

**TRANSLATIONS IN PRINT AND MANY-HEADED HYDRAS:
A STUDY OF REWRITING IN
'*SEPAN CUANTOS...*' (1959-2013)**

LILI ATALA GARCIA

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School of Translation and Interpretation
Faculty of Arts
University of Ottawa

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Abstract

Book series are large and dynamic structures that allow us to reflect on concepts such as systems, rewriting, agency and materiality, while offering rich data to advance the history of translation. This research focuses on an emblematic Mexican paperback series called *Sepan Cuantos...* (*SC*, hereafter), initiated in 1959 and still ongoing. My overarching aim was to understand the transformation of translation practices in the series throughout time in view of the context in which it was developed and the agents that were involved in it. The development of *SC* goes hand in hand with the development of the publishing industry in Mexico. Throughout its lifespan, national book production has greatly expanded, affecting the demands of the market where this series has circulated. Additionally, *SC*'s history is inscribed in the broader dynamics of the Hispanic publishing industry, where Spain has maintained hegemony over the production of translations, and the language and ideology represented in them. In order to understand how *SC* related to this context, archaeological work was required. The questions *What was translated? By whom?* and *How were translations presented?* guided the analysis. My findings reveal a wide spectrum of approaches to translation in *SC*. On one side of the spectrum there is the series as a commercial endeavour, unconcerned with producing terse, *ad hoc* rewritings of foreign literature for a Mexican audience by favouring the repurposing of pre-existing Spanish translations and paratexts. This is translation in the age of mass production. On the other side of the spectrum, there are the sporadic cases of assumed agency, where the limits of the repertoire are challenged and where the opportunity to produce original translations and prefaces is highly exploited. There is no overarching translation policy in *SC*, and this gives rise to a basic tension between the homogeneity expressed by the series' format and the heterogeneity of the translation

and prefatory practices observed in the volumes. Focused on the disorder hidden behind the uniformity of these books' covers, this thesis explores the transgressive bodies in which translations can reach their readers. Translation in 20th and 21st century Mexico has been thus far studied from the angle of its most dignified and ideologically coherent products and translators. However, the less terse translation practices in *SC*, a highly heterogeneous product that embodies a lot of discursive tensions, cannot be overlooked. *SC*'s impossible combinations reflect how the hybridity that is characteristic of Latin American culture has touched translation too.

Keywords: materiality, rewritings, translation history, translation in the Hispanic world, translation in book series

Résumé

Les collections éditoriales sont des structures vastes et dynamiques qui nous permettent de réfléchir à des concepts tels que les systèmes, la réécriture, l'agentivité et la matérialité, tout en offrant des données pertinentes pour faire avancer l'histoire de la traduction. Cette recherche se concentre sur une collection mexicaine emblématique de livres bon marché appelée *Sepan Cuantos...* (SC, ci-après), lancée en 1959 et qui existe toujours. Mon objectif principal était de comprendre la transformation des pratiques de traduction dans cette collection au fil du temps, compte tenu du contexte dans lequel elle s'est développée et des agents qui y ont participé. Le développement de SC va de pair avec celui de l'industrie de l'édition au Mexique : tout au long de son existence, la production nationale de livres a considérablement évolué et la demande du marché où cette collection a circulé a changé. En outre, l'histoire de SC s'inscrit dans la dynamique plus large de l'industrie de l'édition hispanique, où l'Espagne a maintenu son hégémonie sur la production de traductions, ainsi que sur la langue et l'idéologie qui y sont représentées. Afin de comprendre comment SC s'inscrit dans ce contexte, un travail archéologique a été nécessaire. Les questions *Qu'est-ce qui a été traduit ?*, *Par qui ?* et *Comment les traductions ont-elles été présentées ?* ont guidé l'analyse. Mes conclusions ont révélé un large éventail d'approches à la traduction. D'un côté, cette collection apparaît comme une entreprise commerciale peu soucieuse de produire des réécritures *ad hoc* de la littérature étrangère pour un public mexicain et préfère recycler des traductions et des paratextes espagnols préexistants. C'est la traduction à l'ère de la production de masse. De l'autre côté du spectre, on observe des cas sporadiques d'agentivité présumée, où les limites du répertoire sont remises en question et où la possibilité de produire des traductions et des préfaces originales est fortement exploitée. En l'absence d'une politique globale de traduction, surgit une tension fondamentale entre

l'homogénéité exprimée par le format de la collection et l'hétérogénéité des pratiques de traduction et de discours préfaciels observées dans les volumes. Centrée sur le désordre qui se cache derrière l'uniformité des couvertures, cette thèse explore les corps transgressifs dans lesquels les traductions peuvent atteindre leurs lecteurs. La traduction au Mexique au XX^e et XXI^e siècles a jusqu'à présent été étudiée sous l'angle de ses produits et de ses traducteurs les plus cohérents idéologiquement. Cependant, on ne peut passer sous silence des pratiques de traduction qui s'avèrent significatives dans *SC*, un produit remarquablement hétérogène dans lequel affleurent de nombreuses tensions discursives. En cela, les impossibles assemblages contenus dans *SC* reflètent la manière dont l'hybridité caractéristique de la culture latino-américaine a également touché la traduction.

Mots-clés: matérialité, réécriture, histoire de la traduction, traduction dans le monde hispanique, traduction dans les collections éditoriales

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Résumé	iv
Acknowledgements.....	vi
List of Tables	ix
List of Figures	x
List of Charts	xi
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>1</i>
i. Materiality in book history and translation studies	8
ii. Book series as a distinct object of study.....	12
iii. A material approach to rewritings.....	15
iv. Sepan Cuantos' mixes and grotesque realism.....	18
<i>Chapter 1. Sepan Cuantos in Context.....</i>	<i>25</i>
1.1. Porrúa: bookseller, publisher and distributor	25
1.2. Culture within whose reach?	34
1.3. Sepan Cuantos' mission	44
1.4. Classics, paperbacks and affordable books in Mexico	50
1.5. A periodization as an initial approximation to the series	58
1.5.1. A Mexican repertory of classics (1959-1968)	60
1.5.2. Niche repertories (1969-1981).....	63
1.5.3. Production over selection: the entertainment moment (1982-1989)	64
1.5.4. The series recycles itself (1990-2013)	65
<i>Chapter 2. Porrúa's Representations of Sepan Cuantos</i>	<i>70</i>
2.1. Of systems, rewritings and publisher's series	70
2.2. Sepan Cuantos' catalogues	78
2.2.1. More than a list: 340 "Sepan Cuantos..." 1959-1979	79
2.2.2. Online book marketing: Sepan Cuantos' 2013 catalogue	93
<i>Chapter 3. Journey to the Center of the Series: an Exploration of Sepan Cuantos' Contents</i>	<i>106</i>
3.1. New volume output per year.....	108
3.2. A volume's afterlife	110
3.3. Genres	114
3.4. Authors.....	122
3.5. Languages	128
<i>Chapter 4. Translation in Sepan Cuantos: Unraveling the Enigma</i>	<i>146</i>
4.1. Questions of method	152
4.2. A translation collage	157
4.3. Original translations.....	162
4.4. Recycled translations	177
4.5. Sepan Cuantos' unnamed translators	194
<i>Chapter 5. Paratexts and The Multiplication of Rewritings</i>	<i>201</i>
5.1. The format speaks volumes	203

5.1.1. Dressing the part: <i>Sepan Cuantos</i> ' colour-blocked covers	203
5.1.2. What's in a name?	217
5.2 Prefaces	224
5.2.1 The importance of prefaces	225
5.2.2 The functions of prefaces	239
5.2.3. Original prefaces	245
5.2.4. Recycled prefaces	290
5.2.5. The slow disappearance of preface writers and prefaces	307
<i>Conclusions</i>	312
<i>References</i>	325
<i>Appendix 1</i>	342
<i>Appendix 2</i>	343
<i>Appendix 3</i>	344
<i>Appendix 4</i>	349

List of Tables

Table 1. SC's first 10 titles	60
Table 2. Contents of 340 "Sepan Cuantos..."	80
Table 3. Most prolific preface writers according to 340 "Sepan Cuantos..."	90
Table 4. Complete list of translators mentioned in 340 "Sepan Cuantos..."	90
Table 5. Categories in 340 "Sepan Cuantos..." and the 2013 catalogue	95
Table 6. Works included in category Ciencia in 2013's catalogue	96
Table 7. Fields in database for each volume.....	107
Table 8. Number of volumes per genre in the 2013 catalogue.....	114
Table 9. Works classified as Cuento y relato with more than 20 editions	120
Table 10. Authors with more than 5 volumes in the series	122
Table 11. Authors whose works in the series have more than 20 editions.....	125
Table 12. Authors according to ages proposed in The Western Canon.....	126
Table 13. Number of volumes per language in the series.....	128
Table 14. Volumes written originally in French published between 1982 and 1988	132
Table 15. Volumes originally written in English under category Literatura.....	135
Table 16. Italian works in SC excluding Emilio Salgari's works	137
Table 17. Languages in volumes with more than 20 editions	139
Table 18. Data set breakup	154
Table 19. Translation front cover credits in entire catalogue.....	162
Table 20. Original translations according to placement of translation credit	166
Table 21. Translators' professional profile	168
Table 22. Recycled translations according to credit placement	178
Table 23. Comparison of translation credit placement	183
Table 24. Volumes with more than one translation source.....	184
Table 25. Multi-edited recycled translations in sample.....	186
Table 26. Identified source for translations without a translator credit in SC	195
Table 27. Examples of translated and untranslated names in the series	218
Table 28. Complete list of preface writers credited on the front cover of SC accompanied by their credentials	233
Table 29. Function-based preface typology	242
Table 30. Preface writers with the highest participation in SC	247
Table 31. Volumes prefaced by María Elvira Bermúdez.....	274

List of Figures

Figure 1. Vignettes in 340 “Sepan Cuantos ...”	82
Figure 2. Vignette of vane accompanying epigraph	83
Figure 3. Example of a category with very few titles	86
Figure 4. Front cover of the 2013 catalogue	93
Figure 5. Entries in 2013 catalogue	96
Figure 6. Omission of information in entry	97
Figure 7. Example of contrasting information on inner and outer cover	100
Figure 8. Comparison of cover of the original edition of Garcilaso de la Vega’s translation (left) and the transcription of this information in SC’s edition (right).	191
Figure 9. Front cover of Diálogos de Amor’s translation omitting the preface credit (left) and Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo’s credit at the end of the preface (right)	192
Figure 10. Example of cover design of SC (until year 2000)	204
Figure 11. Front cover of first edition of La Odisea in the series (left) and front cover of seventh edition of El Periquillo Sarniento (right)	205
Figure 12. Examples of colour change in The Odyssey’s SC editions (1978, 1993, 2000, 2011 and most recent edition)	208
Figure 13. Examples of colour change in The Iliad’s SC editions (1979, 1990, 1998, 2012 and most recent edition)	209
Figure 14. Detail of Saturnino Herrán’s engraving on SC’s front covers	212
Figure 15. Current official badge for Mexican products	213
Figure 16. Penguin and Austral’s logos	213
Figure 17. Image included on all the back covers of SC’s volumes	214
Figure 18. Front covers including images after year 2000	216
Figure 19. Example of covers of Biblioteca de la Nación	220
Figure 20. 1977 edition and 2000 edition of Balzac’s Eugénie Grandet in Colección Austral	221
Figure 21. Example of SC’s 1969 (left) and 2013 (right) editions of Balzac’ Eugénie Grandet in Sepan Cuantos.	222
Figure 22. Paratext advertising Clásicos Jackson’s preface writers	231
Figure 23. Advertisement of Colección Panamericana published in Revista de la UNAM 1946	231
Figure 24 Image included on the first page of the volume Joyas de la amistad engarzadas en una antología	250
Figure 25. Front cover of Calman-Lévy’s 1951 edition of Journal de Anne Frank	292
Figure 26. Front cover of two Argentine editions (Editorial Hemisferio on the right and editorial ELA on the left) containing the same source-text and preface combination.	294
Figure 27. Two front covers of SC post-2000 editions of Ana Frank, Diario	295
Figure 28. Page following half-title page marking the beginning of the body matter	300

Figure 29. Digitized version of the first edition of Garcilaso de la Vega’s translation.....	302
Figure 30. Example of Muniain’s footnotes.....	306

List of Charts

Chart 1. New titles added per year in SC.....	109
Chart 2. Number of editions of existing volumes	111
Chart 3. Volumes with more than 20 editions according to their first year of publication in the series in relation with total new title output that year	112
Chart 4. Year of publication of volumes with a single edition.....	113
Chart 5. Genre distribution in volumes with 20 or more editions.....	118
Chart 6. Origin of Spanish texts	129
Chart 7. Works translated from French across time.....	131
Chart 8. Top 5 non-Spanish source-language inclusion through time.....	139
Chart 9. Preface credits on SC’s front covers across time.....	226
Chart 10. Volumes with original vs. recycled prefaces in SC across time.....	238

INTRODUCTION

As a researcher with a strong interest in the history of translation and the material vessels where translations circulate, my search for a doctoral thesis topic stopped when I encountered the possibility of studying translation in *Sepan Cuantos...* (*SC*). Like many other Mexican readers, I came across the volumes of this emblematic Mexican book series of classics¹ several times in my gestation as a reader. *SC* is populated by translations; it is ubiquitous across the country's bookstores and libraries and has been in circulation from 1959 to this day. With a little over 700 volumes, this series can be considered as a broad, yet delimited, object of study. Its development over the course of several decades would allow me to study translation practices in diachrony, discover unknown translation agents, and learn how *classics* were translated within a highly popular product.

