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A Catalan in Search of Humanists: Josep Pin i Soler's Translation of More's *Utopia* (1912)

Josep Pin i Soler's Catalan *Utopia* was the first new translation of More to appear on the Iberian peninsula since the Castilian version by Jerónimo Antonio Medinilla y Porres (Córdoba 1637, reprints Madrid 1790 and 1805). More significantly, it was the first printed translation of Book One in Iberia. Pin (self-styled 'Joseph') was born in Tarragona in 1842, and died in Barcelona in 1927. He studied at the Barcelona Conciliary Seminary, where he continued the Latin education begun as a young child at the house of a pharmacist neighbour, 'Dr Martí' (Cavallé 1994, 410). While a student in Madrid in 1865, he was involved in the so-called St Daniel's Night demonstrations (10 April) which were brutally put down by the military. Students, Krausists[1] and democrats had protested against the removal of Emilio Castelar from his Chair in History at the University following his publication of an article critical of Queen Isabel II, and subsequently against the departure of the Rector of the University, Juan Manuel Montalbán, and the government's imposition of the Marqués de Zafra in his place (Pérez Vidal 1951, 95; see also 'Don Emilio Castelar' 1879). Pin went into exile, settling in Marseille, where he obtained employment at the Spanish Consulate, and studied and practised architecture. According to Manuel de Montoliu (1947), Pin cultivated links with Occitan language and culture,[2] and while away from Spain his desire to participate in the movement for the normalization of Catalan as a language of cultural intercourse (Anguera 1992, 108) was already manifest in contributions to the Reus newspaper *La Prensa*.[3] In 1875 he married Alice de Latour, a native of Brussels, and this connection with Belgium would lead him to make an impassioned defence of the country and a fierce denunciation of German aggression in his Presidential address to the Barcelona 'Jocs Florals' (Floral Games) in 1915.

[1] The doctrine of Krausism, promoting an education free from dogma, was progressive, humanistic and hugely influential to Spanish educational reform. It was introduced to the country by philosopher Julián Sanz del Río who had spent time with members of the Krausist circle at Heidelberg in 1843.

[2] The Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya has evidence of limited correspondence between Pin and Frédéric Mistral dated 1888 and 1904. See 'Esborranys cartes de Josep Pin i Soler' (MS 4514/1).

[3] Pin is reported to have received an invitation from a friend to contribute to the Castilian-language *La Prensa* while in Geneva around 1866-67 (Cassany 1992, 310), before the Spanish 'Glorious Revolution' of 1868, in which Isabel II was deposed. His insistence on writing in Catalan displeased one editor, who had wanted an article 'in pure, authentic Castilian' ('algo en puro y castizo castellano') (Pin as quoted by Cassany 1992, 310).

Pin returned to Barcelona around 1887, before settling there with his family in 1890, having published an important trilogy of novels in Catalan (*La família dels Garrigas* 1887;[4] *Níobe* 1888; *Jaume* 1889), as well as numerous plays which saw the influence of French naturalism and a shift from rural settings to a theatre of urban customs (Litvak 1968, 279, 283). Litvak, however, considers Pin's naturalism to be 'spiritual' and a far remove from Zola's, the leading proponent of French naturalism. Along similar lines, Montoliu maintains that Pin resisted naturalism and was the first to treat rural themes from an urban perspective (1947, 8, 10): it was Montoliu who was elected to the Academia de Buenas Letras in Barcelona following Pin's death in 1927, which explains his very accommodating tone. Jaume Vidal Alcover, more circumspect in his appreciation, refers to the novels as 'difficult to classify within the Catalan literary context of the time' ('difícilment classificables dins la literatura catalana de l'època'; 1980, 25), a context characterized by a movement from literary Romanticism to naturalism, realism and Catalan *modernisme*. The challenge presented by Pin in terms of establishing both his literary contribution and politico-cultural affiliations, is exacerbated, as Vidal Alcover suggests, by his manifest dislike of the linguistic authorities of his day:

> In literature, adhering rigorously to the norms that govern the good use of language is not necessarily the measure of writing well, especially when those norms are as questionable as any linguistic standard imposed from above. Pin i Soler was unlucky enough to think differently from the mandarins of his time.
>
> Literàriament, adequar-se amb tot rigor a la normativa que regeix el bon ús del llenguatge no és, necessàriament, escriure bé; sobretot quan aquesta normativa és tan discutible com, d'altra banda, ho pugui ser i ho sigui qualsevol normativa lingüística imposada. Pin i Soler va ser un escriptor que

[4] Josephine de Boer comments of the Spanish translation by Carmen de Villalobos that '[t]he melodramatic story of the decline and fall of the family of rich cultivators, due to the stubborn despotism of the father, is so unrealistic […] that one wonders why it was chosen out of the wealth of significant Catalan novels of the pre- and post-war eras for one of the rare Spanish versions of this genre' (1955, 458). *La família dels Garrigas* has been republished several times; the second and third volumes, while largely well received, are less known.

> no va tenir l'encert de pensar com pensaven els mandarins del seu temps. (1980, 25)

The desire to plough his own furrow undoubtedly extended to his literary production, and to some degree explains the ambivalence of responses to his work; as Enric Cassany remarks, Pin did not adopt a positivistic theory of reality in his novels (that is, in spite of his association with naturalism), but rather upheld the Romantic principle of the absolute freedom of the creator (1992, 313). For, he concludes,

> the author behaves as the absolute ruler of the novelistic space, not just as a demiurge, but as a subject who can co-opt the novel without any kind of constraint, as a platform for direct expression. The freedom he is allowed by the genre is extreme, and he is prepared to use and abuse it.
>
> l'autor actua com a senyor absolut de l'espai novel·lesc, no solament com a demiürg, sinó com a subjecte que pot disposar sense restriccions de la novel·la com a plataforma d'expressió directa. La llibertat que li concedeix el gènere és extrema, i està disposat a usar-ne i abusar-ne. (Cassany 1992, 313-314)

