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Machiavelli translated into Catalan: textual and editorial choices

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summary

This article provides an appraisal of all published and unpublished, complete and excerpted translations into Catalan of Machiavelli's works, and reconstructs the cultural circumstances around their completion as a means to determine from which editions the various translators worked. It also explains how the translators confronted and resolved issues of language and syntax in *The Prince*.

key words

Maquiavel, tractadística, traduccions.

1. Machiavelli in Catalan: a recent history

All translations of Machiavelli's work into Catalan belong to contemporary culture since they weren't carried out until the first decades of the XXth century. It would be completely pointless and impracticable to argue possible ideological reasons for the absence of earlier translations. The Catalan linguistic system's delay in being included into the international chronology can't be evaluated in terms of the author, since the reason for it can be found in the cultural regionalization that began with the modern age, which led to the rapid decline of Catalan as a vehicular language for translation. Indeed, the same phenomenon is true of many other treatise writers and thinkers, such as Montaigne, Erasmus, More, Descartes, Pascal and Voltaire, all of whom, like Machiavelli, weren't translated into Catalan until the twentieth century. Looking at the subject comparatively, Machiavelli was neither the last to be translated nor the one to receive the least attention in recent history. Given the presence of a variety of books, different translations of the same text or the same translation collected in diverse anthologies, shows that his presence in Catalan publishing compares favorably when taking into account the work of

other foreign philosophers and thinkers. The objective of this study is to offer a comprehensive review of Machiavelli's translations into Catalan, including the circumstances of their publication and promotion, along with an analysis of relevant issues in the translators' work.

2. Translations and their circulation

2.1. Translations in collections

Far from being scattered around or anthologized, the first translations in fact belong to an ambitious project devised and implemented by Josep Pin i Soler during the first two decades of the XXth. century, whose aim was to circulate the work of key humanist thinkers of the time in Catalan. Pin i Soler was a versatile person with an independent nature, a writer and playwright, scholar and bibliophile, controversial columnist and opinion maker, who culminated his intellectual career by translating works by Erasmus, Thomas More, Juan Luís Vives, Machiavelli, Richard de Bury and Antonio Agustín. Though the project had been conceived and developed outside the sphere of official culture at the time, it was nevertheless highly significant for Catalonia and marked a milestone in the history of modern translation. A total of ten volumes were published in different houses between 1910 and 1921, though the translator intended to have them integrated into a single collection of classics, The Humanist Library. The collection was to distinguish itself not only by the novelty of the titles selected, but also because of its ambition to classify knowledge and widen the breadth of learning (four of the volumes are dedicated to Erasmus and two to Machiavelli) through solid documentation (with detailed historical and bibliographical references) and critical information that accompanied the translations in the form of notes and introductions¹. This method is most obvious in the volumes dedicated to Machiavelli. In the first place, the ambition is clear in the choice of texts and how they are presented. Two volumes were dedicated to his work, the first of which contains his famous political treatise, *The Prince* (Machiavelli 1920), and the second a selection of texts from different genres, some more directly related to political issues such as the biography *The Life of Castruccio Castracani* and the satirical poem *The Golden Ass*, while others are more literary, such as the novella *Belfagor: A Tale* and the comedies *The Mandrake* and *Clizia*, all of which have complete translations (Machiavelli 1921)². This was the first time the Florentine secretary was being translated into Catalan, making Pin i Soler's project even more valuable, and it also compiled other

1 I first made an overall assessment of the translations from Pin i Soler to Gavagnin in 2010.

2 A print run of 300 copies was made for each volume.

texts that were largely unknown or that couldn't be found even in Spanish translations, as was the case with *The Golden Ass* and *Clizia*³. Secondly, both volumes had introductory essays, the first being a very useful approach to the principal issues of Machiavelli's political thought, and the other a compilation of literary texts. Indeed, the first essay offers a detailed, critical reconstruction of the figure of Machiavelli, giving his bibliography and the political context in which *The Prince* was written. Pin i Soler structures his discourse according to the most recent critical bibliography of the day, especially the positivist essay by Pasquale Villari, *Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi* (1882), which he consulted in the expanded edition of 1912, along with good translations of a nice stack of epistolary documents (family letters and correspondence with Vettori and Francesco Guicciardini) all brought together with his own thoughts. A few of these are worth mentioning, though perhaps not necessarily appealing, particularly when they draw interesting connections between certain ideas expressed by Machiavelli and theories that can be deduced from assertions made in Thomas More's *Utopia*. It's also worth of mention the recovery and positive evaluation of the essay written by Eiximeno Antonio, the Valencian Jesuit who was exiled to Italy in the XVIIIth. century, titled *El espíritu de Maquiavelo*. What's also remarkable in his introduction to the *Translations*, is that he gives differential treatment to the work that deals more with the political and ideological implications such as *The Life of Castruccio Castracani* and *The Golden Ass*, which receive passionate and broad observations, while the literary work, like *Belfagor* and the comedies, are presented more briskly and succinctly.

