

James Joyce's Poetry and the Spanish Holy Office

ALBERTO LÁZARO

The Holy Office, also called the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition, was an ecclesiastical institution established in Spain in 1478 on the strength of a bull issued by Pope Sixtus IV and requested by the Spanish monarchs, King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile. As the etymology of the word *inquisition* implies, the first task of this judicial body was to “inquiry”¹ and punish heretical deviations from the Catholic faith, and more specifically to prosecute heretics and pseudo converts from Judaism or Islam, who were seen as a threat to both the ecclesiastical and the social order.² Widely considered one of the principal sources of the Black Legend of Spain, the Holy Office took action against dissidents, visionaries, blasphemers, witches, bigamists, polygamists and anyone who went astray from political or religious orthodoxy.³ It was a fearsome and despised institution, both in Spain and abroad, which often became a target of attack and ridicule among writers of different ages and backgrounds. James Joyce was one of them. His acquaintance with the Inquisition is revealed, for instance, towards the end of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, when Stephen tells Cranly that he would not like robbers to have “the chastisement of the secular arm” (*P* 246),⁴ using the verbal formula with which the Inquisition turned convicted offenders over to the state for execution.⁵ A few pages later, Stephen convinces Ghezzi that Bruno the Nolan, the Italian Dominican who questioned the doctrine of transubstantiation, was “terribly burned” after being condemned by the Holy Office (*P* 249). Similarly, in the Eumaneus episode of *Ulysses*, Leopold Bloom tells Stephen that he resents violence and intolerance, voicing his criticism of the Spanish Inquisition for having “hounded the jews out” (*U* 564).⁶ But the most remarkable reference to the Inquisition can be found in the 1904 poem entitled “The Holy Office,” which launched a polemical attack on Irish literary life.

The very same year that Joyce wrote this poem, he left Dublin forever, perhaps to be able to develop his writing career more

independently or maybe to escape from the persecution of the Irish holy office. Whatever the case, Joyce could never really get rid of the long arm of the Inquisition, be it in the guise of contemporary critics who condemned his stylistic oddities or in the form of literary censors who banned his writings in different countries. The most famous case was *Ulysses*, which was accused of obscenity and banned in America until 1933 and in Britain until 1936.⁷ Much less known is the rigorous scrutiny that Joyce's works encountered in the Spanish censorship office during Franco's regime. For nearly forty years, from the first press laws of 1938 to the Constitution of 1978, Spain had an Inquisition-like censorship system which exercised tight control over the publishing and importation of books in order to determine what was morally or politically correct. Joyce's anti-Catholic comments cause uneasiness among Spanish censors, who banned the importation of *Ulysses* and *Stephen Hero* from Argentina in 1946 and 1960 respectively, and imposed some restrictions on an edition of *A Portrait* in 1963. In two previous articles I have discussed the censorship problems these works faced in Spain.⁸ Here I will focus on the difficulties that Joyce's poetry, particularly "The Holy Office" and "Gas from a Burner," had at the end of the 1960s when confronted by Franco's censors. The research has been possible as a result of a recent reform of the cataloguing system in the archive where the censorship files of this period are kept. With a new computerised search system available, some new files came up and new data on Joyce's poetry were discovered.⁹

Although a Catalan version of some poems from *Chamber Music* appeared in various literary publications of the nineteen-twenties and nineteen-thirties,¹⁰ the first attempt to publish a complete book of poems by Joyce in Spain had to wait until 1969. The initiative came from the Madrid publisher Alberto Corazón, who submitted an application form to the censorship bureau on 19 July 1969. He wanted to bring out 2,000 copies of *Pomes Penyeach* in Spanish.¹¹ Under the title *Poemas manzanas* this volume was conceived to introduce Spanish readers to the thirteen poems of the original collection plus three other poems that Joyce had published elsewhere: "Ecce Puer," "The Holy Office" and "Gas from a Burner." It was precisely the two latter poems that took the punishment of the twentieth-century Spanish literary inquisition; in both poems there is a great dose of scatological sarcasm—accompanied sometimes by rough and crude language—and some scornful references to the Catholic Church, something that the Spanish censors would not allow.¹² Two different censors had a look at the poems and both agreed on their reports. The first one stated that "The Holy Office" and "Gas from a Burner" should be cut out before the book could be authorised, "because

of their clear, hard and irreverent attack against the Catholic Church.”¹³ Another censor wrote with a blue pen a statement in similar terms: “The two poems from pages 18 to 23 should certainly be left out; the first one is an insult to the Holy Office, the second to the Catholics of Ireland.”¹⁴