The *Biblioteca d'Humanistes*

Pin i Soler was seventy years of age when his translation of *Utopia* was published by Llibreria L'Avenç as the fifth volume of the *Biblioteca d'Humanistes* in 1912, a series which seems to have been entirely Pin's initiative, and for which he was wholly responsible, translating all the works himself. The series made available, for the first time, Catalan translations of (mainly) sixteenth-century humanist works, and contained ten volumes in total. As Joaquim Mallafrè observes, Pin performed judiciously the roles of 'publisher, curator, translator, scholar and prologuist' for the works (1994, 169), in other words applying the same absolute control to the process Cassany observes, above. It was a hugely significant task. The decision to adopt the *Biblioteca d'Humanistes* designation must have been Pin's, since no single

publisher owned it, and it was at the time – and I would argue should still be seen as – 'one of the most unified and original contributions to Catalan letters' ('una de les incorporacions més unitàries i originals a les lletres catalanes'; Mallafrè 1994, 169). The volumes published prior to *Utopia* were translations of Erasmus: *Elogi de la follía*[5] (Henrich, 1910); *Col·loquis familiars* 1ª série and *Col·loquis familiars* 2ª série (Llibr. L'Avenç, 1911-12); and *Llibre de civilitat pueril* (Llibr. L'Avenç, 1912). All contain introductory material of varying length.

Volume six was a translation of the *Diàlechs* by the Valencian humanist Joan Lluís Vives (Llibreria Antiga y Moderna de S. Babra, 1915). Vives, a friend of Thomas More and lecturer at Oxford, became tutor to Mary, daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. The introduction that precedes the translation seems to have formed the basis of a lecture read on Pin's admission to the Real Academia de Buenas Letras in Barcelona in February 1914. As Mallafrè has noted, Pin moved away from what would have been a more obvious order of humanist works after his translation of Vives, to publish two lesser-known works, *Lo Philobiblon* by Richard de Bury (Llibr. S. Babra, 1916), and Antoni Agustí i Albanell's *Diàlechs de les armes y llinatges de la noblesa d'Espanya* (Llibr. S. Babra, 1917), before the final two volumes, Machiavelli's *Lo princep* (Llibr. S. Babra, 1920) and *Traduccions* (Llibr. S. Babra, 1921).[6] Pin left an introductory commentary on El Brocense (Francisco Sánchez de la Brozas, 1523-1600) in manuscript version which remains unpublished, and some preparatory notes for a proposed twelfth volume on the monks of the Montserrat monastery in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It seems likely that Pin's interest in such a volume derived from his friendship and correspondence with the Benedictine Anselm Maria Albareda, later Cardinal and Prefect of the Vatican Library, from the time Albareda was at Montserrat. In the later letters, Albareda addresses Pin as 'my dear uncle', and Pin sends him drafts of his work for comment. The earliest letter consulted is dated 1915 and refers to Vives' *Diàlechs* (BC, 'Cartes adreçades a Josep Pin i Soler' MS 4514/2).[7]

Many of the translations, although not *Utopia*, are parallel texts. Of the three different publishers involved — Henrich y C[ia], Llibreria L'Avenç, and Llibreria Antiga y

[5] All titles are given as they appear on the title page or manuscript, that is, in pre-normative Catalan.
[6] Cavallé and Mallafrè give a detailed exploration of what Pin's plans may have been for the series (1994, 170-73).
[7] In *Comentaris sobre llibres i autors* (1947 edn), Pin's son, Armand Pin de Latour, refers to Albareda in a note to the corresponding entry as 'Un dels "nebots literaris" del meu pare' ('one of my father's "literary nephews"' 25), while Joan Martí i Castell (2017, 34) considers Albareda to be literally Pin's uncle, which is highly unlikely given their respective dates (Albareda 1892-1966; Pin 1842-1927).

Moderna S. Babra — L'Avenç, the publisher of *Utopia* (as well as of *Col·loquis* and the *Llibre de civilitat pueril*), is perhaps the most interesting in terms of its explicit contribution to the modernization of the Catalan language. It grew out of the nineteenth-century initiative of *L'Avens* (later normativized to *L'Avenç*), an influential Catalan review which positioned itself as a gateway for the European avantgarde, adopting and promoting Pompeu Fabra's linguistic reforms (unifying the language around the Barcelona standard, narrowing the gap between written and spoken varieties through orthographical, lexical and grammatical reform).[8] I have found no evidence to explain the move from L'Avenç to S. Babra after 1912, although it seems reasonable to suppose that the publication of Fabra's influential norms in 1913 and the backing of L'Avenç for these, might have made any further business with the publisher extremely difficult, given Pin's trenchant opposition to this evolving institutionalization of Catalan language (of which more below). Caballeria and Codina note that the publisher was in decline anyway before its demise in 1915 (1994, 89).

The motivation behind the *Biblioteca d'Humanistes* can be traced to comments made by Pin in his introductions to Machiavelli's *Lo príncep*, and to the *Llibre de civilitat pueril* by Erasmus. In the first, Pin talks about 'the great good we could do for our country' ('lo gran bé que feríem a la nostra patria') by addressing the absence of such publications in Catalan. This concern in turn is related to remarks made by the Enlightenment pedagogue Baldiri Reixac in his *Instruccions per la ensenyansa dels minyons* (1749), and recalled by Pin in the *Llibre de civilitat pueril* (x): Catalans had abdicated their responsibility by not translating works into their language (Reixac advocated the prioritization of Catalan over Latin and Castilian), and had also been remiss in composing worthwhile works in Castilian or Latin instead of Catalan, 'as if the Catalan Nation did not deserve or need to be as educated as any other' ('com si la Nació Cathalana no meresqués o no tingués la necessitat de ser tan instruhida com quiscuna de les demés').[9] In an appreciation of Pin's publications up to 1913, Ramon Miquel y Planas suggests that the *Biblioteca* is a selfless act of service to other writers, an endeavour motivated by 'an absolutely disinterested literary patriotism' (un patriotisme literari absolutament desinteressat'), and 'a frank profession of Catalanist faith'

[8] Cavallé asserts erroneously that all volumes in the series except *Utopia* were published by Henrich (1994, 409). According to Caballeria and Codina, the Henrich house emerged from the nineteenth-century Catalan 'Renaixença' and published most of its titles in Castilian (1994, 85). S[alvador] Babra (1874-1930) was an antiquarian bookseller and publisher with a shop on Canuda street, Barcelona.

