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# **Translation Today**

## **Trends and Perspectives**

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Gunilla Anderman and Margaret Rogers

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## Chapter 7

# **Tracing Back (in Awe) a Hundred-year History of Spanish Translations: Washington Irving's *The Alhambra***

RAQUEL MERINO

... there are ... two views [on translation]. The first is relative: descriptive, historical, socio-cultural, it sees translation as a product of its culture and its time, as a component of another – the TL literature – written to meet the requirements of new readers ... The second view of the product is critical and evaluative, and requires a continuous comparison of the translation with the original and a verification of correspondences. (Peter Newmark, 1991: 5)

### **Introduction**

In this contribution I would like to recall my experience as a targeteer and a sourcerer ('targeteers lean towards ends, sourcerers towards means', Newmark, 1991: 4) in relation to Washington Irving's (1783–1859) *The Alhambra*, one of the most widely-published books after the Bible, *Don Quixote*, or *Hamlet* according to some publishers (Irving, 1998: 9). Both in its original English versions, and its numerous translations, *The Alhambra* (or *Tales of the Alhambra*, or *Legends of the Alhambra*)<sup>1</sup> has been repeatedly published for over a century in complete or abridged fragmentary editions. Quite a feat, and quite a challenge for translation studies (TS) targeteers and sourcerers alike.

In 1995 the Spanish publisher Editorial Cátedra commissioned a retranslation of Irving's book (Irving, 1996), on the grounds that a new Spanish version of his widely-known collection of tales was necessary. Both the publishers and the author of the introduction insisted that the 1851 Putnam edition, the last revision of the tales signed by Irving before his death, be the source text (ST) for this new translation. For J.M. Santamaría and myself, in our role as translators, the ST had been chosen, and the resulting target text (TT) would no doubt have to derive from it. Our source-oriented task was then clear: to render the revised edition of a book which has an 'impact on Spanish self-awareness to this day' (Bradbury, 1991: 94).



Although not at all unfamiliar as a concept, the mere reference to more than one English ST was to me, a targeteer of sorts, intriguing. Mainly because it opened up the path for myriad editions and translations, all bearing the same title but potentially different, or so one was led to assume. Already in my disguise as a targeteer, I immediately started looking for different editions of the ST, with a view to comparing them with our given ST. In parallel to this, I searched for Spanish editions and discovered a never-ending story. For every year (if not month) consulted in the various databases, new editions cropped up. Tracing back previous translations, and trying to find out where it all had started and how, was from then on my goal. In what follows, I report on this work in progress, showing how many of the Spanish 'translations' turn out to be reworkings or adaptations of other TTs, by-passing the various versions of the ST. All the original texts which were identified were considered important in the survey, simply because the diversity and varied typology of existing translations into Spanish was a reflection of the variety of originals, only amplified and heightened.

### Source Texts: *(Tales of) the Alhambra*

Irving's collection of tales was first published in 1832 in London (Colburn & Bentley), Philadelphia (Carey & Lea) and Paris (Galignani). The first American edition differed in the sequence of tales, but the second American edition of 1836 reproduced the order of tales of the first British publication. The 1832 London and Paris editions (source text 1: ST1) included 31 tales and legends. The number and order of the stories, together with the year of publication, are from the first edition's basic criteria to discern which version one is confronted with. This first ST, with minor changes, has been reprinted for over a century.

Irving revised his works to be published by Putnam of New York in 1851 and decided to change once more the title from *Tales of the Alhambra* to *The Alhambra*. He revised, enlarged, and reorganised the book that would finally consist of forty-one tales. Most tales were rewritten, and only ten of them seem to have been reproduced with no changes with respect to the first edition (cf. Appendix 7.1). I will refer to this revised Putnam edition as ST2.

In 1896, Macmillan of London published an edition of tales, differing in order and number from ST1 and ST2, with illustrations by Joseph Pennell and an introduction by Elizabeth Robins Pennell (ST3). In the introduction to this edition we are told that the 'historical chapters' have been omitted anticipating 'the reader in the act of skipping' (Irving, 1986: xii). The 30 tales that were selected seem to have drawn both their order and their structure from ST2.

These three complete editions of the tales have coexisted for over a century and have been bought and read along with multiple fragmentary editions: adaptations for children and young people or for tourists. Sometimes just one tale has been reprinted, and often some quotations from the tales have been used in books of photographs about Spain or Granada. And at times a selection of texts by Washington Irving has been used for TV films or videos.

A long tradition of adaptations of Irving's *The Alhambra*, different in range and scope, can certainly be recorded and traced back. It seems that rather than replacing the first 31 tale edition (ST1), ST2 and ST3 had opened up the way for a new progeny of their own, deriving from either matrix. Unlike the more complete versions, the English adaptations, or fragmentary editions, have only rarely become sources for translations.

### **Target Texts: (*Cuentos de*) *la Alhambra***

The diversity of translated texts cannot be accounted for only in relation to the variety of originals. Quite the opposite. Once translated, the ST is no longer that influential in the target culture. In the present study it is the compilation of translations of *The Alhambra* that leads us time and again to seek different originals, not the other way round.

