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H O M E N A J E A
D. QUINTÍN ALDEA VAQUERO



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LITERATURA



LEÓN FELIPE Y SU IDEOLOGÍA EN LA TRADUCCIÓN DE LA OBRA ‘SONG OF MYSELF’ DE WALT WHITMAN A ‘CANTO A MÍ MISMO’

ÓSCAR NDIKUBWAYO NDIKUBWAYO

UNIVERSIDAD DE SALAMANCA

RESUMEN

León Felipe Camino Galicia de la Rosa, uno de los poetas españoles conocidos por su oposición al régimen de Franco (Zaro 2007: 120, *Virgin Spain*: 577), tradujo, como lo hizo de las obras de Shakespeare, la obra poética ‘Song of Myself’. Analizando su trabajo, este artículo pone de manifiesto que había motivos ideológicos detrás de la traducción, para suscitar consentimiento de los lectores españoles.

Comparando y contrastando cinco versiones al español de la obra poética de Whitman (1912, 1941, 1952, 1969 y 2014), yo he llegado a la conclusión de que ‘Canto a mí mismo’ de León Felipe está cargado de rasgos relacionados con la guerra civil española y el consiguiente régimen político.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Ideología; giro cultural; texto original; texto destino; texto meta; cultura de origen; cultura de destino; cultura meta; traducción; sistema meta.

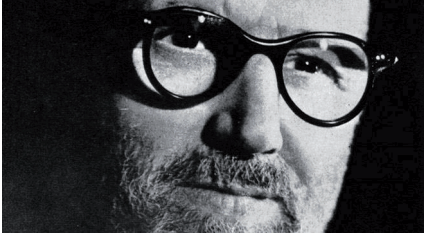
LEÓN FELIPE AND HIS IDEOLOGY BEHIND THE TRANSLATION OF WALT WHITMAN’S ‘SONG OF MYSELF’ INTO ‘CANTO A MÍ MISMO’

ABSTRACT

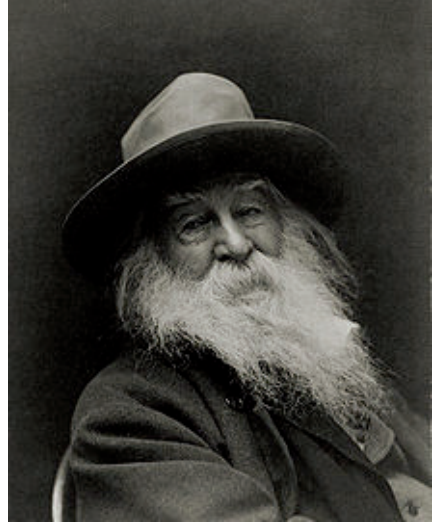
León Felipe Camino Galicia de la Rosa, one of the Spanish poets notoriously known to have opposed the Franco regime (Zaro 2007: 120; *Virgin Spain*: 577), translated, along Shakespeare’s plays, Walt Whitman’s ‘Song of Myself’. Analyzing his translation, this paper came up to the conclusion that his rendering was ideologically motivated in order to seek acceptance across the general Spanish public.

By comparing and contrasting five Spanish translations of Whitman’s poetic work into Spanish (1912, 1941, 1952, 1969 and 2014), I came to the conclusion that León Felipe’s ‘Canto a mí mismo’ is charged with ideological features that characterized the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent political regime.

KEYWORDS: Ideology; cultural turn; source text; target text; source culture; target culture; translation; target system.

León Felipe

“Tu palabra ‘happiness’la ha borrado mi llanto” *Obras completas*

Walt Whitman

“And whoever walks a furlong without sympathy walks to his own funeral drest in his shroud” *Leaves of Grass*

1. INTRODUCTION

He is generally known as León Felipe, his pseudonym, but his real name was Felipe Camino Galicia de la Rosa. In this paper he is referred to by his pseudonym. He was born in Tábara, Zamora in Castilla y León, on April 11th, 1884 and died in Mexico on September 18th, 1968. The change of the first name from Felipe to León Felipe is an event that took place when he was recognized as a poet through an eventful act that took place in Madrid way back in 1920. Luis Rius (1974: 97), one of León Felipe’s biographers, describes this change as something strange¹:

¹ “Todo era muy extraño. Y para que él lo fuera todavía más para sí mismo, desde ahora llevaba otro nombre, se llamaba de otra manera. ¿Por qué había decidido dejar su viejo nombre, el que había usado toda la vida? ¿Era él, en efecto, otro después de haber escrito aquellos poemas? Cuando se lo envió a Díez-Canedo ya no los firmó con el nombre de Felipe Camino de la Rosa, que había sido siempre el suyo, por el que lo había conocido la gente hasta ahora. De ahora en adelante sería León-Felipe, ni siquiera Camino; sólo en los documentos oficiales habría de seguir usando su primer apellido y el segundo, el materno, Galicia. Aquel apellido Camino de la Rosa que había sido el suyo para todos hasta ese momento, era en realidad el apellido del padre. El primer nombre de pila, León, no consta en su fe de bautismo; se lo antepuso ahora al único oficialmente suyo, Felipe, porque la celebración de ambos santos cae en el mismo día: el 11 de abril, fecha del cumpleaños del poeta. Y ahora –¿por qué?– su nombre era ya otro: León-Felipe”. (Rius 1974: 97)

“Todo era muy extraño. Y para que él lo fuera todavía más para sí mismo, desde ahora llevaba otro nombre, se llamaba de otra manera... Cuando se los [poemas] envió a Díez-Canedo ya no los firmó con el nombre de Felipe Camino de la Rosa, que había sido siempre el suyo, por el que lo había conocido la gente hasta ahora. De ahora en adelante sería León-Felipe, ni siquiera Camino; sólo en los documentos oficiales habría de seguir usando su primer apellido y el segundo, el materno, Galicia” Rius (1974: 97).

Since then, he has all along been known as León Felipe and nobody has ever wondered why and where that kind of naming came from. In all his official and unofficial documents, he has been referred to as León Felipe. It was during that event when León Felipe was officially consecrated a poet among other Spanish poets of his time. He consolidated his profession as a translator much later when he travelled² to the United States looking for Walt Whitman: From his encounter with Walt Whitman’s American scholars, León Felipe translated Whitman’s ‘Song of Myself’. His interest in this poem, was not only that it was the longest among other Whitman’s poetic works (Greenspan 2005: 1) but also because “El *Canto a mí mismo* es el momento más luminosa de Walt y en él están contenidos su doctrina y su mensaje” (Felipe 1963: 417) since it contains Whitman’s poetic doctrine and message.