Despite the fact that Pin i Soler's contribution to translation was well known in intellectual circles, it was never reprinted. During Franco's regime there were obvious difficulties in publishing in Catalan, but it didn't help that Pin i Soler held a controversial and reserved stance regarding the period's currents of Noucentisme and Postnoucentisme. When Espriu included *The Prince* as part of a very reduced list of essential reading⁴, it became clear that a new translation of this key treaty of modern political theory should be made available to readers. There were a few personal initiatives in the 60's, and Espriu suggested as much to friend and publisher Josep M. Boix i Selva. Yet the project stalled before it was completed. It wasn't until the return of democracy and resumption of normal cultural life that a Catalan translation of Machiavelli could once again be found in bookstores. In this respect, the consolidation of left wing culture and its increasingly systematic approaches were crucial since

3 The only version of *The Golden Ass* was carried out in 1839 by Manuel de Cabanyes, *Clizia* had not yet been translated.

4 Cf.: «I think that reading *Cohelet* or *the Preacher*, the *Moral Letters to Lucilius*, the *Divine Comedy*, *The Prince*, *Discourse on Method*, *Don Quijote*, *The Complete Gentleman*, and a few cops and robbers novels, gives us quite enough for this sad life, without existentialist howls and any other impolite outbursts.» (Espriu 1957).

it led to the reestablishment of publishing platforms, which filled they gaps and led to the articulation of Catalan intellectual discourse. What's more, Jordi Solé Tura, a central figure in these ideological horizons, drew attention to Machiavelli's political theories from the point of view of a Gramscian interpretation. Finally, the creation of the "Philosophical Texts" collection in the publishing house Laia, in 1981, edited by the philosophers Josep M. Casalmiglia, Pere Lluís Font and Josep Ramoneda allowed Machiavelli's treaty to become a part of the standardized intellectual and commercial circuit. Published as the collection's eleventh title, the new translation of *The Prince* (Machiavelli 1982) is the work of leftist intellectual and political activist, Jordi Moner i Sinyol. Following the collection guidelines, the book is equipped with a comprehensive initial study, which in this case was done by the translator himself, an analytical bibliography and name and subject indexes. The historical and political reconstruction of Machiavelli's times and analysis of his work constitute a valuable part of the canonical studies of the author from the 60's and 70's and stress the historical significance of Machiavelli's thought from a Marxist perspective. We should also underline this as the first effort at appraising the reception of Maquiavelli's work⁵ in the greater Catalan territories.

Jordi Moner's translation of Machiavelli's text became the reference in Catalan for the final decades of the XXth. century. Its predominance is clear in the variety of collections and publications in which it was collected: after two reprints in the same collection (in 1988 and then under the imprint Editions 62, 1993), it was published in Edicions 62's collection "El Cangur Clàssic" in 1996 without any alterations except the addition of a chronological table, and was reprinted again in the year 2000; in 2002 it was published for the first time in Butxaca's collection called "Cangur Assaig" (Group 62), with a reprint in 2007.

Not long after *The Prince* found a place in Laia's catalogue, another publishing platform included a text of Machiavelli's work as a playwright in the emblematic collection "MOLU" (world literary masterpieces), which was spurred by a similar mission to absorb the most enduring foreign literature of all time into the culture. Montserrat Puig's new translation of *The Mandrake* (Machiavelli 1985), one of the works that Pin i Soler had selected for his own anthology, heads the volume *Renaissance Theater*, which follows the course set by Italian critical studies during the 60's and 70's in its selection of texts that are examples of the literary and social phenomenon that marked court life in the Italian Renaissance. Giuseppe Grilli wrote the foreword, which introduces

5 In this overview there is no reference made to the Catalan translation (annotated) by Josep Pla, which he took from a chapter that Francesco de Sanctis dedicated to Machiavelli in his *History of Italian Literature*. The translation was used as the first chapter of his book *Itàlia i el mediterrani* (Pla 1980).

the thematic, structural and linguistic elements that characterize the four selected comedies.

A new translation of another play by the Florentine secretary was published on the threshold of the new century, which demonstrates the level of interest given to his theater. The initiative was carried out under the auspices of the Barcelona Theatre Institute in 1998, and Jordi Ferrer Gràcia was awarded the Josep M. de Sagarra prize for unpublished translations of theatrical pieces for his work on *Clizia*. The text was published in the Institute's "Collection of Popular Classic World Theatre" (Machiavelli 2000) with a foreword by Jordi Galceran suggesting deep links between the methods of comedy and the observation of man's disenchantment that are present in the pages of *The Prince*.

In contrast to Pin i Soler's organic *opera omnia* approach, Machiavelli's body of work was split into different volumes, which is characteristic of the editorial choices that were made at the end of the XXth. century, the aim being to assimilate and assess each one of the texts that oscillate between politics and literature, from a specific formal and genre based perspective. However, a new translation of Machiavelli (2006), published in a collection that was co-edited by the Pompeu Fabra University and Edicions Destino, titled "Pompeu Fabra Library", directed by Lluís M. Todó, seems to move contrary to this trend. They commissioned Carmen Arenas to translate the two selected texts, *The Prince* and *The Mandrake*, in keeping with the collection's appreciation that the translations of classic texts tend to age and need to be redone from time to time. The collection's books also include an introduction by "eminent specialists, writers and essayists" and in this case the foreword is the one that British mathematician and philosopher Bertrand Russell wrote on Machiavelli for his book *The History of Western Philosophy*, which Jordi Solé Tura translated in 1967 and titled *Història social de la filosofia*. These choices can't help but raise a few questions. First of all, it goes without saying that the type of analysis applicable to the linguistic aging process of the translations of Dickens or Stendhal done in the 30's, doesn't necessarily pertain to the translations of Machiavelli by Jordi Moners and Montserrat Puig, not because of the number of years that have transpired since they were accomplished, but simply because they employ a style of Catalan that can still be enjoyed within today's linguistic conventions. Certainly, some of Jordi Moners's use of grammatical forms such as "their" ("llur") or the simple perfect in second person may seem somewhat distant and out of use in today's usage. In this respect, a new translation that tightens the linguistic relationship with today's conventions is not only legitimate, but should always be welcome. However, enhancement of a conceptually important text should not cater only to stylistic aspects, but perhaps more importantly, it should advance terminology through improved semantic precision and faithfulness. I'll come back to the accomplishments of each translator later. Now, however, I'm interested in calling attention to the fact that since several

