

“The Translations of Camilo José Cela’s *La familia de Pascual Duarte* into Portuguese, Catalan, Galician and Basque”, dins: Esther Gimeno, Marta Pacheco i Ângela Fernandes (ed.), *Iberian and Translation Studies. Literary contact zones*. Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2021, p. 243-266.

The Translations of Camilo José Cela’s *La familia de Pascual Duarte* into Portuguese, Catalan, Galician and Basque¹

Maria Dasca Batalla

Pompeu Fabra University

Introduction

What was the role of translation from Castilian literature into Portuguese, Catalan, Basque, and Galician during Franco and Salazar’s dictatorships? How do translators justify translations that, in Spain, were not simply the result of a need for comprehension? During Francoism, the imposition of a diglossic bilingualism made the value of these translations ambiguous. After Cronin, they could be considered ‘both predators and deliverers, enemies and friends’ (Cronin, 2003, 142). On the one hand, they helped to enrich the target languages and cultures, increasing their cultural capital through translation (Cronin, 1995; Parcerisas, 2000; Bacardí, 2005, 2007; Garcia de Toro, 2005). In a context of political repression of the culture in Galician, Basque and Catalan languages, these translations were imbued with a political meaning since they were envisioned as mechanisms to preserve, promote and modernize the language and the culture themselves. On the other hand, they evidenced an asymmetrical and unidirectional cultural relationship. This relation implied the recognition of the Castilian source culture in the different target cultural systems and somehow favoured the canonization of the translated work. In the specific case of Portugal, where translations from Spanish were rare in the 1950s, they have been interpreted as the result of a defensive attitude, which forced translators to justify the translation of works from a culture that was perceived as a rival (Martínez Soler, 2000).

¹ This chapter is part of the research carried out with a postdoctoral position funded by the Department of Translation Studies and Language Sciences, Universitat Pompeu Fabra. It has been carried out within the framework of the TRILCAT consolidated research group of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (<http://trilcat.upf.edu/>). I would like to thank Ângela Fernandes, Esther Gimeno Ugalde and Marta Pacheco Pinto for their helpful readings and suggestions of this chapter in its first draft.

In this chapter, I will explore the question of the ambivalence of translation in the Iberian peninsula and its dependence on the cultural context through the case study of the translations of *La familia de Pascual Duarte* [The Family of Pascual Duarte]² (Cela, 1942) into Portuguese (1952), Catalan (1956), Galician (1962), and Basque (1967) published during the Spanish and Portuguese dictatorship periods. They appeared one or two decades after the original, at a time when the novel had already been translated into most of the main European languages (English, French, Italian, German, and Swedish). My approach is based on the idea that the Iberian Peninsula is a ‘contact zone,’ as suggested by Mary Louise Pratt (1991, 34), where bilingualism is ‘a zone for working out social meanings and enacting social differences’ (Pratt, 1987, 62). As Pratt states, one of the purposes of the contact zone is ‘to contrast [it] with ideas of community that underlie much of the thinking about language, communication and culture that gets done in the academy’ (1991, 37). Following Pratt’s perspective, this chapter aims to challenge the idea of the Iberian contact zone by exploring the role of translation in post Spanish Civil War cultural relationships.

In this analysis, I will consider: (1) the tradition of translations from Castilian into other Iberian languages (Portuguese, Catalan, Galician, and Basque);³ (2) the discourses that justify the interest in these translations; (3) the recognition of Camilo José Cela’s works between 1942 and 1967; (4) the context in which these translations were published, and the involvement of the publishers and translators in the transfer process. As we will see, the status of some of these languages involves a problematic relationship with translation, which is increased in a context of dictatorial repression.

La familia de Pascual Duarte has been identified as the most translated Castilian literary work, after *El Quijote* (Huarte Morton, 1994). Analyzing its circulation in the Iberian space will help us to examine what the reception of Cela as a ‘Galician author’ has been and how his novel has become, through translations, a best-seller. It is significant to highlight that six major agents for the four target literary systems participated in the novel’s circulation. Llorenç Villalonga prefaced the Catalan translation, Vicente Risco and Ramón Otero Pedrayo were responsible for the preface and the Galician translation, Luis Jauregi and Karlos Santamaria prefaced and translated the Basque version, and Tomaz Ribas did the translation into Portuguese.

² All translations of the original texts in Spanish, Galician, Portuguese, Basque or Catalan into English are mine.

³ There is no translation of the novel either into Asturian or into Aragonese.

The work of these key mediators has determined not only the circulation of the novel, but also its critical interpretation within the Iberian literary system, whose intellectual networks were affected by the unequal power relations between centres and peripheries (Gavagnin and Martínez-Gil, 2011). In this sense, the choices made by translators (which were conditioned by Cela's intercession) shows their 'agency' as mediators or agents since they were responsible for 'historical, literary and cultural transitions/changes/innovations through translation' (Milton and Bandia, 2009, 1). The four translations were justified by the agents as a means of improving target literary systems by integrating modern works in them. In this sense, translation was understood as an ensemble of social practices used by specific groups to constitute and legitimate a specific autonomous cultural field (Figuroa, 2001). In regard to the interpretation of the novel, mediators valued different aspects of the translation. As will be shown, while the main character of the novel, Pascual Duarte, was understood as a Catholic representation of Iberian individualism in the Portuguese, Galician and Basque versions, the Catalan translation aimed to enrich the target language in its Majorcan variant.

Ultimately, this chapter intends to shed light on the analyses of the role of representation, power and historicity of translation by comparing its use in the field of three minoritized languages (Catalan, Basque, and Galician, whose public use was forbidden during Franco's dictatorship) (Bacardí, 2019) and one state language (Portuguese which, despite the ideological censorship, was fully recognized in linguistic, political and symbolic terms during Salazar's dictatorship). Through the interpretation of a case-study of a cross-cultural process between cultures maintaining unequal power relations which involve an ideological conception of their identity (Robyns, 1994), this study aims to contribute to the debate about literary history (Hutcheon, 2002), from an Iberian perspective (Resina, 2009, 2013; Abuín González and Tarrío Varela, 2004).

The original publication and its circulation

The *La familia de Pascual Duarte* was first published on 7 December 1942 at an especially hard time for Spanish publishing houses, both because of the material difficulty of access to paper (aggravated by the outbreak of World War II) and the restrictions imposed by Franco's censorship. The writer resorted to his personal contacts to publish it in Aldecoa, a Burgos publishing house founded in 1919 (Moret, 2002, 27–9), with links to a printing house run by a Francoist member of the military. Some months after the

distribution of the first 1,500 copies, the novel became a big, unexpected success;⁴ this led Aldecoa to the publication, the following year, of the second edition. Although the text was identical to that in the first edition, this time the book was prohibited by censorship and it could not be republished until two years later, in 1946, by Ediciones del Zodíaco (Cela, 1951, 16, 31). In 1945 the novel was released in Argentina by Emecé, a publishing house founded in 1939 by two exiled Galicians, Mariano Medina del Río and Álvaro de las Casas, with the support of Carlos Braun Menéndez. Cela's book was included in the Emecé's new 'Colección Grandes Clásicos' [Great Classics Collection] (Moret, 2002, 58–9) and it was prefaced by the writer Eduardo Blanco-Amor (Dasilva, 2010, 32–3). The book circulated rapidly throughout Europe in the 1940s. According to the publisher, its international success was due to the fact that the BBC, in a broadcast for pro-Ally Spaniards, had recommended the novel. The final edition, which included certain changes made by the author, was published in 1962 in the first volume of Cela's complete works (Urrutia, 1982).