The first texts in Spanish of Irving's book date back to the late 1830s and were produced through intermediary French versions, still the main way of importing literature in nineteenth-century Spain. They are fragmentary editions, often selections of tales. The first complete edition of Irving's tales (ST1) was explicitly presented as such through the translation in 1888 by José Ventura Traveset, Professor at the University of Granada. This I shall refer to as Target Text 1 (TT1). To all intents and purposes this translation is, as the translator points out, a rendering of the first London edition (1832). It has been published and reprinted until today, virtually unchanged.<sup>2</sup>

José Méndez-Herrera's translation, first published by Aguilar (3rd edition in 1910), is our third target text (TT2). As the translator, quite a powerful literary figure at the time, clearly states in the introduction, he is presenting Putnam's 1857 revised edition to a Spanish-speaking audience. But since he has also chosen to reproduce Pennell's illustrations (from ST3) and the dedication to Wilkie (from ST1), it may well be considered a hybrid edition. Méndez-Herrera's translation consists of 37 tales, four fewer than Putnam's 1851 edition, but follows the order and structure of the tales in ST2. This translation has often been reprinted and on occasion offered to the public in exquisite expensive collector's editions.<sup>3</sup>

In 1951, Padre Suárez, a publishing house based in Granada, published Irving's work in English<sup>4</sup> and Spanish. In the introduction to both

editions, the translator, Ricardo Villa-Real, a university professor, confirms that he has used Putnam's 1857 revised edition as the basis for his rendering into Spanish. This TT3 consists of 34 tales, but neither the sequence nor the structure of the tales reflects that of its declared original (ST2). It seems that TT3 is a translation of an as yet unidentified English edition – if indeed it is a translation.

In 1967 a commercially-oriented firm, Bruguera, published another translation of *The Alhambra* (TT4), also bearing the name of a University of Granada Professor, Fernando Serrano-Valverde. Again the Putnam 1857 revised edition is explicitly quoted as the source for the translation. And again just 34 tales are reproduced with minor changes with respect to the sequence of the Putnam revised edition.

In 1973, another mainstream commercial publishing house, Everest, issued a 41 tale text (TT5) of *The Alhambra* in Spanish in an edition clearly intended for tourists (soon afterwards followed by editions in English, German and French). Apparently this was the first time that Irving's revised 41 tale text had been made available in Spanish. The Cátedra edition (Irving 1996) and the 1973 Everest edition can then be taken as the only complete renderings into Spanish of the revised edition, at least as regards the total number of tales and their sequence.

As we have seen, apart from hundreds of complete editions of *The Alhambra* in Spanish, there is a long tradition of fragmentary editions (selections of tales) which dates back to the late 1830s and continues until today. The first translations from French intermediary versions, which were reprinted and made available for a few decades (1830s–1880s), gave way to numerous adaptations of the complete editions available at the time (TT1 from 1888, TT2 from 1910, etc.). This plethora of fragmentary editions in Spanish ranges from one-tale editions to excerpts and adaptations for specific targeted audiences: children, tourists or bibliophiles.

## **The Catalogue of Spanish Translations of Irving's *The Alhambra***

As during my four-year search the number of Spanish editions of Irving's book found grew, it became clear that some kind of bibliographic catalogue, in database form, needed to be compiled. As a result, a database of approximately 400 entries is now available, each entry corresponding to an edition of the text in Spanish. The main sources used are: Palau (an inventory of Spanish editions of books), Index Translationum (since 1942 in book form, and from the 1990s in CD-Rom), Spanish ISBN, Spanish Public Libraries, and two previous compilations of Spanish editions (Williams, 1930; Gallego Morell, 1960). For the 1938–1985 period,

which corresponds roughly with the period of Franco's regime, I have searched the official Spanish censorship archives and found 150 records relating to Irving's *The Alhambra* which have been integrated into a database of censored translations from that period.<sup>5</sup>

The information found was organised in such a way that a record for each given edition contains cross-references to the sources in which it was mentioned. Using bibliographical information (publishing house, place and date of publication, title, translator, label, etc.) a link was established between texts that had been published in different places at different times. Also a distinction was provisionally drawn between complete and fragmentary editions.

### From Catalogue to Corpus 1

Although bibliographical information has its obvious uses it also has its limits and access to the text itself is of paramount importance. At an early stage it became obvious that locating every single text was not only difficult but a virtually impossible task; only some editions can be found in libraries, most of them having been lost. Hard as it may seem, the effort of trying to find the texts of those editions which appear to have had some impact, and thus have survived throughout the years, is certainly worth the trouble. On the other hand, any edition that now lends itself to easy access, including texts reprinted and currently available to the reading public, has also been considered a candidate for being a reprint of an old translation although seemingly a new text.