examples of Machiavelli's work hadn't yet been translated into Catalan, such as the noteworthy *A Discourse or Dialogue Concerning our Language* and the bulk of his political writings, such as *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livy* and *The Art of War*, the decision to retranslate the same two texts that already have relatively recent modern translations, appears surprising. If the main objective was to modernize, wouldn't the commission of an original and streamlined introductory study have been more valuable for both translated texts, instead of fishing for a text from the 1940s that has no critical approach to *The Mandrake*, and that had already been made available to the Catalan reader?

This edition's publishing history was very short-lived: the ambitious "Pompeu Fabra Library" folded a year later, after three years of effort and seventeen volumes, and the book quickly fell off the commercial circuit. However, Carmen Arenas received the 2004 European Farnesina Library Prize, and Edicions 62 reissued her translation of *The Prince* first in a textbook collection, "62 Education" (2009) and then in an inexpensive edition, "Labutxaca" (2012). The "62 Education" edition was not only published in a new format, but came with a new set of tools for the new context: an introductory study by Oriol Ponsatí-Murlà that was designed to bring young people closer to the theories of a classic work that bears a relevant relationship with the experience of the modern world, along with a set of teaching materials prepared by Joan Vergés Gifra.

In short, this evaluation highlights some of the idiosyncrasies that differentiate the diverse periods in which Machiavelli's work has been translated, and the first major efforts to incorporate him into Catalan, which demonstrate a desire to follow a total approach to his body of work, forged over the course of his lifetime, and the broad range of genres in which his thoughts take form, from the treaty to biography, from comedy to fiction. A long period of time separates this first ambitious series of translations from the modern translations, almost all of which are still available to readers, having been published in collections that are widely distributed, and characterized by prioritizing each unique text within its specific genre. During this second phase, decisions have basically converged on selecting three works: *The Prince* (translated by Jordi Moners i Sinyol and Carme Arenas) *The Mandrake* (translated by Montserrat Puig and Carme Arenas) and *Clizia* (translated by Jordi Ferrer Gràcia).

2.2. Uncollected and unpublished translations

The previous review raises a question that doesn't have an easy answer: why didn't the political culture of Noucentisme bother to promote translations of Machiavelli? Pin i Soler was both outside and against these associations and it could be that they weren't familiar with his work. Proponents of these cur-

rents of thought must have been interested in the Florentine treatise writer's thinking. For instance, despite the fact that there is as yet no detailed study on the echoes of Machiavelli's theories in a book like *La nacionalitat catalana* (Prat de la Riba read his political work in the Italian imprint Sonzogno's edition of *Il Principe; Dell'arte della ed altri Scritti politici* in the "Biblioteca classica economica" of 1875, with a foreword by Francesco Costero)⁶, a simple reading of the text shows some points of contact with important ideas concerning the political and military organization of states. From a similar ideological stance, one gets an idea of the amount of interest in his work from the library of an intellectual like J.V. Foix, who in addition to monographs on Machiavelli, *Giudice delle rivoluzioni dei nostri tempi* by the XIXth. federalist Giuseppe Ferrari (Vallecchi, Florence, 1921) and *Machiavel* by Vignal Gautier (Paris, 1929), since he owned various editions of Machiavelli's works: a XIXth. Spanish translation of the *The Prince*, a 1920s reprint of the same volume Prat de la Riba used, a 1902 Sonzogno edition of the *Commedie* and an anthology of his thinking in a French translation dated 1921.⁷ Indeed the latter's *La Pensée de Nicolas Machiavel, extraits les plus caractéristiques de son oeuvre, choisis, groupés et traduits par François Franzoni* (Payot, Paris, 1921) is the source of a selection of texts taken from different works⁸ that appeared in Catalan translations in the magazine *L'Amic de les Arts* in 1927 (Machiavelli 1927), to commemorate the centenary of the writer's death. The translations weren't signed, but we are inclined to assume that Foix, the editor of the magazine and owner of the Franzoni anthology, did them himself.

Despite an apparent interest in Machiavelli by this generation of writers and intellectuals, evidenced by the fact that new translations had been added at the time, these translations were done in a disperse fashion. Even taking into account the translation of the chapter on the figure of The Magnificent in the *Florentine Histories*, which was also done anonymously and dispersed, published in Josep M. López-Picó's *La Revista* (Machiavelli 1927b) for the same commemoration, it isn't enough to indicate a real presence of Machiavelli's work in Noucentista culture.

6 The tome, which belonged to Prat de la Riba's private library, is held in the Biblioteca de Catalunya (index. Prat-6-II-17).

