Twentieth century Catalan literature finds one of its fundamental historical points of reference in the debate between Modernisme and Noucentisme. The dialectal dynamics of these two movements and their shared purpose of bringing Catalonia closer to Europe were to form the basis from which all the avant-garde initiatives that were to bring about the desired European aggiornamento of Catalan culture were to emerge. All the significant ‘isms’ of the avant garde, from Futurism to Surrealism, were imitated and assimilated and, in certain cases that were particularly relevant for the world of the plastic arts, these movements were not only championed, but led from the front, by Catalan artists themselves.

The contextual relevance of avant garde aesthetics cannot be too boldly stated for any approximation to the initial impact of Joyce's work in Catalonia. Critics who have researched the fifteen-year period between the first reference in print to Joyce's work in the Peninsula and the outbreak of the Civil War, which effectively brought to an end the initial period of enthusiasm for, and identification with, the writer's major works, have tended to take the early critical interventions of Joan Ramon Masoliver (1929) and Lluis Montanyà (1930) as heralding the advent of Joyce's work for an informed Catalan readership, yet it is to the figure of Josep Pla (1927) that we must look, in

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1 For the reception of Joyce's work in Spain as a whole see Santa Cecilia (1997) and for an informed Catalan perspective in particular, Mallafré (1994).

2 See Marichalar (1924: 177-202) and Goldring (1921: 244-6).
chronological terms, for the first reference in print to Joyce’s work aimed exclusively at Catalan readers.³

Pla’s press article, despite its enforced brevity, has all the freshness and spontaneity of first impressions dramatically impacted, in this instance, by Joyce’s *Ulysses*,⁴ and although its main thrust is informative, with passing reference to Joycean biographical details and to the ‘scandalous’ associations surrounding the author’s work in England and America, there is still scope for tentative interpretation on Pla’s part, which prove him to have had prophetic insight, certainly as far as *Ulysses* was concerned. It is the realism of Joyce’s vision, however, rather than its symbolism or obvious associations with *avant garde* aesthetics, with which Pla identifies. The author of *Ulysses*, when compared to Proust, for instance, provides a cosmic vision of uncommon realistic density. Thus, *Ulysses* “representa una immersió dins de la realitat de primer ordre. L’espessor de Proust és un arabesc, al costat del purè de pèsols de Dublin, de James Joyce”, where Joyce’s concern for the mundane and the only apparently ‘vulgar’ masks a concern for the fragility of the human condition above and beyond the claims of literary aesthetics:

A aquest novel·lista li interessa la realitat en brut i no estilitza mai. El seu fort és crear atmosferes reals. La finalitat d’aquesta literatura sembla ésser típicament un simple desig de possessió. No vol pas arranjar res, ni fer prosèlits. No té potser ni una preocupació de bondat i d’humanitat [...] és fred i implacable. Posar un material humà sense preocupacions d’idealització ni de rebaixament dins d’un ambient. Com a màxim una mica d’humorisme, el que surt, naturalment, d’una situació i d’una gent real. Una sensació d’aclaparament constant, el pes sobre el cor, que fa sentir la vida, si hom té la força de parar l’orella. Una preocupació de considerar la feblesa i la fragilitat com la característica dels homes i de les dones.

If anything, it is Joyce’s own humanity as an artist, rather than his

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³ I am most grateful to Dr Xavier Pla of the University of Girona, Josep Pla’s most recent biographer, for making Pla’s article available to me.

⁴ At the time of writing, Pla was working as a press correspondent in England. The commercial unavailability of Joyce’s *opus*, allied to Pla’s limited English, strongly suggests that the latter used the Larbaud French translation of the work for his own analyses. The presence of Pla’s own copy of this translation in the Mas Llofriu library makes this an even more distinct possibility, for Pla’s interest in Joyce was a life-long affair, attested to by his articles on, and translated extracts of, *Ulysses*, even quite late in life – see Pla’s *Notes del Capvesprol*, 1979, *Obra Completa*, XXXV, pp. 232-234 and 245-249.
adopted role as literary iconoclast, that shows through in Pla’s appreciation. Unlike other Irish and English writers, Joyce “[…] es tot el contrari: és xerraire, cordial, animat, espontani, social fins a un grau indescriptible. Aixó sol revela una capacitat d’observació imposant”.