[9] Quoted by Pin y Soler in 'Nota preliminar', introduction to Erasmus, *Llibre de civilitat pueril*, 1912, ix. Also in Mallafrè 170.

('una franca professió de fe catalanista') (1913, 390-91). By contrast, Pere Anguera acknowledges that there was almost certainly a financial motive at play as well in Pin's decision (1994, 135), and this would hardly be surprising given that Pin was a self-made man, and the Catalan literary market could sustain few professional writers at the time (see, for example, Domingo 1996, 20, 48, and Martí i Castells 2017, 12-15).

Pin reaffirmed his loyalty to the Catalan language at intervals thereafter, both discursively and in his creative practice. It seems certain that many of the translations existed in draft or partial form some time before their eventual publication, and Cavallé suggests that stronger even than Pin's 'seduction' by the humanists, was his attraction to translation as an activity, to 'the pleasure of language' (1994, 410).

Pin and the Catalan Language

Pin's *Utopia* was published at a time when the Catalan language was undergoing significant reform, or 'normativization', as the process became known. Following the emergence of political nationalism in Catalonia in the late-nineteenth century and related attempts to modernize the Catalan language, Pompeu Fabra had published his *Gramática de la lengua catalana* (in Spanish) in 1912. The following year the Philological Section of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC), in which Fabra, along with the Section's first president, Mallorcan Mossèn Antoni Maria Alcover, was the driving force, published its *Normes ortogràfiques*, which were current until November 2016, when the IEC released a set of revised norms, followed by a new Grammar. Pin's *Utopia* is written, then, in pre-standardized Catalan which presents no great difficulty to the twenty-first century reader but does exhibit some inconsistencies. A contemporary reviewer of the Catalan *Utopia*, Alfred Opisso, remarks that Pin i Soler 'writes admirably, in a prose which itself demonstrates the equality between Catalan and better cultivated languages' ('escribe de una manera admirable, en una prosa que bastaría por si sola á demostrar la igualdad entre la lengua catalana y los idiomas mejor cultivados'; Opisso 1912, 6); his translations of Erasmus and More are considered to be as elegant as the originals; and in what amounts to a panegyric, Opisso exalts Pin's erudition and good taste in creating a richness of expression that languages attain '[only] after long centuries of perfecting' ('después de largos siglos de perfeccionamiento'), without having to

'disinter words and phrases buried long ago or resort to terms used only in regional dialects' ('No es el escritor que desentierra frases o vocablos de luengos años sepultados, ó que va en busca de voces sólo usados en dialectos comarcales'): in short, 'Pin's love for the Catalan language has ensured that it lacks nothing that other languages possess' ('El amor de Pin y Soler al catalán le ha llevado á hacer que no carezca de lo que poseen las demás lenguas'; Opisso 1912, 6). A primary subtext of Opisso's review is the status of the Catalan language as it emerged from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries following absolutist repression, and the rather hit-and-miss attempts that had been made in the nineteenth century particularly, to look to the past, to the Golden Age of Joan Martorell and Bernat Metge, in an attempt to inspire a renaissance of Catalan language and culture. In fact Opisso makes this genealogy explicit, positioning Pin i Soler as a direct descendant of the most important figures in Catalan letters. A contemporaneous, unsigned review in *La Vanguardia* newspaper (7 September 1912) underlines Pin's contribution in similar terms.

Mallorcan intellectual Gabriel Alomar, originator of the term 'futurism', dedicated a column in *El Poble Català* over consecutive days to *Utopia*, with Pin's translation as pretext. He considers it 'little-known' (7 October 1912), the 'puerile fantasy of a learned man', characterized by the same innocence as 'scientific fantasies about men from Mars' (8 October 1912), but is otherwise gracious towards Pin as translator. Pin retained a press cutting of the second column amongst his papers which he annotated, saying '[Alomar] hasn't understood *Utopia* and does not know Thomas More' (BC 'Ressenyes…' MS 4511/4).

It is Pin's attitude to the process of linguistic reform that sees him at his most animated. With justification critics have referred to his arrogant and disdainful bearing, and 'irascible' character, particularly in his later years; even Míquel i Planas, the bibliophile contemporary who shared Pin's hostility to Fabra's linguistic reforms, remarks that Pin's writerly temperament is not without aggression (1913, 391).[10] This propensity is perhaps to be expected given that to a large extent Pin frames his *Biblioteca d'Humanistes* as a service to Catalan bibliography, and of course to the Catalan language as he understands and writes it.[11] His most virulent contributions on the subject post-date the publication of his translation of *Utopia*, which is free of such digressions, but an indicative comment can be

[10] See Domingo i Clua 1981, 113, and Anguera 1994, 105.

[11] Gabriella Gavagnin underscores precisely this contribution to Catalan language and letters, identifying the *Biblioteca* as the 'true precedent' of the prestigious, institutionally sponsored Library of Greek and Latin classics published by the Fundació Bernat Metge from 1923 (2010, 80).

found footnoted in the introductory essay to his translation of the *Moriae Encomium*, published in 1910. Here he questions the tendency of certain 'modernists' to introduce foreign words into Catalan — for foreign we read Gallicisms — to avoid using a perfectly good Catalan word which happens to be graphically similar to its Castilian equivalent. In (Pin's) established Catalan usage, for example, 'serious' was translated as 'seriós' and 'seriosa' ('serio' and 'seria' in Castilian), whereas the modernizers favoured 'greu' (by analogy with the French 'grave', according to Pin). The implication is that such changes responded to political imperative rather than linguistic logic, and sought to establish a distance and difference between modern Catalan and Castilian, following almost two centuries of Castilian dominance. This was an accusation levelled frequently at the orthographic reforms to come, not only by Pin i Soler. At the same time, Pin does not show the same degree of sensitivity to Castilian borrowings, which are numerous (as Anguera observes, 110).