Having access to as many texts as possible (STs as well as TTs), enabled us to move from catalogue to corpus, for, once consulted, those published texts could be compared and their sources established, if only to confirm available information. Here the number and structure of tales was important, not only in deciding from which ST the translation derived, but also in establishing relationships between TTs. In actual fact no potential relationship can be ruled out as unlikely, as we shall see later. In Appendix 7.1, I have reproduced the title and structure of the main STs and TTs mentioned here.

Looking back at this history of *The Alhambra* in Spanish stretching back a century, we can clearly see that older translations (TT1, TT2) have been reprinted regularly every decade and that they have coexisted with new editions, sometimes even new translations. We can also observe that complete editions appeared as well as fragmentary editions, independent of earlier TTs. Various types of editions seem to have emerged to meet the needs and preferences of different types of readers (children, tourists, bibliophiles). In addition, hybrid editions (blending characteristics of different source editions in one) have been published. Finally, there is also,

in the case of STs as well as TTs, both an American as well as a European textual-editorial tradition.<sup>6</sup>

## Establishing Comparable Pairs: Corpus 2

Before I proceed, it should be pointed out that texts (STs and TTs) have been compared on repeated occasions from the start, every time an apparently new text was found. Such comparisons have not been left just for the last stages of the study, nor have they been restricted to ST–TT pairs only.

The larger the number of editions of *The Alhambra* analysed, and the more in depth the study of the different translations, the fewer are found to be completely distinct or independent of previous TTs. Ours is an open catalogue, which will always remain so, if only because every year new editions are entering the market (some allegedly new translations, some reprints of old TTs). As regards the textual corpus deriving from the analysis of the catalogue, some chains of texts have been established and potential pairs of comparable texts posited.

When outlining both the ST and TT textual corpus certain kinds of pairs (ST–ST, ST–TT, TT–TT) and chains of texts appear. They are highlighted by similarities and differences that group them together, or drastically change the course of the comparative study. No doubt, the first way of approaching a text such as *The Alhambra*, beyond bibliographical and editorial data, is by contrasting structure, number of tales, and final composition or make-up of those revised by Irving, without failing to consider textual comparisons of complete tales or fragments. Only by proceeding in this way is it possible to decide what type(s) of text(s) is (are) being studied and all potential relationships that may provisionally be established.

Thus, after the first comparisons between STs, guided by references and make-up of TTs, ST1 and ST2<sup>7</sup> were identified as the main, more often published and reproduced texts in English, and also as the more frequently mentioned sources for translations, and ST3 as an alternative intermediate British version of the tales.

After a thorough comparison, TT1 was immediately and undoubtedly coupled with ST1 (TT1–ST1).

The second obvious pair (despite the fact that both texts differed in a number of tales), is TT2–ST2. After random comparative sampling of fragments of TT1 and TT2, one further pair was established: TT2–TT1.

TT3, although different in sequence and number of tales from TT1 and TT2, seems to have drawn on both, and the most productive comparison seems to be TT3–TT1 and TT3–TT2, rather than directly with any source (TT3–ST2, or TT3–ST3). This is also the case with TT5 with respect to TT1 and TT2.

Another pair which has been firmly established is TT4–ST2, again in spite of the fact that individually they do not contain the same number of tales.

Fragmentary editions have not been dealt with in detail as yet, since they are likely to have been drawn mostly from Spanish complete editions (rather than deriving indirectly through translation from source fragmentary editions) and these, as we have seen, have not yet been fully explored. Finally, it should be stressed that all other potential pairs have been provisionally studied as they manifested themselves. But for now clear cases of outright plagiarism or misappropriation,<sup>8</sup> almost a textual tradition as regards this text, have been left out.

### **Comparing Pairs: Preliminary Results**

As far as STs are concerned I have thoroughly compared, consulted, and analysed ST1 and ST2. The sequence and order of tales of both first and revised editions is reflected in Appendix 7.1. The Macmillan edition, not located, has not been integrated into the comparison as yet, but its sequence and number of tales, together with extratextual references, have led us to establish ST3 as a potential indirect source for some of our TTs.

Quite a literary rendering of ST1, TT1, the translation by Ventura Traveset, has been reproduced (reprinted, published once and again, and even copied) virtually unchanged for over a century. TT1 can be described, in a fairly evaluative tone, as a close rendering of the original, an adequate and successful version into Spanish of Irving's text. To our ear today it may sound old-fashioned, but no less and no more outdated than the original.

TT1 has been reprinted and issued under the name of Ventura Traveset by over 20 different publishing houses, from the more local firms in Granada to mainstream publishers such as Espasa. Sometime in the 1950s it entered the world of popular literature, both for adults and children, and was reproduced mostly in fragmentary editions ranging from selections of half of the tales or legends to just a few (even one) famous tale(s).

Usually, in these fragmentary editions Ventura Traveset's authorship was not acknowledged and many times a new target author using labels such as 'translator', 'adaptor', or even 'author of the version' would take over the translator's intellectual property. This translation has also been reproduced fully under other translators' names (Irving, 1959) and such cases of piracy, including word-for-word unacknowledged copy, have traditionally coexisted with reprints of TT1 acknowledging the translator's copyright.