Pla’s persuasive advocacy of Joyce’s cause as a realist of the first order was a tentative critical approach relayed to an informed Catalan readership that was soon to be relegated in favour of more open and more critically ‘daring’ associations with the prevailing aesthetics of the day, as the twenties merged into the thirties. In this respect, the figure of the critic Lluís Montanyà, in the pages of the most celebrated avant garde review of the day in Catalan, Hèlix, was to acquire singular relevance for focusing awareness, via his analysis of Ulysses, of the wider contemporary European cultural issues that were raised by possible alternative readings of English Modernism’s most iconic literary text.

Montanyà, while recognising the unsurpassed realism of Joycean episodes such as Molly Bloom’s interior monologue in Penelope, recognises at once with Ulysses as a whole that we are being sent out to make a firm steer into uncharted waters, that new critical procedures and new critical attitudes must be brought to bear in dealing with Joyce’s literary surrealism. The sense of grappling with the challenges of a disturbingly new aesthetic are everywhere apparent in Montanyà’s approach:

Evidentment, no es poden aplicar a ‘Ulysse’ els procediments, els sistemes, els principis crítics aplicables als altres llibres. És una cosa excepcional, completament apart. Ni Proust —que al seu costat resulta una lectura divertida— ni el Jarry de ‘Ubu-Roi’ hi tenen res a veure. No haviem llegit mai ni comptem llegir mai més res que se li pugui comparar. Unes paraules podrien concretar el nostre judici: ‘Ulysse’ és el resultat monstruós i, malgrat tot, magnífic, de la impotència artística de tota una època. I aquest judici no té pas, per a nosaltres, un sentit únicament pejoratiu […] Mai cap super-realista no podrà depassar Joyce, acumular més dades del subconscient, més revelacions fotogràfiques de l’inconscient desfermat.

5 Lluís Montanyà (Barcelona, 1903) was the editor of L’Amic de les Arts, as well as a collaborator on other reviews. Along with Sebastià Gasch and Salvador Dalí, he signed the celebrated Manifest Groc (1928). He went into exile after the Civil War, working as a translator and lector in Geneva.

6 At almost the same time as his article in Hèlix, Montanyà, in a separate article, deals lucidly with the interior monologue as a literary artefact in Carles Soldevila’s Fanny. See Montanyà (1930), later reproduced in Centelles (1967: 81-84).
Montanya recognises that the outer limits of surrealism's challenge to conventional aesthetics have been reached, and that *Ulysses* makes its particular claim to stand unchallenged as the signpost pointing forwards into the literary unknown:

‘Ulysses’ amb tot el seu desordre caòtic, amb els seus errors delirants, restarà el millor — l’únic — document d’aquest somni irrealitzable d’alguns artistes moderns que, cansats de tècniques a l’abast de tothom i d’anàlisi massa fàcils, han volgut fer viure en les seves obres la primera matèria nua i crua — amorfa — amb tot el trasbalsament de la nebulousa original.

Visions of the beyond, fired by the literary pyrotechnics of the work’s author and the search for significance on the part of its first major Catalan analyst, were all well and good, but, as yet, Joyce’s major work was unavailable to Catalan readers in its entirety, or even in extracted form, in their own language. This lack of immediate access to the text of *Ulysses* was fortunately to be partly remedied in the same issue of *Hèlix* in which Montanya had glossed the work for the first time in any detail. Under the pseudonym of M.R., translations were published of six short extracts altogether from Joyce’s

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7 Castilian had already been favoured by this time with several translations of fragments of *Ulysses*: fragments of *Ithaca* and *Penelope* (episodes 17 and 18 of *Ulysses*) had appeared in Marichalar’s article in 1924 (see footnote 2 above), Jorge Luís Borges had also translated part of *Penelope* (see Borges 1925: 6-8) and ‘G.C.E.’ (Ernesto Giménez Caballero) had also translated several fragments (see Giménez Caballero 1927: 3). Far more ambitious, however, was the more extensive, and justly celebrated, translation into Galician. See Otero Pedrayo (1926: 3-11).