The introduction to *Elogi de la Follia* is notable for other reasons as, *pace* Opisso, Pin asks the reader to appreciate the work he has undertaken to bring back into the language idioms, maxims and other turns of phrase long since forgotten, and to polish and shine certain linguistic 'gems' so that they are fit for purpose in the present day (in Erasmus 1910, lii). Pin's response to reforms proposed by both the IEC and the more conservative Acadèmia de la Llengua Catalana, were frequently marked by ingenious logic, one instance of which became memorialized in the way in which he represented his name (a practice insisted on by his surviving son, Armand Pin de Latour, in publishing his father's work posthumously): thus 'Pin y Soler' was preferred to 'Pin i Soler' because he saw the more modern, Latin 'i' as functioning as a 'barra', separating elements, and therefore in conflict with its copulative function (which the Greek 'y' achieved).[12] In this same introduction to *Folly*, and by way of justifying the translation, Pin had complained of Erasmus's lack of influence in Catalonia. He sent the draft to Eugeni d'Ors (writer, philosopher and later Falange-affiliated intellectual), who reminded Pin that he had dedicated the first book of his *Glosari* (1907) to Erasmus. Pin made good the omission, but stood by his comment about D'Ors' lack of explicit engagement with Erasmus's work (see Domingo 2005, 13; and Pin i Soler 1910, xlvii).

[12] See Pin's annotations to the Acadèmia de la Llengua Catalana's pamphlet (undated) detailing proposed orthographic reforms. 'Sobre normativa…' BC MS 4431/3.

Finally, the complex question of Pin's political allegiance helps us to begin to understand why he is a relatively forgotten figure in the present day. Pere Anguera (1994) is helpful in this regard: in the nineteenth century and in exile, Pin was pro-Catalan language and an advocate of schooling in Catalan, as we have seen. On his return to Spain, his belief system can probably best be described as conservative Catalanist (unlike Alomar, for example), fiercely protective of literary regionalism but viscerally opposed to political nationalism (Anguera 112). The *Biblioteca d'Humanistes* was itself an initiative in service to 'la nostra pàtria' which would elevate its standing amongst other scholars publishing in Catalan, and of course elevate Pin's standing too. Upon being admitted to the Acadèmia de Bones Lletres (or 'Buenas Letras') in Barcelona, he broke with traditional hegemonic use of Spanish to deliver his speech in Catalan, 'with valiant belligerance' ('amb ardida bel·ligerància'), according to Anguera (112). His campaign against Fabra's linguistic reforms led him to join the revived Acadèmia de la Llengua Catalana (1915), and in 1916 he was a signatory to the organization's rival *Regles ortogràfiques*. In his annotations to early drafts of these rules, it is fair to say that Pin just as forthright as he had been in his criticisms of Fabra (for example, in the combative 1913 'Protesta contra les normes ortogràfiques' published in the *Diario de Reus*). Pin's militancy on behalf of Catalan is beyond doubt. What is more unusual, and as Anguera suggests, under-studied, is his stance as both 'catalanista' and 'espanyolista', which he adjudges to be compatible (if not unproblematically so):

> Pin is a precursor of a fairly widespread ideological typology which is nevertheless little studied, or rather, deliberately ignored, by scholars: those who feel Catalan, aggressively so, in linguistic, cultural and emotional affairs, and at the same time Spanish, even to the point of chauvinism, especially in politics. In his life this duality was shared by most people, except, fundamentally, that while the majority did so instinctively, some perhaps adopted the position consciously; Pin was completely aware of this dual militancy and vaunted it.
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> (Pin és com un precursor d'una tipologia ideològica força extensa, però poc estudiada i sobretot voluntàriament deixada de banda pels analistes: la dels qui se senten catalans, fins i tot catalans bel·ligerants, en els aspectes

> lingüístic, cultural i sentimental, i alhora espanyols, també si cal espanyolistes, en el polític. En el seu temps aquesta dualitat era compartida per la pràctica totalitat de la ciutadania, però amb la diferència fonamental que mentre la majoria ho eren d'esma, alguns fins it tot potser ho eren de manera assumida; Pin era del tot conscient de la militància dual i se'n vanava. Anguera 150)

Following the Francoist victory in the Spanish Civil War, this dual allegiance — or the Spanish dimension of it — allowed Pin to be lionized as a true patriot, as Manuel de Montoliu demonstrated in 1943, in a speech on the occasion of the hanging of Pin's portrait in the Municipal Corporation of Tarragona (see especially Montoliu 19-20). The speech is powerfully propagandistic and exaggerates Pin's literary significance, but it also underlines a perception that Pin was always independent, his 'own man', and thus all the more valuable an asset to Francoist letters as a 'good' Catalan. In the immediate post-war period, Francoist censorship meant that few original works were published in Catalan, yet in 1946 Pin's 1913 speech 'Protesta contra les normes ortogràfiques' saw the light as a pamphlet (Reus: Cunillera), its scornful critique of the modernizers clearly finding favour with the authorities of the day. Pin's son Armand also arranged the edition and publication of *Comentaris sobre llibres y autors* in 1947. It was not until 2002 that Pin i Soler's most important works began to be republished by Arola, a Tarragona-based publishing house. Although the prefatory commentaries on Erasmus and More appear in *Articles, pròlegs i estudis* (2007), the translations themselves, arguably the most significant of Pin's achievements, are not included. Cassany, in his review of the publishing project, talks of 'a very complete collection of his *original* work in Catalan' (my emphasis; 'una col·lecció molt completa de l'obra original catalana'; 2004, 250) which partly explains the omission. The cost of preparing and publishing the translations would also undoubtedly be an issue, but the general neglect of such an important body of translated work is nevertheless difficult to comprehend.