It is interesting to see how both censors read these poems and classified them as religious attacks, focusing their attention mainly on Joyce’s critical attitude against the Catholic Church, when his main satirical targets were very different. “The Holy Office,” rather than an insult to the Inquisition, is a strong reprimand to W. B. Yeats, George Russell and other followers of the so-called Irish literary revival, accusing them of hypocrisy and self-deception. In stark contrast to the idealism and sentimentalism of those who endeavour to revive Irish traditions and write in a Celtic Twilight vein,¹⁵ Joyce defends a more genuine picture of reality, puts himself in the tradition of Aristotle and St. Aquinas, and assumes the role of the uninhibited, honest writer who sets out to clean the hypocrisy that he saw in Dublin literary circles. On the other hand, the satire in “Gas from a Burner” is directed against those Irish printers and publishers who rejected his collection of stories *Dubliners* because it contained what they thought were objectionable passages. Joyce’s poem takes the form of an imaginary monologue delivered by an offended printer who burns those books that might sully his country’s honour; in his own words, he owes “a duty to Ireland” and he “holds her honour” in his hand. Curiously enough, the Spanish censors did not refer to Joyce’s severe rebuke to those who attempt to justify book banning, they merely pointed out Joyce’s religious irreverence.

Nevertheless, it is somewhat understandable that Spanish censors could not really grasp the complexity of Joyce’s satire. First of all, unlike other works of literature, satire is not an autonomous entity that creates and sustains its own fictional world; satire usually has an external reference to the society which produces it. It surely was difficult for those two Spanish censors to identify the Irish cultural context and the reality behind Joyce’s poems. Although the galley proof of the book submitted by the publisher included an introduction by Eduardo Chamorro¹⁶ with a brief description of the publication history and contents of Joyce’s work, the typewritten pages of the poems the censors read did not have the necessary footnote references by which to understand the cultural background. Moreover, Joyce’s works tend to rely on ambiguity and secretiveness. This clearly applies to “The Holy Office,” whose speaker may be interpreted both as the inquisitor or the victim of the Inquisition. At the beginning of the poem he calls himself “Katharsis-Purgative,” and makes it his mission to cleanse the hypocrisy of Dublin. However, as

Richard Ellmann points out, in this poem Joyce presents himself as the leviathan of Irish letters,¹⁷ that is to say, as the representation of the devil, the enemy against whom the holy office had been traditionally fighting. Other critics, like Nicholas Farnoli and Michael Patrick Gillespie, also offer two possible interpretations: “Joyce may be seen as righteously denouncing the false art of the Dublin literati or as a heretic protesting the imposition of doctrinal conformity by the provincial defenders of Irish art and culture.”¹⁸

In the first censor’s report there is also a significant comment on the quality of the Spanish translation which needs to be taken into consideration. Together with the anti-clericalism of the poems, this censor also considered the poor translation of Joyce’s text as an obstacle to the approval of the book: “Book of poems with a wide variety of metrical patterns and themes, the translator has made an exceedingly free version of Joyce’s works, translating the author’s equivocal statements into clear, categorical, rude Spanish concepts.”¹⁹ It sounds as if the censor would like to excuse Joyce, already a classic of world literature, and place some responsibility for the religious irreverence of the poems on the translator, who was not skilful enough to render Joyce’s wordplay into Spanish properly. It is true that translating poetry is a daunting task; the person who translates from one language to another has to be a good poet in both languages, and pay attention to words and meaning on the one hand and the rhythm and sound on the other. Translating Joyce entails even additional challenges. His verbal dexterity and fondness for multiple meaning require considerable expertise and talent. To begin with, even the title “The Holy Office” admits some ambiguity. Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellman, the editors of *The Critical Writings of James Joyce*, suggest two different readings of the title: the obvious reference to the Inquisition and a more enigmatic allusion to “the office of confession.”²⁰ Nevertheless, whatever the difficulty of the text and whatever the quality of the translation, Joyce’s irreverent comments are obvious enough to be picked up on without many clues from the translator.