León Felipe’s rendering of ‘Song of Myself’ into Spanish was not just like any other. In his ‘*Canto a mí mismo*’ the Spanish translator made additions and subtractions from the original to make it fit into the target culture. It was accompanied by connotations (Ochoa 1992: 392), which are the ones responsible for the large following behind the success of León Felipe’s ‘*Canto a mí mismo*’ in Spain.

Similarly, according to Redondo and Azpeitia (1992: 35) cited in Frau (2002: 1) “casi todos los lectores españoles conocen la obra de este autor [Whitman] a través de la versión de León Felipe”. It is for the same reason that Ochoa (1992: 600) looks at León Felipe’s endeavour as “impagable” in the sense that “León Felipe actúa como una auténtica bisagra entre los dos ámbitos poéticos, entre el tono triunfador del norteamericano y la contención dolorida de los españoles [...]. Presenta por consiguiente a un Whitman muy personal, arrimado a las necesidades de la poesía española, una vez despojado de los excesos optimistas” (Ochoa 1992: 603).

Felipe translated ‘Song of Myself’ by making the original respond to ‘las necesidades de la poesía española’ and by removing extra optimism from the original text to make it fit to ‘la contención dolorida de los españoles’. That is why

² “Viví en Norteamérica seis años, buscando a Whitman, y no lo encontré. Nadie lo conocía. Hoy tampoco lo conocen. ¡Pobre Walt!, tu palabra ‘Democracy’ la ha pisoteado el Ku-Klux-Klan...” (Rius1974: 156).

Felipe will write in *Obras completas*, addressing himself to Whitman, “Tu palabra *happiness* la ha borrado mi llanto” (Felipe 1963: 225 [*si me llamase Prometeo*]), adapting the happiness expressed in the original by Whitman to the Spanish socio-political context of the Civil War.

With the above introduction in mind, it is logical to go ahead with this paper by looking at who the two poets under this study are.

2. LEÓN FELIPE AS POET AND A TRANSLATOR

As mentioned earlier, León Felipe travelled to the United States in order to be closer to Whitman’s scholars. Before coming into contact with the American bard’s poetry, he was, according to his biographer Rius³ (1974: 156), an accomplished Spanish poet, along with poets such as Juan Ramón Jiménez, Antonio Machado, Enrique Díez-Cañedo and Emilio de Madariaga just to name a few. León Felipe paid gratitude to his mentor saying that “Enrique Díez-Cañedo, él mismo muy buen poeta. Hombre valiente y generoso que hace... me abrió la puerta de la poesía española y me dijo unas palabras que no he olvidado nunca”. (Rius 1974: 95). He knew he was going to become a great poet whose poetry would essentially be centered on the human being, “una poesía básicamente humanista con una proyección utópica” (Ascunce 2000: 9).

After his consecration as a poet, León Felipe published his first collection of poems *Versos y Oraciones del Caminante*⁴ in 1920 in Madrid when he was 36 years old (Paulino 2004:8). At this time, Felipe’s poetry was not very controversial with respect to opposing the regime in power. In fact when he travelled to Equatorial Guinea in Africa, he was sent as a government civil servant and, later, when he went to Mexico, he was appointed as an attaché at the Spanish embassy in Panama (Rius 1974).

As a translator, his interest in ‘Song of Myself’ was due to the fact that this poem is the backbone of Whitman’s poetry (Greenspan 2005: 1). It contains the message and the doctrine expressed in *Leaves of Grass*, his only collection of poems. It represents, as León Felipe puts it, “el momento más luminoso de Walt Whitman y en él están contenidos su doctrina y su mensaje” (Felipe 1963: 417). As a good translation ‘*Canto a mí mismo*’ builds bridges on the world because, as Professor Dora Sales Salvador comments in *Puentes sobre el mundo*, “es una

³ Rius, Luis is one of Felipe’s biographers. He wrote Felipe’s biography in Rius, Luis (1974) *León Felipe, Poeta de Barro (biografía)*. Colección Málaga, S.A. México, 1974.

⁴ According to José Paulino (Poesías completas 2004: 8) “instalado ya en Madrid, [Felipe] publica algunos poemas en revistas reconocidas, lee sus versos en el Ateneo de Madrid y saca a la luz su primer libro en el año 1920. Tiene entonces treinta y seis años y a pesar de su carrera de farmacia, ejercida en Santander, y luego en Balmeda y en algunos pueblos de Castilla, carece verdaderamente de un oficio y de una ocupación estable”.

mediación en la que lo que importa es interpretar y transmitir el afecto, el tono, la atmósfera y la carga afectiva del original, es decir su poso cultural específico” (Sales Salvador 2004: 612).

In this regard the idea of culture becomes very crucial in translation practices. There is agreement among translations scholars that the cultural turn in Translations Studies became a serious academic study in the second half of the 20th century. It developed from linguistic approaches to encompassing culture and ideology as the main tenets of its study and that is why the text to be translated should be updated according to the receiving socio-cultural and historic conditions. It is for this reason that Vidal states that “Porque el texto es eso, una infinidad de posibilidades que el traductor deberá actualizar según el momento, según el lugar. Es una Biblioteca, un jardín de senderos que se bifurcan”. I thus believe that León Felipe had to adapt his translation and update the original ‘Song of Myself’ to the prevailing conditions of the socio-cultural and political conditions of his time.

León Felipe travelled to so many countries, among which Mexico and the United States, that he was “capaz de leer y de traducir del francés y del inglés” (Zaro 2007: 118). Before the translation of ‘Song of Myself’ into ‘Canto a mí mismo’, León Felipe had already translated

El renacimiento del arte inglés y otros ensayos de Oscar Wilde [The English Renaissance of Art], 1919; El seductor [Le Séducteur] de Gérard d’Houville’s, 1921; Una dama perdida [A Lost Lady] de Willa Cather, 1923; España virgen [Virgin Spain] de Waldo Frank, 1927; y Libertad y Organización 1814-1914 [Freedom and Organization 1814-1914] de Bertrand Russell, 1936. En 1941, en México, tradujo otra ‘paráfrasis’: Canto a mí mismo [Song of Myself] de Walt Whitman, no publicada en España hasta 1981 (Zaro 2007: 118).