Two points should be noted when looking at the table with the series of new editions and translations of the novel (see Appendix). Firstly, the large number of editions – more than once a year in some cases. The Castilian original was published by Spanish, Argentinian, and Peruvian publishing houses. The lack of a Mexican edition can be justified because most of the publishing initiatives that appeared after 1942 in Mexico focused on philosophical and sociological books rather on literature (Castro and Zaslavsky, 2013, 269). Latin American editions (that did not include differences in the model of language) allowed the author to circumvent the constraints of censorship and to disseminate his work in Spain. Even though the 1942 and 1943 editions had been published, from 1943 on they were difficult to access because their circulation was prohibited. Booksellers used to hide them in the bookstore's backroom and would only sell them to trusted customers.

Secondly, one should note the predominance of translations primarily into European languages and only later to peninsular languages. As far as European translations are concerned, English heads the table in terms of numbers (seven different translations, published in England and the United States) followed by French (three editions published in the same year). The translation into Swedish, published five years after the original, might be accounted for because of the interest in positioning Cela as a

⁴ According to Spanish librarians, *La familia de Pascual Duarte* was the highest selling work in 1942–3 (Gallofré i Virgili, 2013, 75).

Nobel Prize candidate (an award he obtained in 1989). From the 1960s on, translations done in Eastern Europe were also available. As for Iberian languages, the Portuguese version, published in 1952, took the lead in the dissemination of the book in peninsular territory. It was commissioned by Cela himself in the 1940s and followed by the Galician and Catalan translations, which were commissioned during the 1950s (Cela, 1951; Nigorra Vaquer, 2016, 29–30).

The history of the first Iberian translations of the book

As Cela explained in ‘Andanzas europeas y americanas de Pascual Duarte y su familia’ [European and American Adventures of Pascual Duarte and his Family], a text reproduced in the fifth edition of the novel (1951), in 1943, when Spanish censorship had prohibited the book, he promoted its dissemination abroad and encouraged translations of it (Cela, 1951). This task clearly benefitted from the author’s proximity to the regime⁵ and the professionalism of his agent, Hermann Stock, director of the Agencia Literaria Española de Barcelona [Spanish Literary Agency of Barcelona].⁶ This enabled Cela, firstly, to publish his work, albeit not without obstacles, and later on to continue with projects such as the magazine *Papeles de Son Armadans* [Papers of Son Armadans], for which he was the editor (1956–79), and the Alfaguara publishing house (founded in 1964), where he and his brother Jorge worked as literary directors. Both platforms became a rich literary space for the diffusion not only of some of Cela’s major works, but also for Catalan, Castilian and Galician literatures (Moret, 2002, 260; Ruiz Casanova, 2011).

One of the most influential translations of *La familia de Pascual Duarte* was the French one, published in 1948, whose channels of diffusion conditioned its subsequent reception. The translation was done by Jean Viet and appeared in the first four issues of *Esprit* [Spirit] (issues 1, 2, 3, 4 of 1948) – a platform which favoured the Christian

⁵ According to Sinova (2006, 137–41), between 1941 and 1945, Cela collaborated with the Delegación Nacional de Prensa [National Press Delegation]. Between 1943 and 1944, the writer worked on the morning edition of the Censura de Revistas [Censorship of Journals], in the Sección de Información y Censura [Section of Information and Censorship]. He prepared ‘partes de incidencias’ [incident reports] where he noted the title of the journal and the number of censored words. He had a monthly salary of 375 pesetas; he was not very strict and wrote few notes. Among 250 titles, 188 were approved without notes and only 62 included different kinds of notes. Cela was protected by the national press delegate, Juan Aparicio, who resigned at the end of 1945/beginning of 1946 (Urrutia, 1977, xix). Then, Cela started working at the Dirección General de Cine [National Direction of Cinema], where he earned 250 pesetas (Sinova, 2006, 140–1).

⁶ In October 1949, coinciding with the visit of Francisco Franco to Lisbon, Hermann Stock published a very detailed report about translations of Spanish literature in the magazine *Destino* [Destiny] where he highlighted the international appeal of Cela’s novels. See ‘La moderna literatura española en el mundo’ [Modern Spanish Literature in the World] 638 (29 October): 15–7.

interpretation of the book. This journal, founded by Emmanuel Mounier, aimed to spread his version of Christian humanism through the trend for personalism. The entire novel was published, in the same year, by Éditions du Seuil, in the ‘Pierres vives’ [Live Stones] collection, directed by Claude Edmonde Magny. This edition could have influenced the Iberian translations, where the Christian interpretation (in its Jansenist, ascetic and Celtiberian versions) prevails in the paratext, with the exception of the Catalan version, in which the linguistic challenges of the translation are highlighted.

Although the Portuguese translation was the first of the four Iberian language versions, it appeared late. In March 1945 Cela signed a contract with Organizações Bloco, from Lisbon, commissioning his classmate at the Law School in Madrid, José Figueroa d’Oliveira, for the publication of the Portuguese version. However, the book was never published. In 1950, the writer António Nobre tried again, unsuccessfully (Cela, 1951, 23). Finally, the translation was published by Estúdios Cor in 1952, as part of the ‘Latitude’ collection, directed by the writer and diplomat Nataniel Costa. The ethnologist Tomaz Ribas was the responsible for the Portuguese version, which included a preface by the physician Gregorio Marañón from 1946. The book appeared in Lisbon during the 1950s, the period before the so-called ‘anos de chumbo’ [years of lead], which were characterized by the consolidation of Estado Novo. This decade of apparent political and social calm helped to boost the publishing sector (Seruya and Moniz, 2008, 5–6). The Editorial Estúdios Cor is a clear example of this new context: created in the 1940s, it would intensify and diversify its publishing production during the 1950s (Ribeira de Medeiros, 2010, 165–7). Its ‘Latitude’ collection, within which *La familia de Pascual Duarte* was published, would benefit from this situation by including translations of universal modern works which helped to create a cultural ‘imagem de arrojo e modernidade’ [image of brashness and modernity] (Ribeira de Medeiros, 2010, 166).

In his introduction to the Portuguese version, Marañón insisted that the book had to be considered a ‘classical’ work. He underlined Pascual’s kindness, humanity and thirst for justice, as the three values related to a ‘panteísmo oscuro’ [dark pantheism], which would be destroyed by Pascual’s social environment. According to Marañón, Cela digs deeply into the local elements of the main character in order to emphasize the strength of the atmosphere, which has a universal dimension. Pascual Duarte, he says, is a deeply Iberian ‘personaje de significado universal’ [character with universal meaning] (Marañón, 1946, 13). He represents the ‘juez elemental, incapaz de comprender que lo bueno y lo malo no son, de tejas abajo, valores absolutos y opuestos, como la cara y la

cruz de una moneda; sino valores arbitrarios y cambiantes, creados por la cultura en una larga experiencia amasada con el fermento doloroso del error' [elementary judge, unable to understand that good and evil are not, below the tiles, absolute and opposite values, such as the heads or tails of a coin; but arbitrary and changing values, created by culture in a long experience kneaded with the painful ferment of error] (Marañón, 1946, 11–2).

