⁴⁰ In 1900, Lluís Bartrina translated *Faust* (*Фауст*, 1855) for *El fulletó de La Renaixensa*, and in 1904 the *Biblioteca Popular de l'Avenç* published *Ensaigs*, a small collection of short stories translated by Joan Roselló. *Biblioteca De tots colors* then released *Peripècies d'un rellotge de butxaca* in 1908. A few other magazines such as *Joventut* or *L'Atlàntida* also published some of his short stories up until 1912.⁴¹ The last of his texts to be published before Payarols' work was *Després de la mort* (*После смерти (Клара Милуч)*, 1883) as translated by Cristòfor de Domènec in 1924. Turgenev's centrality continued following the publication of *Pares i fills*: shortly after Payarols' translation entered the market, Biblioteca Univers struck back with Turgenev's second most renowned work, *Niuada de gentilhomes* (*Дворянское гнездо*, 1859), as translated by the fictional team Olga Savarin and Enric Palau in 1930.⁴²

Therefore, *Pares i fills* was not breaking any new ground, but rather using Turgenev's presence in the Catalan system, and the popularity of his novel in neighbouring systems. The author's presence in the system did improve as a consequence of this publication: before 1929, Turgenev's name had only appeared in the Catalan press 10 times. In 1929 alone, his name was printed 11 times. In the period between 1924 and

⁴⁰ Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, p. 260. *Poems in Prose* was a collection of some of Turgenev's 'sketches' compiled, translated, and published by Cupples, Upham, and Company.

⁴¹ Such as 'Hamlet y[sic] Don Quixot', 'Llegenda oriental', and 'El pa d'altri'. Ibid.

⁴² Ibid. p. 256.

1939, the total number of mentions of his name is 47.⁴³ The original publication in May 1929 was reviewed by Just Cabot and Domenèc Guansé on the same day in *Mirador* and *La Publicitat* respectively. The former focuses on the evolution of the Russian novel through the nineteenth century, and comments on the opposition between Slavic writers like Dostoevsky and Western authors like Turgenev. Only a third of his column deals with *Pares i fills*, which he describes as a successful blend of characters and actions that makes the story authentic. Cabot also praises the figure of the translator and the work of Edicions Proa in general in providing unmediated translations into Catalan, as well as mentioning Nin's translation of Dostoevsky:

Tot i que Francesc Payarols, fins ara, no era gens conegut en el món de les lletres, s'hi ha guanyat de cop un bon nom: la seva traducció ens sembla oferir les garanties desitjades i coneixement de l'idioma de que es tradueix i d'aquell a que es tradueix. Alguna inseguredat[sic] de llenguatge, potser més qüestió de gust que altra cosa, no arriba a entelar la prosa cursiva de la versió catalana de *Pares i fills*. La troballa d'aquest traductor és un servei més a agrair a la direcció de l'Editorial Proa.⁴⁴

Guansé, on the other hand, focuses slightly more on the actual text, and its development in Russia and in translation. He coincides with Cabot in describing Turgenev as a Westernised author, and provides a brief biographical note to justify this, mentioning the Russian writer's connection with Germany. Guansé has more to say about Payarols' translation, and whilst he positively reiterates the advantages of unmediated translations over mediated ones which used French as an intermediary and Payarols linguistic skills, he also mentions his translating issues:

El propi Turguènev es planyia de les inexactituds dels seus traductors francesos. [...] El fet que Francesc Payarols pugui traduir-lo al català, directament del rus, ens estalviarà que aquelles inexactituds [...] siguin perpetuades en el nostre

⁴³ For this search, the spellings of 'Turguenev' and 'Turgenev' have been used. URL: <<http://mdc2.cbuc.cat/cdm/search/searchterm/turguenev/field/all/mode/all/conn/and/order/title/ad/asc>> and <<http://mdc2.cbuc.cat/cdm/search/searchterm/turgenev/field/all/mode/all/conn/and/order/title/ad/asc>> [Accessed on 14/07/2018]

⁴⁴ Cabot, p. 4.

idioma. I és possible que l'encís de la prosa de Turguènev [...] s'hagi pogut mantenir amb més frescor en el nostre català literari. [...] El català amb què ha fet la seva traducció Francesc Payarols *és ric, matisat i d'una gran frescor. De vegades, molt poques, ens trobem amb alguna expressió en estat de larva. Però aixó ens sembla molt més encara una manca d'agilitat estilística*, un desig de reproduir amb una exactitud impossible, la forma original. Ens és impossible d'ésser jutge en aquesta qüestió. Al través, però, de les traduccions franceses en hem pogut adonar de la minuciositat amb què Francesc Payarols ha acomplert la seva tasca.⁴⁵

Given Payarols' literary insecurities, critical recognition of his efforts would not have fallen on deaf ears.

The relevance of *Pares i fills* in the polysystem of the 1930s and beyond becomes apparent with the reissue of this work later in the twentieth century. In 1978, a second edition was published by Proa: this text was a reprint of the original, without any amendments. This was the only one of Payarols' translations to be reissued integrally in the second half of the century. In 2011, a new edition revised by Ana Quelbenzu was published, this time by Marbot. In this version, the text has been fully updated to reflect more current linguistic trends and it reads smoothly when compared to Payarols' original. Whilst the meaning and structure of the text have not been altered, the grammar and stylistic updates are noticeable throughout, making it almost a completely different novel. These updates work in favour of the modern readership: in instances in which Payarols translates rather literally and following the Russian structure, as identified by Cabot and Guansé, Quelbenzu rephrases for legibility, as in the example below from the opening paragraph:

- Què, Pere, encara no es veu? – preguntava el 20 de maig de 1859 un senyor d'uns quaranta anys, que vestia un abric tot ple de pols i pantalon de quadros i no duia res al cap, dret al primer graó de l'entrada d'un hostal del camí de ..., al

⁴⁵ Guansé, *Les lletres*, p. 6. Italics are my own.

seu criat, un xicot jove, amb pèl moixí ros clar a la barba, rodó de cara i ulls petits i apagats.⁴⁶

- Què, Pere, encara no es veu? – un senyor d’uns quaranta anys, vestit amb un abric tot ple de pols i pantalons de quadres, li feia aquesta pregunta el 20 de maig de 1859 al seu criat, un xicot jove amb pèl moixí ros clar a la barba, rodó de cara i d’ulls petits i apagats, alhora que sortia del porxo d’un hostal del camí de ---.⁴⁷

Quelbenzu also updates Payarols’ footnotes, by including additional ones where expressions were left untranslated, or by deleting others as appropriate, for example in the case of ‘kopec’.⁴⁸ The assumption in removing this explanation is that modern readership would be familiar with this Russian monetary unit, as the word is in the dictionary. Other revisions include, for example, the change of the characters’ names to a transliterated version, as opposed to Payarols’ domestication.

The second writer that Payarols selected was Aleksandr Kuprin (1870-1938). Having lived at either side of the turn of the century, and with the later development of his literary abilities, it is hard to classify Kuprin as a nineteenth century Russian author in the strict sense of the definition. He is not a standard twentieth century writer either, as his best literature preceded the revolution, and his contribution as an émigré in Paris, where he lived between 1919 and 1937, bore little significance when compared to other authors in a similar situation.