7 The tomes, all of which carry J.V. Foix's ex-libris, are currently held in the Biblioteca de Catalunya's collection, respectively, under the index reference Foi-8-2165, Foi-8-3433, Foi-8-2810, Foi-8-2544. As proof of the complete rejection of Pin i Soler's works by Noucentista culture, it should be kept in mind that Foix didn't have a single copy of either one of the two Machiavelli manuscripts from the Tarragonan translator in his library. The ones that are in the Foix Collection were donated to the Biblioteca de Catalunya later on, proceeding from other personal libraries.

8 According to what's specified at the end of each excerpt of *Clizia, The Letters, Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livy, Florentine Histories, The Mandrake, The Art of War*.

Before closing this assessment, we should mention two unpublished translations whose manuscripts have been preserved, that are also from the early XXth. century: the *The Golden Ass* done by Lluís Via and the opening chapters of *The Prince* translated by Pere Corominas. In the first case, it was actually a commission that Pin i Soler gave his poet friend, to adapt his own translation of the poem to the original Italian meter, since he had done it without respecting the measurement of the lines, supposing it would only take some slight modifications to complete it. But it turned out to be more complicated and after trying to patch and mend Pin i Soler's text, his friend encouraged him to do a new version, as can be read in a letter dated 7 January 1918:

You insisted on me finding a way to put into verse what you'd translated and I tried to do it by cutting or lengthening the sentences, and changing the accents, until I was finally convinced that I couldn't possibly carry this forward by correcting your text without beginning on clean sheets of paper. You weren't as persuaded as I was that there was no other way to transform the verses, even though you told me to continue.⁹

The testimony is interesting because it highlights the objective difficulties of translating when trying to reconcile literary form with all the semantic nuances of the text. Indeed, although Lluís Via's version is in verse, it doesn't rhyme and converts the tercets to unrhymed feminine decasyllables. However, it tends to rework expressions more freely and even add words frequently, especially determiners, which peel the images away from the original. For example, Machiavelli's verses:

Così tra quelle bestie sconosciuto,
mi ritrovai in un ampio cortile,
tutto smarrito, senza esser veduto.
E la mia donna bella, alta e gentile,
per ispazio d'un'ora, o più, attese
le bestie a rassettar nel loro ovile. (Maquiavel 2003b, III, pp. 37-42)

that Pin i Soler had translated, according to the manuscript¹⁰ we read, in the following manner:

Així entre aquell bestiar, confós,
me trobí en un'ample cleda
tot pertorbat, sense ser vist.
Hont ma duquessa gentil y bella
per espay d'un'hora, o més, estigué
aponentant los remats en llurs estables.

9 Letter from Lluís Via to Pin i Soler dated January 7, 1918 held in the Biblioteca de Catalunya.

10 Ms. 4487 of the Biblioteca de Catalunya.

in Lluís Via's lyrical version there are several supplementary adjectives, obviously included to achieve the syllabic count that makes a decasyllable:

Així confós en mitg de besties tantes,
sens que ningú'm vegés, me trobí dintre
d'una espayosa interminable cleda.
Y la meva arrogant, gentil pastora,
ab ses besties un tant atrafegada,
esmerçà més d'un'hora aconduhintles.

The fact is that Pin i Soler didn't consider his friend's alternative good enough and once he ruled out the metric version, preferred to publish his initial prose translation since as he emphasized in the preface, "we have always made it a point that our translations be extremely faithful"¹¹. Moreover, once Lluís Via expressed his perplexity to his friend over the how long it took before he changed his mind, he reminds him that a translation should be organic and coherent in order to function, "I told him from the start that the service my work would do if he used it in a fragmentary way would be counterproductive. (...) The work is withdrawn anyway, if you only use fragments and quote my name..."¹² Independent of this episode, the epistolary documents allow us to refine the dating of Pin i Soler's translations, since the letter was written on January 2, 1918, and accompanied the reworked version of the *The Golden Ass* that Lluís Via had sent him. This means the translation of the poem, and presumably the rest, had already been completed by the end of 1917.

Finally, we should mention the conserved portions of an unfinished and unpublished version of *The Prince* done by the Republican writer and politician Pere Corominas. The manuscript is 22 pages long plus the translation of the inscription, and comprises the first two chapters and a part of the third, in multiple texts arranged one after the other. It's not dated and is kept in the National Library of Catalonia. Since the manuscript has already been edited (Gavagnin 2004), we find that both the orthographic features of the text (although not entirely in keeping with Fabrian standards) and the fact that the stationary used carries the header "Deputy to the Parliament for Barcelona" it's likely that the date when they were written can be limited to some time between May 1910 and 1916, i.e., the years when Corominas was a member of Parliament representing the Nationalist Republican Federal Union. The hypothesis is furthered by the fact that the style of handwriting and the ink used in this manuscript are similar to letters he wrote between 1914 and 1916.

11 Maquiavel 1921, p. XXI. Nevertheless, Pin i Soler's text is not always the one that is closest to Machiavelli's, because in certain cases, Lluís Via's version is clearer and more effective.

12 Letter from Lluís Via to Pin i Soler dated January 7, 1918. The version signed by Lluís Via has been conserved, unpublished, in the Pin i Soler manuscript collection, together with all working manuscripts of his Machiavelli translations (ms. 4487 at the Biblioteca de Catalunya).

If we accept this as the proper date, it's possible to draw a relation between when Pere Corominas abandoned the translation since it coincides with the news, in 1916, of the forthcoming translation by Pin and Soler¹³. Whatever the case may be, what remains are more akin to translation experiments that prove the interest he must have had in the book, the difficulties he had in understanding it, and in translating it.