Previously, in my academic training, I had the opportunity to study publications and characters whose cultural significance in Mexico, my country of origin, was well-established. The pages of literary history and criticism led me to the most renowned periodicals and national writers. Thus, I have studied the strong influence of French symbolism in Mexican *modernismo*, through the translations published in a lauded periodical of the late 1800s. I have also dug deep into the translation endeavors of recognized intellectuals whose names have long been acknowledged in Mexican literary history. *SC* is different. Although this publication is empirically known by many readers in the country, it lies in obscurity within the literature on

¹ I subscribe to the use of the term “classics” within the publishing industry, as a way to brand and advertise book series. Lise Jaillant recognizes that in the cheap reprint series of the Anglophone world “all kinds of books were presented as classics” (Jaillant, 2017: 7) and that “‘classic’ is a marketing category used to target readers who value advice on what to read” (Jaillant 2017: 8). Authors like Hammond suggest that in the context of series, “A book is a ‘classic’ almost wholly because a particular publisher says it is” (as cited in Jaillant 2017). In chapter 3, I discuss more thoroughly what this label means in *SC* specifically.

Mexican reading practices, and book and literary history. I knew this from my own experience, but a bibliographical survey confirmed it.

Mentions of *SC* in the existing literature are usually brief and part of broader descriptions of its publisher's (Editorial Porrúa S.A.) activities. In these short accounts, a very broad recognition of the series' value is granted. For instance, in the collective group of works *Historia de la lectura en México*, *SC* is portrayed as follows: "[...] la útil colección 'Sepan Cuantos...', inspirada por Alfonso Reyes, que para 1967 contaba con 73 títulos de autores clásicos, lo mismo griegos y romanos que de los países europeos modernos y de México e Hispanoamérica" (Torres Septién, 2005: 312). Here, the operational word is *útil*. The source of *SC*'s usefulness trope stems from its popularity in educational contexts. However, the following description of the series is more explicit in this regard: "Porrúa's famed collection Sepan Cuantos, a series of widely circulated and inexpensive paperbacks used in classrooms across Mexico..." (Sánchez Prado, 2018: 126). *SC*'s role in the development of national education is well-known by anyone growing up in Mexico in the past 50 years, as acknowledged by literary critic Christopher Domínguez: "Todavía los lectores de mi generación leímos por primera vez muchos clásicos en *Sepan Cuantos*" (Domínguez Michael, 2010: 2).

And yet, this series has been excluded from the lengthier reflections about publishing and reading practices in the country. Such neglect is mainly evidenced by its absence from certain historical accounts. Among the sources that better illustrate this phenomenon are *Semblanzas de Académicos. Antiguas, recientes y nuevas* published in 2004 by Fondo de Cultura Económica (FCE), where the life and work of several important contributors to *SC* is included. The work these intellectuals carried out for *SC* is accounted for, but the mention of the series is left out.

The omission of *SC* from this work is particularly shocking when it comes to Felipe Teixidor's entry. Teixidor directed *SC* between 1959 and 1979, but his biography² and bibliography in this volume fail to acknowledge it. This choice is noticeably distant to Christopher Domínguez' perception of the place *SC* has among Teixidor's work. In fact, Domínguez credits Teixidor for the creation of the series, and given the value he alots to this publication, he considers it Teixidor's major contribution: "Ocuparía Teixidor sólo un lugar exclusivo en la historia privada de la bibliografía de no haber sido el creador de una colección, la *Sepan Cuantos* de Porrúa, que ocupó toda una época en la crónica pública de la lectura en México" (Domínguez Michael 2010: 2).

Another work that conspicuously leaves *SC* out of its narrative is Ernesto de la Torre Villar's *Breve historia del libro en México*. *SC* is never named in it, not even in the passage concerning 20th century publishing projects attempting to approximate universal authors and general knowledge to Mexican people. In de la Torre Villar's account, only José Vasconcelos

² The biography provided of Teixidor is the following: "Nació en Barcelona, España, el 31 de julio de 1895. Estudió de niño en el colegio francés de los padres maristas y se fue muy joven a París, donde trabajó como traductor de obras españolas para la editorial Garnier. Durante su estancia en dicha ciudad conoció a Diego Rivera, y pronto se despertó su interés por México. Vino a este país en 1919, y en 1928 obtuvo la nacionalidad mexicana. Nada fácil fue al principio la vida en México para Teixidor; entre otras modestas actividades a que hubo que dedicarse, fue profesor de historia en la Secundaria Nocturna número 5; puso también un puestecito de libros viejos, denominado *El Murciélago*, en el antiguo Mercado del Volador. Consiguió, en fin, un empleo como administrador de la revista *Contemporáneos*, que dirigía Jaime Torres Bodet. Entre sus publicaciones, aparte de numerosos prólogos a obras de diversos autores, tenemos las siguientes: / *Bibliografía / Notas y reflexiones sobre la guerra que se tiene con los apaches* (manuscrito de Bernardo de Gálvez), 1925. / *Morelos, documentos inéditos y poco conocidos*, 1927. / *Exlibris y bibliotecas de México*. 1931 / *Bibliografía yucateca*, 1937. / *Cartas a Joaquín García Icazbalceta* (compilación), 1937. / *Memorias de Concepción Lombardo de Miramón*, 1980. / Mención aparte merecen las dos obras por las que es principalmente conocido: su traducción de *La vida en México*, de la marquesa Calderón de la Barca (1959) y, como culminación de su trabajo bibliográfico, las *Adiciones a la imprenta en la Puebla de los Ángeles* (1961; reedición UNAM, 1991), obra verdaderamente monumental que se ganó desde su aparición el merecido respeto de los estudiosos. / Tomando debidamente en cuenta sus destacados trabajos, la Academia Mexicana eligió como miembro de número a don Felipe Teixidor el 8 de mayo de 1980 para ocupar la silla xxxii. Desgraciadamente no llegó a hacerlo; el sabio bibliógrafo murió en esta ciudad el día 31 del mismo mes y año. (Martínez, 2004: 555)

Green Classics (more details on this in chapter 1), the state funded *Biblioteca Enciclopédica Popular*, the *Colección SepSetentas*, the books published by the *Comisión Nacional de Libros de Texto* (CONALITEG) and the publications by the Universidad Nacional (UNAM), are worthy of consideration.

Pasaron muchos años para que una labor como ésta intentara reanudarse. La campaña alfabetizadora que como eco de la de Vasconcelos realizó Jaime Torres Bodet, importa por sus logros pero no por su hondura cultural y espiritual. Tiempo después la Biblioteca Enciclopédica Mexicana que aportaba obras selectas prologadas por magníficos especialistas y vendidas a precios mínimos, trató de poner en contacto al pueblo de México con el saber universal. Este nobilísimo esfuerzo concluyó, y ya más próxima a nuestros días apareció como un digno esfuerzo editorial dirigido por Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, María del Carmen Millán y apoyado por Enrique Flores Cano, la colección SepSetentas, variada y valiosa con un sentido histórico y sociológico ya no tan universal. [...] En el año de 1959 el Estado creó la Comisión Nacional de Libros de Texto, encargada de elaborar, imprimir y distribuir gratuitamente, manuales escolares, cartillas destinadas a todas las ramas de la enseñanza primaria [...]. Esta noble empresa ha proseguido hasta nuestros días [...]. Abocándose igualmente a resolver el problema de los libros dedicados a la enseñanza universitaria, la Universidad nacional ha realizado notable labor. (de la Torre Villar, 2015: 112-113)

Although the value of the publications mentioned above cannot be denied, the exclusion of *SC*, the longest-standing publishing project meant to popularize culture in the country makes this overview very partial. The influence of the State over national publishing is considerable, but not all-encompassing. The view offered by de la Torre Villar not only leaves out *SC* but all the other private endeavors.

It is worth noting the value judgements in de la Torre Villar's citation (*nobilísimo esfuerzo, digno esfuerzo, noble empresa, notable labor...*). Through them, he links the quality of the described publishing products and their right of entry into cultural history. This appears to be extensive to other sources, and even to the work on 20th century translation history in Mexico,

where only the most distinguished translators and publications have made the cut³—a trend that I have also been a part of. Perhaps no other statement summarizes more explicitly the place of SC in a less dignified stratum of publications than the following, by Gabriel Zaid:

Y la edición que cité es la económica versión de *Las once comedias* de Aristófanes (colección Sepan Cuántos de Porrúa, p. 77), muy recomendable [...]. Pero todo esto (la información tomada de los diccionarios, las ediciones populares, los trabajos del mundo no académico) no debe ser citado, aunque se aproveche. No es elegante. (2012a: 278)

By studying this popular book series, I am opening the door to a less elegant Mexican translation history. However, this is a gap that needs to be filled.

Generally speaking, the history of publishing in Mexico during the 20th century, is still underdeveloped. Compared to what has been done for previous periods, the bibliography that focuses on 20th century Mexican publications is scarce. The presentation of the project Cultura Editorial de la Literatura en México (CELITMEX) that is part of the *Enciclopedia de la literatura en México* (Garone Gravier, 2018), not only acknowledges the few works devoted to this period, but confirms that among the existing ones, the focus has been placed on historically renowned projects such as the government's free textbook project, publishing houses such as the *Fondo de Cultura Económica* (FCE) and cultural phenomena like the Spanish exile.

El panorama de trabajos para el siglo xx es un poco más escaso, en cuanto al volumen y número de obras colectivas o miradas de conjunto, se cuenta en cambio con tesis –de distintos grados académicos y disciplinas– sobre imprentas, diseñadores, y géneros editoriales; también hay monografías de algunas casas editoras –por ejemplo del Fondo de Cultura Económica y de Siglo xxi; obras dedicadas específicamente a algunas colecciones célebres –como Cvltvra o las ediciones facsimilares de las Revistas Mexicanas Literarias Modernas–; las ediciones de la vanguardia mexicana –especialmente de los estridentistas–;

³ Important work has been carried out about translation in FCE and the influence of the Spanish Republican exile (Castro, 2018), in Vasconcelos' classics and in SepSetentas and FCE (González Kahn, 2013; Hernández, 2020), not to mention, about the translation legacy of Octavio Paz (Celis Mendoza, 2018; Méndez Hernández, 2016) and Sergio Pitol (Carrillo Ramírez Valenzuela, 2019).

estudios sobre los libros de textos gratuitos; investigaciones sobre el impacto del exilio español en la labor editorial mexicana; o trabajos sobre algunos tipógrafos y diseñadores emblemáticos del país. (Garone Gravier 2018)

Only one of the works mentioned by Garone Gravier offers a relatively lengthy account on Porrúa, SC's publisher. The work in question is the Master's thesis *La producción de libros en México a través de cuatro editoriales (1933-1950)* by Luis Mariano Herrera (2014). Despite its high value for contextual information, this thesis offers a broad view of Porrúa's publications and does not delve into SC in particular. Mentions of SC, as I said before, are common in the literature on Mexican publishing history and in literary criticism, but they tend to be brief and show that specific research about it is still pending.

Perhaps the area that has become more prone to acknowledging SC's merits is literary criticism (as evidenced by the testimonies of Christopher Domínguez offered in the previous pages). This is, however, a recent phenomenon, and it is often expressed along with an awareness of an existing hesitation to treat SC seriously. If the rejection of SC as an object of study is perceived in book and reading history through either a complete absence or superficial and quick mentions about it, in literary criticism the recognition of its secondary status is more direct. There is, for instance, Gregorio Monge's pushback to the common dismissal of SC: "Es un lugar común, injusto y pedante, descalificar los volúmenes de esa benemérita colección" (as cited in Esquinca & Quirarte, 2013: 23). But possibly no one has expressed and justified the value of studying SC as explicitly as Ignacio Sánchez Prado, a Mexican literary scholar positioned in American academia:

Y existe asimismo un canon de la literatura mundial en proyectos como la serie Sepan Cuantos, que ha publicado casi ochocientos títulos de todo el orbe en ediciones rústicas de bajo costo que siguen siendo a la fecha asequibles y de amplia distribución. La curaduría de esa serie de Porrúa, junto con las traducciones de las universidades y de editoriales contemporáneas que apuestan a la traducción, como Almadía o Sexto Piso, tienen más impacto en la praxis de la literatura mundial mexicana que cualquier fenómeno exógeno del sistema-mundo. El reconocimiento de estas materialidades nos daría una visión colectiva, móvil y necesariamente incompleta de la literatura mundial que, sin embargo, sería más rica que los intentos de sistematización que hemos visto hasta ahora. (Sánchez Prado, 2019: 73)

Sánchez Prado is concerned with the study of world literature, a topic that is far beyond the scope of this thesis. However, his admonition takes place in a call for considering the material inscription of cultural products (what he calls in the title of the article: “apuntes hacia una metodología de lo concreto”), which is very much tied to my focus in this thesis, as I explain in the next pages.