The Translation

Pin's version of *Utopia* appeared in 1912, and there was no new Spanish translation until 1937 (Davenport and Cabanillas 2008, 113). It is curious, as Cavallé and Mallafrè indicate, that often missing from the extensive introductions Pin appended to his translations of the humanists, is an indication of the specific source text used, and details of other editions, translations and auxiliary materials consulted (1994, 173-74). This is particularly the case of *Utopia*, for which as noted, there is no parallel text. Cavallé and Mallafrè add that Pin knows the writers he translates very well, and his extensive library contained early, collectible editions of both originals and translations (1994, 174). Mallafrè himself translated and edited a trilingual edition of *Utopia* (Latin original, Robinson's English translation and a new Spanish translation),[13] and is responsible for the only detailed, if tentative, study of Pin i Soler's Catalan translation to date, at slightly over five printed pages in length. The identity of the original edition consulted by Pin is particularly interesting. Mallafrè proposes, with some hesitation, that Pin translated directly from the Latin:

> [Pin] follows and sometimes compares his version with the Latin original (for example 'coses no gaire interessants' [things of scant interest] is contrasted in a note with '…erant enim ridicula' p.27). This doesn't mean to say that he didn't consult other translations. He knew Robinson's well, for example, and cites him occasionally (xii), and we might perhaps find traces of another.
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> El segueix i alguna vegada compara la seva solució amb l'original llatí (per exemple 'coses no gaire interessants' és contrastat en nota: '…erant enim ridicula' p.27). Això no vol dir que no consultés alguna solució d'altres traduccions. Coneixia bé la de Robinson, per exemple, que cita alguna vegada (p.xii) i potser hi trobaríem ressons d'alguna altra. (Cavallé and Mallafrè, 176)

There are several points of note here. First, as detailed in the posthumously published, annotated personal library catalogue, *Comentaris sobre llibres y autors* (1947, 157-59), and as noted by Mallafrè, Pin possessed two Latin editions of *Utopia*. These were duplicate copies of Joseph Lupton's bilingual English and Latin edition published by the Clarendon

[13] Thomas More, *Utopia/Utopía*. With an Introduction, chronology, bibliography, notes and unpublished translation by Joaquim Mallafrè Gavaldà (Barcelona: Bosch, 1977).

Press in 1895, which reproduces Robinson's translation, with the March 1518 Latin version at the foot of the page, together with Lupton's notes. On this evidence, Pin does not seem to have possessed a 'bibliophile' or collectible edition of *Utopia* (whereas he did own, for example, a 1515 edition of the *Moriae Encomium*). The Biblioteca de Catalunya holds an incomplete Basle December 1518 edition of *Utopia* which bears the seal of the Inquisition from 1613 and is marked with the stamp of the Episcopal Library of Barcelona, but there is no clear indication that Pin had access either to this or any other early edition. As we have seen, Mallafrè acknowedges Pin's familiarity with Robinson's translation, and this is borne out in Pin's introductory commentary to his Catalan translation, where we find an apparently amused reference to Robinson's spelling of 'Fyrste Boke' and 'Second Boke' (xii).

Pin's volume brings together a 'Breu comentari sobre la vida y obres de Sir Thomas More' ('Brief commentary on the life and works of Sir Thomas More') which runs from vii-xlvi, the letter to Peter Giles ('Epístola liminar' / 'Liminal Epistle') as well as both Books I and II (headed 'Lo primer llibre de la comunicació de Rafael Hitlodeu sobre la millor forma de la cosa pública' / 'The first book of Raphael Hythloday's communication on the best state of the republic' and 'Llibre segon' / 'Second book' respectively). It also contains eight plates, of which four are facsimiles of Hans Holbein's illustrations from the 1518 editions; two are from the 1730 French translation by Nicholas Gueudeville; one is a reproduction of Holbein's portrait of More; and one further plate reproduces the Utopian alphabet, again from the 1518 editions. These may of course have been reproduced from Lupton. The end material includes a bibliography 'extreta de les millors bibliografíes angleses' (129-35) of editions in Latin, German, Italian, French, Dutch, Castilian, Russian and English, together with a note on the initial reception of *Utopia* and its rapid re-printing, and an appreciation of Pin's copy of the 1805 Repullés edition of Medinilla's translation, a gift from his friend Pau Font de Rubinat. Pin acknowledges 'distilling the essence of many works in the biographical section' ('concentrant en la part biogràfica lo essencial de moltíssims llibres'), and underlines his task in service to 'our versatile, beautiful and most noble Catalan language' ('la nostra dúctil, hermosa y nobilíssima Llengua Catalana'), trusting that his own rendering will not be the last (136).[14] Details of the illustrations are given following the table

[14] More recent Catalan versions include those of Núria Gómez Llauger, apparently translated from the Latin (Barcelona: Angle Editorial, 2016); Joan Manuel del Pozo, also from the Latin (Barcelona: Accent, 2009); and Joan Valls, translated from the Castilian (Barcelona: La llar del llibre, 1988). Neither Gómez Llauger nor the

of contents, together with a list of volumes published and forthcoming in the *Biblioteca d'Humanistes*. The edition, in terms of its paratexts at least, has some scholarly intent.

According to *Comentaris sobre llibres i autors*, Pin's library contained a total of eighteen English editions (including the Lupton); three French editions (Samuel Sorbière's translation, Jean Bloeu, Amsterdam 1643; the Gueudeville version published by F. L'Honoré, Amsterdam 1730; and the Charles Delagrave Paris 1888 edition which reproduces F. Rousseau's 1789 translation); and two Castilian (Gerónimo Medinilla y Porres, Córdoba 1637; and '[r]eproducció de l'anterior' [154], Mateo Repullés, Madrid 1805, two copies). In addition, Pin owned Fernando de Herrera's *Vida*,[15] and three other biographical works. We know with certainty that Pin consulted the Madrid 1805 Repullés edition for his translation of Book Two: the Repullés reproduces the Córdoba 1637 Castilian translation by Medinilla, and closes in combative mode with an admonishment from Book I of Martial's Epigrams: *carpere vel noli nostra, vel ede tua* (the preceding line of which reads *cum tua non edas, carpis mea carmina, Laeli*; 'although you do not publish your own, you criticize my poems, Laelius; either don't criticize mine or publish your own').[16] Pin i Soler is clearly taken by this bullish posturing, and reproduces it at the end of his manuscript (Book II Bibioteca de Catalunya MS 4480 fol. 90), but presumably reconsiders since the epigram is absent from the published book. At least one other issue suggests that there was cautious treatment of the Repullés: in Book Two, on the Religions of the Utopians, Pin follows Medinilla in adopting the singular 'De la religió', but when Medinilla attributes responsibility for decreeing freedom of religion to the Utopians themselves, rather than to Utopus, Pin avoids this error or interpretation in the Catalan. This reattribution of agency — 'The Utopians […] made this edict' / 'The Utopians made such a statute' (my translation of the Repullés) — seems to derive from the version of Book II contained in Francesco Sansovino's *Il governo*