3. Three. The texts: originals and translations

3.1. The originals used

The amount of time that transpired between the translations under review show that some of the differences between them are not only the result of personal strategies on the part of each translator, but also in the access to the different original editions. And just as the styles of translation fall within a range of possible variations that are conditioned by each period's prevailing trends in translatology, such is the case also with the selection of original texts. For example, we have seen how Foix translated some of Machiavelli's thinking from a French translation, and he never hid this information, but instead out of a sense of philological scruples, made sure to draw attention to it and to the fact that he respected the order established by the anthology's French curator. Today, translating a text from another language that's as close as Italian wouldn't be well considered, even if only for a magazine. Currently, best practices suggest a single original edition, which critics consider the most philologically reliable, so that any mention is made expressly of this edition (although this doesn't prevent each translator from taking advantage of other editions, especially in what concerns notes and commentaries, or using translations into other languages to answer questions and expand the range of possible choices). That's what Jordi Moners i Sinyol did for example, when he followed the text of Einaudi's edition from 1968, curated by historian Luigi Firpo, an edition that borrowed heavily from the critical text established in 1899 by the positivist trained Giuseppe Lisi, for the first critical edition of *The Prince* that followed Lachmannian criteria. What's more, in the case of the textual tradition of Machiavelli's treatise, there was another critical proposal that circulated in the 60's and acted as an alternative to Lisi's text, and which obviously hadn't been completely withdrawn. It was Mario Casella's text in 1929, an edition of the complete works of Machiavelli that was widely celebrated at the time,

13 Reviewing the last ordinary meeting of the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres, *La Vanguardia* reported «The numbered academic, Mr. Pin i Soler, finished reading the introductory text he wrote for his Catalan language translation of Machiavelli's *The Prince*.» (*La Vanguardia*, 12-XII-1916).

both for the philological work of Casella and Guido Mazzoni, and also for the rhetorical and theoretical justifications that accompanied the volume, towards the recovery of Maquiavelli's persona¹⁴ from a nationalist and fascist perspective. Einaudi's reprinting of Giovanni Lisi's text may not have been done for strictly philological reasons. In any case, the selection made by Jordi Moners must have been guided by ideological affinities with the prestigious publishing house based in Turin. Along the same lines, in fact, Montserrat Puig chose to follow Einaudi's volume, edited by Guido Davico Bonino Teatro (1981) and based on Mario Martelli's edition of the collected works, for her translation of *The Mandrake*.

It's not always possible, however, to determine the editions of reference used by translators, either because sometimes they aren't mentioned explicitly (as is the case, for example, in Jordi Ferrer Gracia's translation of *Clizia* and also in Carmen Arenas's translations¹⁵, which is surprising when one considers the aim of scientific rigor declared in the collection's presentation) or because the translator's indications aren't entirely clear. This is the case with Pin i Soler's *The Prince*. In fact, the first thing to keep in mind is that Pin i Soler was a bibliophile and had an extensive library of works and essays by and on Machiavelli. As you can read in the inventory of his library (Pin i Soler 2004), he had three Italian editions of the treaty (the Venice edition of 1768, with preface and notes by the Houssaie Amelot; one that was a part of the first Florentine edition of the collected works of 1782, in six volumes; and in XIXth. century publisher Alcide Parenti's single volume *Opere complete* of 1843), the Latin translation of the Protestant Silvestro Tegli in the Dutch edition of 1648, and two French translations (the Periés edition annotated by Louandre of 1851, and the Giraudet annotated by Derome, of 1884) and three English translations (Morley' XIXth. century edition, Ricci's from 1903, and Thomson's of 1913). In the bibliographical note that opens Pin i Soler's

14 Among the critical materials published that could be found there, was Mussolini's interpretation to the prelude of *The Prince*. This edition of the collected works of 1929 was widely read and distributed since it became the basis for most Italian editions throughout the 20th century. Salvador Espriu mentions it in a letter to Boix i Selva in 1965 regarding its prestige: «As agreed, if you want to translate *The Prince*, it's important that you give me a good critical edition of it. I'm familiar with the one that was published in Florence and edited by Mario Casella and Guido Mazzoni. It's really the critical edition of Machiavelli's collected works. I remember it was from the 'Barbera' publishing house in 1929. But you know that I'm not one of the great secretary's specialists, and thirty six years have gone by since that edition so I'm sure there are newer editions, though the one mentioned is excellent.» Letter dated April 5, 1965 cited from Delor 1989, I, pp. 43-44.

15 In the translator's note there is no bibliographic reference, nor does it state the origin of Russell's pages that are used as an introduction to the edition. By the same token, the contradictory usage of capitals also demonstrates some carelessness (the title page shows both *El princep* and *Mandràgora*), while in the translators note, both of them appear cited as parts of a title, in lower case.