This thesis discusses the changing nature of translation practices according to the agents behind them and the historical context hosting them. These factors, however, will be explored against the backdrop of these translations’ material dimension; that is, the fact that they exist in the form of books, and books within a series with certain characteristics. My first guiding hypothesis is that the multi-faceted translation practices in *SC* are deeply affected by the series format. This kind of publication requires several volumes, allowing for a global and individual coherence –that of the series as a whole and that of each volume. The variety of volumes entails a variety of agents and, also, a larger span of time for publication, giving rise not only to diverging discourses and practices according to the agents but to the changing times. My second hypothesis is that despite the pervading perception of *SC* as a low-quality product, its enduring presence in the Mexican book market has made it an important actor in the country’s struggle to

democratize culture during the second half of the 20th and early 21st centuries. Thirdly, I contend that in view of the fact that this is a series of world classics, translation will play a particularly relevant role in it. The execution of the publisher's slogan—*Cultura al alcance de todos*—will be mainly undertaken through the translations, as they are the materials that have to be most adapted for a Mexican audience with low instruction levels.

I now present the main axes through which I look at this object

i. Materiality in book history and translation studies

This research draws from the importance given to materiality in book history (Chartier, 1994, 1999, 2001, 2006; Darnton, 1982) and the more recent discussions on the subject within translation studies (Armstrong, 2016; Bachleitner, 2009, 2016; Bassnett, 2016; Belle, 2019; Belle & Hosington, 2017; Burkette, 2016; Colidron, 2016; Cronin, 2016; Hou & Luo, 2016; Kosick, 2016; Littau, 2016b, 2016b, 2016a; O'Hagan, 2016). Book history, according to Darnton (1982) is the social and cultural history of communication by print [...]. [I]ts purpose is to understand how ideas were transmitted through print and how exposure to the printed word affected the thought and behavior of mankind during the last five hundred years" (65).

For a long time, translation's materiality has been ignored within our discipline. However, this is quite paradoxical if we consider how commonly we study elements that are inextricably related to the materiality of translation. Paratexts are a good way to illustrate this. Paratextual analysis is a very well-established practice in translation studies that indirectly

acknowledges the material configuration of translations (Batchelor, 2018; Borgeaud, 2011; Tahir-Gürçaglar, 2002). In his now classic study *Paratexts*, Gerard Genette, pointed out:

But the text is rarely presented in an unadorned state, unreinforced and unaccompanied by a certain number of verbal or other productions, such as an author's name, a title, a preface, illustrations. And although we do not always know whether these productions are to be regarded as belonging to the text, in any case they surround it and extend it, precisely in order to *present* [added emphasis] it, in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to *make present* [added emphasis], to ensure the text's presence in the world, its 'reception' and consumption in the form (nowadays, at least) of a book. (Genette, 1987: 1)

Paratexts then, are constant indicators of the fact that the translation (or text) they accompany exists in the form of a book. I emphasized the words *present* and *make present* because they link Genette's formulation to the more current work *Production of Presence. What meaning cannot convey* (Gumbrecht, 2004). In this work, Gumbrecht calls for the inclusion of materiality in the Humanities and challenges the "academic enthronelement of hermeneutics" (10). According to Gumbrecht, "Something that is 'present' is supposed to be tangible for human hands, which implies that, conversely, it can have an immediate impact on human bodies" (Gumbrecht, 2004: xiii). Translations present themselves to their readers through material vessels. Why then, has this aspect been so neglected? Within our discipline, a similar observation was made by Littau (2016b), who, following Gumbrecht, argues that the disregard for materiality in translation goes hand in hand with the tendency in the humanities to enshrine meaning, as "All that seems to matter is what is deep inside: that which the Germans call Geist – spirit, mind, soul. What does not matter is matter" (82). The contention is that materiality can have a role in the characteristics of the translations and also in the ways translations are received (experienced) by readers.

Unlike TS, book history has considered for a longer time the material dimension of texts. And translation has not been marginal in this field's reflections, as can be seen in Roger Chartier's (1999) observation regarding the potential of translations as sources:

... ¿cómo hacer la historia de las apropiaciones? Porque se necesitan fuentes para ello, y ese tipo de fuentes generalmente no las han dejado ni los Estados ni la Iglesia, ni los archivos 'clásicos de la historia'. Una manera de estudiar las apropiaciones la ofrecen las traducciones; éstas brindan inmediatamente, de una lengua a otra, el horizonte de recepción de un texto. Tenemos un primer elemento de la historia de las traducciones que es un elemento clásico de la historia de la edición: ¿cuáles son los textos traducidos?, ¿cuáles son las empresas que traducen?, ¿cuál es el medio de los traductores? (91)

The proximity between our lines of inquiry is undeniable and TS scholars are starting to recognize that there is a lot we can take from previous work done in the fields of book history and bibliography⁴. Bachleitner (2009), for instance, takes the model provided by Robert Darnton regarding the circuit of literary communication⁵ and supplements it with the translation element that it lacks. In her proposed model for a media history of translation, Littau (2011) demonstrates that the 'media context' brings important insights about the omissions found in the German translation of the *Liber chronicarum*, proving that preserving the visual layout of the page affected the textual meaning of the translation (271). Belle and Hosington (2017) also link book history's methods and concepts with a translational object of study in their research about printed translations in early modern Britain. These works provide encouraging evidence about the possibilities this approach can bring to our field.

⁴ Proof of this is the topic of the 2019 Canadian Association for Translation Studies' Conference: "Material cultures of translation" where Roger Chartier was a keynote speaker.

⁵ Darnton argued that all books go through a similar life cycle: "a communications circuit that runs from the author to the publisher (if the bookseller does not assume that role), the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader. [...] [The circuit] transmits messages, transforming them en route, as they pass from thought to writing to printer characters and back to thought again. Book history concerns each phase of this process and the process as a whole, in all its variations over space and time and in all its relations with other systems, economic, social, political, and cultural, in the surrounding environment" (1982: 67).

As a counterpoint, I would like to discuss a work from TS that could have benefitted from the material perspective. I am referring to *Translation in anthologies and collections*, edited by Seruya, D’hulst, Assis Rosa, & Moniz (2013). Despite this volume’s valuable contributions, such as showing the productivity of series and anthologies as sources for the study of translation, very little attention is paid to their material dimension. The fact that the authors make a very weak distinction between anthologies and collections is telling in this respect. The very choice of the term collection, instead of series, emphasizes the action of gathering texts rather than the different physical characteristics and forms between these objects⁶. The authors point out in the introduction that the terms *anthology* and *collection* are often used tautologically and interchangeably, which according to them speaks of the fact that they are “neighboring notion[s]” (3). The material element is brought up, only too briefly, when they point out that authors like Essman and Frank (1991) have differentiated them according to their magnitude: “an anthology is what you can carry in one hand” (as cited in Seruya et al. 2013: 3). They conclude that despite the difficulty of drawing borderlines between anthologies and collections, they “share notions of deliberate selection of (especially literary) texts or extracts from longer works, based on quality or representativeness of a wider corpus, and deliberate recontextualization in a ‘configured corpus’, which creates a new global meaning different from the mere sum of the meaning of its parts” (Seruya et al., 2013). I agree with their observations, but I argue they are

⁶ I wonder if this terminological choice is also influenced by the fact that the editors of the volume are not native English speakers. There is a notable presence of Portuguese researchers in this volume, and perhaps the more common use of the term *coleção* in their language, which also dominates in Spanish and French (colección, collection) affected their choice. However, this work was published in English, and although the word collection is also used with the same meaning, it is considerably less common. This is evidenced in the literature regarding this topic written in the Anglophone world, where none use the term collection, but series (Howsam, 1992; Jaillant, 2014, 2017; Neavill, 1981; Spiers, 2011).

incomplete. Series are a distinct product within the publishing industry with distinct physical and commercial features. According to Howsam's (1992) materially-oriented definition, a book series is "a named, sometimes numbered, group of books with a common theme, usually with uniform binding, and often uniformly priced, appearing under a general title" (5).

ii. *Book series as a distinct object of study*

The danger of ignoring the different material characteristics of anthologies and series is that it erases the distinct history and cultural meanings of these objects. Even though both objects have existed for a long time, the trajectory of book series in the West took a radical new direction in the 19th century, when important changes in copyright laws took place and the technological improvements allowed the industrialization of book printing, which in turn affected the form of distribution of these materials (Banham, 2007; Jaillant, 2014; Olivero, 1999; Suarez & Woudhuysen, 2012). As a result, the publication of cheap series (as Jaillant, Spiers and Neaville usually call them) started to become widespread. A change in format –from a hardcover to paper binding– as well as the use of pulp instead of rags to make the paper, lowered the production costs, allowing editors to offer more competitive prices. For the first time, highbrow literature could be at the reach of wider audiences. The incipient disputes over copyrights also led to a preference for classics, as they posed less economic and legal obstacles to publishers.

Consequently, world classics have been the most common content of cheap series. This might be explained by the savings resulting from the inclusion of works no longer protected by

copyright and by the fact that classics⁷ are safer commercial bets. Cheap reprint series had an important role in removing (to a certain extent) the elitist aura of books. In her comparative overview of cheap European reprint series, Jaillant (2017) identifies the quick adoption of the education argument to the branding of these products (8). She argues that behind the marketing of these series lies the “self-improvement ideal” that is central to middlebrow culture⁸. It is interesting to note that anthologies, by contrast, have not been associated with the massification of written culture, as they have been traditionally linked to poetry or short stories due to space constraints. The genre associated with these vessels has repercussions in terms of its possible readership.

Series’ sales methods have also been unique. Before the popularization of bookstores, series were sold through catalogues, by subscription to a Club, in railroad stations kiosks and even on trains (Spiers, 2011). Luxurious hardcover series were meant to be preserved and displayed at homes in the bookcases often included with their purchase, exploiting the potential of books as “signifiers of taste, affiliation, and, to use Pierre Bourdieu’s term, ‘distinction’” (Spiers, 2011: 4). In contrast, the lesser durable material of cheap series emphasized their potential for quick consumption rather than display. However, the possibility of collecting was still there. These series allowed a new audience to participate in a practice so far inaccessible to them, “by teaching customers habits such as book buying and collecting. [...] even the least

⁷ For a deeper discussion about this topic refer to Neavill (2011). An interesting reflection on the distinction between the concept of canon and classics can be found in Gumbrecht (1988).

⁸ “...the term ‘middlebrow’ is often used in a derogatory way, to designate a person or a thing that tries and fails to achieve high cultural standards. [...] With the rise of ‘middlebrow’ studies, scholars have used the term to designate the formal characteristics of texts with popular appeal and intellectual pretensions. Others think it refers more clearly to a position in the literary field between ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture” (Jaillant, 2014: 9).

well-off could afford to start a collection” (Jaillant, 2017). If the use of subscription methods implied a greater economic commitment on behalf of readers, the growing number of series which volumes could be purchased individually, as is the case of *SC*, gave audiences the choice to own them in their entirety or not. I believe this has a significant effect in that “new global meaning” that Seruya et al. highlight. The reading experience of a series can therefore be more fragmentary than that of an anthology, which is usually contained in a single volume⁹. It could be argued that a reader could decide not to read all the texts included in an anthology. However, the physical presence of the texts in the volume, keep the possibility open. Series like *SC* would be harder to be accessed in their entirety by a reader. For Mexican writer and literary critic Alfonso Reyes the effects of the material differences between anthologies and series are quite clear:

las antologías recopilan piezas más pequeñas, son más manejables, permiten mayor unidad en menor volumen, y dejan sentir y abarcar mejor el carácter general de una tradición. Las bibliotecas de textos en prosa son voluminosas por naturaleza. Es más fácil y posible tomar el sabor de la Antología de Quintana que el de la Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles o los Clásicos de ‘La Lectura’, las cuales por las dimensiones rebasan la escala del espectro sensible y donde, además, colaboran por necesidad muchos criterios y muchas manos. (Reyes, 1962: 138)¹⁰

Anthologies, it is true, have traditionally been devoted to poetry due in part to space constraints, an element also drawing it further away from the massification of culture. They are less appealing to the wider audience given the complexity of poetic language. Notwithstanding the significance of this consideration, I am more interested in the implications that the multiplicity of criteria and hands have in series.

⁹*SC* had 743 volumes (until 2013). The space required to store the volumes, the money it would require acquiring them, and the possibility to read them all, impose higher demands to readers. The situation becomes even more challenging if we think of the reading practices according to countries. Mexico, as I will discuss in the first chapter, is a country of few readers. Therefore, owning 743 titles is unlikely for the majority of the population.