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author of her Introduction, David Gálvez, make reference to previous Catalan versions. Del Pozo acknowledges having had sight of a photocopy of Pin's manuscript, and of the published version, but does not engage explicitly with any part of Pin's work. In a review of Del Pozo's translation, Joan Vergés comments erroneously that although difficult to believe, there had never been a translation into Catalan directly from the Latin, and does not mention Pin's version. In *Presència* magazine (2010), Carme Vinyoles acknowledges that Del Pozo's translation is the first directly from the Latin since Pin's, but there is no further mention of the 1912 translation (10).

[15] In the end material Pin notes that the *Vida* is the second edition (1617, the first having been published in Sevilla in 1592). The entry for More in *Comentaris sobre llibres i autors* clarifies that this was another gift from Font i Rubinat, in 1913 (27).

[16] Both the Castilian and Catalan acknowledge the quotation with the form 'Marcial. lib.I Epig. 93. The Loeb Classics bilingual edition has it as Epigram 91. See also Davenport and Cabanillas 112, note 12.

(Venice 1561 and subsequent reissues), which has 'Gli Utopiensi […] fecero un'editto' / 'Fecero gli Utopiensi tale statuto'. According to Kristin Gjerpe (2008, 66), Sansovino essentially reproduces Ortensio Lando's vernacular original published in collaboration with Francesco Doni in 1548 (*La republica nuovamente ritrovata, del governo dell'isola Eutopia*…), but introduces a number of 'improvements'. However, the translations in respect of this peculiarity ('Utopiensi') are identical, meaning that Sansovino either did not notice or did not object to the rendering.[17] The Louvain 1516 edition has 'Utopiensis' rather than 'Utopus' (Basel 1518) at both mentions (with the singular verbs 'instituit' and 'sanxit'): it seems possible that Lando consulted Louvain 1516 and derived an Italian plural from it; or less likely, and for some unknown reason, re-interpreted a later edition.[18] The Gondomar manuscript[19] and published French translations consulted all have Utopus as agent. It is surely too much of a coincidence that Medinilla might separately have consulted Louvain 1516 and introduced the same translational change as Lando did from whichever edition he used. It is much more credible, therefore, that Medinilla based at least some of his translation on the Italian. Medinilla also erroneously has 'thirty' priests, instead of thirteen, in what appears to be a clear misreading of the Italian 'tredici' (or the Latin 'tredecim') later in the same chapter on Religions (the early Latin editions have 'tredecim').[20] Hunt (1991, 27) suggests that 'Medinilla was considered […] very expert in Latin, poetry and astronomy' and therefore the 'mistranslations'[21] she identifies must, she supposes, be motivated: that is, ascribable to Medinilla's specific world-view, even if this influence is unconscious. However

[17] Note that in the second mention, the Latin reproduced by Lupton reads 'Haec Utopus instituit, non respectu pacis modo […]' (Lupton 1895 271-2). 'Utopus' is erroneously marked 'Utopiens***e***s' A. rather than 'Utopiens***i***s' A., meaning from the first edition of 1516.

Other editions consulted include the French translations by Jean Le Blond (Lyon: Jean Saugrain, 1559), Samuel Sorbière (Amsterdam: Jean Blaeu, 1643), and T. Rousseau (Paris: Ch. Delagrave, 1888), all of which have the conventional rendering of Utopus as agent.

[18] The Louvain 1516 text consulted is from is from the Gleeson Library Digital Collections, San Francisco University. The mentions of 'Utopiensis' can be found on page 95 of the scanned edition.

[19] The MS is held at the Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid, and can be consulted in facsimile via the permanent link at https://realbiblioteca.patrimonionacional.es/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=21760. The Gondomar manuscript also has the unmediated title 'De las religiones de los de Utopía' for the section on religion, and accurately gives thirteen for the number of the priests (below). It does not contain Martial's epigram.

[20] López Estrada also makes this observation of Medinilla's *Utopia*, commenting that some other numerical measurements are changed (1965, 308). He puts forward the possibility that Medinilla was working from a different manuscript or different version from the one he himself is using (Basle 1518). Davenport and Cabanillas maintain that the Gondomar manuscript seems to be based on a 1518 edition because it replicates the error of 'twenty' for 'twelve' miles contained in these, and assert that Medinilla's base text could not have been earlier than 1518 for the same reason (2008, 112).

[21] Notably 'sabios' ('wise') for 'sanctiores' ('holy').

we cannot completely disregard issues of unmotivated inaccuracy, and these will be important to bear in mind for Pin too.