Cela became the best-recognized Spanish author in the literary Catalan scene of the 1950s thanks to the great success obtained by *La familia de Pascual Duarte* and *La colmena* [The Hive] (Pons, 2004, 155–6). In a way, the most immediate precedent would have been García Lorca, who had achieved a similar degree of success in the 1930s (Manent, 1974). Two factors had an enormous impact on the dissemination of his work in the Catalan-speaking territories. Firstly, the provocative and mediatic image of the man himself, based on *boutades* and irreverence, which increased his popularity (Gibson, 2003, 124). The Catalan version appeared at the time of this self-promoting campaign, which had a great influence in the peninsula as a whole. Secondly, the ongoing contributions of Camilo José Cela to magazines in Barcelona such as *Revista* [Journal] and *Destino* [Destiny], more frequent from 1958 onwards, and the relationship with the Destino publishing house, where he published some of his works, fostered his recognition among the readers. Furthermore, by 1965 Barcelona also had a distribution branch of Alfaguara, the publishing house founded by Cela.⁷

Cela entrusted the translation to Majorcan Miquel Serra, whom he knew personally having lived in Majorca since 1954. The book was published in Atlante, a publishing house founded by the translator's father, that also played a role in the dissemination of Catalan literature translated into Castilian. Miquel Serra Pastor's version had a restricted dissemination given the limited number of copies that circulated (only 400) and the lack of prestige of the Atlante publishing house.⁸ Unlike Cela's translations into Catalan published from the 1960s on, authored by successful writers such as Ramon Folch i Camarasa, the novel had a limited impact.⁹

⁷ The first book published by Alfaguara was Cela's *Viaje al Pirineo de Lérida* [Trip to the Lleida Pyrenees] (1965), with prints by Jaume Pla. The publishing house, with sites in Madrid and Barcelona, published works in Catalan by Xavier Benguerel, Josep M. Espinàs, and Ramon Folch i Camarasa.

⁸ Atlante was founded by Pere Antoni Serra i Bauçà in 1953. It published books in Castilian, like the first edition of Llorenç Villalonga's *Bearn o la sala de las muñecas* [Bearn or the Doll's Room] (1956). It also published the prizewinning works of the Premi Ciutat de Palma in the three modalities: novel, poetry, and theater (Nigorra Vaquer, 2016, 10).

⁹ Three of Cela's works were translated into Catalan in the decade of the 1960s and published in the Alfaguara collection 'Ara i Aci' [Now and Here]: *Viatge al Pirineu de Lleida* [Trip to the Lleida Pyrenees] [1965] (translated by Josep M. Llompart, 1966), *El rusc* [The Hive] [1951] (translated by Ramon Folch i Camarasa, 1969) and *Barcelona* [1970] (translated by Ramon Folch i Camarasa, 1970).

The Catalan translation was reviewed by Josep M. Llompart in the May 1956 issue of *Papeles de Son Armadans*. In his review Llompart followed some of the ideas expressed by Villalonga in the preface to the novel. More specifically, he highlighted the linguistic importance of the work. While for Villalonga Cela's novel is a 'monument a la llengua castellana' [a tribute to Castilian language] (Villalonga, 1956, 9), for Llompart, the translation is basically a linguistic practice that makes the diversity of the Majorcan speech visible by including dialectal elements which can surprise the reader. From Llompart's point of view, Miquel Serra Pastor's language is based on the oral speech of Majorcan rural areas, in a way that it gets closer to 'la sabia mezcla de lo popular y lo culto que caracteriza el estilo del original' [the intelligent mix of popular and highbrow elements which characterizes the style of the original] (Llompart, 1956, 31).

The Galician circulation of Cela's works is, undoubtedly, the most important in terms of the involvement of its mediators: Vicente Risco, the most influential intellectual in the pre-war Galician cultural field, and Ramón Otero Pedrayo, one of the most active Galician authors and translator of some fragments of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, published in 1926 (Ventura Ruiz, 2016). In total, the process of preparing the translation lasted ten years: from 1952 to 1962 (see the detailed research of Vázquez-Monxardín Fernández, 2003). Otero Pedrayo wrote the preface to the novel in 1952, at the request of Cela, who was one of his closest friends. At that time, the author had planned to self-translate the novel (Dasilva, 2010), but, later, he realized that he had to abandon the project because he was not proficient enough in written Galician. So, he entrusted the translation to Risco, who did it in 1955, even though it was not published until 1962. Vázquez-Monxardín Fernández states that this seven-year delay was due to aesthetic and personal reasons (2003, 178–89). In the 1950s, the fatalism of *La familia de Pascual Duarte* hardly fitted into the 'mundos máxicos de sabor atlántico y artúrico' [magic worlds with an Atlantic and Arthurian flavour] being pushed by Galaxia, the main Galician publishing house at that time (Vázquez-Monxardín Fernández, 2003, 182). Meanwhile, the author became involved in several cultural initiatives which distanced him from the project.

In his preface, written on Christmas Eve 1952, Otero Pedrayo remembers the writer's connections to Galicia ('o seu espírito galego' [his Galician spirit], 1962, x) and insists on the 'individualismo ibérico' [Iberian individualism] (1962, xi) of the main character, Pascual, a 'Caín labrego en terraxe esgrevia, soio e condenado a todos os castigos do pecado original' [Cain-like peasant in rough land, who is alone and condemned to all the punishment of the original sin] (1962, xi) who lives '[f]ora do

Paraíso' [outside Paradise]. He underlines the biblical background of Pascual, which is rooted in his Christian ascetism and leads him, through the confession, in search of the salvation. Otero Pedrayo compares the elegance of Cela's prose with the orography of Galician rivers ('os ritmos do Sar e do Ulla' [the rhythms of the Sar and the Ulla], 1962, xii) and relates the solitude of Pascual and his sister to the plots of Greek tragedy.

The Basque version also appeared late, in 1967, when the Spanish edition had already been reprinted 20 times. The translation, by Luis Jauregi, was published by Itxaropena. As in the previous cases, the translation was the result of a commission by Cela himself. In his preface, Karlos Santamaria, a recognized scientist and Catholic activist in favor of Basque culture in the postwar period, speaks ironically about the role of translation in the introduction of new topics in the Basque literature. According to him, in the Basque narrative, subjects related to religion, addressed to a Jansenist audience, were dominant. He associates the creation of Pascual Duarte with existentialist literature and considers him closer to Camus' heroes because of the fatalism of his itinerary. For Santamaria, Pascual is a 'andia ta misteriotua degu' [good, mysterious man] (1967, 6), condemned by his surroundings, 'Zimaurtegi bateko arrosaren antzeko' ('como una rosa de un estercolero' [like a rose in a dunghill], 1967, 7). Presenting him as a victim of a 'gorroto sakratua' [sacred hatred] (1967, 8) makes him close to Old Testament characters, whose hatred is caused by their kindness. Santamaria insists on a Christian interpretation of the hero, by detailing that Pascual's Christianity is typical of a stubborn and blind Celtiberian, whose obstinacy makes him identify his destiny with God's will.