¹⁰ This fragment belongs to Reyes’ “Teoría de la antología”, which was originally written in 1930 and published in February of 1938 in *La Prensa*, in Buenos Aires. The text was compiled in Reyes’ complete works in 1962.

iii. *A material approach to rewritings*

At this point it will be very useful to bring up a Translation Studies' concept that I think is particularly pertinent to this study: rewriting (previously known as refraction). Even though this concept is commonly used from a hermeneutic perspective, I would like to show that the material perspective could contribute to its exploration. It is important to point out that my push towards the materiality angle does not imply that I will avoid the textual/discursive analysis of translation in the way traditionally done in TS. My goal is to show that we can use the material perspective in a complementary way. According to André Lefevere's first definitions, refractions are "the adaptation of a work of literature to a different audience with the intention of influencing the way in which that audience reads the work" (Lefevere, 1982: 4). Interestingly, Roger Chartier describes a related phenomenon, but he calls it appropriation:

apropiarse es establecer la propiedad sobre algo y, de esta manera, el concepto de apropiación fue utilizado por Michel Foucault para describir todos los dispositivos que intentan controlar la difusión y la circulación de los discursos, estableciendo la propiedad de algunos sobre el discurso a través de sus formas materiales. Y existe la apropiación en el sentido de la hermenéutica, que consiste en lo que los individuos hacen con lo que reciben, y que es una forma de invención, de creación y de producción desde el momento en que se apoderan de los textos o de los objetos recibidos. De esta manera, el concepto de apropiación puede mezclar el control y la invención, puede articular la imposición de un sentido y la producción de sentidos nuevos. (1999: 90-91)

Even though Chartier's formulation seems more complete than Lefevere's precisely because it includes the material dimension, I prefer to use the latter's because it is devoid of the power connotations present in the concept of appropriation. Lefevere's original term, *refraction*, is inscribed in physics. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, it is, "the phenomenon whereby a ray of light (or other electromagnetic radiation) is diverted or deflected from its

previous course in passing from one medium into another, or in traversing a medium of varying density. More widely: change in the direction of propagation of any wave as a result of its travelling at different speeds at different points on the wave front.” (“Refraction, n.,” 2018). *Appropriation* highlights the intentionality behind this phenomenon, whereas Lefevere speaks more of a result of a certain trajectory and the conditions informing this trajectory. As some examples will show, it is hard to demonstrate the purpose of most of the agents involved in SC. Therefore, the complexity of the elements involved in the creation of the volumes of SC make steer me towards Lefevere’s terms refraction, later called rewriting.

I would also like to bring to the forefront the notion of *transmission*, that is very suitable to the object and scope of this thesis, and that could be used along Lefevere’s refractions/rewritings. This term, originally coined by Randal McLeod and rooted in textual studies and editorial theory focused on studying the variant versions of works, has been used by Colidron (2019) to show that “translations, after all, are variant versions of a work, and they, too, are transformed when transmitted. Transmission asks us in particular to consider material textuality as a co-factor in translation, concomitant to verbal or linguistic factors” (205-206). In a way, Colidrons’ use of this notion highlights the changes that a work and its translations suffer in their journey from edition to edition, something that becomes central on chapter 5 of this dissertation. This perspective brings in the material dimension that is lacking from the changes suffered by works as described by Lefevere.

Somewhere in the middle of Chartier’s *appropriation* and Colidron’s *transmission*, Cámpora (2017) uses the term *reapropiaciones* in her study of translation in Argentine series of the 1930s and 1940s. Cámpora describes the reproduction of pre-existing Spanish translations of

French classics in Argentina focusing on the editorial modifications they suffered in their passage from one printed vessel to another: “nos proponemos estudiar en este trabajo, la especificidad de las reappropriaciones ejercidas por los agentes de la industria editorial local” (Cámpora, 2017: 324). At the level of each volume, these concepts are very useful to my study, however, at the macro-level, Lefevere’s rewriting is more suitable.

Thus, returning to the broader notion proposed by Lefevere, a series as a whole, produces a rewriting. By selecting certain texts, a series offers a unique perspective of the world’s written culture. The series catalogue constitutes in and of itself a broad rewriting of *classics*. However, because series are made up of individual volumes, we can see in each of them the agglutination of different forms of rewriting which include the choice of translation and paratextual elements. According to Lefevere’s typology the most obvious form of refractions are translations, but they also exist in the form of: “criticism, commentary, historiography, teaching, the collection of works in anthologies, the production of plays” (1982: 4). The inclusion of prologues, timelines, glossaries, footnotes and anthologies sometimes carried out by different agents within the same volume, as well as the possibility to study the global way these rewritings interact in the series offers a good opportunity to study rewriting in all its complexity.

Although series in general offer a great opportunity to study rewritings, *SC*’s singularly loose editorial policy allowed the agents in charge of each volume to produce very different kinds of rewritings. This is a characteristic that goes hand in hand with the materiality of these objects. Anthologies are usually edited by one person or group of persons that need to present a unified discourse. In contrast, the global coherence of a series is given by its unified physical traits –format and design–, but internally, different discursive practices can be carried out.

The inclusion of texts from very diverse periods and traditions in *SC* is striking. The heterogeneity of the translation's sources is likewise obvious. Within the translated subset of works many different strategies are put in practice: translations were rarely produced specifically for the series and were more often reproduced from previous sources. The translations that coexist in the series (sometimes even in the same volume) date from different centuries and geographies, ranging in time—from the 16th century to the early 20th century—and space—from Spain to the Americas. This produces an undeniable linguistic heterogeneity within these texts, but more importantly, it represents very different rewritings of these materials. Something very similar happens with the paratexts. *SC*'s prefaces range from biographical, philological and pedagogical to brief action summaries. They also range greatly in length. The use of footnotes is not consistent, and where they are included, they aim at different purposes. This applies to the glossaries and timelines, that also have notably different scopes.

iv. Sepan Cuantos' mixes and grotesque realism

As I mentioned at the beginning of this introduction, *SC* has been long disregarded by academics. I adventure the hypothesis that this neglect is linked to its association to a lower stratum of cultural products. Even though he does not focus on cheap series, Spiers (2011) acknowledges their value in a comprehensive description of reading practices: “We urgently need studies of the work of many cheaper reprint publishers and their relationships concerning audiences and reading practices in many countries” (Spiers, 2011: 47). He adds that some authors have been warning about this for several years: “Wallace Kirsop drew urgent attention as

long ago as 1966 to the intellectual opportunities here, and to the necessities of gathering and bibliographically describing this material. He also stressed the great risks of continued neglect of popular literature and cheap reprints” (Spiers, 2011: 47). Jaillant (2014, 2017) without a doubt has undertaken this task, but her work is mainly devoted to the Anglophone world. Isabelle Olivero (1999) has done her part regarding French series. In Argentina there is a study about Editorial Tor’s publications (Abraham, 2012); Willson’s (2004, 2005, 2006, 2011a) comprehensive work on several Argentine series of the late 19th and 20th centuries, among which her reflections on translation in *Biblioteca de la Nación* stand out; Pagni’s (2011b) study about the translation of German literature in *Biblioteca Popular de Buenos Aires* and Cámpora’s (2017) overview of the translation of French classics in Argentine series of the 1930s and 1940s . In Brazil, John Milton (2002) studied the series *O clube do livro e a tradução*. Detailed studies about cheap reprint series—or what Cámpora (2017) called *proyectos comerciales de pedagogía cultural*—are, to my knowledge, non-existent in Mexico.

There is a danger in perpetuating what Juan Domingo Argüelles calls “una especie de puritanismo cultural que rechaza la diversidad e imagina un mundo perfecto (‘que funcionaría mejor’) sin feos ni torcidos” (Argüelles, 2006: 226). An attitude that is perfectly reflected in the panegyric written by de la Torre Villar (2015) to UNAM’s publications:

Hay que señalar que después de la aparición de las mejores obras de la tipografía mexicana efectuadas en la época de Vasconcelos, son las de la universidad las que presentan la hondura, la elegancia, el decoro tipográfico, la belleza que debe tener todo libro. Y, por otra parte, el genio mexicano se manifiesta cabalmente en los libros que salen de los institutos, escuelas y facultades universitarias. (114)

In this statement, there is an explicit association between the physical characteristics of books and the quality of the thought (or genius) behind them. Could it be that *SC* has been left out of Mexican cultural history because it is not considered an ideal representation of Mexican bookmanship? Are the common complaints about its format implicated in this series' negative perception?

It is thus important to consider the physical characteristics of this series. *SC* has traditionally been published in soft, rustic covers, newsprint paper, small font and double column. Even though as of the year 2000 the publishers eliminated the double column, it is still the trait most often used to describe it. Ramírez (2013) describes how *SC*'s double column takes time to get used to but he does not present it in an entirely negative way "...los estudiantes de los barrios compraban esas ediciones, por baratas y bien cuidadas, con sus páginas a doble columna, que al principio parecía maldición, pero conforme ibas leyendo, se volvía una comodidad" (Ramírez, 2013: ch. 6). However, a less benevolent view of the double column is more common. For example, according to Téllez (2006): *Sepan cuántos...* de Editorial Porrúa, una colección que goza de mala fama entre los lectores a quienes nos tocó la infamia de la doble columna". A similar negative perception associated to the double column is perceived in Dávila (2015): "[las] ediciones soporíferas a dos columnas de *Sepan Cuántos...*" (n.p.). Later, Dávila mentions again the double column and implies that it made the reading experience difficult: "Aquellos antiguos libros a dos columnas de *Sepan Cuántos* entorpecían mis noches de escolar jumento" (2015, n.p.).

Another physical element that is characteristic of *SC* is its austere cover design. The series' minimalistic color-blocked covers have remained a staple of its design. The top half of the

cover is a block of color containing the name of the author and title of the work, while the bottom half is a white block providing information about the author of the prologue and/or the translation as well as the publisher's information. Along with the simplicity that characterizes the covers of these books, there is the humbleness of the paper in which it has been reproduced. Because the series has been printed by various companies, slight changes in the paper and font can be detected across time¹¹, but for the most part, *SC*'s pages have been greyish and full of specs, revealing that translations were not the only thing recycled in this publication.

Considering these traits, *SC* cannot be considered elegant or beautiful, borrowing de la Torre Villar's adjectives. However, even despite some of the complaints about the double column, and the criticisms about its design, these concrete physical traits do not seem to be the culprit for this publication's ambivalent status in Mexican cultural history. There are other series that are not elegant or beautiful that are well-respected and valued by scholarship (like the *Biblioteca Enciclopédica Popular* and *SepSetentas*, described in chapter 1).

The biggest contrast I have observed between *SC* and other Mexican series lies, rather, in their logic and the symbolic body this creates. *SC*'s seems to be characterized by an openness and heterogeneity that creates tension with the very notion of a series (which suggests order and limits). Many of the series I studied to provide the genealogy of publications that *SC* is a part of, tend to have clear editorial policies: a mission that is usually expressed in the title and in a declaration of intentions. *SC* is not like this, it presents itself as a boundless universe. The form

¹¹ In the year 2001, several visible changes were introduced: single-column format, better quality paper, monochromatic images in the colored area of the covers, the introduction of the slogan "Cultura al alcance de todos", and a back-cover blurb. The texts, however, have been reprinted with no detectable changes despite indications of being 're-editions'. *SC* has not undergone the major changes that other book series similar in scope and longevity have, such as *Penguin Classics* and *Colección Austral*. In stark contrast with *SC*, these series have adapted their look (and content) to the times.

of the title of the series says a lot about its confines: “Sepan cuantos...”, where the ellipsis leaves the complement of the phrase unspecified and open. That which is to be known through the series is not named from the outset and therefore its catalogue can take any form (and it actually does). In this sense, I propose to compare this ellipsis with an open mouth willing to devour and regurgitate anything possible, in what is reminiscent of Mikhail Bakhtin’s concept of the grotesque body. According to Bakhtin “The grotesque body, [...], is a body in the act of becoming. It is never finished, never completed; it is continually built, created, and builds and creates another body. Moreover, the body swallows the world and is itself swallowed by the world” (Bakhtin, 1968: 315). *SC* includes a broad range of *classics*. It oscillates between canonical and popular literature, and between genres. Translation in the series is also continually shifting, contributing to this series’ grotesque features, if we consider that for Bakhtin “the essential role belongs to those parts of the grotesque body, in which it outgrows its own self, transgressing its own body” (Bakhtin, 1968: 315). This transgression constitutes *SC*’s departure from the *ideal* bibliographic practices preferred by critics such as de la Torre Villar (2015), cited earlier.

By talking about grotesque bodies we are entering the domain of the monstrous. I am aware that establishing an analogy between *SC* and notions like the grotesque and monsters could undeniably suggest a negative perspective upon my object of study. Asma (2009) explains that “the word monster once had a slightly less pejorative set of connotations but has now slipped wholly into derogatory” (15). However, it is important to have in mind that although monsters are often thought of as repulsive, they are also luring (Asma 2009: 5). According to Ambrose (2013) “much recent scholarship has begun to construe monsters in a less oppositional, less

stridently moral terms. The category of the wondrous has provided one productive avenue towards this end” (12). Indeed, the efforts to depict monsters under a more positive light are observed in Gilmore’s (2003) distancing from the simplistic negative use of the term monster: “People everywhere use ‘monster’ glibly to describe whatever they find loathsome, terrifying, or dangerous, so we should be specific. For purposes here, by *monster* I will confine usage to supernatural, mythical, or magical products of imagination” (6). Perhaps more visibly than Gilmore, Daston and Park (1998) underline the association of the monstrous with the wondrous by avoiding the very word *monsters* in the title of their work *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750*.

Although my work subscribes to the aforementioned nuanced portrayals, the word monster will not be avoided. Presenting *SC* as a wonder would seem like a euphemism, an erasure of the clash of negative and positive perceptions surrounding this object. Gilmore (2003) reminds us that monsters tend to be “grotesque hybrids, recombinations uniting animal and human features or mixing animal species in lurid ways” (6). Hybridity is a very fitting word to describe *SC*. From the selection of works in its repertoire, to the combination of translations and prefaces, unexpected combinations abound in it. By underlining these mixes, I do not intend to criticize this series but to explore a phenomenon that could be revealing of the context and system that birthed it. In this sense, although I recognize the negative in the monstrous, this work will attempt to lead to a recognition of the positive in it, reminding of “...the simultaneous lure and repulsion of the abnormal or extraordinary being” (Asma, 2009: 6) and emphasizing that “This duality is an important aspect of our notion of monsters too” (Asma, 2009: 6).