On this adaptation and updating of the original Whitman’s poem, “El cambio de tono de Felipe va en consonancia con los acontecimientos de dolor y Guerra Civil que vive España” (Ochoa 1992: 604). He introduced to the Spanish reader “una nueva vía de acceso y lectura de la obra poética de Walt Whitman” (Ochoa 1992: 392) and this new way of reading the original is specifically Spanish in the sense that León Felipe “actúa como una auténtica bisagra entre los dos ámbitos poéticos, entre el tono triunfador del norteamericano y la contención dolorida de los españoles” (Ochoa 1992: 602)

3. WALT WHITMAN

Though his poetry did not receive due recognition during the poet’s lifetime, many scholars consider Whitman as the greatest literary figure America has ever

had. Among these scholars, Loving (1990: back cover) believes that “today, Whitman is regarded as America’s Homer or Dante, and his work as the touchstone for literary originality in the new world”. Francisco Alexander (1952: 11) looks at Whitman as “el más grande de los poetas norteamericanos. Es también el primero de ellos en el orden cronológico. Hasta el año 1855 –en que aparece la primera edición de ‘*Hojas de Hierba*’–, la poesía que han producido los Estados Unidos casi no es otra cosa que la poesía de Inglaterra trasplantada al suelo de América [...]”.

His poetry may not have been the best aesthetically but “Whitman’s influence in world literature has been mainly in the realm of ideas, and especially as a symbol of love, international brotherhood, and democratic idealism rather than in aesthetics” (Allen 1955: viii). His principles of democracy, brotherhood, heroism of the common man and freedom, contained in ‘Song of Myself’, the most important poem of Walt Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass* (Greenspan 2005: 1), are among the main reasons that prompted the undertaking of this research. It is on this democracy expressed in ‘Song of Myself’ that “el hombre encuentra su verdadera esencia en la libertad, no en vano se le reconoce como “el poeta de la democracia”; pero no sólo de la democracia política, sino también de la democracia religiosa o sexual” (Gurpegui 1999: 595-600⁵). Walt Whitman was thus, the first writer to introduce this sexual freedom in poetry. He is also the first to have introduced the free verse in American poetry, breaking away from the then canon of rhymed poetry and the use of meter in poetry. In addition to the use of free verse in poetry, he is credited to have been the first to use common language and even slang in his poetry. That is why “Whitman es el poeta más influyente de la literatura norteamericana [...], toda la poesía norteamericana es una serie de diálogos con Whitman” (Gurpegui 1999: 643).

Despite all the admiration scholars have for Whitman, none has been able to publish a complete biography of the author of *Leaves of Grass*, since “no author in American literature has been a greater puzzle to his biographers and critics than Walt Whitman. There have been well over fifty attempts (counting books only) to interpret his life, and yet most students of Whitman agree that still another biographer is needed” (Allen 1955: ix). Walt Whitman was born in Long Island on May 31st, 1819. He died in Camden, New Jersey on March 26th, 1892 at the age of 73 and *Leaves of Grass* was the only literary work he produced in his lifetime.

4. RESEARCH METHODS

In order to arrive at coherent conclusions, the comparative method used to study ‘*Canto a mí mismo*’ covered also four other translations of ‘Song of Myself’.

⁵ Quotations in the Online Kindle Reader appear this way, since the author published his work online in Kindle Reader

The translations referred are from Álvaro Armando Vasseur (1912), Francisco Alexander (1952), Jorge Luis Borges (1969) and Eduardo Moga (2014). These authors were chosen because they are known worldwide to have been very influential in Spanish literature and/or to have been the first to translate Whitman's poetry into Spanish. The Uruguayan Álvaro Armando Vasseur was chosen because he was the first to translate Walt Whitman's poetry while Eduardo Moga's translation was chosen because it is the most recent. Francisco Alexander's translation was the first to render the entirety of Whitman's poetry and it caught my attention for this reason. Jorge Luis Borges has been known to be very influential in Spanish literature and, the fact that he also had translated Whitman's poetry was an added advantage for his inclusion in my research work.

These are translations of 'Song of Myself' into Spanish but, in order to check whether none of these Spanish translations is a retranslation from French, another translation has been added and that is namely, Bazalgette's French version. Bazalgette translated the entirety of *Leaves of Grass* into French and published it in 1909, three years before the first Spanish translation appeared in 1912, though there was another translation of *Leaves of Grass* into Catalan, done by Cebrià Montoliu in 1909.

Likewise, it has been imperative to seek León Felipe's ideology from some of his other poems given that his translation of 'Song of Myself' alone cannot reflect the entirety of his ideological views. It has therefore been imperative to use some of his other literary works such as his "Habla el Prólogo" in *Obras completas* (Felipe: 1963: 409-419) but mainly his poetic address "La Insignia" and poems included in "Ganarás la Luz" in *Obras completas* (Felipe 1963: 179-386). It is mostly in these poems where Felipe's ideology, with regard to the translation of Whitman's 'Song of Myself', has been unequivocally expressed. The introduction to *Poesías completas* by José Paulino (2004) as well as *León Felipe, Poeta de barro* by Luis Rius (1974) have also been of great help in this field.

5. RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

Translation activities are operations on language use. They are a discursive manifestation of the translator and, as Schäffner (2003: 23-24) put it, their production is "determined by the interests, aims, and objectives of the social agents..." Therefore, no translation can escape being a reflection of the translator's ideological stance because it is produced according to his /her aims, interests, objectives and beliefs. Thus, ideology can be seen as a 'set of values and beliefs' that researchers use in their investigations has been referred to as ideology (Calzada 2003: 5)

Given that translator's goals, interests and aims reflect his ideology and basing my assumptions on the fact that "ideological aspects can also be determined within a text itself, both at the lexical level [...] and the grammatical level [...]" (Schäffner 2003: 23), I have hypothesized that, '*Canto a mí mismo*', is an ideological translation of Whitman's 'Song of Myself', thereby revealing León Felipe's ideology behind it.

Among the five translation of Whitman's work, León Felipe's translation caught the most my attention. It adapted the original message to the Spanish political circumstances and included the author's political ideology – "Tu palabra *happiness* la ha borrado mi llanto" (Felipe 1963: 225). This was mainly because "the translation injects new life blood into a text bringing it to the attention of a new world of readers in a different language" (Álvarez & Vidal 1996: 6)

6. IDEOLOGY IN TRANSLATION STUDIES

The "cultural turn" that took place in 1990s enforced the definite move from translation as an isolated text to translation as an inclusive process of culture and politics (see Snell-Hornby 2006), placing ideological issues in the center of the research agenda. Since then, ideology has been one of the key concerns of modern Translation Studies. In their research on ideology in Translation Studies Ana M.^a Rojo López, and Marina Ramos Caro (2014: 251) assert that "since the first decade of the 21st century, much of the work carried out on ideology and power has focused on areas such as translation as rewriting, gender and translation, or translation and post-colonialism (see Baker 2010, Venuti 2000)" thereby making ideology part and parcel of translation processes.