The context of publication of the translations in the four target literary systems

In the Galician, Catalan and Basque contemporary literary systems, translations have been considered necessary for two reasons: to work with the expressive resources of the language and to enrich the target culture with new works, genres and styles which might help to modernize its literary tradition (Toury 1985, Millán-Varela 2000, Branchadell and West 2004, Dasilva 2008, Manterola Agirrezabalaga 2014). Undoubtedly, Cela's novel, which appeared in Spain at a moment in which literary publications were lacking, and which had immediate success in the European and American literary systems, aimed to satisfy this double goal: to reinforce the Galician, Catalan and Basque target systems and to experiment with the language.

The translation of the book, nevertheless, was not an easy task. It should be remembered, in this sense, that the original was written in de-dialectalized Spanish – a

low-register of Castilian unidentifiable with any specific dialect.¹⁰ The original of *La familia de Pascual Duarte* is characterized by sober and concise language, less rough than one might think at first. The fact that the novel is narrated in the first person (that of the main character) implies the use of a colloquial register, full of idiolects that were used in a domestic setting in wide social and geographical areas. Therefore, it is a geographically unmarked language style but socially marked (containing vulgarisms) thus corresponding to the model of social realism and, more specifically, to the so-called *literatura tremendista*, the debatable label with which Cela's literature was identified.

During the Franco dictatorship, the situation of diglossic bilingualism meant the bilingualization of few writers in Catalan, Galician and Basque, especially in the decades of the 1940s and 1950s, when self-translation into Castilian was the only option to get published and make their work known. As Josep M. Castellet commented, being a writer in Catalan in 1952 involved being a translator (1955, 30). Without any doubt, this situation could apply to all writers writing in Galician and Basque at that time. In addition to helping to improve one's own proficiency in the language, these translations were seen as a symbolical and political gesture which these prohibited languages made (at least partially) visible. They enforced 'an immediate politicization of desire, language, literature' (Venuti, 1998, 138). In the 1950s this gesture was seen as a cultural practice of resistance with a symbolical meaning – this demonstrated the lack of autonomy and the heteronomy of the systems (and the languages) to which it was translated (Figuroa, 2016, 41).

Cela's novel reached Portugal relatively quickly, although when it arrived there it had already been translated into the main European languages (see Appendix). As Marañón signals in the preface, in 1946 the book was already a popular classic. In this sense, the case of Cela, whose main novels have been regularly translated into Portuguese, is an exception in a literary system lacking in translations from works in Castilian (Martínez Soler, 2000, 78–9). In the postwar period, translation from Castilian into Portuguese could be understood as a 'defensive' form of legitimation in the face of the introduction of works which did not require translation since they were already accessible to a cultivated audience, who could read them in the original language (Martínez Soler, 2000, 121, 123). In general, in the 1940s translations from Castilian to Portuguese aimed

¹⁰ Cela uses words from three different sources: (1) popular Castilian, used in a familiar register, related to rural and rustic social and geographical areas, (2) dialectal, regional and local words, slang, and specialized vocabulary, (3) words from other languages (Suárez Solís, 1969, 41).

to ‘domesticate’ the original ‘ao princípio de adaptação à poética dominante no sistema cultural de chegada’ [to the principle of adaptation to the dominant poetics of the target cultural system] (Martínez Soler, 2000, 93). This option creates ‘the illusion that the translated text is not a translation, but the “original”, reflecting the foreign author’s personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text’ (Venuti, 2008, 177). The inclusion of Marañón’s preface in the translation contributed to this interpretation, because it highlighted the novel’s fatalism, a feature which can be (partially) related to the new dominant trend in the Portuguese narrative of the 1940s: neorealism (Pinto do Amaral, 2004, 65–8; Fernández García, 2011, 327–39). Regarding the translation, the translator of *La familia de Pascual Duarte* privileged some linguistic similarities by establishing phonic and graphic correspondences with the original (Martínez Soler, 2000, 113).

In the case of the reception of *La familia de Pascual Duarte* in the different languages of the Iberian space, the role of censorship in each of the literary systems has to be taken into account. In that sense, we have to distinguish between two main categories: (1) systems where censorship only affected the content and not the language; and (2) systems where a double censorship was established, the first concerning the use of the language and the second, the content. While the Portuguese system, together with the Spanish, is part of the first group (Rodrigues, 1980, 69–81), the Galician, Basque and Catalan systems are part of the second (Gallofré i Virgili, 1991, 51–62).

In Portugal, censorship was regulated by decree-law number 22469, passed on 11 April 1933, which established mandatory prior censorship (Rodrigues, 1980, 70–2). It became an organ of political training and propaganda in 1944, when the Direcção-Geral dos Serviços de Censura [General Direction of Censorship Services] was integrated into the Secretariado Nacional de Informação [National Secretariat of Information]. The existence of this political and ideological control affected Portuguese writers' creativity, insofar as they, like Spanish writers during Francoism, self-censored their work. The political context changed in the 1950s, after Franco's visit to Portugal in 1949, when both dictatorships opened up to international relationships: the United States' bilateral agreements were completed in 1951 with Portugal and in 1953 with Spain and, in the context of the Cold War, they have been interpreted as a sign of international acceptance of both dictatorships. All these factors, in addition to economic growth, helped to make public Cela's translation in Portugal.

With regard to censorship of the content, it must be remembered that the translations into Catalan and Galician appeared while the *Ley de prensa* [Law on Press] was in force; this law had been passed during the Civil War in 1938, when Serrano Suñer was the Home Office Minister, and therefore the translations were subject to prior censorship. Only the Basque translation was published during the *Ley 14/1966 de prensa e imprenta* [Fraga Law of Press and Printing] (1966), which eliminated prior censorship but obliged the deposit of volumes planned for the publication. When works were published and were later not admitted, the regime proceeded to confiscate them.

In Galicia, as well as in the Catalan and the Basque case, written Galician was “tolerated” in the 1940s and the 1950s when it was used in folkloric literature, lyricism, Francoist propaganda or humor (Dasilva, 2013, 21). This domestic conception of the language restricted its literary and linguistic potential and perpetuated its diglossic use with Spanish, the stable language of the inter-literary community (Ribera Llopis (2014, 61). Going further, Cela's translations into Galician have been interpreted (Domínguez, 2010, 73) as intra-literary or intra-systemic translations, insofar as they occurred in a situation in which a (peripheral) literature incorporated works written in other languages belonging to the same system. The diglossia issue meant that language became a priority in translation, since the translator's task was determined by the need to preserve, or even promote, a language whose use was banned in most of the public spaces. As has been claimed, this attitude is typical of weak literary systems, which prioritized translating over selecting what was translated (Figuerola and González-Millán, 1997, 77).