In the introduction included in the galley proof of the volume, Eduardo Chamorro already warns the reader about the difficulty that the translation of Joyce’s poems presents: “There is a cliché about the task of translation that says that the person who translates betrays and, when applied to rendering Joyce in Spanish, or in any other language, this rises to levels of very high probability.”²¹ The translator chosen on this occasion for this *treacherous* task was José María Martín Triana, who is also the Spanish translator of Coleridge and Byron.²² It is not my aim

here to examine the quality of Martín Triana’s translation as it was submitted to the censors, but I will focus on the high degree of treason committed against Joyce’s text due to the censorship restrictions. In August 1969 the publisher received a letter from the censorship board with the “recommendation” that they should suppress some marked passages from the poems. The following month the publisher sent a new version of “The Holy Office” and “Gas from a Burner,” in which all the offensive and crude remarks that the censors had marked were replaced by other more politically correct words. The publisher thus became an accomplice to the crime. The poems submitted for a new review were distorted beyond recognition in a desperate attempt to get them published. Shown in the tables below are the changes made in the poems.

“The Holy Office”

Joyce’s text	Banned passages	Modified version
The Holy Office	El Santo Oficio	La Santa Ocupación
after holy fast	después del santo ayuno	tras el ayuno
Neither to malt nor crucifix	No para convertir en malta la cebada ni para ser crucificado	No para convertir en malta la cebada ni para ser escarnecido
Or him who loves his Master dear	O aquel que ama a su querido Maestro	O aquel que ama a su querido Tutor
Saw Jesus Christ without his head	Vio a Jesús descabezado	Vio la redención decapitada
Grandmother Church	la Abuela Iglesia	la iglesia ancestral
Vicar-general	vicario general	delegado general
sweet maidenhood	Virginidad	doncelez
when close in bed she lies / And feels my hand between her thighs	cuando cercana yace en la cama / Y siente mi mano entre sus muslos	cuando cercana yace en el lecho / Y percibe mi dominio de sus extremidades
I flash my antlers on the air	Hice brillar mi cornamenta al viento	Hice brillar al viento mis adornos

What seems to be offensive and disturbing in this poem are a few religious remarks, such as the reference to the “holy” fast, the crucifix or the “grandmother” Church, and some “indecencies” that allude to a girl’s maidenhood and the poet’s antlers. In most cases the modified version is inferior to the first and takes the reader away from Joyce’s original meaning: “Jesus Christ without his head” becomes “beheaded redemption,” “my hand between her thighs” is turned into “my control of

her extremities” and “anthers” is replaced by “ornaments.” It is also interesting to note that the publisher made a few changes that the censors had not underlined. The title of the poem, for example, first translated as “El Santo Office” (The Holy Office) was then changed into “La Santa Ocupación” (The Holy Occupation), losing all allusion to the Inquisition. Similarly, the references to the beheaded Jesus Christ and the maiden’s thighs were modified by the publisher’s own initiative.

“Gas from a Burner”