The concept of ideology is not new to anyone. Almost everybody has, in one way or another, had to use this word either in social conversations or in casual writings.

Calzada Pérez (2003: 1) comments that:

Goldenberg (2000), for instance, points out that –in the Spanish-American War of 1898– presses played crucial roles in the construction of public opinion regarding their own countries and the 'Other'. Original (ST) and translated (TT) documents contributed to forging ideological stereotypes. These were intentionally sought to raise support for a war that was to change the global order and the hegemonic discourse of the time.

In this case, ideology deals with stereotypes. It is this negative view of the term "ideology" which has been politicized and, "[in] general, this association between

the notion of ideology and the negative attitude has divided the world into two parts: *us* and *them*, or *good* and *evil*” (Al-Mohannadi⁶ 2006: 530).

This negative view of ideology is not however limited to political areas. It has also entered literary productions and does not come from the translator alone:

The range of translation decisions that can be explained in terms of some sort of ideological intervention is not limited to the strategies adopted by the translator. The decisions of other participants, such as editors or commissioners, may also be ideologically based, exerting a positive or a negative influence on the image and impact of a translation in its target culture. Rojo & Ramos 2014: 249-250)

The translator is therefore not the only agent that determines the ideology of a text in the target language but also all the agents that intervene in the whole process of making the translation reach the reader. During the 1990s, when translations studies turned to culture as the focal point, ideology regained its real positive side as “a set of ideas, values and beliefs that govern a community by virtue of being regarded as a norm. It allows researchers to investigate modes of thinking, forms of evaluating and codes of behavior” (Calzada 2003: 5). In addition to this positive view of ideology one would agree with Al-Mohannadi (2006: 530) that

“Ideology is a world view that people acquire from the surrounding circumstances. It helps people to determine what is good or bad, to categorize others, to realize men and women’s role in life; it controls people’s beliefs about the world (as in religious ideologies) and determines priorities in life”.

Translation is an operation that uses language and for this reason, it is loaded with the translator’s mode of thinking and forms of evaluating. People’s discourse, and for that matter, translators’ discourse and their speeches are expressions of their beliefs, which comes to saying that the language used in a translation is an expression of the writer’s ideology because, as Al-Mohannadi (2006: 530) puts it, the discourse used in the translation is “a textual manifestation of the speaker’s ideology”.

Summing up all the above, “an ideology is the set of factual and evaluative beliefs –that is the knowledge and the opinions– of a group [...] In other words, a bit like the axioms of a formal system, ideologies consist of those general and abstract social beliefs and opinions (attitudes) of a group” (Van Dijk 1998: 48-9).

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It is assumed that the translator's ideology is part of the cultural entity to which he belongs and this ideology will be the one responsible for the acceptance (or rejection) of the translation in the target culture.

7. LEÓN FELIPE'S IDEOLOGICAL TENDENCIES

Part of León Felipe's ideology is visibly encoded in the text of his translation of 'Song of Myself' but the major portion of his ideological acclaim is found in his other literary works.

To start with, some of his admirers used to refer to him as "León Felipe...el poeta del éxodo español" (Palomo 1987: 8). Together with the idea of "lágrimas", Felipe composed his poems to show that the weeping and tears can bring freedom: "Las lágrimas son internacionales y para ganar la igualdad de los hombres pueden más que los conceptos marxistas". (Felipe 1963: 121)

This struggle for freedom and equality is shared with other writers who saw in León Felipe the determination against the armed conflict in Spain. One of them is Octavio Paz⁷ who expressed to León Felipe his solidarity "con el pueblo español partidario del bando republicano" (Puche 2009: 26)

Poetry produced by León Felipe and some of his colleagues is not necessarily for aesthetic purposes. It belonged to the umbrella term of "urgent" literature (Puche 2009: 219-220), meaning that it was temporal and its objective was to solve or contribute to the resolution of the Spanish conflict. In this 'urgent' literature, are included some of León Felipe's poems such as "*Goodbye Panamá*" in *Poesías completas*, written just before he returned to Spain on 1st September 1936 (Felipe 2004: 1035); "La Insignia", part of which was read in his conference in the Coliseum Cinema in Barcelona as "Poesía revolucionaria" in March 1937. José Paulino (2004), in his edition of *León Felipe: Poesías completas*, refers to "La Insignia" as a "canto a la lucha y a la unidad de los grupos republicanos" (cubierta) just to emphasize this idea that León Felipe was a staunch defender of the Republic in Spain.

In fact, most of his writings were prohibited by the Spanish regime since, according to Zaro (2012: 580), he was seen as "a poet opposed to Franco" His poems and translations were not given leeway in Spain by the government until 1978. In fact, as Zaro (2012: 577) comments "León Felipe had been exiled in Mexico for many years and was notorious for expressing in public his rejection of Franco's dictatorial regime". It was not until 1978, according to Zaro (2007: 115-118) that the first copy of León Felipe's works of art was given green light to be freely read

⁷ Octavio Paz, in this quote, picks words from Felipe's poem 'Segundo Nacimiento (Heroísmo)' (*Obras completas*, p. 106) to support his assertion.

in Spain. As for '*Canto a mí mismo*' it remained "no publicada en España hasta 1981 [...]" (Zaro 2007: 118).

With respect to Felipe's '*Canto a mí mismo*', there are many examples of ideological transportation from Whitman's 'Song of Myself' to the Spanish version.

Example 1

<p><i>Whitman's section I of 'Song of Myself':</i> I celebrate myself, and I sing myself, And what I assume you shall assume, For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you.</p>	<p><i>Felipe's version</i> Me celebro y me canto a mí mismo. Y lo que yo diga ahora de mí, lo digo de ti, porque lo que yo tengo lo tienes tú y cada átomo de mi cuerpo es tuyo también.</p>
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When one analyses the first section of 'Song of Myself' and its translations, one discovers that, when translating the first line, León Felipe is the only one who added "a mí mismo" to "me celebro y me canto". The other translators, that is Vasseur, Alexander, Borges and Moga did not add "a mí mismo". Even Bazalgette's French translation states (translated into Spanish), "me celebro y me canto". One would wonder why Felipe had to add "a mí mismo". One of the possible explanations could be that he wants to add emphasis to the statement. Why then should the statement be stressed? It is hard to explain but, maybe he wants to point out that Whitman's poetry is a "song to oneself", whoever and wherever they may be. Does this mean the other translators did not have this idea in mind? Maybe they did not or they did but the fact is that Felipe made such addition and in doing so, he differentiated himself from the other translators.