In spite of the delay in the publication of the translation, the Galician version of *La familia de Pascual Duarte* took place in a context favorable to the recovery of the public dimension that the Galician culture had had before the Spanish Civil war. This implied the emergence in the 1950s of the first publishing houses, such as Galaxia (founded in 1950 by Otero Pedrayo, among others), which was the platform that made known one of the most innovative exercises in postwar Galician narrative: *A esmorga* [On a Bender] (1959), by Eduardo Blanco-Amor (Rábade Villar, 2019, 691–711). However, these initiatives had to face a problem that also affected the Basque literary system: the lack of a standardized language. It would not be until 1982 that Galician orthography was fixed.

The proximity of Cela to the Galician system is evident in the choice of his translator: the writer, ethnographer and *guieiro* [guide] Vicente Risco, founder of the group of the literary journal *Nós* [We] (1920–36), which was the great kick-starter of Galician literature between the wars (Lugris, 1963; Fernández, 2001). Although the translation was published at the end of the translator's life, Cela's decision to select him shows the writer's willingness to position the translation in the centre of the target system by linking it to its intrinsic agents, despite the shadows hanging over Risco.¹¹ From the Galician perspective, the book involved the recovery, in a common project, of Otero Pedrayo and Risco, two key figures of the cultural and political *rexurdimento* [renaissance] of the period of the 1920s and 1930s (Tarrío Varela, 1994; Vilavedra, 1999), which allowed the progressive autonomy of art and its diversification in different fields and, at the political level, made the approval of the Galician statute of autonomy of 1936 possible.

In the case of Basque and Catalan systems, censorship prohibited publications in either language for ideological reasons (Gallofré i Virgili, 1991; Uribarri Zenekorta, 2013) until well into the 1950s, when works translated into both languages started being published again (Moreno Cantano, 2008, 164; Bacardí, 2012, 40). However, it was not until the 1960s that the emergence of a modern publishing system (as happened in Galicia) could be spoken of, which, in a context of economic and social change, made not only the modernization of literature in Galician, Basque and Catalan possible, but also the diversification of translations. In the Catalan case, as of 1951, when the Ministry of

¹¹ At that time, Risco was under suspicion in Galicia for his acceptance of Franco's regime and the assumption of a unilingualism in Spanish. He rarely used Galician as a literary language, with the exception of the ethnographical study included in the *Historia de Galiza* (1962), directed by Otero Pedrayo, the short story "Sursumcorda" (1957) and his translation of *La familia de Pascual Duarte*.

Information and Tourism was created, a period of ‘permissivitat estrictament vigilada’ [strictly supervised permissiveness] began, with restrictions on the number of copies that could be published in commercial editions (Bacardí, 2012, 38, 40). It was not until 1957–58 that the first translations of current works were published.

In Majorca, the restrictions imposed by censorship were similar to those of the other Catalan-speaking territories (and, by extension, Galician and Basque). In 1939, the use of ‘regional languages’ was banned except in acts of disclosure of the ‘Principios del Movimiento’ [Principles of the Movement] and the ‘obra del Gobierno’ [work of the Government]. This involved many difficulties in publishing modern works and a predominance of publications dedicated to poetry, to the detriment of prose, until 1956, when, in addition to the publication of the translation of *La familia de Pascual Duarte*, appeared the *Recull de contes balears* [Anthology of Balearic Tales] (Massot i Muntaner, 1990, 238–9).

The translations into Catalan of Cela’s work are symptomatic of a publishing tendency that would gain some importance in the 1960s. Along with Cela, other authors close to the regime would be translated, such as José Luis Martín-Vigil and José María Gironella, as well as poets (Rubén Darío, Vicente Aleixandre, Pablo Neruda, and Rafael Alberti, among others), essayists (like José Luis Aranguren or Manuel Sacristán), some authors of the Latin American novel boom (Gabriel García Márquez and Mario Vargas Llosa) and books by Francisco Candel, some of which would often appear in the translated version (in Catalan) before the original (Spanish) (Bacardí, 2005, 264–6). Most authors of works in Castilian which were translated into Catalan are related to Catalan-speaking territories (Catalonia, the Valencian country and the Balearic Islands), either as a place of residence or origin.¹²

As for the Catalan translation, the version by Miquel Serra i Pastor is especially interesting, since it opted for the use of the Majorcan dialect. More specifically, the translator opts for a sociocultural register for a dialectal variant that corresponds to the Majorcan the translator spoke and was used in the town where the book was published. It is therefore an uncommon choice because, as Briguglia points out, the most common strategy among translators is the opposite: translating from the dialect to the diastatic or sociocultural variant (2013, 58). Serra’s language combines the diatopic or geographical

¹² Bacardí (2005) notes that the great phenomenon of translation from Castilian to Catalan peaked at the turn of the twentieth century, and was particularly due to the great interest in *Don Quijote de la Mancha* in Catalan-speaking territories.

variant with a socially-marked register, consistent with the characterization of the character, who is poorly educated. It is, therefore, an individual variant containing features of other variants, such as age and social class. As a whole, the translation is foreignizing in respect to the original text; an option that restricts, albeit not in an absolute way, the potential area of dissemination of the novel. According to Josep M. Llompart's review (who also translated Cela's work and collaborated with him on *Papeles de Son Armadans*), the use of the Majorcan variant is a strategy to legitimize the dialect in a specific area and habitat, i.e., rural Majorca (Llompart, 1956). This interpretation can be related to one of the functions that, according to Venuti, a foreignization translation can assume in a situation of minority language, which is 'enriching the minority language and culture while submitting them to ongoing interrogation' (Venuti, 2008, 20).

This choice might be attributed to the *skopos* of the translation: that is, the conditions embedded in the commissioned work (Briguglia, 2013). In this case, Cela was not concerned about the circulation potential of the novel but about the number of languages into which it was translated, and considered that Catalan, a language that was part of the social and cultural environment he lived in, had to be one of those. Subsequently, this is a translation with a restricted symbolic capital that contributes to the different visibility initiatives of the Catalan culture that were growing stronger at the time.

Regarding the Basque case, the translation by the poet Luis Jauregi, considered the precedent of the *olerkariak* (the first generation of modern poets in Basque), is his only translation (Villasante, 1979, 436–37). Very possibly, the fact that Rocamora, the director of press and propaganda, went on holiday to Zarautz (Uribarri, 2013, 37), where the publishing house was, facilitated obtaining the permission for the publication. The prologue by Karlos Santamaria, at that time one of the best-known (and most closely related) figures of the scientific, intellectual and religious Basque field, legitimized the familiarization of Cela's book and, at the same time, conditioned the reading in the religious sense.