Another translation which has frequently been printed since its first publication in the 1910s is Méndez Herrera's (TT2). In the introduction

the translator states that he has chosen to translate the revised 1857 edition in order for the text rewritten by Irving to be known in Spanish. He also acknowledges inserting a few characteristics from other editions (dedication to Wilkie, Pennell's illustrations, etc.). Like TT1, TT2 has been reprinted and used as the source for further editions of *The Alhambra* since it was first published. Like that of Ventura Traveset, Méndez Herrera's Spanish version has not been revised or changed, resulting in modern editions still retaining the flavour of the language used at the beginning of the twentieth century. Unlike TT1, this second full translation has not proved to be the source of fragmentary editions or of cases of extreme plagiarism.

As is shown in Appendix 7.2, there are other texts which are found somewhere in the middle of the cline between acknowledged and unacknowledged target authorship. This seems to be the case with the translation bearing the name of Ricardo Villa-Real, apparently a new version in Spanish of the tales. Villa-Real adds some notes and an introduction to Ventura Traveset's text, adapts it, and makes it his own, but the source for his translation (most likely TT1) remains unknown, since Villa-Real explicitly quotes the 1857 revised edition as his immediate source. Obviously Villa-Real was aware of the existence of different English editions and tried to build up his text starting from TT1, resorting to TT2 where he knew Irving had introduced changes ('The Generalife' as a completely new tale). After thorough comparative sampling I decided to treat this text as an adaptation, a secondary derivation of Irving's English text, that is, through previous translations into Spanish (both TT1 and TT2), rather than as a direct transfer (primary derivation) from the original.

In similar fashion, some complete editions in Spanish of ST2 seem to have drawn heavily on previous published translations. That seems to be the case with TT5 (Everest edition) in relation to TT2, as can be observed briefly in Appendix 2.

The fragments chosen for the textual appendix (first paragraph of one of the most frequently reprinted tales that remained unchanged in both ST1 and ST2, and first paragraph of a new tale) are as representative as a short random fragment can be, and they therefore may not seem to be enough proof of a combined hypothesis of plagiarism-adaptation. Nevertheless a more extensive comparative study of TT1–TT2 (and TT2–ST2) shows that it is more than probable that Méndez Herrera consulted TT1 randomly. It seems clear that Villa-Real used TT1 as the basis for his text, and occasionally TT2 for those tales which did not appear in the first English editions or those that had been revised. In the same vein, TT5 seems to derive directly from TT2, but also uses other Spanish sources.

By the very nature of the intralingual process, we can thus see what I would very provisionally call *primary derivations* (a TT from a ST) and *secondary derivations* (TT from TT), or adaptations, including in this latter category extreme cases of plagiarism which hardly show any traces of adaptations and are better classified under *unlawful reproduction*.

A not yet finished study such as this, which will not be complete until all traceable texts have been found and submitted to close comparison, cannot lead so far to a set of final conclusions. Still, it can and must expose the complexity and diversity of descriptive studies, as well as show that there is a long way to go before retrieving translations and originals, coupling and comparing them.

### Concluding Remarks: Towards the 'Third Remove'

Further research still remains to be done. More comparisons of texts must be carried out, as many as there are existing texts, but, more importantly, the analysis of what has been studied so far has not yet been fully completed. If I may borrow Peter Newmark's successful coinage, the 'third remove' lies ahead and we hope to resume it soon, at least for most Spanish texts of *The Alhambra*, quite a representative guided tour of the history of translations in twentieth-century Spain. Other corpora await compilation and analysis, but that is another story – the history of translations into Spanish, or parcels thereof, which some of us are trying to map out and have some time ago set out to uncover.<sup>9</sup>

I remain impressed witnessing how a centenary translation (Ventura Traveset's 1888) is succeeding in making its way into a new millennium,<sup>10</sup> dragging along its progeny. I hope to have outlined here how the first Spanish version of the unrevised English edition has become the most widespread and used text of Irving's *Alhambra*, and how a blend of fragments of secondary or tertiary texts are presented and read under the title *Tales of The Alhambra/Cuentos de la Alhambra*.

Having compared a large number of texts, I have been able to trace back interdependencies, acknowledged and unacknowledged relationships, even cases of outright plagiarism, or unlawful editorial practices. Still I prefer to look at it all in awe and with curiosity rather than in anger, for nothing can be done to change the past. But I certainly believe that better insight into the history of translations will help to avoid repeating what happened in the past. Although useful sometimes, labels and tags on people's hats do not help always, for I may be wearing my targeteer disguise today (and I'll be 'leaning towards ends' then?), and my sourcerer outfit tomorrow ('leaning towards means' only?), and would still be handling the same text(s) on both occasions. Yet this is not necessarily a contradiction, and should not be taken as such. There



is, and indeed has to be, an obvious link, 'a sliding scale which eliminates any dividing line between the two contrasted approaches' (Newmark, 1991: 4),<sup>11</sup> a necessary bridge to make our efforts meaningful and useful.