Kuprin’s position within the Catalan system before the publication of Payarols’ translation of *Iama: El femer* (Яма, 1909-1917) in 1935 was uncommonly popular. The mention of his name and his work in the press was constant, both in articles that were directly related to his work, and to his activities in Paris.⁴⁹ His name appeared in the Barcelona-published press a staggering 47 times before 1930 alone, with only 18

⁴⁶ Ivan Turgenev, *Pares i fills*, trans. by Francesc Payarols. (Badalona: Proa, 1929), p. 5.

⁴⁷ Ivan Turgenev, *Pares i fills*, trans. by Francesc Payarols and Ana Quelbenzu. (Barcelona: Marbot, 2011), p. 9.

⁴⁸ Turgenev, *Pares i fills*, p. 72.

⁴⁹ *La Publicitat* echoed one of his non-literary activities as a member of the panel in a Russian beauty contest in Paris, for example. 'La candidata russa', *La Publicitat*, 30 January 1929, p. 1.

mentions after 1935, and for a total of 81 between 1914 and 1938.⁵⁰ His work was praised from a variety of political positions despite the fact that none of it was available in Catalan until mid-1930s. Similar to Dostoevsky's textless central position in the polysystem, Kuprin's fame came mainly because he had been heavily translated into Spanish from 1919 onwards. By 1930, a broad selection of his literature had been published, including *Iama* in two different translations, in 1923 as *Yama: de la mala vida en Rusia*, and in 1928 as *La fosa de la lascivia*. In addition to this, he was a contemporary writer, and he was part of the French system, hence the awareness towards his figure in Catalan despite the lack of translations. His fame in the 1930s continued well into the Spanish Civil War: obituaries were written in several literary magazines and newspapers in 1938, and he was honoured in the same fashion as writers like Tolstoy or Chekhov.⁵¹

In Catalan, only one of Kuprin's texts had been translated: the short story turned novella *Sulamita* ('Суламифь', 1908) by B. Markoff for Biblioteca Univers. The date on this publication is not specified, but the dates of nearby releases suggest it preceded Payarols' translation, however not by much. His popularity in neighbouring systems which influenced his position within the Catalan system, beyond his status as an émigré, is based on the content of his most famous work. *Iama: El femer* is a documentary/novel that portrays the state of prostitution in Russia before the revolution. Structured in three parts, and originally published in instalments, Payarols translated the entire 'collection' in two volumes. It is rather remarkable that a text of this nature was in fact published in the *Biblioteca A Tot Vent*, given the general audience that Proa was targeting, and the obviously taboo subjects (prostitution, sexuality, and illicit businesses) that it depicted. In fact, some of the mentions in the press referred to Kuprin as the author of taboo topics,⁵² and awareness of the contents of the novel were extended across the system.

⁵⁰ This search was performed using the spelling 'Kuprin'. URL: <<http://mdc2.cbuc.cat/cdm/search/searchterm/kuprin/field/all/mode/all/conn/and/order/title/page/1>> [Accessed on 14 July 2018]

⁵¹ Pau Balsells, 'Davant la mort d'Alexandre Kuprin', *Meridià*, 5 August 1938; J. C., 'Alexandre Kuprin', *Revista de Catalunya*, 15 November 1938.

⁵² 'Un llibre cada dia: 'La primera noia' de Nicolai Bogdanov', *La Publicitat*, 18 April 1935; 'El correu de Na Teclera', *Papitu*, 8 October 1930.

This novel was reviewed by Rafael Tasis for *Mirador* shortly after its publication. In his review, Tasis highlights the fact that this novel had been translated into Spanish on countless occasions and describes it as photographic vision of life in a brothel. The critic appreciates Kuprin's ability to remain neutral and non-judgemental of the events that develop in the novel, heightening the mediocrity of human existence. In the final paragraph, Tasis has words of praise for the work of Payarols in this complex novel:

Traduir un llibre així, en el qual les expressions de l'argot del bordell i les descripcions realistes veïegen paràgrafs d'un lirisme autèntic, és una feina arriscada, que demana un gran tacte: Francesc Payarols, que ja ha demostrat la seva competència en altres traduccions del rus, ha sabut sortir-se airós de l'empresa.⁵³

This novel showcases the extent of Payarols' cultural interests and reinforces the argument that his choices were neither politically-focused nor conservative. This translation stands out from the other two novels because it was neither revised nor retranslated throughout the twentieth century. Kuprin's work remained a thing of the 1930s; in fact, no other texts by the Russian author have been published in Catalan in the past eighty years.

The third and final author in Payarols' list is Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin (1826-1889). With this choice, the translator goes back to a more standard nineteenth century writer, yet still a rather unusual figure. Shchedrin was a well-established, rich civil servant who 'wrote some of the most violent satires on bureaucracy known to world literature'.⁵⁴ His strong economic and political position allowed him to be fiercely critical of the Russian establishment in his literature without consequences.⁵⁵ The presence of Shchedrin in Catalan before Payarols' translation is next to null. His name did not appear in the press until Payarols' translation in 1931, for a total of 7 mentions

⁵³ Tasis, *Els llibres: Alexandre Kuprin, Iama (El Femer)*, p. 6.

⁵⁴ Emil A. Draitser, Victor Raskin, and Willibald Ruch, *Techniques of Satire: The Case of Saltykov-Shchedrin*. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994), p. 1.

⁵⁵ 'There is no layer of contemporary Russian society that Saltykov did not ridicule or mock in one way or another.' Ibid. p. 2.

between 1931 and 1936.⁵⁶ The only other text to be published in Catalan was one of his satirical fairytales, 'La consciència perduda'⁵⁷ in 1896. This was published in *La Renaixensa* and its translator remained anonymous.⁵⁸ From then until the publication of *Els senyors de Golovliovi* (*Господа Головлёвы*, 1880) by Edicions Proa in 1931, his figure was largely ignored by the milieu. Even the release of this novel did not move Shchedrin's position towards the centre: he remained on the periphery of the polysystem throughout the 1930s and beyond.⁵⁹ His position was as precarious in the Spanish system, in which the only text available in the first half of the century was his masterpiece, translated in 1924 with the title *Judas y su familia*.⁶⁰

Els senyors de Golovliovi was translated by Payarols but prologued by Nin, an introduction in which the author's biography was duly contextualised. Domènec Guansé, in his review of this novel for *La Publicitat*, thanks Nin for this 'excellent' piece, and adds his own commentary of Saltykov-Shchedrin's life, as a way to explain the cruelty of the novel and the author's attack of all social classes. In this instance, Guansé is more critical of Payarols' overall linguistic choices, however he appears satisfied with the faithfulness of his translation given Nin's endorsement of the text:

Andreu Nin, en el pròleg esmentat, se'ns fa fiador de la fidelitat del traductor. L'honestedat, certament, s'endevina en el text català. Fins l'esforç d'ésser precís sembla travar una mica la tasca de Francesc Payerols [sic], la prosa del qual voldríem que fos més aïrosa, que prescindís, sobretot, una mica de lligams i de locucions adverbials sovint innecessàries.⁶¹

⁵⁶ This search included the common spelling of his name in Catalan as 'Xedrin', but also 'Xendrin' (which had one mention). URL: <http://mdc2.cbuc.cat/cdm/search/searchterm/xedrin/field/all/mode/all/conn/and/order/title/ad/asc> [Accessed 13 July 2018]

⁵⁷ I have been unable to identify the original name of this tale.