The publishing company Itxaropena, which had been publishing works in Basque since the 1950s (Moreno Cantano, 2008, 164), published the translation of *La familia de Pascual Duarte* in 1967, in 'Kuliska Sorta' [Ensemble of Sandpipers], a collection essentially devoted to works in translation (Olaziregui, 2000, 532). This happened in a context favourable to the renewal of literature in Basque,¹³ which began in 1964, when

¹³ *Literature in Basque or Basque literature*, according to the explanation by Manterola Agirrezabalaga, (2014, 43) and Pérez Isasi (2014, 109, n. 2).

the codification and unification of the literary language (*Basque batua*) was promoted, making its development as a language of culture possible and culminating at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s with the unification of orthography and declination (1968), the codification of the basic lexicon (1970) and the auxiliary verbs (1973). In 1964, in addition, the publication of the book of poems *Harri et Herri* [Stone and Country], by Gabriel Aresti, was considered the starting point for the renewal of Basque literature and the development of a literary field (Olaziregui and Oategi, 2019, 524–33). All this involved an increase in the production of books in *Euskara* and a modernization of the Basque novel, in which the influence of existentialism is combined with experimentalism. It should be remembered, however, access to Basque literature would have been very restricted and would not occur continuously until the 1980s (Manterola Agirrezabalaga, 2014).

Conclusions

Carried out in a context of development and modernization of the respective four literary traditions, the translations of *La familia de Pascual Duarte* into Portuguese, Catalan, Galician, and Basque evince the fertile network of peninsular relations established by Cela and his capacity, and that of the mediators, to overcome cultural and political difficulties. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, analyzing these relationships helps us to understand the Iberian ‘contact zone’. Pratt’s approach invites us to adopt models of study of the Iberian space where the idea of ‘community’ can be challenged (Pratt, 1991, 34). In the ‘contact zone’ cultures are concerned with ‘representations others made of them’ (Pratt, 1991, 35) through the arts of critique, parody and comparison (Pratt, 1991, 40).¹⁴ Even though these cultural exchanges in Spain can be seen as samples of unilateral interference (Figuerola and González-Millán, 1997, 78), insofar as they do not imply a bi-directional relationship between the two languages and they occur in a context of diglossia, they were accompanied by initiatives which involved a certain recognition of the target culture, such as those of the two platforms to which Cela was linked, *Papeles de Son Armadans* and Alfaguara, which put into circulation books in languages other than Spanish, especially in Galician and Catalan.

¹⁴ A good example of subversive practice of creation in the Portuguese literary field is the case of Portuguese Children Literature during the dictatorship, which used literary mechanisms, like symbolic language, to evade censorship (Balça, de Azervero, and Selfa, 2017).

The four cases of reception of *La familia de Pascual Duarte* analyzed in this chapter reveal some of the elements that Figueroa and González-Millán (1997, 79) have observed in the case of the relationship between Galician literature and ‘big literatures’. First, the diversifying function of the various discursive modalities without production written in the country (this issue can be related to the linguistic difficulties of the original text). Secondly, the consolidating role of literary genres in situations of precariousness (in this case, the change from poetry – the genre traditionally privileged in translation – to prose). And, finally, the legitimizing role of host languages and literatures (this function justifies the need to incorporate contemporary ‘classics’ like the subject of this study, with the aim of increasing the cultural capital of the target system). These are functions shared by three of the four target literary systems (in Catalan, Basque, and Galician) which need to gain autonomy by incorporating translations. In what concerns the development of the novel as a genre, the option of translating from Spanish into other Iberian languages has also been seen as an indispensable option to enrich the history of the genre in these languages. In modern European cultures the novel was considered an essential genre related to modernity because of its conception as a ‘supranational’ form (Gallego Roca, 2010, 135) and its closeness to a popular readership. These two strengths doubtlessly facilitated its circulation and its translation.

As we have seen, the Portuguese translation should be interpreted as a result of the political and socio-economic context previous to the *years of lead*. The boosting of the publishing market of the 1950s favoured the emergence of some translations from Spanish (a rare practice in this target system) and helped to introduce works like *La familia de Pascual Duarte*. Although this novel could be labelled as ‘realist,’ ‘a stigmatizing judgement’ which was used to justify the prohibition of novels because of their ‘crude or unpleasant aspects of life’ (Seruya and Moniz, 2008, 13 and 20), the translation did not find obstacles to being published. At the same time, the rapprochement between both dictatorial regimes helped to justify the introduction of a literature (the Spanish), which has been perceived as a powerful rival, owing to its position of hegemony within the Iberian Peninsula (Bueno Maia, Pacheco Pinto, and Ramos Pinto, 2015, xxi).

Beyond the postwar period, the fortunes of these translations have been uneven. The Galician, Basque and Portuguese versions have been reedited; Galician twice: in 1982 and 1996, Basque once: in 1989, on the occasion of the award of the Nobel Prize to the author, and Portuguese also once: in 1990. In the reissues of the Galician version, the first, which revised the orthography based on Galician spelling and morphological rules,

approved by the Real Academia of Galicia in 1982, appeared on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the publication of the original; the second was an institutional initiative of the Xunta. In Basque case, as detailed in the prologue of the Erein publisher, major changes were introduced to the syntax, morphology and lexicon of the first translation.

References

AA.VV. 1992. *La familia de Pascual Duarte. 50 años. Recuento de ediciones*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura.

Abuín González, Anxo, and Anxo Tarrío Varela, eds. 2004. *Bases metodoloxicas para unha historia comparada das literatures na península Ibérica*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

Aldekoa, Iñaki. 2004. *Historia de la literatura vasca*. Donostia: Erein.

Bacardí, Montserrat. 2005. 'Translation from Spanish into Catalan during the 20th century: Sketch of a Chequered History.' In *Less Translated Languages*. Edited by Albert Branchadell and Lovell Margaret West. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 259–68.

Bacardí, Montserrat. 2007. 'La traducció del català al castellà. Una història aleatòria.' *1611. Revista de Historia de la traducción* 1: <http://www.traduccionliteraria.org/1611/art/bacardi.htm> (accessed on 4 February 2020).

Bacardí, Montserrat. 2012. *La traducción catalana sota el franquisme*. Lleida: Punctum.
Bacardí, Montserrat. 2019. 'Translation policies from/into the official languages in Spain.' In *The Routledge handbook of Spanish translation*. London and New York: Routledge, 429–453.

Balça, Angela, Fernando Frada-de-Acevedo, and Moisès Selfa. 2017. 'Literatura infantil portuguesa en tiempos de la Dictadura: censura y voces de resistència.' *Ocnos* 16 (1): 92–105.

Branchadell, Albert, and Lovell Margaret West. 2004. *Less Translated Languages*. Edited by Albert Branchadell and Lovell Margaret West. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Briguglia, Caterina. 2013. *Dialecte i traducció literària: el cas català*. Vic: Eumo.

Bueno Maia, Rita, Marta Pacheco Pinto, and Sara Ramos Pinto. 2015. 'Introduction. Portugal and Translation Between Centre and Periphery.' In *How Peripheral Is the Periphery? Translating Portugal Back and Forth. Essays in Honour of João Ferreira Duarte*. Edited by Rita Bueno Maia, Marta Pacheco Pinto, and Sara Ramos Pinto. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, xvii–xxix.

Casares, Carlos, Arturo Lezcano, and Antón Risco. 1997. *Para ler a Vicente Risco*. Vigo: Galaxia.

Castellet, Josep M. 1955. 'Notas sobre la situación actual del escritor catalán.' In *Notas sobre literatura española contemporánea*. Barcelona: Laye, 29–33.