## Appendix 7.1

<i>ST1 (1832 edition)</i>	<i>TT1 1888 (Espasa Calpe, 1991)</i>
1. The Journey	El viaje
2. Government of the Alhambra	Gobierno de la Alhambra
3. Interior of the Alhambra	Interior de la Alhambra
4. The tower of Comares	La Torre de Comares
5. Reflections on the Moslem Domination in Spain	Consideraciones sobre la dominación musulmana en España
6. The household	La familia de la casa
<b>7. The truant</b>	El truhán
8. The Author's Chamber	La habitación del autor
9. The Alhambra by Moonlight	La Alhambra a la luz de la luna
<b>10. Inhabitants of the Alhambra</b>	Habitantes de la Alhambra
11. The Court of Lions	El Patio de los Leones
12. Boabdil el Chico	Boabdil el Chico
13. Mementos of Boabdil	Recuerdos de Boabdil
<b>14. The Balcony</b>	El balcón
<b>15. The Adventure of the Mason</b>	La aventura del albañil
16. <i>A Ramble among the Hills</i>	Un paseo por las colinas
<b>17. Local Traditions</b>	Tradiciones Locales
18. The House of the Weathercock	La casa del gallo de viento
<b>19. Legend of the Arabian Astrologer</b>	Leyenda del Astrólogo Árabe
<b>20. The tower of Las Infantas</b>	La torre de las infantas
21. <i>Legend of the Three Beautiful Princesses</i>	Leyenda de las tres hermosas princesas
22. Visitors to the Alhambra	Visitadores de la Alhambra

<i>ST1 (1832 edition)</i>	<i>TT1 1888 (Espasa Calpe, 1991)</i>
<b>23. Legend of the Prince Ahmed al Kamel, or the pilgrim of Love</b>	Leyenda del príncipe Ahmed Al Kamel o el peregrino de amor
<b>24. Legend of the Moor's Legacy</b>	Leyenda del legado del moro
<b>25. Legend of the Rose of the Alhambra, or the page and the ger-falcon</b>	Leyenda de la rosa de la Alhambra o el paje y el halcón
<b>26. The Veteran</b>	El veterano
<b>27. The Governor and the Notary</b>	Leyenda del gobernador y el escribano
<b>28. Governor Manco and the Soldier</b>	Leyenda del gobernador manco y el soldado
<b>29. Legend of the Two Discreet Statues</b>	Leyenda de las dos discretas estatuas
<b>30. Muhamed Abu Alahmar, the founder of the Alhambra</b>	Mohamed Abu Alahmar, el fundador de la Alhambra
<b>31. Yusef Abul Hagig, the finisher of the Alhambra</b>	Yusef Abul Hagig, el finalizador de la Alhambra

ST2 ( <i>Putnam 1851 edition</i> )	TT2 <i>JMH 1910 Aguilar edition</i>	TT4 <i>FSV 1967 Bruguera edition</i>
1. The Journey (Rev.)	El viaje	El viaje
2. Palace of the Alhambra (> 2 & 3)	El palacio de la Alhambra	El palacio de la Alhambra
3. Important negotiations. The author succeeds to the throne of Boabdil (> 1 & 6)	Important negotiations. El autor logra llegar al trono de Boabdil	Negociaciones importantes. El autor hereda el trono de Boabdil
4. <b>Inhabitants of the Alhambra</b>	El truhán	El fugitivo
5. The hall of ambassadors (> 3 & 5 )	Los habitantes de la Alhambra	Los habitantes de la Alhambra
6. The Jesuits' library (> 30)	El Salón de Embajadores	El Salón de Embajadores
7. Alahmar, the founder of the Alhambra (30 Rev.)	La biblioteca de los jesuitas	
8. Yusef Abu Hagig, the finisher of the Alhambra (31 Rev.)	Alahmar, fundador de la Alhambra	
9. The mysterious Chambers (> 8 & 9 Rev.)	Yusef Abul Hagig, el perfeccionador de la Alhambra	
10. Panorama from the Tower of Comares (4 Rev.)	Las cámaras misteriosas	Las habitaciones misteriosas
11. <b>The truant</b>	Panorama desde la Torre de Comares	Panorama desde la Torre de Comares
12. <b>The Balcony</b>	El balcón	El balcón
13. <b>The Adventure of the Mason</b>	La aventura del albañil	La aventura del albañil
14. The Court of Lions (> 3 & 12 Rev.)	El patio de los leones	El patio de los leones