8 Pages 4-5 of the same issue of *Hèlix* (February, 1930) saw the first attempt at translation into Catalan of fragments of *Ulysses*. With a discreet reference to the translation as “[...] fragments [...] traduïts [...] per un nostre amic ben conegut en el món intelectual” the review also cites Dámaso Alonso’s fine translation of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* under the pseudonym of Alfonso Donado (See Alonso 1926) as a worthy example to follow and, after mentioning the fact that both endeavours appear under pseudonyms, enthusiastically anticipates: “Sense intentar esbrinar les causes de consemblant actitud davat l’obra de l’irlandés ens plau avui de constatar — i creiem n’és el millor elogi— que aquesta primera traducció al català és tan reeixida com la del seu company en pseudònim.”

9 In an article on the occasion of Joyce’s death, Joan Ramón Masoliver was to reveal the translator’s real identity as that of Manuel Trens i Ribas, priest and sacred art historian in the seminary in Barcelona, who had beguilingly concealed his ‘Trens’ identity under the ‘R’ for English ‘Railways’! This datum was subsequently confirmed by Francesc Camprubí’s reference to the *Hèlix* translator of *Ulysses* in Gran
Aeolus (Episode 7 of Ulysses)\textsuperscript{10} although there is no accompanying analysis of the translation nor any rationale offered that justifies the choice of extracts.

This lack of analysis notwithstanding, the translations invite comment as to choice of extracts and to their degree of approximation to the letter and spirit of the original. While the choice may appear arbitrary, it brings together important thematic strands in the original as a whole – the destiny of Ireland compared with that of the Jewish race, the relevance of, and homage paid to, Classical models of language and expression, the ribald juxtaposition of Britain and Rome to illustrate the theme of Empire, and the rhetorical pyrotechnics of the justly celebrated report by J. J. O'Molloy on John F. Taylor's oration to the college historical society in response to Mr Justice Fitzgibbon's advocacy of the revival of the Irish language — thematic strands that may have struck a chord in an ecclesiastic, and one sensitive perhaps to the issues of language and national identity on the geographical periphery of an empire perceived as threateningly centralist in its attitudes to cultural, linguistic and political intransigence.

The choice of extracts, despite its apparent arbitrariness, may therefore well obey a hidden agenda on the translator’s part,\textsuperscript{11} even if the heady brew of Joyce’s iconoclasm may have advised caution on the part of this particular son of the Church when it came to identifying himself as the translator responsible for it. Yet ‘M.R.’ is more forthcoming in the nature of the translation itself, and a great deal bolder in assuming the consequences of his textual choices.

\textsuperscript{10} Only five are clearly identifiable in the Hélix translations, as the fifth is in fact an amalgam of two separate sections in Joyce's original. The sections, which do not follow Joyce's original sequence in Aeolus and, as occurs with the first and fourth extracts at least, are rendered incompletely, are \textsc{The Grandeur That Was Rome}, \textsc{Lost Causes}, \textsc{Kyrie Eleison!}, \textsc{And It Was the Feast of the Passover}, \textsc{Impromptu} and \textsc{From the Fathers}, the last two being erroneously run together under the title of the penultimate one.

\textsuperscript{11} This choice of extracts for translation, allied to those made by Pla when translating Leopold Bloom's panacea for political welfare as expressed in the phantasmagoria of the \textsc{Circe} episode, or those of Otero Pedrayo when translating the newspaper parody of the execution scene of the Irish patriot, Robert Emmet in \textsc{Cyclops}, lend some weight in support of the critical view expressed by García Tortosa and de Toro Santos: Es significativo que los primeros intentos de interpretación de la novela no se realizaran en castellano, sino en otras lenguas españolas, como el gallego y el catalán; quizás porque los intelectuales de estas dos comunidades lingüísticas se sentían atraídos por Joyce, a causa de las circunstancias históricas y sociales de sus orígenes. See García Tortosa and De Toro Santos (1994: 7).
when it comes to translating them. While there are occasions on which the plain English as well as the more recondite socio-cultural referents in Joyce’s text are beyond his immediate grasp, there is a sense that ‘M.R.’ is consciously making a determined attempt to come to terms with an occasionally intractable assailant, no better illustrated than in the conclusion to his own ‘IMPROMPTU’ extract where, despite being on firm ‘vocational’ ground in dealing with the Egyptian High Priest’s imagined admonition to Moses, there is everywhere a sense of the rhetorical brilliance of the original, Joyce’s ear for the grandiloquent phrase, being matched in an equally sonorous and rhetorically florid Catalan. Thus:

— ¿Per què vosaltres els jueus no acepteu la nostra cultura, la nostre religió i el nostre llengüatge? Vosaltres sou una tribu de rabadàs nòmades: nosaltres som un poble poderós. Vosaltres no teniu ni ciutats ni riqueses: les nostres ciutats són eixams d’humanitat i les nostres galeres, trirremes i quadrirremes, carregades amb tota mena de mercaderies solquen les aigües de tot el món conegut. Vosaltres però totjust si heu sortit de l’estat primitiu: nosaltres tenim una literatura, un sacerdoci, una història i una política llargues de dies,

or the concluding section, equally fine in its rendering of the declamatory brilliance of the original:

-Però, senyores i senyors, si el jove Moisés hagués escoltat i acceptat aquesta llei de vida, hagués acotat el seu cap i acotat la seva voluntat i acotat el seu esperit davant d’aquesta arrogant admonició mai ell hauria tret el poble escollit de la seva casa de captiveri ni seguit de dia la columna del núvol. Mai hauria parlat amb l’Etern en mig del llampeguejar dalt el cim de la muntanya de Sinaí ni mai n’hauria baixat amb la llum de l’inspiració brillant en sa faç i portant en sos braços les taules de la llei, gravada en el llenguatge del proscrit. Acabà i els mirà, saborejant silenci.

Even a brief glance at the full Catalan translation of *Ulysses*, splendidly

12 Thus “A sofa in a westend club” is rendered as: “Un sofà en un club a ponent (CAUSES PERDIDES)”, “Poor papa with his hagadah book, reading backwards with his finger to me [...] Dear, O dear!”, translated as: “Pobre pare amb el seu llibre hagadah, llegint a l’inrevés amb el seu dit cap a mi [...] Estimat, oh estimat! (I ERA LA FESTA DE LA PASQUA)” or “Witless shellfish swam in the gross lenses to and fro, seeking outlet” as: “Un marisc esmaperdut nedava en les grosses lentes d’un cantó a l’altre, buscant una sortida”.
undertaken by Joaquim Mallafrè (1981) half a century later,13 will reveal that 'M.R's' translation hardly requires alteration at this point, testimony indeed to its lasting qualities, particularly at a time when Joyce scholarship was yet to place at the translator's disposal that wealth of knowledge and insights later to colour every aspect of the Irish author's opus in both its critical apparatus and in translation.

The impulse given to Joyce's work for a Catalan readership by this early enthusiasm and translated extracts in the pages of Hélix led to no further interest on the part of Catalan literati for a period lasting all of six years, until just before the outbreak of the Civil War. Yet with the threat of upheaval palpable on every side in 1936 there was not only a sudden renewal of the earlier interest, but just as sudden an end to that interest in the wake of civil strife. In publishing terms at least, this new period of sterility for the advancing of Joyce's cause was to last for six whole years, until 1942.14 If 1930 was marked by the pioneering study by Lluís Montanyà, then the watershed year of 1936, for Joyce interests in Catalonia, belongs emphatically to the figure of Josep Sol. Sol's relevance for Joycean reception in Catalan rests not only on one significant contribution, but on two: the first in May, 1936, the second in December of the same year. Although Joaquim Mallafrè is quick to point to Joycean influences on Sol's own prose at this particular period,15 it is his perceptive critical analysis and sensitive translation of selections from Joyce that have stood the test of time, and mark him off as a reader of Joyce whose engaged sympathies with the author were well ahead of their time.

Not that Sol aspired to dramatic revelation when it came to promoting Joyce's reputation as an artist of the first order. His modesty in this respect, and in the light of what he was subsequently to contribute from his own sensitive readings, do him important credit. Thus, he states in the May 1936 article:

13 There have been several reprintings of this first full translation into Catalan, which incorporate the findings of the 1986 'Corrected Text' of Ulysses by Hans Walter Gabler.
14 1942 saw the publication of the second full translation of a work by Joyce into Spanish, the Ignasi Abelló translation of Dubliners: see Abelló (1942). The Dead, the final story in Joyce's collection, had also been translated in Barcelona in the previous year: Los muertos, Grano de Arena. Administración: Agencia Distribuidora de Obras Selectas. Consejo de Ciento, 392, Barcelona, 148 pages. No translator is identified.
although his longer-term projects for making the works known was a great deal more ambitious, for he announces that in future issues he plans to analyse *Exiles*, *A Portrait of the Artist*, and extracts from *Ulysses*. His obvious empathy with Joyce, palpable in his all-too-brief analyses of *Chamber Music* and *Dubliners*, make it all the more regrettable that these ambitious projects were never to be carried out.