Translation Approach

Joaquim Mallafrè summarizes Pin's translation 'methodology' under the headings 'Condensació' (Condensation), 'Lectures dubtoses' (Questionable Readings) and 'Flexibilitat i expressivitat' (Flexibility and Expressiveness) (Caballé and Mallafrè, 177-80). Thus Pin respects the sense of the original, but is often more direct and abbreviates some sections (177-78), perhaps, comments Mallafrè, 'out of a certain prudishness' (178). However, since Pin quite faithfully translates the section describing the Utopians being inspected naked before marriage (More, 93), it is far from clear what other misgivings Mallafrè is referring to. He identifies relatively few errors of translation and minimizes their importance in the work as a whole (Caballé and Mallafrè, 179); and instead draws attention to the use of informative paraphrase, creative elaboration and idiomatic or vulgar phrasing. Overall, he concludes that Pin i Soler 'is faithful, but not so that the original expression restricts his Catalan rendering' ('És fidel, sense deixar, però, que l'expressió original engavanyi la seva expressió catalana'; Caballé and Mallafrè, 180). For his part, Pin finds that More's prose 'dawdles' in places. He adopts the device commonly seen in sixteenth-century prefaces of asking friends for their impressions of his manuscript, whereupon they urge him to publish, in order to 'increase the number of good books translated into our language', and to 'concentrate the translation, polish it until it is refined and flowing ['llisquenta']' (in More 1912, xi). He remarks on some 'tautologies' in the original which he will suppress in the interests of a more accessible read, but in *Utopia*, there is little detailed comment on individual translation problems, certainly in comparison with *Folly*.

We can draw some limited conclusions from short samples of text (here the 'Letter to Peter Giles' and 'On Religion') which may indicate Pin's method, in line with Mallafrè. At the beginning of the letter, as More apologises to Giles for his tardiness, Pin writes 'six months' instead of six weeks. At the end, his rendering of the feast metaphor is also confused. As Mallafrè suggests, there is a tendency towards abbreviation: in the first paragraph of 'On Religion' in his descriptions of the two religious sects (where

circumspection may well motivate the omission of certain details); and in his account of priests in battle. On women priests, Pin's rendering suggests that both elderly widows *and* village maidens are eligible for the priesthood, rather than just the former; and there is licence in his expanded translation of the policy of maintaining twilight in churches: 'mentres que la llum esmortuhida eleva l'ànima a Déu, *qu'es origen de tota claror*' (emphasis indicates addition; 'while the shrouded brightness lifts the soul to God, who is the origin of all light'). Consistent with his tactic of making More a friend of Spain, Pin adds a note: 'Without doing so deliberately, he praises our churches' ('Alaba, sense ferho expressament, les nostres iglesies', 117). The description of the Utopians' singing in church, and of the musical accompaniment, loses the balance (some sweeter… some less sweet) in Pin's Catalan: the musical instruments, he says 'are much superior to ours' (120), and the text is otherwise condensed. The content of the closing prayer is vastly simplified: the section on dying is reduced to 'let their last moments not be cruel' (121), and the lengthy description of the distribution of wealth in the Republic of Utopia, compared with other so-called republics, is also considerably shortened with a loss of detail.

Pin and the 'English character'

At the beginning of his prefatory commentary, Pin i Soler refers to More as 'Thomas More' or simply 'More', but once he has described the translation context, he switches consciously to 'Thomas Morus', explaining that that this was the form More's friends used, and he thus aligns himself with them (xii). 'Morus' is retained in the main text. Despite this declaration, however, and while 'Morus' dominates in the prefatory commentary, there remains some slippage to variations on 'More'. Thus there is little sense that Pin respects the convention of distinguishing between the historical More and More the interlocutor, suggesting rather that he views his use of 'Morus' as an expression of something akin to loyalty. According to a note on the manuscript (fol.1^{r}), the translation was sent for printing on 5 May 1912. While many quotations are marked as such in the introductory essay, their source is often not given, but Pin's wider references indicate a significant breadth of reading across the Romance languages and English, and he seems sympathetic to the English in general, notwithstanding More's martyrdom, punctuating his essay with moments of irony and

sarcasm. The by now conventional reference to the commutation of More's sentence to a 'senzilla decapitació' (Pin in More 1912, xl) for example (which echoes the French 'simple décapitation' of Muller's introduction to the Delagrave edition of 1888, a copy of which Pin also owned), is acknowledged as 'tant bell geste' ('such a beautiful gesture') (xl). As a general observation, Pin is more sympathetically inclined towards More on account of the Englishman's acquaintance with Joan Lluis Vives, of whom More writes warmly in correspondence with Erasmus, and whom Pin would later translate (the introductory essay to the *Diàlegs*, 1915, seeks to establish the moral superiority of Vives in comparison with Erasmus, of whom Pin is particularly critical). He clearly believed Erasmus to have been born in Gouda (as opposed merely to being conceived there), and saw his attachment to Rotterdam as a forgetting, or worse, betrayal of his origins. This seems quite gratuitous, although it allows Pin to speak in contrasting terms of Vives' rootedness, of his being a loyal son both of Spain and of his 'Region', by which Pin means Valencia, and of its places, customs and language. Vives claims never to have forgotten the language his mother taught him (Valencian), and Pin remarks that there is no better vehicle for learning than one's maternal tongue (Pin, 'Breu comentari…', in Vives, *Diàlechs* 1915, xlix). This is a clear reflection – or projection – of Pin's own dual affiliation, to both Catalonia and Spain.

The introductory essay to *Utopia* begins in anecdotal mode, demonstrating implicitly an awareness of the framing devices employed by More: Pin recalls a trip by sea to Granada, via Sevilla, in which he visited the Cartuja and gazed on bloody pictures representing scenes from Pedro Calderón de la Barca's play *La Cisma de Inglaterra* (The English Schism), which was first performed in 1627. Pin explains that on his return to his lodgings, he took inspiration from the pictures, and began to compose his introduction to the life and works of Sir Thomas More, so that he could append it to the translation which he claims to have completed some considerable time before. He draws a connection between the grove of trees where he is sitting – planted so he says by Carlos V, nephew of Catherine of Aragon – to the history of Thomas More, faithful servant of Henry VIII. The second section of the commentary discusses Pin's approach to the translation itself, to More's text as a work of fiction, and as a work which exemplifies 'English' character. The third and most substantial section recounts More's life, and specifically his rise to a position of influence at Henry's court.