Castro, Nayelli, and Danielle Zaslavsky. 2013. 'México.' In *Diccionario histórico de la traducción en Hispanoamérica*. Edited by Francisco Lafarga and Luis Pegenaute. Madrid: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 259–273.

Cela, Camilo José. 1942. *La familia de Pascual Duarte*. Burgos: Aldecoa.

Cela, Camilo José. 1951. 'Andanzas europeas y americanas de Pascual Duarte y su familia.' In *La familia de Pascual Duarte*. 5th ed. Barcelona: Destino, 1951, 5–32. [Reproduced in Camilo José Cela. 1973. *Obra Completa*, I. Barcelona: Destino, 550–76.]

Cela, Camilo José. 1952. *A família de Pascual Doarte*. Trans. by Tomaz Ribas and prefaced by Gregorio Marañón. Lisboa: Estúdios Cor.

Cela, Camilo José. 1956. *La família d'en Pasqual Duarte*. Trans. by Miquel M. Serra I Pastor and prefaced by Llorenç Villalonga. Ciutat de Mallorca: Atlante.

Cela, Camilo José. 1962. *A familia de Pascual Duarte*. Trans. by Vicente Risco, prefaced by Otero Pedrayo and illustrated by Xohán Ledo. Vigo: Talleres Gráficos Faro de Vigo.

Cela, Camilo José. 1967. *Paskual Duarte*. Trans. by Juis Jauregi 'Jautarkol' and prefaced by Karlos Santamaria. Zarautz: Itxaropena.

Cela, Camilo José. 1993. *Memorias, entendimientos y voluntades. Una biografía de mano maestra*. Barcelona: Plaza y Janés.

Cronin, Michael. 1995. 'Altered States: Translation and Minority Languages.' *TTR: traduction, terminologie, rédaction* 8 (1): 85–103.

Cronin, Michael. 2003. *Translation and Globalization*. London and New York: Routledge.

Dasilva, Xosé Manuel. 2008. 'Cinco lustros de traducción literaria en Galicia.' In *O alleo é noso. Contribucións para a historia da tradución en Galicia*. Noia, A Coruña: Toxosoutos, 361–8.

Dasilva, Xosé Manuel. 2010. 'Camilo J. Cela, "autotraductor" ao galego de *La Familia de Pascual Duarte*.' *Boletín Galego de Literatura* 43: 29–41.

Dasilva, Xosé Manuel. 2013. 'La traducción al gallego y la censura franquista.' *Quaderns. Revista de Traducció* 20: 17–29.

Domínguez, César. 2010. 'Fenómenos de traducción frecuentes entre literaturas de una misma comunidad interliteraria específica.' In *Traducción y autotraducción en las literaturas ibéricas*. Edited by Enric Gallén, Francisco Lafarga, and Luis Pegenaute. Bern: Peter Lang, 61–76.

Fernández, Camilo. 2001. *A tradición lingüística e literaria de Galicia e a literatura galega*. Barcelona: Marquet Edicions.

Fernández García, M. Jesús. 2011. 'Capítulo VI: La literatura de los siglos XIX y XX.' In *Historia de la literatura portuguesa*. Coordinated by M. Jesús Fernández García. Mérida: Junta de Extremadura, 251–497.

Figuroa, Antón. 2001. *Nación, literatura e identidade: comunicación literaria e campos sociais en Galicia*. Vigo: Edicións Xerais de Galicia.

Figuroa, Antón. 2016. 'Autonomía frente a ideología en el origen del campo artístico (literario): hacia un modelo teórico.' In *Autonomía e ideología. Tensiones en el campo cultural vasco*. Edited by Jon Kortazar. Madrid: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 21–71.

Figuroa, Antón, and Xan González-Millán. 1997. *Communication littéraire et culture en Galice*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Gallego Roca, Miguel. 2010. 'Balsa de piedra o península metafísica: traducciones, novelas y mercado en la Península ibérica a principios del siglo XXI.' In *Traducción y autotraducción en las literaturas ibéricas*. Edited by Enric Gallén, Francisco Lafarga, and Luis Pegenaute. Bern: Peter Lang, 125–37.

Gallofré i Virgili, Maria Josepa. 1991. *L'edició catalana i la censura franquista: 1939–1951*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.

Gallofré i Virgili, Maria Josepa. 2013. 'Autarquia i localisme: les traduccions a la immediata postguerra.' *Quaderns. Revista de Traducció* 20: 69–75.

Garcia de Toro, Cristina. 2005. 'Translation between Spanish and Catalan Today.' In *Less Translated Languages*. Edited by Albert Branchadell and Lovell Margaret West. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 269–87.

Gavagnin, Gabriella, and Víctor Martínez-Gil. 2011. 'Presentació.' In *Entre literatures. Hegemonies i perifèries en els processos de mediació literària*. Edited by Gabriella Gavagnin and Víctor Martínez-Gil. Lleida: Punctum, 7–10.

Gavilanes, José Luis, and António Apolinario, eds. 2000. *Historia de la literatura portuguesa*. Madrid: Cátedra.

Gibson, Ian. 2003. *Cela. El hombre que quiso ganar*. Madrid: Santillana Ediciones.

Huarte Morton, Fernando. 1994. '*La familia de Pascual Duarte*' de Camilo José Cela: *recuento del cincuentenario (1942–1992) y algunas papeletas más*. Iria Flavia, A Coruña: Fundación Camilo José Cela.

Hutcheon, Linda. 2002. 'Rethinking the National Model.' In *Rethinking Literary History. A Dialogue on Theory*. Edited by Linda Hutcheon and Mario J. Valdés. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kortazar, Jon. 1990. *Literatura vasca. Siglo XX*. Donostia: Eusko Kultur Eragintzia Etor S.A.

Lafarga, Francisco, and Luis Pegenaute, eds. 2004. *Historia de la traducción en España*. Salamanca: Editorial Ambos Mundos.

Llompart, Josep M. 1956. 'La versión catalana del *Pascual Duarte*.' *Papeles de Son Armadans* I (II, year I, May): 240–1.

Lugris, Ramon. 1963. *Vicente Risco na cultura galega. Ensaio*. Prefaced by Ramón Piñeiro. Vigo: Galaxia.

Manent, Albert. 1974. 'Federico García Lorca i Catalunya (1925–1936).' *Els Marges: revista de llengua i literatura* 2: 98–104.

Manterola Agirrezabalaga, Elizabete. 2014. *La literatura vasca traducida*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Marañón, Gregorio. 1946. 'Prólogo.' In *La familia de Pascual Duarte* by Camilo José Cela. Barcelona: Ediciones del Zodíaco, 1–17.

Martínez Soler, Dionisio. 2000. 'A tradução da literatura espanhola em Portugal (1940–1990).' In *ACT 2. Entre Artes e Culturas*. Edited by Helena Carvalhão Buescu and João Ferreira Duarte. Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 71–135.

Massot i Muntaner, Josep. 1990. 'L'activitat editorial'. In *Els escriptors i la guerra civil a les Illes Balears*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.

Millán-Varela, Carmen. 2000. 'Translation, Normalisation and Identity in Galicia(n).' *Target* 12: 267–82.