Sol’s analysis of *Chamber Music* well illustrates his own sense of the poetic, as well as the underlying strength of Joyce’s achievements in verse. Noting that Joyce’s lyrics are not of their time - that the inspiration is more Elizabethan than Edwardian, although the critic recognises additional influences in Dante, Aristotle, Aquinas and, above all, Ibsen - Sol has the following perceptive analysis to make in his introductory remarks: “Només una cosa crida poderosament l’atenció del lector d’aquests poemes: i és un profund sentit musical i una accentuada propensió vers l’expressió lírica”.

Joyce’s art is seen in clearer perspective the less it is seen to explore avenues opened up by O’Grady, Yeats or A.E., although Sol is not afraid to recognise the derivative elements of “artificiality” and “mannerism” of a great deal of the collection. Yet he grants the author the indulgence of striking a more Celtic chord in his comments on the last two poems in the collection, XXXV and XXXVI. Praising XXXV for its força nostàlgica, he makes his own fine translation, as follows:

*Tot el dia sento el soroll de les aigües*

*lamentant-se,*

*tristament com l’au marina, quan*

*solitària*

*sent els vents com criden a les aigües*

*monòtonament*

*Els vents grisos, els vents freds bufen*

*Arreu on vaig*

*Sento el soroll de moltes aigües*

*Al fons de tot.*

*Tot el dia, tota la nit, els sento fluir*

*I refluir, ca i llà,*
and reminds us that **XXXVI**, with its much more markedly Celtic overtones, had already been translated by Tomàs Garcés in the pages of *La Publicitat*.

Sol boldly asserts that the collection of lyrics enables us to perceive not only Joyce’s personality, but also **les tendències fonamentals del seu art**. While this might in principle be overstating the case for the collection as the mirror of Joyce’s achievement, Sol’s discovery of two principal tendencies at work is altogether satisfactory:

> En primer lloc, us sobta el seu aristocratisme intel·lectual, la prefecció meticulosa i acabada del seu art,

but, lest Joyce be accused of merely ‘posing’, as it were, for posterity, Sol draws from this initial perception a further, less “ethereal” one, claiming that:

> L’aristocratisme literari de “Chamber Music” suggereix un altre aspecte del llibre que es troba també en les obres que el segueixen. Ens volem referir a la precisa i elevada labor d’artífex de la llengua que revelen aquests poemes [...]. Concentració de pensament en un temperament fortement individualistes i poètic, i obsessió del llenguatge, heu’s ací les qualitats sobresortints de Joyce.

If Sol is persuasive in his reading of *Chamber Music*, his analysis of *Dubliners*, enthusiastically illustrated by a solid translation of *An Encounter*, is worth quoting almost in its entirety as a most eloquent advocacy of a collection that is boldly termed from the outset: **una de les cimes més elevades que ha assolit l’art del conte**, and worthy of comparison with Chekhov and Maupassant. Yet, Sol’s reading here goes deeper. If comparisons are required, their result will only reinforce the uniqueness of Joyce’s achievement:

> Pero, així com el realisme fotogràfic de Maupassant no deixa endevinar res de misteriós, el realisme psicològic de Joyce és ple de suggerències del mes enllà. Davant d’ell Maupassant resulta limitat de comprensió, arcàic. Més aviat s’assembla a Txèkhov, almanys espiritualment i en conjunt; tot i que sembla que Joyce no coneixia els contes del rus.

and Flaubert, no less, is added to reinforce the issue:

> La tècnica de Dubliners, d’una precisió Flaubertiana, revela tres aspectes essencials: a) una completa absència de romanticisme i de tot el que, de prop o de lluny, recordi el sentimentalisme; b) la precisió implacable, encara que espontània, del desenvolupament i caracterització que obliga aquests
personatges de ficció a penetrar en el nostre pensament com si fossin éssers reals que penetressin en una habitació; i c) la revelació d'una actitud irònica i crua envers la vida irlandesa.