SC is a valuable object of study that needs to be described due to its undeniable role in the reading experience of the Mexican population. In this sense, this thesis shares the interest of the early work by French book historians¹²: “Rare books and fine editions had no interest for them; they concentrated instead on the most ordinary sort of books, because they wanted to discover the literary experience of ordinary readers” (Darnton, 1982: 66). Perhaps there are several Mexican publications where translation has been carried out with clear programs in mind and through very coherent translation practices, however, the joyful¹³ chaos that is apparent in *SC* is the one that many Mexican readers have encountered since 1959.

In the following chapter I provide a detailed description of *SC* and its context. Chapter 2 analyses two catalogues of the series. This self-representation of the series is followed by my own analysis of its contents in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 delves into *SC*’s translation practices. Finally, in Chapter 5 I analyze the main paratextual elements in the translated volumes and present them through the lens of rewriting and the grotesque, showing the ways in which the series “transgresses its own body” in its translated volumes.

¹² That is to say, the group of French authors like Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin that started publishing foundational texts within the discipline in the 1960 (Darnton, 1982: 66).

¹³ This adjective is in consonance with the terminology used by Bakhtin in his description of the carnival and the history of laughter, of which the grotesque is an important element.

CHAPTER 1. *SEPAN CUANTOS* IN CONTEXT

1.1. *Porrúa: bookseller, publisher and distributor*

SC's is a publication of Editorial Porrúa S.A. (referred onwards as Porrúa), one of the main private publishing houses in Mexico. This family business started off as a bookstore under the name *Librería de Porrúa Hnos. y Cía.* in Mexico City, in 1900. It was founded by three Spanish brothers—Francisco, Indalecio and José¹⁴ Porrúa—who emigrated to Mexico in the 1880s. Since its inception, it has become one of the most important bookstores in the capital. It is remembered as a place of gathering for intellectuals and a source of books for students. In addition to its importance as one of the first and largest dedicated bookstores in the country, for many years it has been a landmark of the city center. Daniel Cosío Villegas, founder of FCE, described his awe upon encountering the Porrúa bookstore as a young student, in 1915:

El otro foco de atención, este sí enteramente nuevo, fue la librería de los Porrúa. En Toluca no existía ninguna, pues los pocos libros que llegaban (catecismos, devocionarios, vidas de santos) se vendían en las cererías. Ésta de los Porrúa, a más de ser una auténtica librería, estaba plantada en el corazón mismo del barrio universitario, y físicamente era una especie de prolongación del edificio de la Preparatoria. No sólo, pues, vendía (y compraba) única y exclusivamente libros, y en lo que parecía enormes cantidades, sino que tenía una actividad que al parecer no igualaba ninguna otra tienda de la ciudad, así fuera el imponente Palacio de Hierro. (Cosío Villegas, 1985: 160)

The Porrúa bookstore is strategically located in the corner of the streets Justo Sierra and República Argentina, at the end of the Donceles' street, which has, for over a century, been populated by second-hand bookstores. In addition to that, as Cosío Villegas points out, it is located next to the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, the building that between 1868 and 1982 hosted the

¹⁴ José stopped being part of this enterprise in 1933. In 1935 he acquired the bookstore *Librería Robredo*, that became *Antigua Librería Robredo, José Porrúa e hijos* (Canales, 2014: 97; Pereira, 2004: 251).

national high school, *Escuela Nacional Preparatoria*¹⁵. It is very likely that the physical proximity between the bookstore and education institutions (the National University was at the time located in the city center too) shaped the profile of the Porrúa enterprise during its early years.

However, besides its role in providing books for the student population, the description of this bookstore's busy pace reflects the role it played in the process of making books accessible for the Mexican metropolitan population in general. Cosío Villegas compares the activities of this bookstore to those of *El Palacio de Hierro*, the most prominent department store in the city, showing books as a newly accessible commodity within the social sphere. The Porrúa bookstore's wholesale model, thanks to its very large stock¹⁶, was closer in this sense to a department store than to the small bookstores that had prevailed in Mexico up to that point. In fact, what also becomes clear in Cosío Villegas' testimony is the exceptionality, at a national level, of shops devoted solely to the sales of books, "pues los pocos libros que llegaban [...] se vendían en las cererías." (1985: 160).

It is important to point out that the preceding 19th century Mexican book culture was highly elitist. Not only were books not produced in the country, but they were also exclusively available in libraries, which in turn were only within the reach of the educated few. Thus, at the

¹⁵ This institution was founded as a result of the education reform brought upon by President Benito Juárez in the late 1860s. During this time, the separation between church and state was brought upon. Education was secularized, which meant that the federal government took complete charge over educational functions in the country. The *Escuela Nacional Preparatoria* (ENP) was founded as a way to structure high school education. The task was delegated to Gabino Barreda (a former student of Auguste Comte in France) who introduced positivist philosophy in the country. In the 1920s José Vasconcelos, who at the time was Minister of Education, commissioned several murals for the building depicting the revolutionary ideals. These murals were carried out by some of the most renowned Mexican muralists: Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, and David Alfaro Siqueiros, adding to the building's already considerable historic value (*Orígenes. A 150 Años de La Fundación de La Escuela Nacional Preparatoria*, No date).

¹⁶ By 1957 the *Librería Porrúa*'s large stock had sedimented its position in the market: "The firm not only has the largest stock of out-of-print and rare books in the country, but also is an important retailer of new books and a large wholesaler as well" (Peñalosa, 1957: 225).

end of the 19th century, “los libros transmisores de la modernidad eran de origen francés y se hallaban en las bibliotecas de los colegios de los estados” (Macías Cervantes, 2008: 213). Reading material destined for a broader audience circulated mostly in periodicals. The expansion of the spaces where books could be seen and acquired in Mexico took important steps forward in the first decades of the 20th century, and the role of Porrúa in this process is unquestionable.

Yet, despite the growing presence of books within public life, by the 1940s, dedicated bookstores remained an oddity in the country. In another essay about the Mexican publishing industry in the 1940s, Cosío Villegas reflects on the different places in which books are sold and bought and how this impacts the statistics. He touches on various definitions of bookstores and how these contribute to widely different depictions of the national publishing field:

La diferencia entre el criterio formal de clasificación de una librería y el criterio comercial del editor es tan grande que todos los editores mexicanos y argentinos coinciden en que la ciudad de México sólo tiene doce o quince librerías que compran con regularidad sus novedades, aun cuando sea en la cantidad mínima extrema de un ejemplar de cada novedad. El asunto tiene importancia si uno quiere juzgar de las cosas con un sentido más real y verídico, y si no, véase cuáles serían los resultados de esta disparidad de criterios al expresarlo en números: de acuerdo con la guía telefónica, habría en el Distrito Federal una librería por cada 23 000 habitantes; de acuerdo con el Instituto del Libro, una por cada 57 000 habitantes; y de acuerdo con el editor industrial, una librería por cada 134 000 habitantes (Cosío Villegas, 1985: 11).

The situation in the rest of the country was considerably worse, even when taking into account the most optimistic estimates. Using the same comparison, Cosío Villegas points out that from the publisher’s standpoint there were a total of 24 bookstores in the rest of the country (1 per 875 000 people). According to the *Instituto del Libro* there were 107 bookstores (1 per 196 000 people). Finally, according to general statistics, there were 159 bookstores (1 per 132 000 people) (Cosío Villegas, 1985: 13).

Since then, few things have changed. Bookstores remain relatively scarce in Mexico, and most of them are concentrated in larger metropolitan areas. Fernando Escalante Gonzalbo (2007)¹⁷ points out that in 2004 a total of 1453 points of sale were registered in the *Directorio de librerías y puntos de comercialización de libros*, by the CANIEM (Cámara Nacional de la Industria Editorial Mexicana). However, this count includes a wide range of commercial establishments that span from airport kiosks to department stores. A total of 606 bookstores are registered as such in CANIEM's statistics (Escalante Gonzalbo, 2007: 168). Nevertheless, Escalante Gonzalbo warns that out of those 606 only 366 are actual bookstores (2007: 169). Taking into consideration those establishments exclusively devoted to selling books, there is 1 bookstore for every 280 000 inhabitants in Mexico. Out of 366 actual bookstores, only 150 of these are commercially active. This means that the market is directed by only 150 bookstores. Escalante concludes that there is 1 bookstore for every 688 000 inhabitants in the country¹⁸.

Aside from the low number of bookstores in the country, there is a visible concentration of the existing ones in the metropolitan areas of Mexico City, Guadalajara and Monterrey, which together account for 54% of the points of sale registered by CANIEM (Escalante Gonzalbo, 2007: 171). Yet, Mexico City remains the uncontested centre for book distribution and consumption in the country, since it contains 37% of the points of sale and it accounts for 62% of national book sales (Escalante Gonzalbo, 2007: 170). In this context, *Librería Porrúa* has maintained its status as one of the main booksellers in the country. According to *Librería*

¹⁷ Although this work was written 13 years ago, it continues to be the most comprehensive overview of the Mexican publishing field in 20th century Mexico

¹⁸ Escalante contrasts these numbers with those of other countries in Europe and Latin America: "Francia, con 59 millones de habitantes, tiene 20 000 puntos de ventas de libros, entre ellos 6 000 librerías: una por cada 10 000 habitantes; España, con 42 millones de habitantes, tiene alrededor de 5 000 librerías: una por cada 8 000 habitantes; entre países más cercanos y con una estructura económica similar, Argentina, por ejemplo, tiene una librería por cada 15 000 habitantes y Costa Rica una por cada 27 000, sólo se asemeja a México un poco más Colombia, con una por cada 167 000 habitantes. En cualquier caso, la pobreza del mercado mexicano llama la atención" (2007: 169).

Porrúa's current website (which I last verified in the Fall of 2020), there are over 79 *Porrúa* bookstores across the country (*Conócenos - Librería Porrúa*). This number becomes significant when compared with other bookstores. I chose to compare it with FCE, (besides its centrality, like *Porrúa*, it is both a book publisher and a book seller), and *Librerías Gandhi*, another important chain in the market.

FCE's website reports 28 bookstores, of which 14 are located in Mexico City (*Fondo de Cultura Económica*, n.d.). *Librerías Gandhi* owns 38 bookstores, of which 17 are located in the capital (*Historia y Antecedentes de Librerías Gandhi*, n.d.)¹⁹. Unlike these chains, *Librería Porrúa* shows a greater presence outside of Mexico City. Of its 79 bookstores, 32 are located in the capital, whereas the remaining 47 are spread out in other cities. Although these numbers demonstrate that Mexico City is the most important market for all of these firms, *Porrúa* has a larger visibility throughout the territory. This is key because it highlights the material presence of the *Porrúa* brand at a national level. This company is not only important because it symbolizes one of the most long-standing bookstores in the country, but also because it is physically present in a wider territory.

Leaving aside the important facet of *Porrúa* as bookseller, it is crucial to trace its trajectory as a publishing house. Following the well-known model of bookstore/publishers that had been common in Mexico in the late 19th century and early 20th century (Macías Cervantes, 2008), in 1910 the *Porrúa* brothers initiated their publishing activities, although during those initial years their main activity was still book sales. The publishing house *Editorial Porrúa S.A.*

¹⁹ Between 2007, when Escalante Gonzalbo published his study of the Mexican book market, and the time in which I am concluding this thesis, a substantial jump in *Gandhi*'s bookstores took place, as he reports that by then, there was a total of 12 *Gandhi* bookstores, and 8 of them were located in Mexico City (171). The fact that in the lapse of 13 years this chain opened 26 outlets in the rest of the country shows this company's current expansion outside the capital.

was not officially established until 1944 (Pereira, 2004: 250). Since then, the Porrúa firm has been known for being a bookstore, publisher and book distributor (Gómez-Villegas, 2006: 235).

In general, Porrúa's publishing activities have relied heavily on two main resources: Mexican topics, and the production of books for school contexts. In the following paragraphs I provide details about each of these resources. One of the most distinctive features of Porrúa's publications has been its persistent bet on Mexican material. This trend can be seen since the early beginnings of the firm's publication activities. The first book published by the Porrúa brothers was *Guía de la ciudad de México* (1910)²⁰. After that, titles such as *Las cien mejores poesías líricas mexicanas* (1914), *Enciclopedia Ilustrada Mexicana* (1936), the series *Colección de Autores Mexicanos* (1944), and *Diccionario Porrúa de historia, biografía y geografía de México* (1986) would follow. Thus, Porrúa's catalogue evidences its adoption of the Mexican citizenship. Nowadays Porrúa's affiliation to Mexican culture is not exceptional. There are important publishing houses with a strong Mexican profile such as Fondo de Cultura Económica (FCE) and Ediciones Era, but these were founded later than Porrúa: 1934 and 1960, respectively.