Joyce’s text	Banned passages	Modified version
’Tis Irish brains that save from doom / The leaky barge of the Bishop of Rome	Es la inteligencia irlandesa la que salva de la ruina / A la resquebrajada chalupa del Obispo de Roma	Es la inteligencia irlandesa la que orienta / La vacilante nave del Obispo de Roma
For everyone knows the Pope can’t belch / Without the consent of Billy Walsh	Pues todo el mundo sabe que el Papa no puede vomit / Sin el consentimiento de Billy Walsh	Pues todo el mundo sabe que el Papa no puede meditar / Sin el consentimiento de Billy Walsh
“bastard,” “bugger” and “whore”	“bastardo,” “ marica ” y “ puta ”	“bastardos,” “ golfas ” e “ invertidos ”
And a play on the Word and Holy Paul	Y una obra de teatro sobre San Pablo y la Palabra	Y una obra de teatro sobre “ The Word and Holy Paul ”
’Twould give you a heartburn on your arse	Sería como si vuestro culo os diera envidia	Sería como si vuestro propio trasero os diera envidia
that bloody fellow	ese jodío compañero	ese molesto compañero
I’ll penance do with farts and groans	Haré penitencia con pedos y gemidos	Haré penitencia con vientos y gemidos
My penitent buttocks to the air	Al aire mis penitenciales nalgas	Al aire mis penitenciales posaderas
And sign crisscross with reverent thumb / <i>Memento homo</i> upon my bum.	Y con el venerable pulgar hará la señal de la cruz / <i>Memento homo sobre mi culo.</i>	Y con el venerable pulgar hará el signo de remisión / <i>Memento homo sobre mis nalgas.</i>

Once more, the censors marked some irreverent religious comments, which referred to the Pope and the sign of the cross. But what stands out as the most recurrent problem in this poem is the use of rude words, such as “bugger,” “whore,” “arse,” “bloody,” “farts,” “buttocks” and “bum.”

Most of these words are softened in the modified translation with less crude synonyms, which do not really represent a significant betrayal of Joyce's terms. The betrayal takes place in the phrase "the Pope can't belch / Without the consent of Billy Walsh," where "belch" is translated as "meditate." Oddly enough, the criticism against the Pope remains alive, since he appears as someone who cannot meditate or think without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin, William Walsh. Finally, as in "The Holy Office," the publisher made a couple of changes that the censors did not underline. One of them was the reference to the play on the Word and Holy Paul, which is left untranslated to avoid suspicions.

The new version of the poems submitted by the publisher sparked different reactions among the censors. One of them reaffirmed the ban: "Having seen the new translations, the crossed-out passages must be left out, since what they have done is substitute some words for other similar terms, leaving the criticism against the Catholic Church alive."²³ Another censor gave just the opposite opinion:

I believe that the poem examined, as it is in this second version, after the marked corrections have been made, can be authorised. Since the words that refer to the ecclesiastical institutions have been changed, the poem has lost the disrespectful tone with the Church.

On the other hand, the poem is so enigmatic that it is difficult to guess what the poet means. AUTHORISABLE.²⁴

A third censor took a more sensible stand on the changes made by the publisher:

I think that the decision taken by the publisher is a terrible mistake: to adulterate the meaning of James Joyce's lines in order to "soften" them. But that's up to him. As they stand now, the poems are still crystal clear for those who know the work, life and ideas of the great Irishman; for the rest they are still incomprehensible. AUTHORISED.²⁵

There is also a handwritten note at the bottom right of this report that says: "The alteration of Joyce's text has not been advised. It is the publisher's and the translator's decision. We want to make it clear for the record."²⁶ It seems that with this note the censors wash their hands of the dreadful version that was about to be published and they want enjoy a clear conscience, despite the betrayal suffered by the "great Irishman."

All these reports were written in September 1969. Although the book was authorised at that time, it did not come out that year. It was a year later, in November 1970, that the publisher Alberto Corazón submitted the six legal deposit copies to the censorship office²⁷ and placed the book in the market. Why did it take them so long? It is difficult to say. A reasonable explanation for the delay may be that the publisher reviewed the translation and decided to improve it. If we take a look at the poems of this 1970 edition, we can clearly see that new changes were made, so the final printed version is different from the controversial one authorised the year before.²⁸ It appears that they agreed with the third censor that it was a terrible mistake “to adulterate the meaning of James Joyce’s lines in order to ‘soften’ them.” And indeed, this final version by José María Martín Triana is less “soft.” He even recovered some of the words that were originally underlined and crossed out by the censors after their first reading, as the tables below show.