<i>ST2 (Putnam 1851 edition)</i>	<i>TT2 JMH 1910 Aguilar edition</i>	<i>TT4 FSV 1967 Bruguera edition</i>
15. The Abencerrages (12 & N)		
16. Mementos of Boabdil (13 Rev., 12)	Recuerdos de Boabdil	Recuerdos de Boabdil
17. Public Fêtes of Granada (K)		
<b>18. Local Traditions</b>	<b>Tradiciones locales</b>	<b>Tradiciones locales</b>
19. The house of the weathercock (18 Rev.)	La Casa del Gallo de Viento	La Casa de la Veleta
<b>20. Legend of the Arabian astrologer</b>	<b>Leyenda del Astrólogo árabe</b>	<b>Leyenda del Astrólogo árabe</b>
21. Visitors to the Alhambra (22 Rev.)	Visitantes de la Alhambra	Visitantes de la Alhambra
22. Relics and genealogies (N)		
23. The Generalife (N)	El Generalife	El Generalife
<b>24. Legend of the Prince Ahmed al Kamel, or the pilgrim of Love</b>	<b>Leyenda del príncipe Ahmed al Kamel o el Peregrino del Amor</b>	<b>Leyenda del príncipe Ahmed al Kamel o el Peregrino de Amor</b>
25. <i>A Ramble among the Hills</i>	<i>Un paseo por las colinas</i>	<i>Un paseo por los montes</i>
<b>26. Legend of the Moor's Legacy</b>	<b>Leyenda del legado del moro</b>	<b>Leyenda del legado del moro</b>
<b>27. The tower of Las Infantas</b>	<b>La Torre de las Infantas</b>	<b>La Torre de las Infantas</b>
28. <i>Legend of the Three Beautiful Princesses</i>	<i>Leyenda de las tres hermosas princesas</i>	<i>Leyenda de las tres bellas princesas</i>
<b>29. Legend of the Rose of the Alhambra</b>	<b>Leyenda de la Rosa de la Alhambra</b>	<b>Leyenda de la Rosa de la Alhambra, o el paje y el halcón</b>
<b>30. The Veteran</b>	<b>El veterano</b>	<b>El veterano</b>

ST2 ( <i>Putnam 1851 edition</i> )	TT2 <i>JMH 1910 Aguilar edition</i>	TT4 <i>FSV 1967 Bruquera edition</i>
31. The Governor and the Notary	El gobernador y el notario	El gobernador y el escribano
32. Governor Manco and the Soldier	El gobernador manco y el soldado	El gobernador manco y el soldado
33. A Fête in the Alhambra (> 22)	Una fiesta en la Alhambra	Una fiesta en la Alhambra
34. Legend of the Two Discreet Statues	<b>Leyenda de las dos estatuas discretas</b>	<b>Leyenda de las dos discretas estatuas</b>
35. The Crusade of the Grand Master of Alcantara (N)	La cruzada del gran maestre de Alcántara	La cruzada del gran maestre de Alcántara
36. Spanish Romance (N)	El espíritu caballeresco español	
37. Legend of Don Munio Sancho de Hinojosa (K)	Leyenda de don Munio Sancho de Hinojosa	Una expedición a la busca de un diploma
38. Poets and Poetry of Moslem Audulus (N)		Leyenda del soldado encantado
39. An expedition in quest of a diploma (N)	Una expedición en busca de un diploma	Mohamed Ibn Alahmar, el fundador de la Alhambra
40. The Legend of the Enchanted soldier (N)	Leyenda del soldado encantado	Yusef Abul Hagig, el rey que acabó la Alhambra
41. The Author's farewell to Granada (N)	El adiós del autor a Granada	El autor se despide de Granada

**Key:** Tales in **bold** typeface were *not* revised by Irving for the Putnam edition. Tales in *italics* were revised to the extent of only minor changes. An 'N' indicates that the tale is new in ST2 with respect to ST1. 'Rev.' indicates that the corresponding tale or tales in ST1 were revised for the 1851 edition. A 'K' shows that the tale was first printed in Knickerbocker. The symbol '>' followed by the number of the tale in ST1 indicates that the original ST1 tale or tales were rewritten or merged for ST2.

## Appendix 7.2

*Legend of the Prince Ahmed Al Kamel, or the Prince of Love ST1: 1228 and ST2 202*

There was once a Moorish king of Granada who had but one son, whom he named Ahmed, to which his courtiers added the surname of al Kamel, or the perfect, from the indubitable signs of superexcellence which they perceived in him in his very infancy. The astrologers countenanced them in their foresight, predicting every thing in his favor that could make a perfect prince, and a prosperous sovereign. One cloud only rested upon his destiny, and even that was of roseate hue; he would be of an amorous temperament, and run great perils from the tender passion. If, however, he could be kept from the allurements of love until of mature age, these dangers would be averted, and his life thereafter be one uninterrupted course of felicity.

*Leyenda del Príncipe Ahmed Al Kamel o el Peregrino de Amor (> ST1) TT1, 1888: 140*

Había en otros tiempos un rey moro de Granada que sólo tenía un hijo, llamado Ahmed, a quien los cortesanos le pusieron el nombre de Al Kamel o El Perfecto, por las inequívocas señales de superioridad que notaron en él desde su tierna infancia. Los astrólogos hicieron acerca de él felices pronósticos, anunciando en su favor toda clase de dones suficientes para que fuese un príncipe dichoso y un afortunado soberano. Una sola nube oscurecía su destino, aunque era de color de rosa: '¡Que sería muy dado a los amores y que correría grandes peligros por esta irresistible pasión; pero que, si podía evadir los lazos del amor hasta llegar a la edad madura, quedarían conjurados todos los peligros y su vida sería una sucesión no interrumpida de felicidades!'