In this same section Felipe makes an addition of "ahora" (meaning "now") which does not appear in the original. The original uses the simple present tense "I assume" which would rather indicate an action that is permanent or regular in its occurrence. Despite the knowledge of the use of the simple present, Felipe's rendering insists on the event occurring "now". As mentioned in previous chapters, the other translators did not add this idea of expressing their rendering "now". These additions that Felipe makes while other translators did not add them make his translation unique to him and thereby a rewriting of the original text to suit his readers' cultural preferences.

With reference to the same section, León Felipe renders "and what I assume you shall assume" by "y lo que yo diga ahora de mí lo digo de ti". While the other translators rendered "assume" as "me atribuyo" (Vasseur), "cuanto es mío" (Borges), "me apropio" (Alexander), "Cuanto hago mío" (Moga) and "je m'attribue" (Bazalgette); Felipe thought it better to use "yo diga". At first sight, there is no

relationship whatsoever between the English term “assume” and the Spanish verb “decir” but, since Felipe preferred it to other possible terms, it means that the term forms part of the translators ideological world and hence, of his cultural background. It is in doing this that Felipe made his translation very particular and therefore ideologically-tuned towards his audience.

At this point, it is important to remember what has been said in previous sections about this work. León Felipe’s translation was often criticized for being full of ‘rasgos españoles’ (Zaro 2007: 119). This means ‘*Canto a mí mismo*’ fits in well in the Spanish context. In other words, as Ochoa (1992: 392) underlines, León Felipe had to make various changes to the original text, “Connotaciones bien diferentes” in order to make his rendering fit for the Spanish reader and open “una nueva vía de acceso y lectura de la obra poética de Walt Whitman”. He did not translate word for word but rewrote Whitman’s text in such a way that it fits the Spanish poetry. That is why, “el poeta zamorano llevó hasta los límites de las posibilidades del verso castellano sus versos versolibristas” (Ochoa 1992: 392). That means, when one reads León Felipe’s ‘*Canto a mí mismo*’, the reading sounds very much Spanish poetry with a Spanish verse, “verso castellano”. Fray Luis de León also urged translator to produce texts that do not sound foreign in the target culture and every good translation should aim at sounding as natural as possible in the new tongue: “Fray Luis de León wrote that translated poems should not appear foreign but as ‘nacidas en él [idioma] y naturales’[...]” (Barnstone 1993: 266).

Thriving to make his renditions “nacidas en él y naturales”, León Felipe uses the “verso castellano” and examples taken from Castilian socio-cultural context. He even very often equates some of Whitman’s utterances to Castilian cultural background such as in *Obras completas* “cuando reculan frente al odio el amor y la fe quiero presentaros con verbo castellano, y en mi vieja manera de decir, a ese poeta de amor, de la fe y de la rebeldía” (Felipe 1963: 411). León Felipe is trying to establish a parallelism between Spanish and American poetry, that is Whitman’s poetry and Spanish poetry, by bringing the two together in his translation.

‘*Canto a mí mismo*’ is not therefore the equivalent of the original but a new text, a hybrid text that originates from Whitman’s poetry but remains fundamentally Spanish and Castilian to be more precise. It is in this regard that he uses the expressions such as “quiero presentaros con verbo castellano, y en mi vieja manera de decir” to emphasize the fact that his translation is characterized by Spanish features because it is aimed at Spanish people, at “amigos y poetas americanos y españoles” and presented “con verbo castellano”. This translation of ‘Song of Myself’ is a text that was produced according to the Spanish norms of doing poetry by León Felipe. In so doing, he rewrote Whitman’s the original because translation activity takes

place with the intention of influencing the audience according to the ideology and poetics of that society (Askoy 2001 in “Translation as Rewriting”).

León Felipe’s translation had to obey the norms of Spanish poetry in order to become a text that could have a positive impact on the Spanish reader. That is why it was crucial for him to translate and rewrite the original according to the ideology and poetics in Spain. It is in this regard that Lefevere (1992: 13-14), in *Translating Literature*, says that “Rewriting therefore exerts an enormous influence not only on the image one literature is given of another but also on the image members of a culture are given of their own and other literatures” (Lefevere 1992: 13-14). The translator’s work is thus to adapt a work of literature to another audience in order to influence the way in which the work is read in the new target culture. León Felipe’s ‘*Canto a mí mismo*’ is an adaptation of Whitman’s ‘Song of Myself’ for Spanish people, an adaptation that was done in order to influence the way Spanish readers read Whitman’s poetry. Felipe gave the reader “una nueva vía de acceso y lectura de la obra poética de Walt Whitman” (Ochoa 1993: 392) and this new way of reading responds to “las necesidades de la poesía española” (Ochoa 1992: 603) and by removing extra optimism from the original text to make it fit to “la contención dolorida de los españoles” (Ochoa 1992: 603). That is why Felipe himself writes in *Obras completas* “¡Oh, Walt Whitman! Tu palabra *happiness* la ha borrado mi llanto” (Felipe 1963: 225), adapting the original *happiness* from Whitman to the Spanish context of the Civil War. He went political in his utterances, and as Borges highlights, “Those who object to the presence of political ideas in the work of art usually do so because they are opposing the ideas expressed in such and such a work, in other words, ideas contrary to my own ideas” (Alegria in Folsom 1995: online).

When one reads León Felipe’s “Goodbye Panamá”, one realizes that it was written in defense of the Republican Government. The same applies to his poem “Insignia” where he is advocating all the bands that were opposed to the military insurgents to unite and fight behind one “Insignia” instead of fighting for different small political groupings. This is the same political ideology that is behind León Felipe’s poetry.

Example 2

<p><i>Whitman’s section 11 of Song of Myself</i> Which of the young men does she like the best? Ah the homeliest of them is beautiful to her.</p>	<p><i>Felipe’s text:</i> ¿Cuál de aquellos mocetones le gusta más? ¡Todos le parecen hermosos!</p>
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This is the famous section that, as argued by some scholars, is the part of Whitman’s poetry that proves the homosexual tendency of the poet though other scholars refute this assertion as just wishful thinking. In this section, León Felipe translated “young men” for the Spanish term ‘mocetones’ while the other translators

used “muchachos” in the case of Alexander, Borges and Moga or “jóvenes” in the case of Vasseur. León Felipe easily changes the words to suit his aims.