“The Holy Office”

Banned passages	Modified version	Final version
El Santo Oficio	La Santa Ocupación	El Santo Oficio
después del <u>santo</u> ayuno	tras el ayuno	después de la santa cuaresma
No para convertir en malta la cebada ni para ser crucificado	No para convertir en malta la cebada ni para ser escarnecido	no para la malta, ni para el crucifijo
O aquel que ama a su querido Maestro	O aquel que ama a su querido Tutor	o quien a su dueño ama con delirio
Vio a Jesús descabezado	Vio la redención decapitada	Vio a Jesucristo sin cabeza
la <u>Abuela</u> Iglesia	la iglesia ancestral	la Abuela Iglesia
<u>vicario</u> general	delegado general	Vicario general
Virginidad	Doncellez	la dulce virginidad
cuando cercana yace en la cama / Y siente mi mano entre sus muslos	cuando cercana yace en el lecho / Y percibe mi dominio de sus extremidades	Cuando encerrada en el lecho , descansa y siente / la mano entre los muslos
Hice brillar mi cornamenta al viento	Hice brillar al viento mis adornos	mis astas centellean al aire

The first element that returns from the banned version of this poem is the title, which gains the connotations of the English term “Holy Office.” Then, seven other banned passages are also recovered: “santa cuaresma”

(holy fast), “crucifijo” (crucifix), “Jesucristo sin cabeza” (Jesus Christ without his head), “Abuela Iglesia” (Grandmother Church), “vicario general” (Vicar-general), “virginidad” (maidenhood) and “la mano entre sus muslos” (my hand between her thighs). Even the final reference to the “antlers” is improved with the term “astas,” instead of the awkward “adornos.”

“Gas from a Burner”

Banned passages	Modified version	Final version
Es la inteligencia irlandesa la que salva de la ruina / A la resquebrajada chalupa del Obispo de roma	Es la inteligencia irlandesa la que orienta / La vacilante nave del Obispo de Roma	son los cerebros irlandeses quienes de su destino / salvan el resquebrajado barco del Obispo de Roma
Pués todo el mundo sabe que el Papa no puede vomit / Sin el consentimiento de Billy Walsh	Pués todo el mundo sabe que el Papa no puede meditar / Sin el consentimiento de Billy Walsh	porque todo el mundo sabe que el Papa no puede / eructar sin el consentimiento de Billy Walsh
“bastardo,” “ marica ” y “ puta ”	“bastardos,” “ golfas ” e “ invertidos ”	“Bastardo,” “ fornicador ” y “ ramera ”
Y una obra de teatro sobre San Pablo y la Palabra	Y una obra de teatro sobre “ The Word and Holy Paul ”	Y otra obra sobre La Palabra y el Santo Pablo
Sería como si vuestro culo os diera envidia	Sería como si vuestro propio trase ro os diera envidia	que envidia daría a vuestros trase ros
ese jodío compañero	ese molesto compañero	ese condenado sujeto
Haré penitencia con pedos y gemidos	Haré penitencia con vientos y gemidos	Penitencia haré con vientos y gemidos
Al aire mis penitenciales nalgas	Al aire mis penitenciales posaderas	Me desnudaré las penitentes nalgas al aire
Y con el venerable pulgar hará la señal de la cruz / Memento homo sobre mi culo.	Y con el venerable pulgar hará el signo de remisión / Memento homo sobre mis nalgas.	y firmará con el pulgar reverente una equis, / Memento homo sobre mi ano.

As in the previous case, in “Gas from a Burner” the printed version is much improved: “the leaky barge” of the Bishop of Rome is correctly translated as “el resquebrajado barco,” instead of the previous “la vacilante nave” (unsteady ship); the reference to the Pope’s belch is finely rendered with the term “eructar,” rather than with the inappropriate “meditar” (meditate); the reference to the play on the “Word and Holy Paul” is in the end translated into Spanish; and the final crisscross with the thumb rightly becomes “firmará ... una equis,” which replaces the faulty “signo de remission” (sign of remission).²⁹

However, this is not the end of the story for Joyce’s poems in Spanish. When in 1971 the Barcelona publishing house Lumen applied for permission to publish 3,000 copies of Joyce’s *Critical Writings*, which included the two polemical poems, censors once more found some offensive material.³⁰ A first censor suggested cutting out some passages on eight pages of the book. Most of them corresponded with allegedly irreverent remarks about Jesus Christ, the Pope and Irish priests. Although no objection was raised against “Gas from a Burner” this time, in “The Holy Office” some lines were again called into question. The translator was different, Andrés Bosch, but the three unacceptable passages coincided with lines marked by the 1969 censors:

Joyce’s texts	Banned passages
Those things for which Grandmother Church / Left me severely in the lurch. / Thus I relieve their timid arses	Aquello por lo que la madre Iglesia / me dejó cruelmente [sic] en la cuneta. / Y así limpio sus tímidos culos
To sister mummers one and all / I act as vicar-general	Para todas las hermanas de la compañía / Actúo de Vicario General
And feels my hand between her thighs	Y siento mi mano entre sus muslos

On the other hand, another more benevolent censor revised the text and wrote the following comment: “Only the first crossing out would have some importance. But it is just a question of poetic symbolisms, although dirty. The full text can be published.”³¹ The final outcome achieved a balance between the two reports and the publisher was told to change only the first marked passage concerning the Catholic Church. In order to avoid further conflict, they followed the instructions from the censorship office and decided to leave the irreverent expression “Grandmother Church” in English, just as the other publisher had done with the reference to the play on the Word and Holy Paul in “Gas from a Burner.”

Thus, the Spanish readers who took the time and trouble to read the Lumen edition of Joyce's "The Holy Office" were surely puzzled by these lines: "Aquello por lo que **Grandmother Church** / me dejó severamente en la cuneta. / Y así limpio sus tímidos culos."³²

The following year, in 1972, Alberto Corazón, undeterred by the censorship problems he faced with *Pomes Penyeach*, applied for permission to publish a Spanish version of Joyce's first collection of poems under the title *Música de cámara*. He wanted to issue a printing of 3,000 copies of a translation made by José María Martín Triana. Despite the licentious nature of some passages, this time the book was authorised without debate or conditions. What is more, the censor's report included highly favourable comments:

Poetic anthology. "Love or youth" poetry, conventional and delicate, with many poetic resources, in which the lyrical form is the simple verbal dress of a felt emotion. Correctly translated, only the poems on pages 11 and 18 are a bit frivolous, or rather daring poetic licences. I consider that its publication can be AUTHORISED.³³

This time the censor really captured the essence of Joyce's poems, a sequence that describes a love affair progressing from innocent feelings to more complex experiences, and on to dissolution. The censorship file includes the galley proof of the book, and a look at the "frivolous" pages 11 and 18 reveals that they correspond with the poems XI and XVIII of Joyce's collection. One can guess the lines that caused some uneasiness in the mind of the censor. In the second stanza of poem XI, when the poet has finally won his lover's heart, Joyce writes: "Begin thou softly to unzone / Thy girlish bosom unto him / And softly to undo the snood / That is the sign of maidenhood."³⁴ Similarly, in the last stanza of poem XVIII, when the jealous friend confounds their love, there is another explicit sexual scene: "His hand is under / Her smooth round breast; / So he who has sorrow / Shall have rest."³⁵ Eventually, the book was published without any cuts or changes in 1972.³⁶

These were the ordeals that Joyce's poetry went through in the hands of twentieth-century Spanish inquisitorial censors. The analysis of the files and data available leads to some concluding thoughts on the reception of Joyce's poems in Spain. Firstly, it is important to point out that Joyce's poetry arrived in Spain very late, when compared with his fiction. While the first Spanish translation of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* appeared in 1926, we have to wait until the nineteen-seventies for a Spanish edition of the volumes *Pomes Penyeach* and

Chamber Music. It is true that Spain has not been different from other countries in the scarce interest of publishers for Joyce's poems. His poetry has generally been left aside by many critics and booksellers, who were much more concerned with the new style that Joyce's prose offers. However, what makes Spain somewhat different is the number of obstacles his poems had to confront in Franco's holy office. Although censorship was not one of the key factors which hindered the reading or publication of Joyce's poems in Spain, it must be acknowledged that Martín Triana's expurgated version of "The Holy Office and "Gas from a Burner" circulated among Spanish readers for several years, although they also had access to a less censored translation by Andrés Bosch in *Escritos Críticos*. All in all, it is as late as 1983 that a full version of Joyce's poems appeared, translated by Professor José Antonio Álvarez Amorós,³⁷ a reprint of which was published in the series Colección Visor four years later, replacing Martín Triana's text. Finally, it is surprising to see how severe Franco's censorship could still be with respect to religious issues in the late nineteen-sixties, especially when we realize that the ban was imposed on a couple of enigmatic poems in which, as one of the censors said, "it is difficult to guess what the poet means."