Such a degree of implacable objectivity is not allowed, however, to prevent glimpses of more enticing perspectives. Despite Joyce's subjective reliance on “incidents ínfims i vulgars de per sí, però revelats per la resplendor brillant d'exactes descripcions verbals i converses que astoren per la seva realitat”, Sol conjectures, citing The Dead:

[...] el lector hi pot descobrir vagues pressentiments i resplendors d'aquella representació subjetiva dels processos de la ment cavilosa que havien d'ésser tan altament individualitzats en “El retrat de l'artista adolescent”,

and he may well be leaving us with intimations that Dubliners also looks forward to Ulysses when he states:

La lectura de qualsevol d'aquests contes us fa adonar d'una cosa: Que són com la vida mateixa, incomplets. La motivació misteriosa continua més enllà del darrer paràgraf. Per dir-ho altrament, no tenen un argument que comenci, es desenvolupi i acabi. El lector no perd de vista aquests caràcters, un cop s'ha esfumat la llum blanca amb què l'exposició de Joyce ens els ha revelat per breus moments. No han fet més que traspassar la finestra de la seva observació i tobar la cantonada del temps cap a altres carrers on podem estar segurs que existeixen, repetint-se a si mateixos com ho solen fer les ànimes de poc abast.
Ultra aixó, Dubliners és la primera obra realista irlandesa, una obra que posa el realisme irlandès a un elevat nivell d'excel·lència.

Outside the confines of the English-speaking literary world of the day, such incisive comments would have been hard to come by – testimony indeed to Sol's awareness of the insinuations behind great art. Such perceptions make it all the more regrettable that in his December article in Mirador - L'estètica de Joyce – Sol limits himself to translations of Stephen's debates with Davin and Lynch on beauty and the artistic impulses, with little further room provided for critical analysis. Citing Stuart Gilbert on the relevance of Stephen's aesthetic for the presence of aesthetic ideas in Ulysses, Sol welcomes the former novel as a vehicle for a proper understanding of the latter, cites the Thomistic basis of Stephen's aesthetic, and provides a sensitive translation — as well as one at some length— of the Davin and Lynch episodes, one that pioneered Catalan awareness of Joyce's autobiographical novel. Yet this decisive initial impulse was thwarted by historical circumstances, which tragically intervened to
prevent a full translation of Portrait into Catalan for a further thirty years.¹⁶

The Civil War effectively brought to an end the initial period of interest in Joyce’s work, as it did with practically everything else in the field of imaginative literature. We can search the specialist reviews in vain for references to Finnegans Wake, for example, the work that had already intrigued literary Europe and America for the better part of two decades, although Work in Progress had briefly been brought to the attention of a Catalan public by Marià Manent in his Notes sobre literatura estrangera of 1934.¹⁷ From this moment onwards, the silence enveloping Joyce, in Catalonia and beyond, was a deafening one indeed, broken only by press notices of the writer’s death in February 1941.

In conclusion, we may in retrospect be encouraged to lay particular stress on Catalan interest in the aesthetic nature of Joyce’s art, on its wider international relevance for literary iconoclasm and the avant-garde in general, and its particular concern with language issues as these affected loyalties to cultural agendas, stated or otherwise. While such concerns as these are present in the major reviews in Castile, Galicia and the Canaries,¹⁸ these reviews are somewhat more muted in their responses and, unlike their Catalan counterparts, deal more widely with issues like religion and nationalism in Joyce, and are less partisan than the Catalan critics in seeking to place Joyce within the canon of the new aesthetics. To this extent, critics and translators such as Pla, Masoliver, Montanyà, Trens, Manent, Garcés and Sol showed themselves to be particularly sensitive to Joyce’s resolutely pushing back the frontiers of art, and in their own linguistic context played an inestimable part in a collective tribute to Joyce’s genius, and to his fundamental integrity as an artist.

¹⁶ See Vernet (1967).
¹⁷ Otero Pedrayo had already initiated Galician readers via ‘Ana Sivia Plurabela’ in El Pueblo Gallego, Vigo, 12th May, 1931.
¹⁸ Where Domingo Pérez Minik had blazed the trail from mid-1932 onwards in the pages of Gaceta de Arte, Santa Cruz de Tenerife.
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