⁵⁸ Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, p. 260.

⁵⁹ Manel de Montoliu, 'La literatura russa', *La Veu de Catalunya*, 2 November 1932.

⁶⁰ This references the main character of the novel, Porfiry Vladimirovich, who is nicknamed Judas as a child.

⁶¹ Guansé, *Llibres! Llibres!*, p. 3.

Like *Pares i fills*, Shchedrin's novel has been reviewed and reprinted recently by Ana Quelbenzu for Marbot, with the updated title *La família Golovliov*.⁶² This text presents similar updates to Turgenev's; a refreshed version with an easier to read text which corrects issues ranging from footnoting, to printing errors, and Latinisations. Credit to Payarols' translation remains intact, which in a way turns this update into a continuation of his work. These reviews demonstrate that the concerns of the original translator's input being pushed to the background or even disappearing from the publication are unfounded. In fact, what these reviews provide is a modern text for modern readers that pays tribute to the translator who did the difficult work.

2.2. Nin's Choices

When Andreu Nin committed to translate for Edicions Proa, his wish list of authors was rather ambitious. In 1929, Puig i Ferrer announced the translator's preferences, and in addition to his work on Dostoevsky and Tolstoy '[Nin] prepara una important "Antologia de contistes russos clàssics i moderns" en diversos volums [...] i li fa il·lusió de traduir Puixkin, Lermontov, Gógol, Turguenev, tant com nostrar [sic] Tolstoi, un dels seus autors preferits'.⁶³ His eventual choices outside the main authors are very different from Puig's original statement; in fact, he deals with completely different writers from the ones mentioned above. However, given his political standing and his interest in bringing culture and ideology together, it does not come as a surprise that his translations are solely of twentieth century post-revolution authors. Nin chose to translate novels by Boris Pilnyak, Nikolay Bogdanov, and Mikhail Zoshchenko, three ideologically different yet contemporary authors, which illustrates his political commitment in translation. It is also worth mentioning that Nin only translated Bogdanov for the *Biblioteca A Tot Vent*; Pilnyak was published in another collection, and Zoshchenko was part of *Quaderns Literaris*, a completely different publishing house altogether.

⁶² Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin, *La família Golovliov*, trans. by Francesc Payarols and Ana Quelbenzu. (Barcelona: Marbot, 2014).

⁶³ Puig i Ferrer, *Francesc Payarols*, p. 6.

Andreu Nin translated Boris Pilnyak's (1894-1937) *El Volga desemboca al mar Caspí* (*Волга впадает в Каспийское море*, 1930) for Edicions Proa's new collection *Els d'ara* in 1931. The aim of this branch, much like the other side project *Històries curtes*, was to publish contemporary literature as it was being released in its original language. Pilnyak's novel was the third and last that was published in the collection, which had seen the translation of *Les caves del Vaticà* by André Gide and *Mrs Dalloway* by Virginia Woolf the year before. Comparatively, Pilnyak's novel was the most contemporary of the three, given Woolf's dates from 1925 and Gide's from 1914. In fact, there were novels published in *Biblioteca A Tot Vent* that were more contemporary than Gide's.⁶⁴

Pilnyak was not a known author at the time of Nin's translation; however, his name had appeared on four occasions in the Catalan press linked to the development of Soviet literature before the publication of Nin's translation: the author's name will appear a further 21 times between 1931 and 1936.⁶⁵ These mentions were directly taken from the French system, normally from articles that had been originally published in the neighbouring literary magazines. The first mention of his name came in 1925 in an article in *La Revista* about post-revolutionary writers, which also featured Mikhail Zoshchenko.⁶⁶ This text summarises a French original from *Le Temps* written by Andre Levinson. This article, along with another one published in *La Veu de Catalunya* in 1926,⁶⁷ refers to Pilnyak's only known work at the time, *L'anyada nua/L'any nu* (*Голый год*, 1922).⁶⁸ This novel has never been translated into Catalan. Whilst mentions of non-translated works in articles about the general status of a neighbouring literary system are not uncommon in the Catalan context of the time, *La Publicitat* published a rather curious article on its front page in 1927 titled 'La soviètzació de la natura'.⁶⁹ In it, Antoni Rovira i Virgili criticises how writers like Pilnyak are creating new words to resemble the acronyms of the main Soviet institutions and using them in their

⁶⁴ However, these were not translations but novels by Catalan authors.

⁶⁵ For this search, the spelling of 'Pilniak' was used, as 'Pilnyak' did not return any results. URL: <<http://mdc2.cbuc.cat/cdm/search/searchterm/pilniak/field/all/mode/all/conn/and/order/title/ad/asc>> [Accessed 13 July 2018]

⁶⁶ F.S., 'Alguns prosistes russos d'aquest temps', *La Revista*, pp. 538-9.

⁶⁷ Fly, 'Lletres estrangeres: La novel·la russa post-revolucionaria', *La Veu de Catalunya*, 6 November 1925, p. 4.

⁶⁸ Those are the two titles used for the same work. I have chosen to include both as the novel was never translated into Catalan.

⁶⁹ Antoni Rovira i Virgili, 'La soviètzació de la natura', *La Publicitat*, 30 August 1927.

descriptions of nature. The scholar uses Pilnyak as a reference for Soviet literature, however the context is lost as none of his work was available at the time in any other language besides French.⁷⁰

El Volga desemboca al mar Caspí is the first Soviet novel to have ever been translated into Catalan. Shortly after its publication it was reviewed by Domènec Guansé in *La Rambla*, and by Tomás Garcés in *La Publicitat*. The latter begins his column with a note from Nin himself, in which he gives an overview of the style of the author and the novel and argues that Pilnyak had ‘entusiasme pel gran capgirament produït per la revolució, [...] compassió melangiosa per alguns dels aspectes de la vida emportada pel torb d’octubre’. Garcés adds that the author’s style is that of the Soviet Union and its communist present.⁷¹ Guansé echoes this impression by arguing that Pilnyak’s work is not a reflection of the difficulties of the country, but rather just a novel, and adds that ‘però ja ha estat prou repetit que avui, els millors historiadors dels pobles són llurs novel·listes’. He then presents the current situation in Russia in idyllic terms, and links it to its traditional past: ‘de la Rússia actual, però amb una alenada que munta des de no sé quin obscur mil·lenari i que fa reviure en el temps i a través del temps tota la Rússia’.⁷² Kenneth Brostrom argues that Pilnyak thought of having changed his initial critical stance against the regime and is ‘widely -and mistakenly- understood as his literary and moral collapse under [...] terrible political pressure’,⁷³ as Pilnyak was made an example of what deviating writers should expect under the new regime. It is important to note that neither reviewer comments on the linguistic aspects of the translation and they focus solely on the themes of the novel. Despite its theoretical and ideological appeal to the working classes, the novel remained on the periphery for much of the 1930s. In fact, after Guansé’s and Garcés’ reviews, any mention of Boris Pilnyak vanished from the Catalan press; not even his controversial trial and execution by the Soviet authorities in 1938 made it to the newspapers.

⁷⁰ Pilnyak’s *The Naked Year* was not translated into English until 1929, for exemple.

⁷¹ Tomás Garcés, ‘Revista de Llibres’, *La Publicitat*, 14 June 1931, p. 5.

⁷² Domènec Guansé, ‘Una sensació de Rússia’, *La Rambla*, 25 June 1931, p. 8.