The Prince, the translator mentions all Italian editions and the Latin translation without specifying which one he's using, though he charts the following order: first he details the contents of Alcide Parenti's edition in the titles and pages, remarking "it's not the most perfect edition, I quote from it because it helps give a precise idea of the quantitative importance of Machiavelli's books and pamphlet" (Machiavelli 1920, p.V); then he cites the Latin translation, and claims to have reproduced the Latin chapter titles, and finally he cites the other XVIIIth. century Italian editions, in chronological order, and confirms that the portrait used for the publication comes from one of these editions. In short, after three pages of notes we are left without knowing which full texts he followed for each project. I observed in my first analysis of the translation of *The Prince* (Gavagnin 2010), that he had used the Latin translation beyond merely reproducing the titles because I found phrases and expressions that were clearly based on this edition¹⁶. However, I have to add that he probably didn't use only the Latin text, but must have worked in a more eclectic way, with several books on the table. Specifically, the head of chapter XVIII that was expunged in Tegli's translation and that according to the Parenti editions goes as follows:

Ed hassi ad intendere questo, che un principe, e massime un principe nuovo, non può osservare tutte quelle cose, per le quali gli uomini sono tenuti buoni, essendo spesso necessitato, per mantenere lo stato, operare contro alla fede, contro alla carità, contro alla umanità, contro alla religione. (Maquiavel 1843, p. 435)

Pin i Soler translated it as:

Poso com principis que un Príncep, sobre tot si és novell, no pot exercir impunement totes les virtuts, perquè l'interés de la seva conservació l'obligarà sovint a violar les lleys de l'humanitat, de la caritat o de la religió. (Maquiavel 1920, p. 130)

Note should be taken that in the final enumeration, faith disappears ("contro alla fede"). The omission, however, cannot be the result of a personal re-elaboration, comparable to the one that during the same period, he changed from «non può osservare tutte quelle cose, per le quali gli uomini sono tenuti buoni» to «no pot exercir impunement totes les virtuts». Indeed, the final fragment literally follows the reading, purged, from the post-tridentina edition of *Tutte le opere*, that appeared in 1550, known as Testina, which was the point of reference for the majority of editions up to the XIXth. century. That's where the enumeration had been reduced to just three elements, arranged in the order

16 It's important to keep in mind that Tegli's translation, the treaty's oldest translation into Latin, was widely distributed throughout Europe with fourteen reprints and re-editions over sixty years (Mordeglia 2010).

found in Pin i Soler: «operare contro alla humanità, contro alla charità, contro alla Religione» (Maquiavel 1550, p. 41)¹⁷. There's a reference to the Catholic King Ferdinand at the end of the same chapter, which the Testina edition had also eliminated and is indicated below in italics and between brackets:

Alcuno Principe di questi tempi, che non è bene nominare, non predica mai altro che Pace e Fede, [*e dell'una e dell'altra è inimicissimo*:] e l'una e l'altra, quando l'havesse osservata, gli avrebbe più volte tolto lo Stato e la riputatione. (Maquiavel 1550, p. 41)

Pin i Soler doesn't include the deleted phrase in this case, either:

Un Príncep, avuy regnant, mes qual nom no'm convé escriure, may parla sino de pau y bona fe, y si hagués sigut sincer, més d'un cop hauría perdut la seva reputació y'ls seus dominis. (Maquiavel 1920, p. 131)

We've been able to confirm that one of Pin i Soler's XVIIIth. century editions, the Florentine one that dates from 1782-1783, effectively follows the Testina edition, although the footnotes reproduce the variations that were extracted from an older manuscript where the censored texts could be found. The textual tradition of a work as shocking and controversial as *The Prince* has long depended upon the fortunes of the censored editions that circulated in the modern age; so it's not surprising that Pin i Soler, given his procedural eclecticism, would end up basing his translation on editions that conveyed expurgated versions of the text, notwithstanding the remarkable documentation at his disposal. This does not mean, it should be said, that since he preferred to translate fragments instead of full texts, the task of circulating the works of Machiavelli in the cultural arena of his time was not very important and commendable, since he strove to keep faithfully close to the meaning of the text at a time when translation was practiced more free-handedly, and when all is said and done, the wealth of bibliographic tools he used gave him a profound understanding of the texts, as I pointed out earlier, when comparing fragments of the translation done by Pere Corominas and Pin i Soler's version (Gavagnin 2010)¹⁸.

3.2. Style and syntax of *The Prince*: notes on versions

This is not the place to provide an internal systematic analysis of the different Catalan translations of Machiavelli's work. However, to conclude this review, I would like to add a brief reflection on a few of the difficulties the translators

17 Regarding this censorship and its repercussion in some older translations, cf. De Pol 2013.

18 Cavallé i Mallafre (1994) gave Pin i Soler's version of *The Mandrake* a positive evaluation after doing a linguistic study.

encountered working on a text like *The Prince*, and how they dealt with them. The novelty of thought and theorized concepts are expressed in very original political language, not because Machiavelli resorted to neologisms, but because his approach was from the standpoint of terminology, he technifies¹⁹ words that already exist in the language, charging them with new meanings and nuances that are not always easy to interpret unequivocally and with absolute precision and neither is it always advisable to do so. The lexicon's polysemous nature is not, however, the only difficulty the translator encounters. Machiavelli wrote his treatise in a very personal style, which draws on spoken language and aspires to being vigorous, immediate and effective in presenting and arguing ideas. As Chiappelli (1952) pointed out, there are some very peculiar syntactical characteristics in the prose used in *The Prince*. Among these, the juxtaposition of two opposing movements: on the one hand, following the traditional textual approach to treatise writing, whose organization is built on subordination, meaning the arrangement of the subordinates one inside the other; and on the other hand, the syntax-based dilemmatic coordination («o per fortuna o per virtù» «perchè è necessario o fare questo o tenervi assai gente d'arme e fanti») or sequences of causal and consecutive items («perché e' populi amavano la quiete, e per questo e' principi modesti erano loro grati»). This determination to avoid subordination (Chiappelli called the procedure «principalizzazione») endows the discourse with greater expressive and emotional effects, and often serves to emphasize certain statements and raise them to the status of generalizations. There are times when the two come into conflict with each other and the period develops into an anacoluthon. This means, then, that in translating the treatise, one must strive to respect these balances, which are at times precarious and bordering on ungrammatical, and not easy to undertake from the language of a translation, which is especially true of Catalan since it's not a friendly language for gerundive subordinates. Pin i Soler wanted to use plain, understandable language, and so he regularly rewrites the entire period, which causes the layout of syntax and plot to be reordered, without reversing the relationship between cause and effect, or hypotheses and conclusions. This method turns the act of translating into an explanation, and from the point of view of today's translation studies, is no longer acceptable. Both Jordi Moners and Carmen Arenas, however, attempt to reproduce the stylistic features of Machiavelli's text,²⁰ taking advantage of the resources available. Nevertheless,