Notes

¹ The term *Holy Office* comes from the procedural principle applied by this tribunal. It had the power to open proceedings "de oficio," that is to say, on its own initiative, whereas other legal processes were generally initiated as a result of a private complaint.

² The Inquisition formally existed for more than two centuries before its creation in Spain, but it was the Spanish monarchs who made it one of the pillars of their kingdom. During the reign of the House of Austria, the Holy Office was also responsible, among other things, for keeping an eye on intellectuals, censoring publications, prosecuting witchcraft and stopping any immoral sexual behaviour.

³ It was eventually abolished by the Spanish queen Isabel II in 1834.

⁴ The pagination refers to *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (New York: The Viking Press / Penguin Books, 1982).

⁵ The Inquisition usually imposed lighter sentences, such as pilgrimages, the wearing of a yellow cross or imprisonment, but the death penalty could only be enforced by the state; see Don Gifford, *Joyce Annotated: Notes for "Dubliners" and "A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man"* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1982) 279.

⁶ The pagination refers to *Ulysses* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983).

⁷ See Paul Vanderham, *James Joyce and Censorship: The Trials of Ulysses* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998).

⁸ See Alberto Lázaro, “James Joyce’s Encounters with Spanish Censorship, 1939-1966,” *Joyce Studies Annual* 12 (2001) 38-54; and Alberto Lázaro, “James Joyce and the Embodiment of Blasphemy: The Banning of *Stephen Hero* in Spain,” *RANAM: Recherches Anglaises et Nord-Américaines* 36 (2003) 161-168.

⁹ Most censorship files of this period are found in the ‘Fondo de Cultura’ at the Archivo General de la Administración (Alcalá de Henares, Madrid). I am indebted to the archive staff for their help and guidance on how to find my way through the complexities of these files.

¹⁰ “A la finestra abocada, Estimada meva, escolta, En aquesta hora,” trans. [Josep] M[illàs]-R[aurell], *La Revista* (Jan.-Mar. 1924) 126-36 [translation of poems from *Chamber Music* (V, XVIII, III)]; ‘Sento un exèrcit, Música de cambra,’ trans. Tomàs Garcés, *La Publicitat*, 6 Nov. 1932: 10 [translation of poems from *Chamber Music* (XXXVI, XXV)]; “Les obres de James Joyce,” trans. Josep Sol, *Rosa dels Vents* 2 (May 1936) 89-100 [this includes excerpts from *Chamber Music* (I, XXV, XXI)].

¹¹ See File 7672-69, Box 734, IDD 50.07.

¹² In 1968 they had authorised the importation of a 1966 Faber and Faber edition of *Pomes Penyeach* (see File 1829-68, Box 66/06498-99, IDD (03)052.117), which included the two polemical poems—“The Holy Office” and “Gas from a Burner.” Since it was an import request for just one copy, and it was in English, censors did not see much harm in it.

¹³ “. . . deben ser suprimidos por su ataque claro, duro e irreverente contra la Iglesia Católica. Con estas supresiones la obra ES AUTORIZABLE.” The translation of the texts from these files into English is mine.

¹⁴ “Ciertamente hay que suprimir los dos poemas de la p. 18 a la 23 por ser una injuria al Santo Oficio el primero y a los católicos de Irlanda el segundo.”

¹⁵ The term “Celtic Twilight” was used by Yeats as the title of a collection of poems and stories in 1893. As a follower of the cause of Irish nationalism, Yeats there extolled the virtues of Ireland’s rich literary and cultural heritage.

¹⁶ Eduardo Chamorro is a Spanish novelist, essayist and translator who translated the 1993 Cátedra edition of *Dubliners* into Spanish and revised José Salas Subirat’s translation of *Ulysses* for Planeta in 1996.