*Leyenda del Príncipe Ahmed Al Kamel o el Peregrino del Amor (> ST2) TT2, 1910: 261–2*

Había una vez un rey moro de Granada que solo tenía un hijo, llamado Ahmed, al que sus cortesanos añadían el sobrenombre de al Kamel, o el Perfecto, por las inequívocas muestras de superioridad que observaran en él desde su infancia. Los astrólogos las corroboraron con sus predicciones, vaticinando en su favor todo cuanto era susceptible de hacer de él un príncipe perfecto y un próspero soberano. Solo una nube velaba su destino, y aun esta era de rosado color: sería de amoroso temperamento y correría grandes peligros por causa de tan tierna pasión. Sin embargo, si lograba guardarse de la añagazas del amor hasta la edad madura, conjuraríanse otros riesgos, y su vida sería desde entonces una serie ininterrumpida de felicidades.

*Leyenda del Príncipe Ahmed Al Kamel o el Peregrino de Amor (> ST2) TT4, 1967*

Había una vez un rey moro en Granada que tenía un hijo único, llamado Ahmed, y a quien los cortesanos añadieron el apodo de Al Kamel o el Perfecto, a causa de las indudables muestras de dotes extraordinarias que habían podido observar en él desde su misma infancia. Los astrólogos los secundaron en su previsión augurándole todo aquello que podría hacer de él un perfecto príncipe y un soberano próspero. Tan sólo una nube pesaba sobre su destino y aun esa era de un tono rosado. Sería de temperamento amoroso y soportaría grandes peligros debido a esa tierna pasión. Pero si conseguía verse apartado de las tentaciones amorosas hasta la edad madura, estos peligros se evitarían y su vida, a partir de entonces, sería una ininterrumpida serie de felicidades.

*Leyenda del Príncipe Ahmed Al Kamel o el Peregrino de Amor (> TT1) TT3, 1951*

Había en otro tiempo un rey moro de Granada que sólo tenía un hijo llamado Ahmed, a quien sus cortesanos dieron el nombre de al Kamel o el Perfecto, por las inequívocas señales de superioridad que observaron en él desde su más tierna infancia. Los astrólogos las confirmaron con sus pronósticos, vaticinando en su favor todos los dones necesarios para ser príncipe perfecto y un dichoso soberano. Tan sólo una nube oscurecía su destino, aunque era de color de rosa: que tendría un temperamento amoroso y que correría grandes peligros por esta tierna pasión; pero que si lograba evadirse de sus halagos y seducciones hasta llegar a la edad madura, todos los peligros serían conjurados y su vida resultaría una serie ininterrumpida de felicidades <sup>12</sup>

*Leyenda del Príncipe Ahmed Al Kamel o el Peregrino del Amor (> TT2) TT5, 1973*

Había una vez un rey moro de Granada que solo tenía un hijo, al que llamó Ahmed, y al que los cortesanos le añadieron el sobrenombre de *al Kamel*, o el Perfecto, por las inequívocas señales de superioridad que observaron en él desde su misma infancia. Los astrólogos las corroboraron con sus predicciones, vaticinando en su favor todo cuanto puede hacer un príncipe perfecto y un próspero soberano. Sólo una nube oscurecía su destino, y aun ésta era de color de rosa: sería de temperamento amoroso y correría grandes peligros a causa de tan tierna pasión. Sin embargo, si se le pudiera guardar de los halagos del amor hasta llegar a la edad madura, estos peligros desaparecerían y su vida sería desde entonces una serie ininterrumpida de felicidades.

***The Generalife (ST2)***

High above the Alhambra on the breast of the mountain, amidst embowered gardens and stately terraces, rise the lofty towers and white walls of the Generalife; a fairy palace, full of storied recollections. Here is still to be seen the famous cypresses of enormous size which flourished in the time of the Moors, and which tradition has connected with the fabulous story of Boabdil and his sultana.

***El Generalife (ST2>) TT2, 1910: 257***

Alzándose sobre la Alhambra, en el seno de la montaña, entre los emparrados jardines y suntuosas terrazas, se elevan las altas torres y los blancos muros del Generalife, un palacio de ensueño repleto de historiadados recuerdos. Aquí se ven aún los famosos cipreses de enorme tamaño que crecieron en tiempo de los moros, y que la tradición ha relacionado con la fabulosa historia de Boabdil y su sultana.

***El Generalife (ST2>) TT4, 1967: 124***

Por encima de la Alhambra y en el corazón del monte entre jardines floridos y suntuosas terrazas, asoman las altas torres y blancos muros del Generalife; lugar mágico, lleno de recuerdos históricos. Aquí todavía se pueden contemplar los enormes cipreses que florecieron en los tiempos de los moros y a los que la tradición ha relacionado con una historia fabulosa de Boabdil y la sultana.