Milton, John, and Paul Bandia. 2009. 'Introduction: Agents of Translation and Translation Studies'. In *Agents of Translation*. Edited by John Milton and Paul Bandia. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1–18.

Moreno Cantano, Antonio César. 2008. 'La censura franquista y el libro catalán y vasco (1936–1975). La nueva España: "Imperio del libro españolísimo".' In *Tiempo de censura. La represión cultural durante el franquismo*. Coordinated by Eduardo Ruiz Bautista. Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 143–71.

Moret, Xavier. 2002. *Tiempo de editores. Historia de la edición en España, 1939–1975*. Barcelona: Destino.

Nigorra Vaquer, Aina. 2016. 'El llegat periodístic i literari de Miquel Manuel Serra i Pastor.' Universitat de les Illes Balears, Departament de Filologia Catalana i Lingüística General. Available online at <http://hdl.handle.net/11201/2052> (accessed on 13 December 2019).

Olaziregui, Mari Jose. 2000. 'Un siglo de novela en euskera.' In *Historia de la literatura vasca*. Edited by Patricio Urquizu. Madrid: UNED, 504–88.

Olaziregi, Mari Jose, and Lourdes Oategi. 2019. 'Pensamiento y crítica literaria en euskera en el siglo XX.' In *Pensamiento y crítica literaria en el siglo XX (castellano, catalán, euskera, gallego)*. Madrid: Cátedra, 417–605.

Otero Pedrayo, Ramón. 1962. 'Prólogo.' In *A familia de Pascual Duarte* by Camilo José Cela. Trans. by Vicente Risco and illustrated by Xohán Ledo. Vigo: Talleres Gráficos Faro de Vigo, ix–xx.

Parcerisas, Francesc. 2000. 'Poder, traducció i política.' *Catalan Review* XIV: 35–52.

Pérez Isasi, Santiago. 2014. 'La literatura vasca en el contexto de los estudios ibéricos: historiografía y traducción.' *1616: Anuario de Literatura Comparada* 4: 107–26.

Pérez Isasi, Santiago, and Ângela Fernandes, eds. 2013. *Looking at Iberia: A Comparative European Perspective*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Pinto do Amaral, Fernando. 2004. 'Narrativa.' In *Literatura Portuguesa do Século XX*. Lisboa: Instituto Camões, 55–94.

Pons, Agustí. 2004. *Néstor Luján. El periodismo liberal*. Barcelona: Columna.

Pratt, Mary Louise. 1987. 'Linguistic Utopias.' In *The Linguistics of Writing*. Edited by Nigel Fabb, Derek Attridge, Alan Durant, and Colin MacCabe. New York: Methuen, 48–66.

Pratt, Mary Louise. 1991. 'Arts of the Contact Zone.' *Profession* (1 January): 33–40.

Rábade Villar, María do Cebreiro. 2019. 'Crítica y pensamiento literario gallego en el siglo XX.' In *Pensamiento y crítica literaria en el siglo XX*. Madrid: Cátedra, 615–779.

Resina, Joan Ramon. 2009. *Del hispanismo a los estudios ibéricos. Una propuesta federativa para el ámbito cultural*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva.

Resina, Joan Ramon. 2013. *Iberian Modalities: A Relational Approach to the Study of Culture in the Iberian Peninsula*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Ribera Llopis, Juan M. 2014. 'Las letras catalanas y el entramado peninsular contemporáneo: modos y tópicos interliterariamente conectores.' *1616: Anuario de Literatura Comparada* 4: 59–76.

Ribeira de Medeiros, Nuno Miguel. 2010. *Edição e Editores. O mundo do livro em Portugal, 1940–1970*. Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Robyns, Clem. 1994 'Translation and Discursive Identity.' In *Translation and the (Re)production of Culture*. Edited by Clem Robyns. Leuven: The CERA Chair for Translation, Communication and Cultures, 57–81.

Rodrigues, Graça Almeida. 1980. *Breve historia da censura literaria*. Lisboa: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa.

Ruiz Casanova, José Francisco. 2011. 'Presència de la cultura catalana en *Papeles de Son Armadans* (1956–1979).' In *La traducció i el món editorial de postguerra*. Edited by

Sílvia Coll-Vinent, Cornèlia Eisner, and Enric Gallén. Barcelona: Punctum & TRILCAT, 243–53.

Santamaria, Karlos. 1967. 'Euskal Itzulpena'ren.' In *Paskual Duarte*, by Camilo José Cela. Trans. by Luis Jauregi 'Jautarkol.' Zarautz: Itxaropena, 5–16.

Seruya, Teresa, and Maria Lin Moniz. 2008. 'Foreign Books in Portugal and the Discourse of Censorship in the 1950s.' In *Translation and Censorship in Different Times and Landscapes*. Edited by Teresa Seruya and Maria Lin Moniz. Newcastle upon Pyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 3–20.

Sinova, Justino. 2006. *La censura de prensa durante el franquismo*. Prefaced by Amando de Miguel. Barcelona: Debolsillo.

Suárez Solís, Sara. 1969. *El léxico de Camilo José Cela*. Madrid and Barcelona: Alfaguara.

Tarrío Varela, Anxo. 1994. *Literatura galega. Aportacións para unha historia crítica*. Vigo: Edicións Xerais de Galicia.

Toury, Gideon. 1985. 'Aspects of Translating into Minority Languages from the Point of View of Translation Studies.' *Multilingua* 4(1): 3–10.

Uribarri Zenekorta, Ibon. 2013. 'Censura(s) en la traducción al/del vasco.' *Quaderns. Revista de Traducció* 20: 31–45.

Urrutia, Jorge. 1977. 'Introducción.' In *La familia de Pascual Duarte* by Camilo José Cela. Edited with notes by Jorge Urrutia. Barcelona: Planeta, ix–xc.

Urrutia, Jorge. 1982. *Cela: La familia de Pascual Duarte. Los contextos y el texto*. Madrid: SGEL.

Vázquez-Monxardín Fernández, Xosé Manuel. 2003. 'A tradución galega de *A familia de Pascual Duarte*.' *Boletín Galego de Literatura* 29: 81–93.

Ventura Ruiz, Joaquim. 2016. 'Joyce en gallego: los fragmentos de Ramón Otero Pedrayo. Recepción y publicación.' *1611. Revista de Historia de la Traducción* 10. <http://www.traduccionliteraria.org/1611/art/ventura.htm> (accessed in September 2020).

Venuti, Lawrence. 1998. 'Introduction.' *The Translator* [special issue *Translation and Minority*] 4:2: 135–144.

Venuti, Lawrence. 2008. *The Translator's Invisibility. A history of translation* [1995] [2nd ed.]. London and New York: Routledge.

Vilavedra, Dolores. 1999. *Historia da literatura galega*. Vigo: Galaxia.

Villalonga, Llorenç. 1956. 'Pròleg.' In *La família d'en Pasqual Duarte*, by Camilo José Cela. Trans. by Miquel M. Serra i Pastor. Ciutat de Mallorca: Atlante, 9–11.

Villasante, Fr. Luis. 1979. *Historia de la literatura vasca*. 2nd ed. Burgos: Editorial Aranzazu.

Add Appendix