Porrúa's pledge to Mexican culture since 1910 has to be weighed against the strong influence of foreign actors in Mexican publishing. French publishers such as Garnier and Bouret dominated the market throughout the second half of the 19th century in part greatly due to the regime's sympathy towards French Culture (Macías Cervantes, 2008; Peñalosa, 1957). However, in the same period Spanish publishers increased their efforts to gain control over the Mexican market (Peñalosa, 1957: 24). All in all, the influence of external agents in the history of Mexican publishing remains constant to this day considering the role played by Spanish exiles after 1939

²⁰ *Guía de la ciudad de México* (1910) was published under the name of Librería Porrúa Hnos. and printed in Spain. The second publication by the Porrúa brothers *Las cien mejores poesías líricas mexicanas* (1914) was the first book in their catalogue printed in Mexico.

(Pagni, 2011a), and by Spanish transnational publishing houses since the mid 20th century²¹. These actors have made important contributions to the country's publishing scene, but Mexican culture has not been at the base of their interests. Whether Porrúa adopted the Mexican stance as a way to position itself in the market remains unclear, but it is undeniable that this is the firm's most distinguishable feature. As Peñalosa describes, even during the first decades of the 20th century "One searched in vain for books inspired by the Mexican cultural milieu and which concerned themselves with Mexican problems" (Peñalosa, 1957: 23).

The second characteristic of Porrúa's publications is the production of books that are suitable for school contexts. Peñalosa (1957) and Herrera (2014, 2019) coincide in Porrúa's profile as an editor of textbooks. However, the house also had a strong focus on the publication of literary and legal texts. Although these topics could not be considered educational *per se*, the ways in which they were presented made them suitable for education contexts. In 1957 Fernando Peñalosa noted that "The works printed by Porrúa are quite scholarly, even its editions of Mexican novels" (153). Porrúa had a strong bet for literary material from the very start of its publishing incursions, and it would rely on this genre for the intensification of its book output during the 1940s (Herrera 2019). In addition to that, the inclusion in its catalogue of important titles of the Mexican canon has made it an important resource in school curricula, which has

²¹ Gabriel Zaid has summarized the data regarding Spain's growing influence over the Hispanic publishing industry after recovering from the Civil War: "En 1952, España publicaba 119 títulos por millón de habitantes, México 114. Diez años después, España había subido a 310 y México bajado a 101. En 1962, México publicaba 3,760 títulos, España 12,243. El estirón de España fue exportador y basado en traducciones. En 1961, las exportaciones de libros representaron el 2.53% de todo lo que exportaba, una proporción varias veces mayor que la de Gran Bretaña (0.81%), los Estados Unidos (0.50%), Francia (0.43%) y Alemania occidental (0.24%). En 1964, se publicaron en el mundo unos 380 mil libros, de los cuales 69 mil en inglés, 39 mil en alemán, 28 mil en español y 18 mil en francés. De los libros en español, más de la mitad (15 540, el 56%) se publicó en España. [...] España llegó a dominar el mercado de la novela traducida, comprando (a veces con anticipos millonarios) los derechos exclusivos para todos los países de habla española. Los editores en inglés, francés, alemán, italiano, prefieren negociar (y cobrar) los derechos de traducción con un solo editor, no con veinte, uno por país. Y los editores mexicanos no pueden ofrecer mucho, si no tienen un buen mercado interno y capacidad de exportación. La traducción de novelas, que es el grueso del mercado, le dio una posición muy fuerte al libro español, por su mayor mercado interno y el apoyo estatal a las exportaciones. Incluso el *boom* de la novela hispanoamericana fue un lanzamiento español, no hispanoamericano" (Zaid, 2007).

ensured its presence in nation-wide libraries. For instance, the popularity of Antonio Castro Leal's *Las cien mejores poesías líricas mexicanas* (one of Porrúa's first publications) is linked to the importance given to it by the Ministry of Education in the 1920s: "la SEP recomendaba que todas las bibliotecas tipo 1 (las cuales debían tener al menos diez libros en su acervo) tenían que contar con ese título de Porrúa, según consta en el *Boletín del Departamento de Bibliotecas*" (Herrera, 2014: 115). This shows the early and semi-direct interaction between Porrúa's activities and the education system.

To conclude this brief description of Porrúa's activities, I would like to touch briefly on Porrúa's task as a book distributor in the country. Book distribution is key in Mexico, where there seems to be considerable gaps between what is published and what actually reaches the population: "Se ha llegado a decir, con sarcasmo, que el Estado y las universidades editan libros y los esconden. Es algo más que un sarcasmo, pues lo cierto es que la buena distribución es un problema no únicamente de las instancias oficiales, sino también de buena cantidad de las editoriales privadas o independientes" (Argüelles, 2006: 141). Book distribution is the link that ensures that the work carried out by publishing houses reaches bookstores. As shown in the citation included above, the precariousness of book distribution in Mexico results in a lack of correspondence between the books edited and the books available to the public. Notorious publishing projects have populated the pages of Mexican cultural history, but insofar as they do not reach bookstores, their relevance remains relative. Adolfo Castañón (2012), an important figure in Mexican publishing, declared in 2012: "Creo que el gran desafío de la industria editorial mexicana está en la distribución, primero nacional y luego internacional. El mapa del libro en México es un mapa en movimiento, un mapa de descentralización progresiva desde el

centro hacia las periferias; sigue el desarrollo y la descentralización de la educación superior” (151).

A report on the Mexican publishing industry sponsored by the *Oficina Económica y Comercial de la Embajada de España en México*, reveals that book distribution in Mexico relies eminently on the State (Carmona, 2010: 29). A few publishing houses, like Porrúa, take on distribution tasks in the country. A combination of factors such as the broad geographical territory, the concentration of the markets in urban areas, the lack of bookstores and the low demand due to low income and precarious reading habits work against proper book distribution in the region (Carmona, 2010: 21). As much as 34.7% of books edited in the country are sold directly to the government (who in turn distributes them to schools through its own distribution channels), while 30% are sold through bookstores. The rest of the production is divided between exports, sales to schools, department stores, and *others* (23). In this sense, Porrúa is in a good place to ensure the distribution of its own editions. On one hand, it is one of those few well-established book distributors in the country. On the other hand, its books are well suited to satisfy the government’s demands, as “el Estado es el principal comprador de libros, infantiles y juveniles, en concreto la CONALITEG [Comisión Nacional de Libros de Texto Gratuitos], que es la encargada de adquirir libros para el programa ‘Bibliotecas en las Aulas’. Para poder optar a este programa es requisito indispensable que los libros sean editados en México por editoriales mexicanas (Carmona 2010: 25). In addition to that, Porrúa is also present in a third distribution channel: department stores. As the report reveals, “En cuanto a las tiendas departamentales, las más importantes del país son Palacio de Hierro y Liverpool. Los departamentos de libro de Palacio de Hierro son, en realidad, Librerías Porrúa” (Carmona, 2010: 26).

Porrúa's threefold profile as a bookseller, publishing house and book distributor have made it an important actor in the Mexican publishing scene. Despite its strong business-oriented profile, this enterprise has also tuned into the early 20th century national discourse that placed culture democratization at the centre of national tasks. Porrúa's slogan, *Cultura al alcance de todos*, and the Aztec Eagle warrior emblem (more details provided in chapter 5) that are present on all of its editions, depict them as national products for the people.

1.2. Culture within whose reach?

Historically, education and income have had a strong influence on reading practices and publishing. Peñalosa assessed in 1957—only two years before the creation of SC—the impact of illiteracy over reading practices and publishing activities in Mexico:

In a country like Mexico where there is widespread poverty, educational facilities are limited. Mexico is also virtually devoid of public library services. With little stimulation from school or library, it is little wonder that the market of books is limited to areas which have a sufficient number of literates, such as the large cities. [...] Three hundred years of colonial status under which conformity to established institutions was encouraged and a literate citizenry was considered dangerous could not help but discourage the spread of literacy. Economic exploitation was not held compatible with educational uplift. Literacy was for three centuries and more the privilege of the tiny minority. Yet even with the best of government intentions, such as prevailed especially since the revolution of 1910, the abolition of illiteracy is an extremely difficult task (1957: 30).

According to contemporary accounts on the same matter, this situation has improved in some ways, but generally much remains unchanged. Although illiteracy has been reduced, reading continues to be a privilege. As Peñalosa points out, Mexico's disproportionate literacy levels have historical roots. The profound divisions that have long characterized the Mexican population reached new heights at the end of the 19th century. Porfirio Díaz, the dictator that

ruled the country between 1876 and 1880, and subsequently from 1884 to 1911, pacified the country after a tumultuous beginning of the century. (The War of Independence, the Second French intervention and the Reform War took place between 1810 and 1867.) Yet, the *order and progress*²² brought about during this time was not enjoyed by everyone. Díaz' regime is known for having privileged only the urban elite and being severely oppressive against the rest of society. According to the census carried out in 1895—the first census in Mexico—only 14% knew how to read and write, and 38% of this population lived in Mexico City (Bazant, 2005: 206). Overthrowing Díaz from power and redistributing the resources in the country are often regarded as the main catalysts for the Mexican Revolution (1910): “la gran conmoción política así llamada con tal de unificar fenómenos y movimientos muy distintos” (Monsiváis, 2006: 6). Ultimately, what the people were after was equality. This ideal had an important effect in the cultural sphere, where strong efforts were made to fight illiteracy and disseminate knowledge. In 1910, 71% of Mexico's population still lived in rural areas and 80% did not know how to read and write (Bazant, 2005: 206). Consequently, “The new revolutionary government of Obregón, Calles and their successors [was] intensely interested in mass education, rural education, and the elimination of illiteracy, all closely interrelated problems in Mexico” (Peñalosa, 1957: 23).

A central figure in this context was José Vasconcelos, who was Minister of Education between 1921 and 1924. His belief in the importance of disseminating the world's classics among the entire population has been the subject of many pages in Mexican historiography (Garcíadiego, 2015; González Kahn, 2013)²³. Vasconcelos believed in the power of books, and

²² The motto during Díaz' regime was *libertad, orden y progreso*, an adaptation of Auguste Comte's premise: love, order and progress. Positivism was the main ideological force during Díaz' regime (Castañeda, 2002: 22).

²³ The weight of Vasconcelos in national history can be perceived in the following account: “Realizó la obra cultural más valiosa surgida de la Revolución, semejante a la de los misioneros del siglo XVI que construían escuelas, elaboraban cartillas y vocabularios en todas las lenguas indígenas para aportar la civilización” (de la Torre Villar,

despite persisting illiteracy, he focused his efforts in building libraries and enhancing book publishing: “Vasconcelos comprendió que había que transformar al país por la vía de la cultura, de la instrucción, del libro. Era necesario no sólo alfabetizar a los mexicanos erigiendo multitud de escuelas sino proporcionarles libros de todos tipos y también bibliotecas” (de la Torre Villar, 2015: 109).

One of Vasconcelos’ most renowned projects (at least from a modern perspective) was the previously mentioned series of classics published between 1921 and 1924, under the direction of Julio Torri, via the newly created Ministry of Education’s presses. These books are simply known today as *verdes* (due to their green covers) or *clásicos de Vasconcelos*. They were sold at very low prices and were distributed for free in education institutions. This project is one of the earliest attempts to produce books nationally with an aim of reaching the masses.

Vasconcelos belonged to the literary generation known today as *El Ateneo*²⁴, which was characterized by, among several other things, an interest to revive humanism through the study of classics. This was in reaction to the materialism promoted by the regime’s positivism: “El influjo helénico en el *Ateneo* es importante por el humanismo en el cual se sustenta la cultura griega. Así, el programa cultural ateneísta pretende incorporar al pueblo al saber y sensibilidad humana universal limitada por el materialismo positivista” (Castañeda, 2002: 31). While these ideas produced tangible results during and after the Revolution, they were gestalting well before Porfirio Díaz’ downfall. In 1906, during this group’s beginnings, some of its members—Alfonso Reyes, Antonio Caso, Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Julio Torri and Vasconcelos himself—held

2015: 110). The CONALITEG recently made available digital facsimiles of ten of the *Clásicos verdes* (<http://libros.conaliteg.gob.mx/vasconcelos.html>).

²⁴ According to a conference dictated by Vasconcelos in 1916, the members of the *Ateneo de la Juventud* were the following writers, architects, painters and musicians: Alfonso Reyes, Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Julio Torri, Enrique González Martínez, Rafael López, Roberto Argüelles Bringas, Eduardo Colín, Joaquín Méndez Rivas, Antonio Médez Bolio, Rafael Cabrera, Alfonso Cravioto, Martín Luis Guzmán, Carlos González Peña, Isidro Fabela, Manuel de la Parra, Mariano Silva y Aceves, José Vasconcelos, Antonio Caso, Jesús Acevedo, Federico Mariscal, Diego Rivera, Roberto Montenegro, Ramos Martínez, Manuel Ponce and Julián Carrillo (Monsiváis 2000: 969).

meetings where they read classics (Monsiváis, 2000: 985). Yet, their humanistic ideals were immortalized in the repertory of classics printed in Vasconcelos' 1921 series, in the midst of the Revolution.