***El Generalife (TT2>) TT3, 1951: 156***

Por encima de la Alhambra y en el seno de la montaña, entre floridos jardines y suntuosas terrazas, se elevan las altas torres y los blancos muros del Generalife, palacio de ensueño, cargado de recuerdos históricos. Todavía pueden verse en él los famosos grandes cipreses que florecieron en tiempo de los árabes, relacionados por la tradición con la fabulosa historia de Boabdil y la sultana, su esposa.

***El Generalife (TT2>) TT5, 1973: 143***

Muy por encima de la Alhambra, en el seno de la montaña, entre poblados jardines y suntuosas terrazas, se alcanzan las altas torres y los blancos muros del Generalife, un palacio de ensueño lleno de anecdóticos recuerdos. Aquí se ven aún los famosos cipreses de enorme tamaño que crecieron en tiempo de los moros, y que la tradición ha relacionado con la fabulosa historia de Boabdil y su sultana.



## Notes

1. Irving's book appeared under various titles in English, but soon *Tales of the Alhambra* prevailed, so much so that the title he finally chose for the Putnam 1851 edition (*The Alhambra*) has been used, if at all, as a secondary title. In Spanish, both *Cuentos* ('Tales') *de la Alhambra* and *Leyendas* ('Legends') *de la Alhambra* have coexisted at times, being used alternately in reprints of the same translated text.
2. After the Civil War, this translation was published, as so many Spanish books, in Argentina by the same publishing house which had printed it in Spain before the war (Espasa). This publisher had established a branch in Argentina due to the political and economic situation. Books were usually imported from South America in the 1940s and early 1950s.
3. Méndez Herrera's translation was also published in Argentina. One of the most sought-after editions is that of 1947 by Luis D. Alvarez (editor), with prints by E. Delacroix and 24 colour illustrations by John Frederik Lewis, bound in leather.
4. The Padre Suárez English edition reproduces ST1, with an introduction by Villa-Real.
5. TRACE (TRAnslations CEnsored) is the core name of a research project and its database which comprises the catalogues of censored translations (of narrative, theatre and cinema) under Franco. Jointly developed at the University of León, supervised by Rosa Rabadán, and at the University of the Basque Country, under my supervision, the TRACE project group now has a dozen researchers. Cf. Rabadán (editor) 2000 for preliminary results. TRACE has been funded by the University of the Basque Country under projects UPV 103.130-HA 141/97, UPV 103.130-HA 003/98, and UPV 103.130-HA 083/99.
6. This tradition seems to be shared by virtually any kind of publication. Thus, if we look at the way theatre translations into Spanish have been produced, published and distributed in the last century, particularly after the Civil War, we can observe a very strong trend to import translations from South America, legally and illegally (plagiarism). Cf. Merino, 1994 and Merino, 1996.
7. Although Putnam's first edition of the revised text was published in 1851, in most translated texts we find 1857 quoted as the year of publication of the source edition used for the translation. The search for original English texts has proved to be much more difficult than locating the translations, and no 1857 edition has been found so far.
8. Two examples will suffice. A fragmentary edition (Irving, 1951), M. Rossell's adaptation is but a reproduction of 13 tales taken word for word from ST1. And a complete edition (Irving, 1959), the translation by Lecluyse and del Castillo is just a literal copy of ST1.
9. Under TRACE (translations censored) we have embedded ongoing studies like Irving's *Alhambra*. We have chosen to look at translations into Spanish in 20th-century Spain from the vantage point of Franco's censorship, a filter which was applied to all cultural products for half a century, and naturally left masses of contextual information and clear traces of the intermediary textual processes which took place before a text reached the public.
10. The Irving 1998 edition of José Ventura Traveset's translation is presented by the publisher as a 'jewel' dug up from dusty shelves in forgotten libraries. This edition is presented with a selection of prints by Eugene Doré on Spain.

Difficult to accept as a 'jewel' since this translation has always been available in bookshops in one edition or another, it is nevertheless symptomatic that it is considered so by the publishers and that they have selected Dore's prints to give their edition an antique air.

11. The full quotation is: 'targeteers lean towards ends, sourcerers towards means ... my proposition is a sliding scale which eliminates any dividing line between the two contrasted approaches' (Newmark, 1991: 4).
12. Había una vez en Granada un Rey Moro que no tenía más que un hijo al que llamó Ahmed, y al que sus cortesanos le pusieron el sobrenombre de al Kamel, o el Perfecto, debido a las señales inequívocas de máxima excelencia que en él vieron desde su infancia. Los astrólogos con sus predicciones corroboraron que tendrían a su favor todo aquello que pudiera pedirse de un príncipe perfecto y de un próspero soberano. Sólo una nube ensombrecía su destino, e incluso ésta tenía un tinte rosáceo: sería de temperamento amoroso y correría grandes peligros por culpa de aquella tierna pasión. Pero si se le pudiera alejar de las tentaciones del amor hasta la edad madura, estos peligros podrían evitarse, y su vida sería en adelante un interminable camino de rosas. (Irving, 1996: 320, Cátedra edition.)

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