⁷³ Kenneth N. Brostrom, ‘Boris Pilnyak’, in *Handbook of Russian Literature*, ed. by Victor Terras (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), (p. 339).

As a text, only Nin could have tackled its complexities, given the number of expressions, historico-political references, acronyms, and other cultural elements that populate the novel. In fact, the constant exaltation of the triumphs and grand achievements of the revolution poses the question of whether or not the novel should be read through a sarcastic, dissident lens.⁷⁴ In terms of the text itself, Natàlia Kharitònova concludes that despite the fewer poetic elements in Nin's text compared to Pilnyak's, 'des del punt de vista de l'adequació estilística és la millor experiència de Nin com a traductor'.⁷⁵ This is due to the combination of Pilnyak's abundantly creative, Soviet-derived language in the novel, which was hard to replicate in translation, with Nin's familiarity with the communist bureaucratic discourse, and consequently his excellent ability to render it in Catalan.

El Volga desemboca al mar Caspí was reprinted by Edicions 62 in 1986 and 1991, but unlike Payarols' translations, it was not revised or updated. The text in those two editions is the integral version originally published in 1931, a similar phenomenon to the reprints of *Anna Karenina* and *Crim i càstig* throughout the twentieth century. Consequently, the availability of this novel is restricted to libraries and archives. As a consequence of not updating the text, Pilnyak's novel has been temporarily 'lost' to the Catalan audience, and no longer holds a position within the polysystem.

Nin's second translation of a Soviet author followed a similar fate. In 1935, during Edicions Proa's drought, the publishing house still managed to release Nin's rendition of Nikolay Bogdanov's *La primera noia* (*Первая девушка*, 1928). Unlike Pilnyak's peripheral position, Bogdanov's lack of presence in the system is hardly a surprise. To this date, he remains a forgotten communist writer, barely known abroad, and described as 'one of the foremost exponents of Young Pioneer life'⁷⁶ (the Soviet youths), but not recognised as an adult, serious author. Bogdanov's name appeared in

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 338.

⁷⁵ Kharitònova, p. 68.

⁷⁶ Hellman, p. 339.

the Catalan press 14 times during the 1930s, with 12 of those mentions in the period between 1935 and 1936.⁷⁷

This novel is the only genuine exponent of Soviet realism in the Catalan system of the 1930s, and possibly the entire twentieth century. Bogdanov tells the story of Sània, the first girl to be accepted as part of her rural Komsomol, who rises to the highest rank in the organisation given her strong leadership. The doctrinal side of the story warns young communists about the perils of 'free love', as Sània's promiscuity leads to syphilis and her eventual death at the hands of one of the members, for the greater good of preserving the name of the group.

La primera noia was reviewed by Domènec Guansé for *La Publicitat*, and Rafael Tasis for *Mirador*, as well as by an unnamed critic from *La Humanitat*. The latter review, which was the first to be published in April 1935, complained that this novel had been ignored by the main newspapers, and then engages in criticism of the critics for not broadening their horizons beyond French and English novels, and for waiting until translations into Spanish become available before talking about certain texts in the press. The critic then complains that not enough is being said about Nin's work: 'I de les traduccions directes dels grans mestres russos per Andreu Nin, aquestes traduccions comparables i insuperables, ¿qui n'ha dit res?' The column itself, however, only briefly refers to *La primera noia* in the introductory paragraph.⁷⁸

On the other hand, Guansé and Tasis did engage with the novel. Both critics underlined the fact that the moral of the story is far from the Catalan perception of communist principles, and that Sània's sacrifice to protect the honour of the Komsomol, as well as the speech against free love, would please bourgeois and Catholic ideals.⁷⁹ Guansé and Tasis acknowledge that the strength of this 'proletarian' novel is its historical relevance and the first-hand experience of Bogdanov as a member himself of the communist youth. Its insights into the life of the Komsomol at a time of turbulence, in an

⁷⁷ The only spelling used in this search was 'Bogdanov'. URL: <http://mdc2.cbuc.cat/cdm/search/searchterm/bogdanov/field/all/mode/all/conn/and/order/title/ad/asc> [Accessed on 13 July 2018]

⁷⁸ L'Observador, 'La crítica i les traduccions', *La Humanitat*, 2 April 1935, p. 4.

⁷⁹ Guansé, *Un llibre cada dia: 'La primera noia' de Nicolai Bogdanov*, p. 4.

atmosphere of Civil War, are unique; the novel is almost a documentary. As Guansé explains, '[la novel·la] ens fa reviure l'atmosfera de recel, d'inquietud, que durant molt de temps degué pesar damunt les viles soviètiques'.⁸⁰ In reference to Nin's work, both critics applaud his choice to bring to the Catalan system a novel so different from the novels in a central position.⁸¹ Guansé also adds to Nin's translation efforts that 'l'estil de la traducció és claríssim; el català, excel·lent'.⁸²

Despite the apparent interest generated by these two reviews, *La primera noia* was not the success Proa and Nin expected it to be. Published in a year of great external difficulties and so close to the Spanish Civil War, it remained a peripheral novel. Given Bogdanov's lack of presence not only in neighbouring polysystems, but also in his home system in Russia, the Catalan text has become obsolete. Again, this novel is now only accessible via specialist libraries and archives, as it was never reprinted throughout the twentieth century.

Finally, the last of the Russian authors to be translated by Andreu Nin outside of the mainstream is Mikhail Zoshchenko (1894-1958). In 1936, and only a month before the beginning of the war, Joan Janés' *Quadern Literaris* published *Prou compassió!*, a compilation of short stories. This was not, however, Nin's first translation of Zoshchenko into Catalan. In 1930, he had translated and introduced the short story 'El transformista' for *Mirador*.⁸³ In his introduction to this story, Nin admits that Zoshchenko is not one of the main writers of post-revolutionary Russia, however he is the only one to consider humour as a writing strategy, and for that alone, it is, in his opinion, worth translating him.⁸⁴

Zoshchenko's presence in the Catalan press is limited to three occurrences:⁸⁵ the above short story, and two reviews of *Prou compassió!*, one by Joan Teixidor in *La Publicitat*

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Tasis, p. 6.

⁸² Guansé, *Un llibre cada dia: 'La primera noia' de Nicolai Bogdanov*, p. 4.

⁸³ I have not been able to identify the original name of either of these texts by Zoshchenko.

⁸⁴ Andreu Nin, 'El transformista, un conte de Mikhail Zóixenko', *Mirador*, 4 December 1930, p. 4.

⁸⁵ Several spellings of his name were used, including 'Zoixenko', 'Zaixenko', 'Zoixenco' and 'Zoxenco'.

URL:

<<http://mdc2.cbuc.cat/cdm/search/searchterm/zoixenko/field/all/mode/all/conn/and/order/title/ad/asc>> [Accessed on 11 July 2018]

and another by Jordi Jou in *La Humanitat*. In his article, Teixidor admits that the 'new' Russian literature is only known by the Catalan audience in a fragmented manner despite Nin's attempts to bridge the gap. His opinion of Zoshchenko's work is that, whilst it provides the reader with sketches of Soviet life, it fails in its humoristic sense, as 'l'humor és més aviat apagat, de no massa volada, però amb un no sé què de simpàtic a causa de la seva imparcialitat'.⁸⁶ On the other hand, Jou considers that Zoshchenko manages to criticise every layer of Soviet society using the cover of humour, and recommends the book to 'tots aquells que vulguin tenir un document viu a les mans de la U.R.S.S. [...] Si tenim en compte que qui ens ho explica és un humorista, la visió serà més justa i més verídica'.⁸⁷ In Spanish, Zoshchenko was only translated in 1933, with the publication of the collection of stories *Así ríe Rusia*, as translated by Álvarez Portal.