This is exactly what he said in some of his other literary Works in *Obras completas* “en la crónica poética o en el versículo sagrado lo esencial es el espíritu que yo no cambio nunca aunque modifique las palabras y quiebre la forma” (Felipe 1963: 198-199 “Estoy en mi casa”). He did it by going back to the spirit that Whitman had when he was composing his poems. Felipe’s intention and objective was to get Whitman’s message of democratic ideals across to the Spanish reader and not to make some sort of calqued text which might result in a meaningless and distorted message. For this reason, he chose words and grammatical structures that are culturally fit and acceptable to the target reader. The other translators have not been as assertive as Felipe was. They were so much concerned with the search for correct words, that they were not concerned with “the spirit of the poem” even though, in the end, “lo esencial es el espíritu”.

It is this spirit of freedom and democracy that León Felipe wanted his reader to acquire so that they can be able to fight against any political oppression. Just like John Sommerfield volunteering in the Spanish Civil War, León Felipe was “convencido de que la literatura era un arma para la lucha social” (Pastor García 2012: cover) and his *Canto a mí mismo*, like *Voluntario en España*, “contiene elementos propagandísticos necesarios para persuadir al público del drama español” (Pastor García 2012: cover).

The ideology behind *Canto a mí mismo* is therefore, not only to make Walt Whitman’s ideals be part of the Spanish literature but also to make the public be aware of the reality about the Spanish Civil War from León Felipe’s perspective.

8. SINGULARITY OF LEÓN FELIPE’S IDEOLOGY IN ‘CANTO A MÍ MISMO’

Although León Felipe’s prologue stands out in the way the author transmits the ideology in his translation, all studied Spanish translators agree on the fact that Whitman’s poetry is unique in the sense that it breaks with the traditional rules of doing poetry. Whitman was the first poet to write prose-poems, that is, poems that do not follow any given rhyme or any systematic metric rhythm. In this regard, Borges defines Whitman’s endeavor as “experimental” in the sense that “[él] ejecutó con felicidad el experimento más audaz y más vasto que la historia de la literatura registra” (Borges-prólogo 1969: 8). All these translators recognize that Whitman is the epitome of democracy and that he is the greatest poet of all times that America has ever had.

Despite these agreements, each translation is different from the others in terms of style and ideology. Venuti (1995: 29) tells us that the ideology of a translation can also be found in the prologues rather than in the target text itself. This is due

to the fact that the prologue explains the principles that guided the translation, something that the translation cannot do because it is only supposed to be a rendering, not a preface to itself. The target text will of course display words and utterances that translators decide to use but it will not explain why these utterances have been favoured against others. This is therefore done in the prologue and, for this reason; Venuti (1995: 29) declares that the ideology of a translation can also be found in prologues in addition to being found in the utterances used in the target text. The following paragraphs give a brief overview of the ideological difference of the five translations, which brings to light the singularity of León Felipe's ideology in his '*Canto a mí mismo*'.

Vasseur limited his prologue to comparing Whitman with his contemporaries and said very little about why he embarked on translating Whitman's poems. It looks as if his aim was to translate for the sake of it, that is, to translate a great poet into Spanish without any strong reasons or any personal perspective to convey to the reader. The same happened with Jorge Luis Borges' prologue, which did not analyze Whitman's poems in detail as León Felipe did. The prologue by Alexander praised the American poet but it lacks impetus in motivating the reader to read it. The translator praises his translation as the best to have been published ignoring to mention and specify his target reader as it is stated clearly in León Felipe's translation. Moga's prologue to his translation briefly describes Whitman's life and his collection of poems. It also talks about his reception in Hispanic letters but fails to specify the target reader of his translation. It is for this reason that I believe that these other four translators, that is, Vasseur, Borges, Alexander and Moga, since they did not specify their target readers, neither could they specify their target culture as Felipe did.

In addition to what has been described above as differences between the five prologues, it is worthwhile mentioning the singularity of León Felipe's prologue in comparison to the rest of the Spanish translators studied in this work.

To start with, the first singularity of '*Canto a mí mismo*' is that the preface is divided into sections, namely nine sections unlike other prefaces from Vasseur, Alexander, Borges or Moga's translation. This structure makes León Felipe's preface appear itself like Whitman's 'Song of Myself', also divided into sections, in fact into 52 sections. The sections in the prologue of '*Canto a mí mismo*' are numbered from one to nine. In these sections, León Felipe writes about his translation, about Whitman as a poet, about the necessity to translate Whitman's poetry into Spanish and about the target readers for whom his translation is intended.

The next singularity of '*Canto a mí mismo*' is that the preface is also a poem. Unlike the preface from the other Spanish translations, this particular preface is a poem. Its style is very similar to the style employed by Whitman in his 'Song of

Myself'. The best example for this is the catalogue-like chain of verses, typical of Whitman's poetry. León Felipe does the same in section I of his prologue when, at the very beginning of this section, he writes:

cuando el soldado se afianza bien el casco en la cabeza,
 cuando el arzobispo se endereza la mitra,
 cuando el retórico saca de nuevo el cartabón para medir u madrigal...
 cuando el político y el sociólogo, el filósofo y el artista...

This reiterative use of "cuando" is similar to the repetitive use of "where" in Whitman's 'Song of Myself', section 33:

759 Where the heifers browse, where geese nip their food with short jerks,
 760 Where sun-down shadows lengthen over the limitless and Lonesome prairie,
 761 Where herds of buffalo make a crawling spread of the square miles far and near,
 762 Where the humming-bird shimmers, where the neck of the long-lived

swan is curving and winding,

León Felipe, just as Whitman did in his *Leaves of Grass*, makes a list of professions as he starts he writing the prologue to his translation: "soldado", "obispo", "retórico", "politico", "filósofo"...

In the eighth section of his preface, León Felipe uses the same Whitman's catalogue style saying:

¿Están los animales?	está la mujer,
¿Están los arboles?	está el niño,
¿Están todas las razas?	está el adolescente?
¿Está el hombre,	

The use of the catalogue style is a sign that León Felipe's prologue is a poem and it is similar to Whitman's way of doing poetry.