Despite the notoriety of the *clásicos* in Mexican history, it was a short-lived and incomplete project. It was made up by 17 volumes published through the span of three years.²⁵ Nevertheless, it is remembered as a significant step towards culture democratization in Mexico. The project's large scope was unprecedented. In a brief note introducing each volume, Vasconcelos explained the patriotic value of disseminating translations of the classics:

Lo escaso y lo incompleto de las ediciones castellanas de los libros más importantes del mundo ha sido causa de que, entre nosotros, las personas cultas tengan que dedicar gran atención al estudio de las lenguas extranjeras, principalmente al inglés y al francés, y de que la gran masa de la población desconozca libros geniales. Publicar en español ediciones clásicas es, por lo mismo, una doble necesidad de patriotismo y de cultura (as cited in González Kahn, 2013)

Despite Vasconcelos' intentions, his use of the Ministry of Education's resources for the publication of books was seen as excessive. Contemporary critics in the press thought this project was expensive and useless given the poverty and low literacy levels in the country.²⁶ Commenting on Vasconcelos' projects, renowned anthropologist of the time Manuel Gamio, declared "These pariahs need, and need badly, not alphabets and theoretical postulates, but something which will show them to get enough to eat" (as cited in Peñalosa, 1957: 23). Strong criticisms also stemmed from the existing private publishing companies. The free distribution of

²⁵ Despite the plans to publish more works, the volumes that were actually published were: *The Iliad*, *The Odyssey*, collected works by Aeschylus, collected works by Euripides, three volumes of Plato's works, the *Gospels* two volumes devoted to Plutarch's works, *The Divine Comedy*, Goethe's *Faustus*, an anthology of Rabindranath Tagore's poetry, Romain Rolland's *Vies des hommes illustres*, Plotinus works and an anthology of Tolstoi's short stories (González Kahn, 2013: 154)

²⁶ For a more detailed account of these criticisms see Lía García Verástegui, 1982. "Proyección de la obra educativa de Vasconcelos en la prensa de su época", pp. 107-119. In *Encuentro de historia sobre la Universidad. Memorias del Primer Encuentro de Historia sobre la Universidad de México*. UNAM.

these volumes in schools and libraries—and the fact that in stores they retailed at a price below their production cost—was considered as unfair competition (Garciadiego, 2015).

Vasconcelos' series was not the government's final attempt to sell classics in popular editions nor was it the last attempt to *educate the masses* in the country (see *Labor editorial de la SEP, 1921-1993*, 1994). In later years, commercial publishers would also join the fray. Even though the number of readers in Mexico was low compared to that of non-readers, the market was not negligible. Nevertheless, Vasconcelos' work marked the beginning of the State's central role in the country's publishing activities: “no puede dejar de reconocerse que Vasconcelos está en el origen de todos nuestros intentos por acercarnos a los libros ‘clásicos’” (Garciadiego 2015, np). From then on, very little publishing would occur in Mexico without the State's intervention.

Many years passed between these *clásicos* and *SC*, but there is evidence that Vasconcelos' activities had a deep impact on Felipe Teixidor, *SC*'s director between 1959 and 1979. This Catalan emigrant arrived in Mexico in 1919²⁷ and initially settled in Orizaba, Veracruz. In his memoirs, he declares that he moved to Mexico City in 1923 to witness the cultural revolution initiated by Vasconcelos:

En 1923 dejé Orizaba. Había comenzado en México ese extraordinario movimiento cultural que encabezó Vasconcelos en la Secretaría de Educación. [...] incuestionablemente lo que a mí me interesaba era algo más bien intelectual, aunque no sabía qué. [...] me atraía vivir de cerca el fenómeno cultural que se estaba dando aquí, un proceso que valía mucho la pena. (Canales, 2014: 101)

²⁷ Teixidor arrived in Mexico as a young man, following a romantic idea of the new world, influenced by a friend's tales: “Dimas había estado en México. Me habló de México como de algo muy atractivo, completamente diferente al de ahora. Él había venido al comienzo de la Revolución y había trabajado en el campo. [...] Dimas me contó muchas cosas de México. Entonces el emigrante llevaba una vida muy austera, casi conventual. [...] Lo que me contaba Dimas me hacía pensar, imaginarme una vida en la austeridad del trabajo. Yo me lo pasaba muy bien entonces: era completamente libre, tenía dinero, cierta cultura, traspasaba todos los días [...]. Sin embargo, en el fondo pensaba que de seguir con esa vida acabaría convirtiéndome en un *play-boy*. La alternativa era ésa o el convento. Y escogí el convento o, más bien, el convento a mi manera, pues eso representaba América para mí” (Canales, 2014: 68-69).

Vasconcelos left a deep imprint in Mexican culture. Although his *clásicos*' influence can be felt in the general profile of SC, this statement by Teixidor confirms his sympathy towards the Vasconcelian project.

Vasconcelos' project attests that book production had started in Mexico during the immediate post-revolutionary years. Contextual factors contributed to the publishing industry's slow take-off. The social upheaval in the country, the Great War in Europe and the American army's occupation of Mexico's biggest port in Veracruz (1919) were an obstacle for importing the foreign books that had supplied the national market until then. It was during these precarious circumstances that national booksellers—Porrúa included—were pushed to become publishers (Cervantes Becerril, 2018). Although it would not be until the 1940s that the national publishing industry witnessed an unprecedented growth.

After the conclusion of the Mexican Revolution (ca 1924) it took several decades to stabilize the country. Political and economic stability were only attained in the 1950s, and the ideals of the Revolution became the foundation of a new national identity: “Se instauraba la etapa de la ‘revolución institucionalizada’; México estaba en el umbral de lo que parecía ser su consolidación como nación moderna, haciéndose más viables los proyectos de industrialización y crecimiento” (Torres Septién, 2005: 295). The country experienced economic prosperity. Education was prioritized in the national agenda. The middle class grew, and more people in urban areas had access to education, resulting in new potential readers. The publishing projects that were produced at the beginning of the 1960s ran parallel to these processes:

La Editorial Porrúa con sus series Sepan Cuántos y la Colección de Escritores Mexicanos divulga los clásicos internacionales y nacionales. Y otras editoriales se añaden en la década de 1960: Joaquín Mortiz, Era, Patria. La vida de las publicaciones se intensifica y, en la medida en que todo confluye en la expansión demográfica de la enseñanza media y superior, las editoriales son parte de la vida urbana. (Monsiváis 2006: 13)

External factors also contributed to the expansion of national publishing enterprises during this time. As I mentioned at the beginning of this contextualization, foreign firms monopolized the Mexican book market in the late 19th century. Throughout the early 20th century, the market was divided among French, American and Spanish firms. However, Spain slowly took over the Mexican and Hispanic American market, as “Up to about 1940 approximately 90 per cent of the books sold in Hispanic America were of Spanish origin” (Peñalosa, 1957: 27). The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) momentarily put a stop to this monopoly, making it impossible for Spanish publishers to continue as they had. Many Spanish firms moved to Latin America, where Argentina “took the first step to fill the gap caused by the lack of Spanish books” (Peñalosa 1957: 27). Although Mexico initially relied on Argentinean book production, it only did so very briefly. World War II imposed challenges on Argentina’s ability to import paper, ink and printing machinery from Canada and the U.S. In the late 1940s, Spain stabilized after the conclusion of the Civil War, allowing for the return of its publishing industry. These factors had an impact on the number of books produced and imported from Argentina, which, according to Peñalosa, forced the strengthening of pre-existing Mexican publishing houses like FCE and Porrúa: “With the reduction of Argentine imports, new Mexican publishing firms sprang into existence, many of them started by Spanish refugees. Older firms, such as Fondo de Cultura Económica and Editorial Porrúa, greatly expanded their operations” (Peñalosa 1957: 27).

During this time of expansion, the influence of foreign interests in the publishing sphere started being highly questioned. An incipient wave of nationalism started tinting Mexican publishing matters. For instance, in 1943, a group of important American publishers travelled to Mexico to meet with Mexican publishers. Their proposal was to start publishing Spanish

language books in Mexico. Mexican entrepreneurs immediately turned down the offer for fear that the US would encroach on the Mexican industry (Peñalosa 1957, 28). Shortly after, in 1949, Daniel Cosío Villegas wrote a widely-read article titled “España contra América en la Industria Editorial.” Besides denouncing Spain’s monopoly and the unfair policies that Latin American books were subjected to in the Spanish market, Cosío Villegas underlines the effects this situation had over the repertories circulating in Latin America:

Durante años de años los libros de la Colección Araluce ofrecieron casi las únicas lecturas infantiles a millones de niños latinoamericanos, la influencia, generalísima y preponderante, de verdadero astro, de Ortega y Gasset sobre dos generaciones de intelectuales americanos, habría sido poco menos que nula de no haberse contado con medios de propagación tan eficaces como las publicaciones de la Revista de Occidente y de Espasa-Calpe; la historia misma de América, la remota y la reciente, igual la de un latinoamericano de Pereyra que la española de Ballesteros, se hacía e imprimía en España; y no digamos las versiones a nuestra lengua de los clásicos universales, de los clásicos españoles mismos y aun de los de nuestra América; hasta en el terreno de los libros técnicos y científicos (terreno cultivado por España con éxito lisonjero), los libros que había en nuestra lengua eran todos libros elegidos e impresos en España. (Cosío Villegas, 1985: 79)

This testimony shows that the selection and translation of the repertories read in Latin America had long been in the hands of Spanish actors. By the late 1950s, however, especially after the institutionalization of the Revolutionary discourse, the creation of Mexican products in all areas, including publishing, became a priority: “Si se quiere que la civilización retorne, debe confiarse en ‘lo que el país produce’, y hacer del nacionalismo la ideología de la singularidad del país” (Monsiváis, 2006: 8).

The year SC published its first volume, 1959, marked a turning point in Mexican education and publishing history. The *Comisión Nacional de Libros de Texto Gratuito* (CONALITEG) was founded that year (Ixba Alejos, 2013). The fact that prior to the creation of SC, the publishing industry in general, and educational texts in particular, were under the control

of foreign publishers made textbooks rather expensive. This situation also left out Mexican publishing houses and authors from participating in their creation and content selection (Ixba Alejos, 2013). However, in the highly nationalistic atmosphere of the late 50s it was decreed that only Mexican authors could contribute to the production of the free textbooks that the government was now going to create and distribute for free among elementary and middle school students across the country, catalyzing a reaction against the monopoly already described (Ixba Alejos, 2013). The State's influence over the publishing (and cultural) industry became overpowering during these years, a characteristic that still persists: "Entonces como ahora, el Estado patrocina cerca del 90 por ciento de las actividades culturales. Oficialmente, la literatura, la pintura, la música, la danza, ya no son solo asunto de enseñanza sino de disfrute. Esta es la meta: que el pueblo acepte con placer el deber de la cultura" (Monsiváis, 2006: 12).

The textbooks published by the CONALITEG only focused on elementary and middle school whereas the materials meant to supplement education at higher levels were left to publishing firms. Porrúa had plenty of experience producing books that satisfied educational demands. During the 1940s this publisher inaugurated several series aimed at well-defined audiences in education contexts. The *Colección Jurídica* (1940) was meant for law students and professionals; *Colección de Escritores Mexicanos* (1944) provided annotated editions of national works difficult to access and became a staple among specialists, education institutions and libraries; the more specialized *Biblioteca de Arte* (1946) and *Biblioteca Porrúa* (1953) catered to researchers and universities (Herrera 2018). According to an interview with the current directors of the series carried out by Herrera (2018), the Porrúa brothers had a vantage point to produce books according to the demand they perceived in their bookstore. In the late 1950s Porrúa ordered from Spain a big shipment of translated classics in preparation for the beginning of the

school year. When the shipment arrived, only half of the order had been fulfilled. This suggested there was a strong need to start editing *classics* in the country, and thus, *SC* was created (Herrera 2018). *SC* was not the first series of classics to circulate in Mexico, but the position of its publisher in the field, its privileged triple stance as publisher, bookseller and distributor, has granted, I argue, its undefeated permanence in the market. Important foreign and national series and publications have coexisted with *SC* but hardly anyone has been as regular in the Mexican market.

The true market for *SC* and most of the books produced in Mexico is the educational system. Up until the 1950s, the illiteracy problem had not been solved in the country. The production of books was there, and the intentions to popularize culture, just as Vasconcelos planned decades before, survived, but the struggle to find readers for these books was ongoing. The 1960s—the early years of *SC*—were years of intense demographic growth where illiteracy still affected 37.8%²⁸ of the entire population (Greaves 2005: 339). By 1976 the Mexican population was of 60 million people, living mostly in rural areas that were hard to access and lacking public services (Greaves, 2005: 352). There were 6 million illiterate people and out of those who could read, approximately 40% had not finished middle school (Greaves, 2005: 352). Even though illiteracy had been reduced in the country, it still lingered: “En 1970 el porcentaje de población analfabeta en México fue de 25.8 y en 2010 de solo 6.9, sin embargo distintos expertos comentan que ese porcentaje permanece inalterable” (Ayala Ochoa, 2015: 144).

Even with the reduction of illiteracy, the access to education remains as the main obstacle in the improvement of reading practices in the country. According to the 2007 census, only half of the population (15 years and older) finished elementary school. And as little as 6% of the

²⁸ Numbers vary according to the sources. In Aboites Aguilar (2008) this percentage is slightly higher: 45%.

population reported having books at home (Escalante Gonzalbo, 2007: 153). There is a low proportion of readers in the country. And for many, the school is the only context in which reading will happen. The fact that there are very few libraries in the country²⁹ and that bookstores are concentrated in the bigger cities—mostly in the capital—aggravates the problem (Argüelles, 2006: 88-89; Escalante Gonzalbo, 2007: 167-168).