Whilst Zoshchenko was markedly more famous than Nikolay Bogdanov, his position within the Russian system fluctuated from one extreme to the other,⁸⁸ heavily affecting the reception of his work abroad. His literary career consisted of the almost Chekhovian combination of short sketches and longer, more serious short stories, with characters that developed under 'the most common and ordinary details of every day Soviet reality'.⁸⁹ In the late 1940s, he caught himself in a dispute with censor and critic Zhdanov, and fell out of grace:⁹⁰ his works were shortly republished after his death in 1958, but sold out fast. The fact that 'his name no longer appears in print in the Soviet Union, even for attack'⁹¹ as per Monas' argument in 1961 means his literature also vanished in translation. Consequently, *Prou compassió!* suffered a similar fate to Nin's other Soviet translations: the text no longer exists outside the walls of the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya.

⁸⁶ Joan Teixidor, 'Un llibre cada dia: Prou compassió', *La Publicitat*, 28 June 1936, p. 2.

⁸⁷ Jordi Jou, 'Llegint...', *La Humanitat*, 4 July 1936, p. 4.

⁸⁸ Mikhail Zoshchenko, *Nervous People, and Other Satires*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1963), p. x.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p. xxi.

⁹⁰ Mikhail Zoshchenko, *Scenes from the Bathhouse: And Other Stories of Communist Russia*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961); Zoshchenko, *Nervous People, and Other Satires*.

⁹¹ Zoshchenko, *Scenes from the Bathhouse: And Other Stories of Communist Russia*, p. xii.

3. Mythologisation, Revisions, and Text Survival

In the previous two sections, I have provided examples to support the argument that Payarols and Nin played a role as agents of the Catalan system of the 1930s through their contribution in translating texts on the periphery. These examples have also contributed to illustrating the cultural and political differences between them, and their opposite approaches to translation. This final section presents two arguments that will question the conception of the power dynamics in operation between the two authors as it has been portrayed through this thesis.

The previous section has shown that the novels that Payarols and Nin chose to translate beyond Tolstoy and Dostoevsky remained mainly on the periphery throughout the 1930s, perhaps with the only exception of Turgenev. This is a phenomenon not limited to the Catalan system: whilst some of these books might have enjoyed more central positions in Russia, they all seem to have stagnated in the outskirts of the European systems that received them. This is particularly true when compared to the major role that the work of the two great authors played in the European (macro)polysystem. Given this peripheral position of the novels translated by Nin and Payarols, the role that these played in the reshaping of the Catalan literary repertoire is more symbolic than quantifiable. In fact, taken in isolation, their contribution is practically non-existent. Their role needs to be considered as a whole, as the conjunction of Russian literature translated in the 1930s, for it to bear any significance within the system. However, whilst their input might appear inconsequential to the reshaping of the repertoire, the presence of these translations in the cultural sphere contributed to the normalisation of the publication of novels written in Catalan. The presence of these seemingly irrelevant texts in the system helped the maturation and consolidation of the structures that enabled production in Catalan.

Whilst perhaps a token contribution to the system, these novels gain relevance in the study of Nin and Payarols' work, as they explain more about their translators than about their original authors or their role in the receiving culture. One of the purposes of this chapter is to showcase how the translators' political and ideological positions are reflected in their work. These have revealed that, in their pursuit to contribute to

the literary system, Payarols and Nin took very different paths. Consequently, these peripheral novels are essential to this research because they highlight the level of agency of these two translators.

Despite this power given to the translators, the behaviour of other members of the system towards their work has greatly affected how these texts have fared not only in the 1930s, but throughout the century. In previous chapters, I have demonstrated that the cultural importance given to Andreu Nin in his position as both an agent of the system, and a key political player in turbulent times, has given rise to the mythologisation of his figure. This mythologisation has led to the fossilisation of the novels he translated to the point that all new publications of his major works *Anna Karènina* and *Crim i càstig* contain the original text as per his translations during the Second Republic. On the other hand, Payarols' work on the three main authors has never even been reprinted or revised, and therefore some of his work has been lost for the modern reader.

However, in the case of the nineteenth and twentieth century secondary writers Payarols and Nin translated, an unusual phenomenon has led to role reversal. For the first time after the 1930s, two texts have been completely revised and updated. This is the closest that the Catalan system of the second half of the twentieth century has been to retranslating texts over 80 years old. These two texts are Payarols' translations and have both been revised by Ana Quelbenzu for publishing house Marbot. These revisions may be isolated phenomena, given that they are both the work of one single translator, rather than the result of the collective awareness that the texts needed a retranslation due to the ageing of the original text. However, the consequences of Quelbenzu's revisions go beyond the actual updating of the text, and truly challenge the prejudices around the concept of retranslation.

As proposed earlier in this thesis, the mythologisation of Nin's texts is partly the product of the reinforced belief that his original translations are still linguistically adequate to be republished integrally, and these texts have turned into classics in their

own right.⁹² There does not appear to be an interest in the current market conditions to question whether the aged translations are still valid texts to offer to modern readers. This is an unusual situation when compared to neighbouring systems, as, for example, *Anna Karenina* seems to have been translated at least once every generation into English from its first publication.

If the main argument against retranslation or revision may be that the text does not require an update, a secondary reasoning could be that Nin would lose his status as one of the most renowned translators from Russian into Catalan. Quelbezu's work on Payarols' translations challenges both arguments. The critical consensus of the 1930s given in this chapter seems to be that Payarols' use of Catalan in translation was not considered to be as smooth as Nin's.⁹³ Despite Payarols' less powerful position, and his concerns about his own abilities, his Catalan text is still functional; the complexities of his language are not any more pronounced than Nin's, nor are his texts in a more obvious need of revision. Both their styles read as writers from the post-*Noucentista* era. Yet the improvement of the text in Quelbenzu's revisions is palpable; both translations are still nineteenth century novels, yet the additional layer of linguistic content added by Payarols' 1930s style is removed, or at least it is moved to the background. Nin's translations would benefit from this type of update and still maintain his original style.

In terms of the second argument, the loss of recognition for the original translation as a consequence of a complete text revision, Quelbenzu's work serves as an example to deconstruct this prejudice. Francesc Payarols' name heavily features in the front and inside pages of the novel, his figure still associated with the work he put a great effort in completing. If anything, his literary figure is reinforced by the publication of the review, as his name comes back to the fore and overturns the tendency of the system to forget him. None of his work on the major authors was reprinted after the war; his translations of Turgenev and Saltykov-Shchedrin are a rare exception. It could be argued that Nin does not require this strategy to gain recognition within the modern

⁹² Armstrong.

⁹³ I would argue that Nin's use of Catalan may have been closer to *Noucentista* linguistic trends. Cabot, p. 4.