Pin says that it is obvious from the first lines that *Utopia* is a work of fiction, a 'fábula' or fable[22] given away by the fantastical names and toponyms (he explains Amaurot with the adjective 'emboyrat' meaning 'foggy', interpreting the name as a direct reference to London).[23] Further footnotes to the main body of the text also relate features of Utopian life and customs explicitly to England and the English (see Pin in More 1912, 68, 87, 107). Such explication aside, More's invented characters and places serve, Pin says, to 'rip veils asunder' (Pin in More 1912, xiv), to make way for eloquent protests against the 'tyranny, extorsion and egotism of those who at that time governed the Christian states' (xiv), ideas that were suggested to More by Seneca 'the Cordoban', according to Pin, who here again seeks a rapprochement between Spain and England as a way of ensuring a more favourable reception for his translation. Over and above any educational or literary importance we would wish to bestow on *Utopia*, the work has another significant function, he says: 'to bear complete witness to the English mentality' (xv), within which 'dissimulation' or an 'exaggerated correctness', an impassiveness and imperturbability are key (xv). He underlines the quintessential Englishness of More, calling him 'a faithful mirror of that society' (xvi) in which Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* would later pass as a model of charity (Pin appears to be referring to the book, rather than the character, although this may simply be imprecise expression), and where the adventures of Robinson Crusoe are learned by heart, including his first words to Friday (summarized as 'call me Master') (xvii). Pin's intention however is apparently not to criticize Daniel Defoe, but to express gratitude for the narrator's kind words about the Spanish, which contrasted with prevailing accounts of Spanish cruelty in colonial Mexico and Peru (xvii).

Pin remarks that '[More] formulates in his book moral norms, religious principles which would be improper of a non-English Catholic contemporary of his; but which in his country were doubtless quite usual ways of thinking' ('formula en son llibre normes morals, principis religiosos, impropis d'un Católich no anglés contemporani seu; pero que a la seva terra eren sens dubte maneres usuals de pensar'; xvii-xviii). He further comments that Utopian approaches to military conflict, to giving one's word, to international relations

[22] Sorbière also uses the term 'fable'.

[23] '[L]a Capital *d'Utopia*, lloch no existent, s'anomena *Amaurota*, obscur, sense visió, emboyrat, alusió a Londres' (Pin i Soler in More 1912, xiv).

(including subsidizing one's allies at times of conflict),[24] and to trade — remembering that Catalan urban centres strove to compete with Manchester in the textile industry in the nineteenth century — 'were by 1516 so completely English as to have been sucked with the mother's milk, learnt in school, studied in depth and later moulded in other maxims by the Florentine Machiavelli' ('eren ja en 1516 tant de mena angleses, que xuclades amb la llet materna, apreses a l'escola, estudiades a fons y enmotllades despres en altres máximes del Florentí Machiavelli'; xviii). Joan Manuel del Pozo, author of the second Latin-to-Catalan translation of *Utopia* (2009), reads More quite differently, suggesting that his vision was diametrically opposed to that of his contemporary Machiavelli (in *The Prince*), insisting as he did on the separation of politics and ethics ('estava donant la resposta frontalment oposada al *Príncep* de Machiavel, contemporani seu, que pretén la total autonomia de la política en relació a l'ètica'; in More 2009, 29). From our perspective, Pin's concern appears to be to unite More and Machiavelli in their contribution to 'Englishness'. Thus he writes that just as the ideological 'yeast' of *Utopia* is English in its essence, so the ideological 'yeast' of the *Prince* is consonant with the English way of thinking (Pin in More 1912, xx). Both works, he says,

> have contributed to forming successive generations of writers, philosophers, English men of Government who, honest in their personal business, faithful in servicing their individual duties, sacrifice without scruple the most respectable collectivities to the greater good of the English.
>
> (han contribuit a formar successives generacions d'escriptors, de filosofs, d'homens de Gubern anglesos, que personalment honests, fidels cumplidors de llurs deures individuals, sacrifican sense escrupol les més respectables collectivitats en benefici de la collectivitat anglesa; xx)

According to Pin, these behavioural characteristics culminated in the Victorian era and are beginning to wane at the start of the twentieth century, not because they are now without value, but because other nations are adopting the English example.

[24] Pin refers to the pound sterling as the 'Cavalry of St George', a reference to the 'Golden Cavalry of St George'.

The hybrid nature of *Utopia*, both 'a fiction and a collection of useful maxims' is indeed paradoxical, admits Pin, but also 'of huge transcendence' (xxviii). The decision to publish the work must have been made by More when 'suitably bound with English essence it seemed to him time to present his fellow countrymen with that faithful echo of what many English at the time were thinking' ('ben amarrat d'essencia anglesa li semblá oportú donar als seus compatricis aquell eco fidel de lo que molts anglesos del seu temps pensavan') (xxviii). Thus once again Pin seems to suggest that More's work is in line with thinking within certain echelons of English society, regardless of its wider resonances and interlocutors.

Final Words

It could be argued that Pin's humanist reading of More illuminates his own position on language, through an appeal to a plurilingual pre-nation-state version of the state, and to cultural but not political Catalanism. In this he was swimming against the tide. Pin's exile from Spain, and from Catalonia specifically, had been a major factor in cementing his love for the languages of his homeland, but in attempting to recover an affiliation with the Catalan literary and linguistic establishment on his return, he came up against the linguistic modernizers. As part of the process of refamiliarisation, for example, Pin frequented the Barcelona Atheneum, and in 1905 affirmed the legitimacy of his own linguistic variety, referring to 'that case of ethnic persistence manifest in my own speech, which is as though I had never moved from Catalonia' ('aquell cas de persistència étnica que's demostrava en mon parlar, igual que si may m'hagués mogut de Catalunya'; Pin y Soler 1905). The optimism underpinning such a perfomative declaration did not last, as we have seen, and at some point before 1913 Pin had distanced himself from the Atheneum (see Miquel i Planas, 391). Thus we might say that linguistic authenticity became bound up with a sense of identity and belonging for Pin, but authenticity and identity risked being delegitimised by Fabra's reforms and the translator's own intransigence, which in turn strengthened his identification with a larger entity (i.e. Spain). Ultimately, Pin's positioning between Catalonia and Spain, or within Catalonia and Spain, is itself an example of a utopian dream,

in the context of a push towards the one-nation one-state model that was in the ascendant during the later decades of his life.

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