19 The word, a real find, was used by Chiappelli (1952) to define this procedure.

20 According to Moner in the introduction he wrote to his translation: «I don't presume to have found a way to reproduce Machiavelli's style, but I haven't done anything to bring him farther away, either, by using easy distillations or circumlocutions that could have resolved the difficulty of comprehension but that would not only have betrayed the style, but also the communicative intentions sought by the author. (...) my effort was geared especially towards preserving the structure, rhythm, and vocabulary of the original as long as the Catalan allowed

as was already mentioned, Carme Arenas favored an everyday sort of Catalan in arrangements and structures to avoid making it sound too stiff or literary, in keeping with the spirit of the collection and the most up to date evolution in Catalan usage. However, if we compare the choices of the two translators, you can see it has a certain consequence in the conjunctions (the second avoids forms like «nogensmenys» (nevertheless) or «car» (because), which were employed often in the second) in verbal approaches (the latter, for example, avoids causal and temporal gerunds more) and the order of phrases within the sentence. These traits are in evidence in the translation of this passage:

Uno principe adunque, non potendo usare questa virtù del liberale, senza suo danno, in modo che la sia conosciuta, debbe, s'egli è prudente, non si curare del nome del misero; perché col tempo sarà tenuto sempre più liberale veggendo che, con la sua parsimonia, le sua entrate gli bastano, può difendersi da chi gli fa guerra, può fare imprese senza gravare e' populi. Talmente che viene a usare liberalità a tutti quelli a chi e' non toglie, che sono infiniti, e miseria a tutti coloro a chi e' non dà, che sono pochi (Maquiavel 2003a, ch. XVI).

Un príncep, doncs, no podent practicar, de manera que sigui coneguda, aquesta virtut de liberal sense sortir-ne perjudicat, si és prudent no l'ha de preocupar que pugui agafar fama de gasiu: perquè a mida que passi el temps cada vegada el tindrà per més liberal, veient que amb la seva parsimònia en té prou amb les pròpies rendes, pot defensar-se de qui li fa la guerra, pot fer grans empreses sense gravar el poble, és a dir, que acaba practicant la liberalitat amb tots aquells a qui no pren res, que són infinits, i la gasiveria amb tots aquells a qui no dóna, que són pocs (Maquiavel 1982, p. 101).

Un príncep, doncs, en no poder practicar aquesta virtut de liberal, de manera que aquesta virtut sigui coneguda sense que li comporti cap perjudici, si és prudent no s'ha de preocupar que no el tinguin per mesquí: perquè amb el temps cada vegada serà tingut més per liberal, en veure els seus súbdits que amb la seva parsimònia les rendes de què disposa li basten, es pot defensar dels qui li declaren la guerra, i pot dur a terme empreses sense gravar el poble; de manera que és liberal amb tots aquells de qui no treu res, que són infinits, i miserable amb tots aquells a qui no dóna res, que són pocs (Maquiavel 2006, p. 118).

Here, the outcome of linguistic renovation, very well resolved by Carme Arenas, is greater fluidity and clarity, although it doesn't always line up with improvements in other aspects of the translation. For example, in this passage:

me to do so.» (Maquiavel 1982, p. 41). Carme Arenas's intentions move in a similar direction: «Our desire was to save the spirit of the text without betraying all the characteristic elements of the language, rhythm, and Machiavelli's syntactical structure, softening the anacoluthons, modifying the Latin syntax and adapting it to the Catalan, in order to save the final meaning and at the same time be true to the different linguistic registers we find in the original.» (Maquiavel 2006, p. 26).

Ma vegnamo ad Alessandro, il quale fu di tanta bontà che, in tra le altre laude che gli sono attribuite, è questa: che in quattordici anni che tenne lo 'mperio non fu mai morto da lui alcuno iniudicato; nondimanco, essendo tenuto efeminato e uomo che si lasciassi governare alla madre, e per questo venuto in disprezzo, conspirò in lui l'esercito e ammazzollo. (Machiavelli 2003a, ch. XIX).