Catalan polysystem, as his work on Tolstoy and Dostoevsky is still being published. Due to the immense fame of those novels, it is likely that they will remain somewhat central for generations to come without perceptions about the adequacy of Nin's translation ever changing. Whilst this may be true in the case of these key writers, Nin's work outside the mainstream has effectively been lost to the non-specialist reader, and a review and republication of a novel like Pilnyak's, for example, would positively contribute to the consolidation of his legacy.

In addition to this, Quelbenzu's work poses an interesting question in regards to resources. Why Shchedrin and not Pilnyak? And more importantly, why Turgenev and not Tolstoy and Dostoevsky? Of Quelbenzu's two revisions, only Turgenev's is entirely justified from an economic perspective; after all, *Pares i fills* is as important a text as any written by Tolstoy or Dostoevsky. A revision of Shchedrin's work, despite its cultural interest, is hardly sustainable as a business case compared to the revision of *Anna Karènina* and *Crim i càstig*. Yet these two texts have been accepted for review and publication by a publishing house willing to invest in non-central nineteenth century literature, whilst the other two, central in every other neighbouring polysystem, continue to be published without being edited. This contributes to debunking the argument that points at lack of economic resources as the reasoning behind the perpetuation of Nin's classics.

The positive outcomes of a textual revision that has ensured text survival and legacy preservation are in stark contrast with the effects of mythologisation when it comes to this secondary tier of Russian authors. The Soviet novels that Nin translated have suffered the impact of the mythologisation of his figure, to the point that the texts have been lost outside of the academic environment. On the other hand, Payarols' name has been reinstated in the system, and recognition given for this work, a sign that the 1930s critical bias against his translations could be turning.

Conclusions

This final chapter has contributed to the argument that Payarols and Nin were agents of the Catalan polysystem of the 1930s. I have examined their position of power beyond

the manipulation of poetics and into the selection of actual texts, as they became trusted experts for Puig i Ferrer at Proa. In these choices, the translators' political stance and cultural approach to translation are essential: Nin focused on ideological literature through Soviet novels, whilst Payarols selected more culturally-conforming, nineteenth century authors. Nin appears to have had a determination to make his translations align with his political work. Payarols, on the other hand, had a broader cultural awareness and therefore his selections are more diverse and less predictable.

These differences in character made the two translators complementary during their time at Proa, but they became incompatible in 1935 in their spin off investment at Editorial Atena. Whilst Atena was a success on the publication front, particularly when considering the very complex circumstances it operated under, it provided a philosophical battleground for Nin and Payarols, which eventually led to the dismantling of the business.

The novels that Nin and Payarols translated beyond Tolstoy and Dostoevsky remained generally on the periphery of the system of the 1930s, and hence, when studied individually, they cannot be attributed a specific role in the rebuilding of the repertoire during the Second Republic. However, as a whole, these translations contributed to the normalisation of publishing in Catalan, particularly novels, and therefore need to be appreciated for their existence in that context.

Finally, the study of the evolution of these texts beyond the 1930s has brought the first case of revision of an original translation from Russian in this thesis, through the work of Ana Quelbenzu in updating Payarols' rendition of Turgenev's *Pares i fills* and Shchedrin's *La Família Golovliov*. These revisions have allowed Payarols' name to return to the system in the form of a text available to a non-specialist audience, as opposed to all his other translations, which are no longer widely accessible. The updated publications ensure that his legacy is maintained, and challenge the notion that Nin's translations are untouchable, given that the mythologisation of his figure has contributed to the disappearance of his Soviet translations from the system. The evidence suggests that emotional rather than economic arguments might be behind the perpetuation of this myth.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have addressed the question of what Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin contributed, via the introduction of unmediated translations from Russian literature, to the Catalan literary system between 1928 and 1937. This thesis has illustrated the quantitative increase in volume of pages published by the key authors Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and Chekhov, among others. It has also discussed the pioneering nature of Payarols and Nin's contribution, being the first autochthonous translators of Russian into Catalan who did not require the use of a mediating text. This has partly been achieved with the use of statistical data gathered mainly from archival resources such as the *Arxiu de Revistes Catalanes Antiques* database and the OCLC WorldCat catalogue. From a theoretical perspective, I have critically used the principles and terminology of polysystem theory to frame the research.

In the introduction, I established five main aims to guide the research. Succinctly, these aims were (a) to explore the work of Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin within the context of the 1930s, and their contribution in the field of unmediated translations; (b) to contextualise their contribution to the literary system in general by comparing their activity with that of other periods, other systems, and the reception of their work; (c) to observe the link between their work and the work of autochthonous novelists of the 1930s; (d) to discuss the mythologisation of Nin's texts and compare it to the retranslations of Payarols' texts, and (e) to use PST critically from a methodological perspective whilst also challenging some of its key terminology. In the following pages I will review these aims and explain how I have addressed them, what challenges they posed, and the potential avenues they open to further research.

First of all, the translators. Whilst in its inception, this thesis was more oriented towards the figure of Nin, subsequent work and further review of my initial research shifted the focus to Francesc Payarols because of the comparative lack of studies on the latter's work. Whilst I have examined their translation work in conjunction, as an integral part of the structure and success of Edicions Proa, the study of Payarols' translations alone is perhaps one of the key original contributions to scholarship that this thesis makes. There is an emphasis on his work partly because, at the time of

writing, this is the first piece of scholarship to have studied his translations in the context in which they were published, reviewed the reception they had from the Catalan milieu through critical reviews in the press, and given a general overview of their key linguistic features. Previously, only three texts (a brief book section by Albert Manent, and two complementary articles by Pilar Estelrich) had dealt with Payarols, and in all three cases, this was done from a biographical perspective. Estelrich provides an excellent first-hand account of his life, having interviewed the translator at length about his upbringing and education, his involvement in Proa, and his professional career after the war.¹ On the other hand, Manent also met with Payarols, but he asked different questions: his interest lies on how he joined Proa, his relationship with Nin and Puig i Ferrer, and the sociocultural environment of the 1930s.² They both provide a historical context which helps to understand his production, but do not address his work directly. This situation signals a gap of knowledge within the literature that this thesis has attempted to occupy.

The case of Nin is different, although there are some similarities. Before the defence of Judit Figuerola's thesis in 2016, most scholarship focused on his biographical development from a politicohistorical perspective, with research carried out by historians with an ideological affinity to Nin, such as Pagès, Solano, Alba, etc. Figuerola is the first scholar to study the totality of Nin's political writings and translations – from his work on Lenin in Spanish to his translations of Bakunin, with Tolstoy's literature in between – and their critical reception within the Catalan system.³ Her work provides a timeline of Nin's cultural evolution, from his departure for the Soviet Union to the discovery of his lost manuscript of Tolstoy's *Infància, Adolescència, Joventut* in the 1970s. It offers an overall vision of his complete contribution to Catalan culture and politics, as well as the impression he left on the milieu with his involvement in those two areas.

The work of Figuerola has played an important part in determining the position of my own research within current scholarship. Whilst our research may overlap in certain

¹ Estelrich, *Payarols: Llarg camí*.

² Manent, *Del noucentisme a l'exili*.

³ Figuerola, *El català de l'URSS: Nin*.

aspects, we have very different areas of focus. Her original research is specific to Nin only (the inclusion of Payarols in her thesis relies on the contributions of Estelrich and Manent), whereas I combine both translators, although with an emphasis on the latter. Similarly, she addresses Nin's entire opus in a comprehensive manner, including his translation work into Spanish and his political writing, whereas I focus on a very specific area of Nin's production, which provides a glimpse of the work of an essential agent of the polysystem of the 1930s. Combined, our research may perhaps be understood as unintentionally complementary.