¹⁷ Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982) 166.

¹⁸ Nicholas Fagnoli and Michael Patrick Gillespie, *James Joyce A to Z: An Encyclopedic Guide to his Life and Work* (London: Bloomsbury, 1995) 103.

¹⁹ “Libro de versos de métrica y temática muy variada, el traductor ha hecho una traducción excesivamente libre de las obras de Joyce, traduciendo los equívocos del autor por conceptos claros, rotundos y groseros del castellano.”

²⁰ Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann, eds., *The Critical Writings of James Joyce* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1989) 149.

²¹ “Existe un lugar común con respecto a la labor de traducción, y es que aquel que traduce, traiciona, y que referido al trabajo de verter a Joyce al castellano, como a cualquier otro idioma, alcanza niveles de muy alta probabilidad.”

²² His name does not appear in the galley proof, but it is included in the printed book. In addition, I had the opportunity to speak to Jesús García Sánchez, who at that time was in charge of the Visor de Poesía series, and he confirmed to me that José María Martín Triana made this first translation of Joyce’s poems.

²³ “Vistas las nuevas traducciones debe mantenerse lo tachado, pues lo que han hecho es sustituir algunas palabras por otras similares quedando firme el contenido de los poemas de ataque a la Religión Católica.”

²⁴ “Creo que el poema que se examina, tal como ha quedado en la segunda redacción, después de las correcciones señaladas, puede ser autorizado. Al cambiar las palabras que hacen referencia a las instituciones eclesiásticas, el poema ya no tiene tono irrespetuoso para la Iglesia. Por otra parte, el poema es tan enigmático que resulta difícil adivinar lo que el poeta [sic por poeta] quiere decir. AUTORIZABLE.”

²⁵ “Me parece una barbaridad la decisión tomada por el editor: adulterar el sentido de los versos de James Joyce para ‘suavizarlos.’ Pero allá él. Tal como quedan ahora siguen siendo diáfanos para los conocedores de la obra, la vida y las ideas del gran irlandés; para los demás seguirán siendo incomprensibles. AUTORIZADO.”

²⁶ “La alteración de texto de Joyce no ha sido aconsejada. Es decisión del editor y traductor. Que conste.”

²⁷ With the 1966 press law, “Ley de Prensa e Imprenta,” publishers were required to deposit six copies of their publications in the censorship office.

²⁸ See *Poemas-Manzanas*, trans. José María Martín Triana (Madrid: Alberto Corazón, Editor, 1970).

²⁹ In 1973 a reprint of 3,000 copies of José María Martín Triana was also authorised; see File 7361-73, Box 445, IDD 50.07.

³⁰ See File 1518-71, Box 99, IDD 50.07.

³¹ “Sólo la primera tachadura tendría alguna importancia. Pero se trata de simbolismos poéticos, aunque sucios. Puede publicarse íntegra.”

³² See *Escritos críticos*, trans. Andrés Bosch, eds. Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann (Barcelona: Lumen, 1971) 221.

³³ “Antología poética. Verso de ‘amor o de juventud’, convencionales y delicados, de amplios recursos, en los que la forma lírica es la simple vestidura verbal de una emoción sentida. Correctamente traducido, solamente los poemas de las páginas 11 y 18 son un tanto subidos de tono, más bien licencias poéticas atrevidas. Se considera que su publicación puede ser AUTORIZADA.”; see File 736-72, Box 44, IDD 50.07.

³⁴ “Sin ruido comienza a desceñirte / el pecho de niña para él, / sin ruido
quítate la redecilla, / que es signo de la doncelléz.”

³⁵ “Su mano bajo / el suave redondo pecho de ella; / y así quien pesar
tenga / descanso tendrá.”

³⁶ *Música de cámara*, trans. José María Martín Triana (Madrid: Visor,
1972); although 1972 is the official date of publication, the six deposit copies
were submitted to the censorship office in February 1973.

³⁷ *Música de cámara, pomas a penique y otros poemas*, trans. José
Antonio Álvarez Amorós (Alicante: Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos, 1983).