In the second part of the period between the adversative conjunction «nondimanco» (= nonetheless, *nogensmenys*) and the main clause (= *l'exèrcit hi va conspirar en contra i el va matar*, the army conspired against him and killed him), there's a syntactic suspension consisting of two subordinates coordinated between them, which refers to Alexander's passing from the state of being kind to being killed. The relationship between cause and effect that exists in the content of the two subordinates («*com que el consideraven efeminat va ser menyspreat / regarded as effeminate, he was despised*») is expressed using only one of the two previously mentioned stylistic affinities typical of Machiavelli's writing («*e per questo*»), while the relationship between the criminal act and the circumstance it generates (*el fet de ser menyspreat/ the fact of being despised*) is expressed more implicitly in the subordination, since what Machiavelli wants to emphasize here is the apparent paradox (underlined by the initial conjunction «nondimanco») wherein a governor who didn't effect an unjust murder, ended up being killed by a conspiracy. All this congeals into a very dense and fast period heading towards the conclusion, a knot of actions that sustain precise relationships of cause and effect, on one hand, and contrast on the other.

Following the practice referred to earlier, Pin i Soler unravels the textual organization and rewrites it completely, therefore freely dispensing diverse pieces of information:

Parlem ara d'Alexandre Sever qual clemencia ha sigut lloada, si bé fou blasmat per massa moll y per no tenir més voluntat que la de sa mare. L'exèrcit conspirà contra aquest Príncep tan humà, que en un regnat de XIV anys no deixà executar cap sentència de mort sino per decisió dels tribunals, y no obstant, fou víctima de mans homicides. (Maquiavelli 1920, pg. 141)

This new formulation features a clearer contrast between his behavior as a good ruler and the fact that he was assassinated, but misses the explicit causal relationship between his being the subject of contempt and the fact it was the army that killed him (a relationship that is vital to the reflections made throughout the entire chapter titled precisely *The Need to Avoid Contempt and Hatred*) and establishes, in contrast, an explicit relationship (limited) between the praise and blame Alexander received that Machiavelli never developed or suggested. In turn, Jordi Moners endeavors to respect the original's syntactical arrangement, although by doing so, reduces some more expressive properties (the demonstrative deictic function «*è questa*») and the coordinated structure

between the two subordinates «e per questo»), hence in part, he offers version that is more faithful to the source than Pin i Soler 's text:

Però veiem Alexandre Sever, que era tan bondadós, que, entre d'altres elogis que se li poden fer, es diu que en catorze anys que conservà l'imperi mai no va ser mort ningú sense haver estat jutjat; i tanmateix, essent considerat efeminat i home que es deixava governar per sa mare, fou menyspreat per aquest motiu i l'exèrcit conspirà contra d'ell i l'assassinà. (Maquiavel 1982, pgs. 113-114)

Read carefully, however, it becomes clear that the effort to coordinate the structure of the two subordinate gerundives has not been correctly resolved. Indeed, «fou menyspreat» (now corresponding with the sentence's main verb) contradicts the information given as the premise «i tanmateix (...) fou menyspreat (...) i l'exèrcit conspirà» so it creates an explicit interpretation of what is not made explicit in Machiavelli's discourse, in which there is no contrary relationship between «fou menyspreat» and Alexander's behavior.

Lastly, Carme Arenas translates in a slightly different way, trying to avoid gerunds and at the same time she follows clause sequence, but ends up making a mistake similar to Jordi Moners, though semantically it's even less acceptable since through the use of the adversative locution «i això no obstant», it brings the fact that Alexander was kind into a contradictory relationship with the fact that he had a reputation for being effeminate²¹, two things that Machiavelli never put in opposition to each other:

Però passem a Alexandre, que fou tan bondadós que entre les moltes alabances que li han estat atribuïdes, hi ha aquesta: que en catorze anys que va tenir l'imperi ningú no fou executat sense judici previ; i això no obstant, era tingut per efeminat i per un home que es deixava governar per la seva mare, la qual cosa li comportà el menyspreu de tothom, l'exèrcit va conspirar en contra d'ell i el va matar. (Maquiavel 2006, pg. 139)

One of the things that translating *The Prince* forces upon us, is finding how to respect syntax that is very often not linear, without adding ambiguousness to the text, and of course without compromising the causal relationships that are established. As a French translator remarked (Fournel, 2001, pg. 75), it's important to approach the task through the threefold perspective of the linguist, the philosopher and the historian, in order to grasp the flow of Machiavelli's thought and interpret his open and elastic language, which necessitates leaving its areas of opacity or vagueness as they are. None of this is easy, or at least is not without its snares. As a result, translations should not be fixed in time. Often, translations reveal specific problems, which can sometimes be attributed to hastiness, but that don't necessarily cancel the whole work, these are the problems that can and should be corrected when it comes time to

21 Bonada noted the discrepancy (2006), and though he also mentioned Moners's translation, he doesn't comment on the deviation this version demonstrates.

reedit the same version again. To promote, produce and publish the translation of a classic text requires working within an editorial space that can often curb new initiatives applied to a same text. For economic reasons, publishers often prefer to recycle completed translations rather than commission new ones²². This is especially in small markets, like the one for Catalan. Translators have a big responsibility in these cases, but so do publishers. A revised translation by the same translator is a much more useful and honest way to take advantage of work that's already been done.

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22 Regarding the phenomenon of reprinted versions of the translation, Ortin's (2011) theoretical and historical reflection with regard to the Catalan experience is very useful.

Medici, a Tutte le Opere di Nicolo Machiavelli cittadino et segretario fiorentino, divise in V. parti, et di nuovo con somma accuratezza ristampate al Santissimo et Beatissimo Padre Signore Nostro Clemente VII. Pont. Mass. M.D.L., I cite from the digital volume in Google Books.

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