Secondly, I have focused on the translators' activity within a comparative framework. I have contextualised how the three main authors studied in this thesis – Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and Chekhov – were received and translated in polysystems that due to proximity and prestige can be considered neighbouring to the Catalan system. In the case of all three authors, and in all three contiguous systems, Russian literature had been translated more extensively than in the Catalan system. The work of Dostoevsky was exhausted in France before 1890, for example. Since Tolstoy was still alive when his literature was introduced to these European systems, he managed to control how his translations were produced, and on many occasions, his texts were published in translation in Britain and France before they were in Russia. The work of Payarols and Nin managed to address the gap in direct translations from Russian, however the overall production and availability of Russian texts in Catalan remained very modest when compared with neighbouring systems.

In terms of the texts and authors Payarols and Nin translated, and their contribution to the literary system of the 1930s, I have established that the volume of work they produced significantly increased the number and length of translations from Russian into Catalan between 1928 and 1937. When compared to translations from Russian before 1928, whilst there were enough brief short stories by Tolstoy available in Catalan to prompt scholar Ramon Pinyol to state that his texts were widely available before Nin (and Payarols),⁴ the reality is that, in terms of volume and length, the publications of his work post-1928 vastly exceeded what was available in the decades

⁴ Pinyol, *Traduccions literatura russa*, p. 251.

before. Whilst 24 short stories and novellas had been published in Catalan before 1928, those amounted to 1,104 pages at an average of 46 pages per title, with the longest publication being 164 pages only. Production after 1928 was composed of 6 long novels and novellas: a total of 4,258 pages. *Guerra i pau* by Carles Capdevila heavily influences these statistics, at 1,702 pages on its own. The percentage of pages translated by Payarols and Nin amounts to approximately 30% of the post-1928 production with 1,597 pages, and 37.5% of the total, from 1879 to 1937.⁵ We can determine that, despite Pinyol's affirmations, the volume of Tolstoy's literature available in Catalan considerably increased thanks to Payarols and Nin.

With regard to Dostoevsky, this thesis has illustrated that his presence in the system was not a textual one, as he was rather poorly translated when compared to some of his countrymen. His name, however, was not an unusual presence in the Catalan press, both before and after 1928: a total of 478 occurrences of Dostoevsky's name in a variety of spellings were recorded between 1885 and 1938 in a database search of the ARCA resource, with 186 of them before 1929, when Edicions Proa published *El somni de l'oncle*, the first lengthy publication of his work in Catalan. These numbers are only comparable with Tolstoy, alongside whom he was often mentioned. This suggests that his literature was being read in other languages present in the system, namely French and Spanish, and that knowledge of his literature and his style, even if simplified, was expected of the members of the literary milieu. Payarols and Nin may have only translated two of his novels, however *Crim i càstig* was Edicions Proa's best selling book in the *Biblioteca A Tot Vent* collection in the 1930s. Dostoevsky's main novel, *Els germans Karamàzov*, caused a dispute between Payarols and Nin in which the power dynamics between them, or more precisely, Nin's influence over Puig i Ferrer, provoked a change in hands on the assignment of the translation from Payarols to Nin, only to remain untranslated when the latter's political commitments took over his literary activity.

With Chekhov, the power dynamics between Payarols and Nin come to the fore again. With previous authors, Payarols had been assigned texts of lesser prestige in

⁵ A full breakdown of all these statistics can be found in Chapter 2. See pp. 104-5, 117.

neighbouring systems, whilst Nin had the privilege of translating widely acclaimed novels such as *Anna Karèнина* and *Crim i càstig*. When it comes to Chekhov, Payarols translated the potentially more central *Els múgics*, a collection of short stories that included perhaps his most famous, *La dama del gosset*. On the other hand, Nin translated Chekhov's only novel, *Una cacera dramàtica*, a novelty text. Neither of them garnered much attention from the press of the time, despite the popularity of Chekhov's short stories in other systems, as critics focused on the more important *Pares i fills* by Turgenev, which had been published shortly beforehand. Whilst their contribution introduced 525 pages of Chekhov's literature from those two texts into the system, where previously there had only been 244, both texts remained in the periphery of the Catalan literary system.

The final point of the historicocultural contextualisation refers to paratexts, or the reception of Payarols and Nin's translations in the 1930s. Literary critics first welcomed their work and the work of Proa with enthusiasm and praise. The possibility of moving away from mediating sources when it comes to languages like Russian was seen as an advancement of Catalan culture, a sign of maturity and modernity.⁶ It also meant removing the French filter, which according to García Sala, had become a synonym of abridged translations and manipulation among the Catalan readers.⁷ Critical reception was generally positive throughout the decade, but treatment of the translators was certainly different: most reviewers of Payarols work acknowledged his shortcomings and linguistic issues in context, with Domènec Guansé particularly critical of the translator's incorrect language choices. On the other hand, Nin's style is only questioned once by Josep Maria de Sagarra; the rest (Tasis, Guansé, Cabot, even Soldevila) tend to focus only on the positives, and praised the translator for his adequate and measured use of Catalan.⁸ If we combine this with the texts they were requested to translate, an area in which Nin was preferred as the translator of more acclaimed, lengthier novels compared to Payarols, and the cultural relevance of their figure within the milieu, with Nin being famous for his political work, it all contributes

⁶ Guansé, *Les lletres*.

⁷ García Sala, *Olga Savarin i traducció indirecta* p. 154.

⁸ Serrahima; Tasis; d'Esvern; de Sagarra; Guansé, *Un llibre cada dia: 'La primera noia' de Nicolai Bogdanov*; Teixidor.

to an unbalanced power relationship between the two translators, in which Nin was a more influential agent of the system.

Another of the aims of this thesis was to observe the link between the work translated by Payarols and Nin and the work written by Catalan novelists of the 1930s. In order to do so, I have underlined brief yet significant connections between some of the up and coming new authors of the Second Republic and the translated Russian texts. These are important because the novel was progressively being reintroduced into the literary repertoire during the 1920s. In the previous decade, which coincides with the years of highest influence of *Noucentista* stylistics and agents, long narratives had lost their position in the repertoire. This is due to a variety of historico-literary reasons, which include the dominant literary milieu's systematic discouragement of novels,⁹ but also the crisis of the *Modernista* novel,¹⁰ and the overall crisis of fiction in Europe after the First World War,¹¹ to name a few. This situation started to change slowly in the 1920s,¹² and the creation of publishing houses like Edicions Proa at the end of the decade helped to reintroduce novels into the canon, with one of the main issues being the general lack of models of prose for autochthonous writers to build upon. Translating Russian literature provided some of these examples, as well as contributing to the normalisation of the publication of novels in Catalan.

In this context, the work of Mercè Rodoreda is linked to Tolstoy and Chekhov, for different reasons. Rodoreda, who had a literary connection with Nin, quoted his translations on several occasions in intertextual references as a way to legitimise her own literature. When it comes to Chekhov, Rodoreda established an intertextual link when rebuilding her career in exile, by reading the Russian short story writer and using the genre to connect her pre-war with her post-war literature. This serves as an example to show that literary items in the periphery of the system can still generate interference between systems. In regards to Dostoevsky, the work of Sebastià Juan Arbó and Joan Sales has been used. The former has been traditionally identified as

⁹ Yates, pp. 112-3, 85; Castellanos, *Literatura catalana i compromís*, p. 10.