The other singularity of '*Canto a mí mismo*' is that León Felipe's preface is also very particular in its content. Unlike the prefaces from the other Spanish translators, he is the only one who frequently quotes long stretches from Whitman's poems. Almost more than the quarter of the preface is formed of these quotations. The parts from Whitman's poetry that have been quoted in León Felipe's preface are from:

section 18 of 'Song of Myself' quoted in section I of León Felipe's preface;

Con estrépitos de músicas vengo, con cornetas y tambores. Mis marchas no suenan solo para los victoriosos Sino para los derrotados y los muertos también. Todos dicen: es glorioso ganar una batalla. Pues yo digo que es tan glorioso perderla. Las batallas se pierden con el mismo espíritu que se ganan. ¡Hurra por los muertos!	Dejadme soplar en las trompas, recio y alegre por ellos. ¡Hurra por los que cayeron, por los barcos que se hundieron en el mar y por los que perecieron ahogados! ¡Hurra por los generales que perdieron el combate y por todos los héroes vencidos! Los infinitos héroes desconocidos valen tanto como los héroes mas grandes de la historia
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section 1 of 'Song of Myself' quoted in section III of León Felipe's preface;

Mi lengua y cada molécula de mi sangre nacieron aquí de esta tierra y
de estos vientos.

Me engendraron padres que nacieron aquí,
de padres que engendraron otros padres que nacieron aquí,
de padres, hijos de esta tierra y de estos vientos también.

verses from 'Poets to Come' quoted in section VI of León Felipe's preface:

Poetas de mañana, ¡levantáos! Porque sólo
vosotros debéis justificarme.

section 1 of 'Song of Myself' quoted in section VI of León Felipe's preface:

Lo que tengo lo tienes tú
Y donde yo suba puedes subir tú

section 19 of 'Song of Myself' quoted in section VI of León Felipe's preface:

La mesa está puesta para el hombre. Aquí está la carne para el apetito natural. Siéntate. Que se sienten todos: el malvado y el justo. No desdeño a ninguno. Que nadie se quede a la puerta.	La manceba, el parásito y el ladrón están invitados; y el negro cimarrón y el sifilítico también. No habrá diferencias ni privilegios para nadie.
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section 46 of 'Song of Myself' quoted in section VI of León Felipe's preface:

<p>yo no conduzco a los hombres ni al casino ni a la biblioteca ni a la Bolsa..... Los llevo hacia aquellas cumbres altas”. “hijo mío. Aquí tienes pan, come, y leche, bebe. Pero después que hayas dormido y renovado tus vestidos, te besaré, te diré adiós y te abriré la puerta para que salgas de nuevo”.</p>	<p>“Nadie, ni yo, ni nadie, puede andar este camino por ti, tú mismo has de recorrerlo. No está lejos, está a tu alcance. Tal vez estás en él sin saberlo, desde que naciste, acaso lo encuentres de improviso en la tierra o en el mar”. “Largo tiempo has soñado sueños despreciables. Ven, que te limpie los ojos... y acostúmbrate ya al resplandor de la luz.</p>
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section 47 of ‘Song of Myself’ quoted in section VI of León Felipe’s preface:

“Yo soy el maestro de los atletas”.

verses from ‘Salut au Monde’ quoted in section VII of León Felipe’s preface:

La mano alta y perpendicular
(no el brazo oblicuo ni el puño cerrado)
La mano alta y perpendicular”
“En todas las ciudades donde penetren la luz
y el fuego del sol, penetra mi canción;
y en todas las islas donde canten los pájaros,
canta mi canción.

section 48 of ‘Song of Myself’ quoted in section VII of León Felipe’s preface:

“Y aquel que camina una sola legua sin amor,
camina amortajado hacia su propio funeral”.

verses from ‘When I Read a Book’ quoted in section IX of León Felipe’s preface:

Cuando leo la biografía de un personaje famoso me pregunto sorprendido:

Pero ¿a esto llama el autor la vida de un hombre?
¿Y así escribirán la mía cuando yo me haya ido?
(¡Como si alguien supiese, en realidad, algo de mí)
¡Yo mismo sé tan poco de mi vida!
Sólo algunos destellos... fugas inesperadas
que yo me afano en perseguir

All these quotes inserted in León Felipe's translation are a sign of the indebtedness that the translator owes to the original work. The other translators hardly quoted Whitman's work in their prologues. This is specific to León Felipe's '*Canto a mí mismo*'. The quotes are inserted in the translation in such a way that it would not be easy to realize that they are from another text, so well that they are part and parcel of the translation, making it sound as another poem itself.

The prosody of León Felipe's prologue represents another difference in regard to the other Spanish translations. Its style is poetic. It is itself a poem while the other translations studied are only prosaic like in their style.

Another singularity of '*Canto a mí mismo*' is that the translator uses words and expressions related to the Spanish socio-cultural context. These words or phrases are, among others:

“¿es inoportuno, amigos y poetas americanos y españoles, que os congregate [...]”
(prologue: section II).

“quiero presentaros con verbo castellano, y en mi vieja manera de decir, a ese poeta de amor, de la fe y de la rebeldía” (prologue: section II),
No viene [Whitman] a repetir catecismos ni reglamentos, ni a colgarle a nadie una cruz en la solapa” section IV)

“Tu palabra '*happiness*' [Whitman] la ha borrado mi llanto”

Words such as “españoles, castellano, rebeldía, catecismos, cruz, solapa, llanto...” are commonly used in Spanish socio-cultural contexts.

From the above, it is therefore obvious that, contrary to other translators, León Felipe is the only one whose prologue makes it clear that his translation is going to target the Spanish people and the Spanish culture in Spain. The particular use of the words that are specific to the Spanish socio-cultural context of his time in '*Canto a mí mismo*', such as “mocetones” for “young men”, while the other translators used the word “muchachos” or “jóvenes”, is mark of the ideological singularity of '*Canto a mí mismo*'. As described previously, the idea of culture is closely related to that of ideology and, as a result, by specifying his target culture, León Felipe specified his ideological tendencies in his translation.

In order to make the reader feel that his translation is original (and not a photography of the original, since it is meant for the Spanish socio-cultural context) just as Ezra Pound put it, “[T]he translation of a poem having any depth ends by being one of two things: Either it is the expression of the translator, virtually a new poem, or it is as it were a photograph, as exact as possible, of one side of the statue” (Venuti 1995: 187). In this regard, Felipe (1974) makes use of his own expressions that invite and encourage the reader to see the translation as original and, therefore, making his translation a new poem because, as he puts it;

Porque es vuestra canción que vais a escuchar,
 El '*Canto a mí mismo*' no es más que una invitación
 al heroísmo que se hace al *average man*,
 al hombre de la calle"
 No habrá diferencias ni privilegios para nadie
 Apostad hoy por Whitman el heroico.
 Ya apostasteis ayer por Whitman el demócrata (Prologue).

In addition to these utterances that appear in the prologue to '*Canto a mí mismo*', León Felipe also made omissions and additions in his target text with respect to the original. Some of the additions come as explanations of some terms in the original text or are a mention of the new context in which the target text should be read. His omissions are brought about by the fact that he does not want to use in his translation expressions that do not conform to his ideology or do not fit in the socio-political context in which he wants his reader to conceive the translation. For this reason, some literary scholars discredited his translation arguing "que no es una traducción sino una paráfrasis, y una de las más libre que pueda imaginarse. Whitman está en ella totalmente deformado y así lo ha reconocido, por lo demás, el mismo León Felipe". (Alexander 1952: 15-16). To this kind of accusations, he responded saying that he could do whatever he wants with Whitman's text because "estoy en mi casa". He is in his house and, for this reason; he can change the original text the way he feels it good, to make it fit to his own culture, his own house. This explains why León Felipe made so many additions and omissions to the original text, in order to make it readable and fit to the target reader. What his denigrators are calling mischief becomes actually a tool that León Felipe uses to make his translation acceptable in the target culture.

9. DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

First of all, there is proof in the paper that the prologue of '*Canto a mí mismo*' is very particular both in form and content in comparison to the other translations taken together. León Felipe's prologue to '*Canto a mí mismo*' is a poem composed of nine sections. None of the other prologues studied is in a poetic form. All the other prologues dealt with Whitman's private and literary life while only '*Canto a mí mismo*' dealt with Whitman as poet.

The other proof for the singularity of León Felipe's translation in comparison to other studied translations is that the prologue makes use of some of Whitman's verses in its sections. In so doing, his rendering blends in with Whitman's poetry and he makes his readers feel as if they were reading the original work itself. No wonder one of the studied translators, Eduardo Moga (2014: 45), recognises that

'*Canto a mí mismo*' "se convertirá en una de las versiones más leídas de Canto de Whitman". León Felipe's translation is, thus, the most read in comparison to other translations of 'Song of Myself' into Spanish.

The other special feature of '*Canto a mí mismo*' is the language that has been used to compose it. León Felipe used language that is specifically drawn from the Spanish socio-cultural context. As one reads, '*Canto a mí mismo*', one realises that he/she is reading what some scholars have called "Iberian Spanish" (Zaro 2007: 116). None of the other translators used this type of Spanish and for this same reason one of the studied translators, Jorge Luis Borges, complained that '*Canto a mí mismo*' is impregnated with features that are typically Spanish.

From Borges' complaint that "las paráfrasis del poeta español [León Felipe] están impregnadas, deliberadamente, de rasgos españoles" (Zaro 2007: 119), the conclusion is that '*Canto a mí mismo*' is the only translation that had a specific target reader, that is, the people in Spain. Reading that translation requires the reader to be acquainted with the Spanish socio-political and cultural context because León Felipe uses many examples drawn from this context in his translation.

Another proof of the ideological singularity of '*Canto a mí mismo*' is that it contains many words and expressions, related to the Spanish Civil War so many that, in order to enjoy reading it, one must first be aware of the socio-political environment of the country in 1940s and thereafter.

All these results point to the singularity of León Felipe's translation but, at the same time, and this is what is much more interesting, these results point to the ideology of the translator and the translation itself. We all agree that no two translations are the same and among the reasons that make them different, is the translator's ideology.

It has been proved in my research that all texts are translatable but the kind of translation that comes forth, is a result of the translator's work coupled with his input to make the translation suitable to the target reader. In the case of León Felipe's translation, his ideology about the Spanish Civil War greatly influenced the translation he did of Walt Whitman's 'Song of Myself'. The use of expressions such as

"cuando el soldado se afianza bien el casco en la cabeza" (or Whitman)
"no viene a cargar a nadie una cruz en la solapa" or
"¡Oh, Whitman! Tu palabra *happiness* la borrado mi llanto" or
"viene a derribar murallones" or "a destruir cercas y vallados"
is an indication of the presence of León Felipe's ideology in his translation.

It is also important to realize that my research has proved that León Felipe's poetry before the Spanish armed conflict was different from his poetics after the conflict. His poetics after the conflict has been directed to the events that affected

the Spanish society after the 1936 Civil War tragedy and my research has shown that all the above is reflected in '*Canto a mí mismo*'.

Analysing other poems authored by León Felipe, one comes to the conclusions that poems such as "La Insignia", "Hay dos Españas", "España del éxodo y del llanto", and many more; are also a sign of the author's ideology on the Spanish Civil War. It is this same ideology that characterized the translation of Whitman's 'Song of Myself' into '*Canto a mí mismo*'. León Felipe has therefore interpreted the original text his own way and, as it has been shown earlier, interpretation is also one of the seven strategies used in Translation Studies to gauge whether a translation is acceptable or not (Lefevere 1975).

In the end, it is in the use of the particular lexis that was specific to the Spanish armed conflict that makes clear León Felipe's ideology in his '*Canto a mí mismo*'. The other Spanish translators could not have used that lexis since it did not apply to their socio-political context. León Felipe's translation of 'Song of Myself' is thus a translation that should be respected as such since, as Touy (1980: 14) states, it "is presented or regarded as such within the target system itself".

Having been written by using a lot of terms and expressions that are specific to the Spanish socio-political and cultural context of the 1930s and 1940s, León Felipe's translation of Whitman's 'Song of Myself' appears to have been ideologically motivated. León Felipe was "convencido de que la literatura era un arma para la lucha social" (Pastor García 2012: cover) and that his '*Canto a mí mismo*' had to take into account "elementos propagandísticos necesarios para persuadir al público del drama español" (Pastor García 2012: cover). The ideology behind '*Canto a mí mismo*' is therefore, not only to make Walt Whitman's ideals be part of the Spanish literature but also to make the public be aware of the reality about the Spanish Civil War from León Felipe's perspective.

Having seen that ideology is closely related to translation, future challenges would be to identify León Felipe's ideology in some of his other translations, especially those of William Shakespeare's plays. To those who are inclined to degrading other people's translations as substandard or inadequate, I would ask them to first study ideology in the text and the ideology of the translator. They will themselves realize that every translation is different and is usually meant for a specific purpose and for specific readers. If one is not among the specified target cultural group, he/she should not hasten to say that a given translation is not valid.

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