¹⁰ Yates, pp. 36, 50, 61.

¹¹ Castellanos, *Literatura catalana i compromís*, p. 23; Pla, p. 385.

¹² Jordi Castellanos, 'La renovació del panorama editorial català a l'entorn de 1925', *Els Marges*, 56 (1996), p. 26.

being influenced by the Russian author, possibly more due to his own statements than from specific examples in his literature. The latter established a link with Andreu Nin in the prologue of his acclaimed translation of *Els germans Karamàzov*, and attempted to recreate some of Dostoevsky's 'untidy' style using similar devices. Overall, this is an area that could have not been explored comprehensively due to space constrictions, and therefore only preliminary connections have been established. This may be a gap of knowledge that could open potential future avenues of research, particularly in the Rodoreda-Tolstoy and Rodoreda-Chekhov fields; Arbó and Sales' links to Dostoevsky have already been documented.¹³

In the conversation regarding power dynamics between translators, and their different roles as agents of the literary system, one of the questions that has come to the fore is the mythologisation of Andreu Nin's literature. In chapters two and three, I have shown that his major translations, *Anna Karènina* and *Crim i càstig*, are still being reprinted integrally as the original translated text, with the exception of Nin's introduction to the latter novel, which has been removed. These translations have become classics in their own right, as per Richard Armstrong's definition.¹⁴ This argument is not new, and has been previously raised by Kharitònova, Dyakonova, Vidal and Figuerola in the last few years; the aging of the texts is, therefore, perceivable. The crystallisation of these original translations is not negative per se, unless readership declines because of the lack of engagement between the original text and the modern reader, which may jeopardise the continuity of its publication in the long term. Whilst Tolstoy and Dostoevsky's classics might always have enough of an appeal for new readers to purchase new reeditions, the lack of accessibility of the text might deter future bilingual readers from choosing to read this version, instead opting for a Spanish version if it is more linguistically accessible. This is even more relevant with the example of Ana Quelbenzú's revision of Payarols' translations of *Pares i fills* and *Els senyors de Golovliovi/La familia Golovliov*, which has illustrated that a revision of the text can in fact provide a second lease of life to an otherwise peripheral, aged translation. With her revisions, the work of the original translator is recognised, and his figure is reintroduced into the current market, whilst also trying to engage the

¹³ García Sala, *Els germans Karamàzov de Joan Sales*; Malé i Pegueroles.

¹⁴ Armstrong, p. 171.

modern reader with a linguistic approach closer to twenty-first century expectations. This thesis suggests that, if not with Nin's great classics, this revision avenue might be ideal for some of his lesser known texts, which are currently out of print, and hence even less accessible to the modern reader.

From a theoretical perspective, I have used polysystem theory to frame this research, with specific emphasis on some of its key terminology to address certain concepts such as the literary system, its agents, the institution and the repertoire. The choice of PST over other methodological approaches was threefold: with a focus on translation, it appeared to be the most suitable framework to study a peripheral system like the Catalan, particularly from the perspective of the target culture; it allowed for a focus on its agents, a concept that gives recognition to Payarols and Nin for their contribution to the Catalan literary system; and the use of PST in this area of Catalan literature is an original idea. I have critically reviewed some of the contentious terminology that PST has generated over the years, and offered alternatives within its own theoretical positions, such as the use of the peripheral/central dichotomy instead of weak/young/strong, which has more obvious negative connotations. This follows a similar pattern to what other PST theoreticians and translation scholars have attempted, from Bassnett's challenges,¹⁵ to Chang's rephrasing.¹⁶

Beyond this critical approach, in the introduction I outlined that, according to Even-Zohar, a polysystem could be associated with the network of relationships developed around a language or a geographical area, and that for the purposes of this thesis, the Catalan polysystem would be understood as the network of literary relationships based on the geographical area of Catalonia as it is today, although with an emphasis in the publications in Barcelona and its suburban area, and more specifically, in Catalan. Throughout this thesis, I have mentioned texts in Spanish published in Barcelona, as well as texts that were not available in Catalan, but were widely read in other languages, most likely French and Spanish, as in the case of Dostoevsky's literature. This highlights the complex nature of network relationships, and the limitations of polysystem theory in contexts in which several languages and systems

¹⁵ Bassnett, pp. 127-8.

¹⁶ Chang, *Defence of PST*, p. 314.

coexist in the same geographical space. These texts in a different language fall outside of the definition of system previously given – that is, they are not technically a part of the Catalan system, yet they ought to be included because they play a role in it. This is a reminder that polysystems do not exist in a vacuum, but rather they are complexly interconnected, and that attempting to isolate one system for the purpose of a more detailed study is almost an impossible task, and that in doing so, it may contradict the PST principle of dynamic systems.¹⁷ However, delimitations, which then may become limitations, are a necessary requirement in order to narrow the field of study to a manageable ‘sample size’. I am aware that these limitations in PST can also be perceived in this thesis, and therefore its use has been restricted to terminology, with a specific emphasis on the concept of ‘agents’, rather than trying to theoretically prove its tenets using the Catalan polysystem as an example.

The boundaries of this research were addressed in the introduction in detail. Given the proximity and overlapping of some of my work with that of Figuerola, it was important to establish the delimitations of the study early. This thesis studied specific work by Francesc Payarols and Andreu Nin in the 1930s, contextualising the circumstances in which they managed to produce these translations, comparing their contribution to the overall phenomenon of translation from Russian into Catalan, and to the production in neighbouring systems, and examining some of the reception that their texts received when they were first published. However, not all their translations have been studied: I have focused only on their literary translations from Russian into Catalan, as opposed to including all of Nin’s translating activities or Payarols’ translations from German or English. Additionally, in terms of structure and focus, a decision had to be made about which Russian authors were to be studied in this thesis in more depth. Since the agency of Payarols and Nin within the system was one of the main arguments, I chose to study those authors that had been translated by both. Understandably, other authors that may or may have not contributed to the shaping of the repertoire, such as Gorki, Gogol, Bunin, Babel, or even Pushkin, whose absence from this study was explained in Chapter 1, were omitted from this research. Additionally, the study of the authors in Chapter 5 is perhaps too brief, and personalities such as Turgenev could have been the subject of

¹⁷ Even-Zohar, *Polysystem theory*, p. 9.

an entire chapter alone; priority, however, was given to Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Chekhov. These were necessary limitations to allow for a more detailed study of Payarols' and Nin's translations and their critical reception.

Bringing recognition to the work of Payarols, as well as Nin, is one of the main motivating factors to have stimulated this research. Mine is only a modest contribution to a rapidly growing field of scholarship, and hopefully one of the many studies of Russian literature in the Catalan context yet to come. Given the boundaries of the study, some areas have been left unexplored that could, in the future, be taken up for further research, particularly the study of Payarols' work from other angles, for example, at a linguistic and stylistic level, similar to Kharitònova's study of Nin's translations. Further study of his translations from German into Spanish after the war also has the potential to shape future research. As a final note, I can only hope to have made a contribution towards the recognition of Francesc Payarols, an example of perseverance, cultural awareness, and success against the odds.

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