Despite this situation, the Mexican book market is not negligible. In 2018 the Mexican population came up to 126.2 million, which means that despite the low percentage of readers, publishers still can sustain their activities. As a publisher, Porrúa has learned how to exploit the educational market. As a bookseller and distributor, its growth outside Mexico City has positioned it as an important game-player at a national scale. This is an unusual case in the context of Mexican private publishers, considering that the structure sustaining reading practices in Mexico is “básicamente elitista, mínima y [...] bastante precaria” (Escalante Gonzalbo, 2007: 153).

1.3. Sepan Cuantos' *mission*

As I stated in the previous section, *SC* arose in 1959 due to the perceived demand for editions of *classics*. Printing these books in Mexico instead of importing them from Spain, ensured *Librería Porrúa's* supply at the start of the school year and potentially allowed it to offer books at lower prices. The addition of introductions and notes enhanced these editions' pedagogical value and their local perspective. In this sense, Porrúa's publications' longstanding Mexican and pedagogical scope was carried forward.

²⁹ According to Escalante Gonzalbo (2007), the distribution of libraries in the country follows closely the patterns already discussed for bookstores. 10% of the country's municipalities do not have libraries; 50% only have one library, whereas 1% has more than twenty. The disproportion is visible. (157).

SC is often considered Porrúa's most successful publication (Castro & Zaslavsky, 2013; Monsiváis, 2006; Pereira, 2004; Torres Septién, 2005). This series is most often described as a series of *classics*, e.g. “posee un catálogo de 747 [sic] obras clásicas de todos los tiempos” (Aguilar Sosa, 2015). Another common characterization of the series revolves around its broadness, e.g.: “incluyen las grandes obras de la literatura universal, así como biografías, ensayos, epístolas, documentos históricos y obras de política, entre otros temas” (Espinosa, 2005). *SC*'s catalogue covers literary, philosophical, biographical, historic, scientific and religious texts. It belongs to a genealogy of encyclopedic series that aim at representing a broad terrain of the world's cultural production that is heavily based on translations. Translation comprises more than 50% of this catalogue: 413 volumes out of the 743 that made up the series until 2013, contain translations³⁰.

There is very scarce paratextual information declaring *SC*'s purpose and scope. The slogan *Cultura al alcance de todos* that was included on *SC*'s back covers after 2001 is the firm's slogan and does not belong to this project specifically. The phrase “‘*Sepan Cuantos...*’ Los que leen, gozan; los que estudian, aprenden” signed by Ángel María Garibay that is included at the end of some volumes ties the series to the promotion of reading and education in the country. However, this paratext is not included in all of the series' volumes. The only first-hand and lengthier exposition of the series' mission I was able to find was published in 1979, in the prologue to the catalogue commemorating its 20th anniversary. In it, Francisco and José Antonio Pérez Porrúa, the heirs of the Porrúa enterprise at the time, stated that *SC*'s mission was to

³⁰ This number includes all the volumes containing translations in the series but not all of them are solely translations. There are, for instance, monographic works like *Historia de la literatura náhuatl* (1992) written mainly in Spanish but including a number of translated fragments as examples. There are also thematic anthologies like *Fábulas* (1962), made up by both translated and non-translated texts. Modernized versions of Spanish Medieval literature, are also taken into account.

dar a un público medio los títulos solicitados con más frecuencia y los más difíciles de obtener. O sea, obras cimienta de ilustración. [...] Prologadas por distinguidos hombres de letras mexicanos, a quienes acompañarían también otros escritores de diversas nacionalidades; presentadas con austera dignidad tipográfica y a precios venales al alcance de muchos. (Pérez Porrúa & Pérez Porrúa, 1979: 6)

Disseminating culture through cheap editions was this project's motor. In this regard, the inclusion of prefaces, and the series' low prices would be instrumental.

In an earlier epitext that was included in the 1970 *Boletín bibliográfico mexicano*, a slightly different mission of the series is expressed: "La Colección 'Sepan Cuantos...' ofrece una diversidad impuesta por el deseo de hacer llegar a los lectores obras de esparcimiento, y de muchas otras que enriquecen nuestros conocimientos. / Es una de las tareas más arduas de un editor consciente de su responsabilidad en la propagación de la cultura, satisfacer a multitud de paladares" ("Sepan Cuantos...", 1970: 432). Although in this account, the purpose to disseminate culture is explicitly mentioned, there is also a recognition of the diversity of the repertoire and the large place given in it to entertainment material. Works meant to educate are relegated to a second place in this text (See Appendix 1).

Although these books' prices have changed throughout the years and vary depending on the volume, SC has always been characterized by its affordability. For instance, the latest edition of Homer's *Iliad* in the series costs \$99 Mexican pesos (\$5.89 CAD)³¹, according to *Librería Porrúa's* website. SC's highly competitive prices are one of the main reasons for its popularity. Some clues about its reach are found in the number of runs, re-editions and reprints for each volume. According to the information included in some of the volume's colophon, there were runs of 5,000, 10,000 and 20,000 copies. In one case I found a run of 50,000 copies (in the 1988

³¹ To put this in perspective, the price of foreign paperback editions of this work currently sold in Mexico range between \$200 and \$300 MXN: \$247.00 MXN, Biblioteca Edaf (Spain); \$208.00 MXN, Colección Austral by Espasa-Calpe (Spain), \$360.00 MXN, Editorial Biblok (Spain); \$309.00 MXN, Penguin Clásicos.

re-edition of Sophocles' *Las siete tragedias*), which is extraordinary. According to Herrera (2018), the minimum run for a volume in *SC* was 5,000 copies. In Porrúa's previous collections, the usual runs were of approximately 2,000 copies, which shows that *SC* was aimed at a larger audience. Runs of 10,000 copies started being printed in the 1970s, and after that, a few volumes would reach 50,000 copies (Zamorano, 2018), which confirms my own observations. Reprint and re-edition data shows that these large runs have been insufficient over the years. There are volumes with as many as 37 re-editions according to the series 2013 catalogue (detailed information is provided in Chapter 3).

Although *SC* has indeed been concerned with fulfilling the needs of Mexican readers, it is known that these volumes have traveled beyond national borders. The epigraph selected for the aforementioned 1979 catalogue shows that the firm had international aspirations for this Mexican product: "Quisiera yo que los ayres de México bolaran por todo el mundo... (Dávila Padilla, siglo XVI)" (Pérez Porrúa & Pérez Porrúa, 1979: 2). In the introduction of the catalogue, the firm's directors state that despite their pride in knowing that *SC* was sold outside of Mexico, national readers remained their main concern:

'Sepan Cuantos...' viaja por los cuatro puntos cardinales. Y no es jactancia. Sin embargo, nuestra más íntima satisfacción es ver sus títulos en las manos de tantos mexicanos, no sólo en las grandes ciudades, sino, y esto es nuestra mayor alegría, en las de aquéllos esparcidos en la majestuosa dimensión del país, los más necesitados, sin duda, en su modestia, del pan del libro. (Pérez Porrúa & Pérez Porrúa, 1979: 6)

This intervention emphasizes Editorial Porrúa's acknowledgement of the series' social function and is highly reminiscent of the Vasconcelian ideals I have already discussed.

Perhaps the most revelatory paratext about any series' scope is its title. But despite the apparent simplicity of the name *Sepan Cuantos...* its sense is not entirely transparent. A brief

clarification about the origins of the title was included in the second volume of the series, Homer's *Iliad*, prefaced by Mexican writer Alfonso Reyes:

La última vez que don Alfonso tuvo comunicación con esta Editorial, nos preguntó el nombre de la colección en donde iba a aparecer *La Iliada*, de Homero, que acababa de prologar para nosotros. Le contestamos que, en la misma, pero aún sin bautizar, en la que había salido como primer título *El periquillo sarniento*, de Lizardi. Don Alfonso, con la fantasía de la inteligencia y con el impulso al cual se rendía con tanto gozo cuando le ayudaba a servir a sus amigos, lanzó un nombre: "Sepan Cuantos...". Reconocimos la originalidad, y nos gustó mayormente por lo que tenía de un principio de pregón. Más no muy inclinados al simbolismo para denominar la serie de publicaciones de la Casa (llanamente dichas: Colección de Escritores Mexicanos y Biblioteca Porrúa) archivamos la sugestión del eximio escritor. Agradable anécdota que de este género no suelen ser demasiadas en la vida cotidiana de unos editores. / Muy pocos días después moría don Alfonso Reyes y el prólogo a *La Iliada* se convertía en trabajo póstumo. Recordamos entonces aquel "Sepan Cuantos...". Era nuestro deseo que el símbolo se nos apareciera ahora con suficiente claridad para estamparlo en letras de molde. Acudiendo no al oficial Diccionario, sino al *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, dimos con la voz *Pregón*. Así la define el siempre obsequioso Covarrubias: 'La promulgación de alguna cosa que conviene que se publique y venga a noticia de todos'. [...] A su memoria, "Sepan Cuantos..." será el nombre de la colección. No hubiera podido nunca presentarse ante el público con más preciada fe de bautismo ("Justificación Del Nombre," 1979: 9)

Thus, for the sake of paying tribute to Reyes, one of Mexico's more revered intellectuals, the house avoided the more direct and descriptive titles it had given to its previous series. Yet the fragment above shows that the name was not immediately intelligible to the publishers, who state that they liked it because of its street cry (*pregón*) tints. The remoteness of this referent to the publishers is revealed by their need to dig deeper into the meaning of the phrase. Their marked choice to consult Covarrubias' *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1611), and not a regular dictionary, shows their awareness of the datedness of the phrase *Sepan Cuantos* and the notion of the street cry. After confirming the affinity between their mission for the series and the meaning

of the word *Pregón* as: ‘La promulgación de alguna cosa que conviene se publique y venga a noticia de todos’, and moved by Reyes’ sudden death, the quest for a series’ name was settled.

In fact, *Sepan cuantos esta carta vieren* or *Sepan cuantos esto leyeren* was a common formula in old Spanish legal documents, letters and communications. In Mexican history, this formula is quite ubiquitous among colonial documents. See, for instance, the following letter penned by Hernán Cortés: “Sepan cuantos esta carta vieren, como yo Hernando Cortés, capitán general e justicia mayor de la Nueva España del Mar Océano...” (in García Icazbalceta, 1980). Even so, Porrúa’s inclination to circumscribe the origins of this phrase to the oral tradition of a proclamation or a street cry, is better suited with the popular profile of the series. In this sense, the name of the series is an open call for the great audience to take a peek into its contents, to come in contact with knowledge. (For an extended explanation on this subject refer to Appendix 2)

Nevertheless, to most 20th and 21st century readers, unfamiliar with old street cries and archaic introductory formulas, the name “Sepan cuantos...” might not be quite transparent. The above cited name justification is not reproduced in *SC*’s more recent editions of the *Iliad*. Therefore, the name *Sepan Cuantos* is simply stamped at the left bottom corner of the volume’s front cover, with its vexing simplicity. I qualify it as vexing not only because of the oddity of the phrase in modern Spanish, but for its presentation with the ellipsis. Two things are clear: the concept of knowledge (*Sepan*, from the Spanish verb *saber*, to know) associated with an unspecified plurality (*Cuantos*, a relative adjective), but the missing complement of the phrase evidenced by the ellipsis begs the questions: who exactly should know? what is to be known? This is an open-ended invitation to a universe that resists strict definitions for the contemporary readerships.

1.4. *Classics, paperbacks and affordable books in Mexico*

SC is not the first series of affordable books ever to circulate in Mexico. As I already discussed, Vasconcelos' *clásicos* are an important precedent in the lineage of classics series' in the country. And before it, there was *Colección Cvltvra. Selección de buenos autores antiguos y modernos*, published between 1916 and 1923. This privately funded publishing project was founded and directed by Julio Torri and Agustín Loera Chávez. It was published in small soft-covered booklets and consisted of a total of 87 titles sold mainly through the mail by a subscription method but also in some of the country's main bookstores. Its repertory reflected the program set forth by the office of *Instrucción Pública* (the ministry that preceded SEP), that strived to provide a popular audience with a well-curated selection of literature. This project reacted to the *bad literature* that was published in the newspapers—detective stories and what was considered *depraved* literature. By defending the notion of *good literature* this project also prevented the diversification of the literary field, that at the time was being threatened by those that made a living from *bad literature* (Cervantes Becerril, 2018). Although this series included some classics, it also included modern writers such as Rabindranath Tagore, Bernard Shaw, Marcel Schwob, and Nietzsche³². Unlike Vasconcelos' *clásicos* and *SC*, it was not concerned strictly with tradition, but with the representation of *good literature*. Its subscription sales model is considered a contributing factor for its success (Cervantes Becerril: 2018). However, this model requires an audience already keen on reading. The series was shipped throughout and outside Mexico: “logró circular a petición de reimpresiones en ciertos círculos de intelectuales

³² Other translated authors included in the series are Anatole France, Aeschylus, Omar Al-Khayyam, Gabrielle D'Annunzio, Jules Renard, Francis Jammes, and the anthologies *Antigua literatura indígena mexicana*, and *Tres grandes poetas belgas. Rodenbach, Maeterlinck y Verhaeren*, to name a few.

mexicanos e hispanoamericanos de algunas ciudades en el extranjero, como Madrid, San José de Costa Rica y Santiago de Chile, entre otras” (Cervantes Becerril: 2018).

Later, other important series of classics were produced by official or state-funded institutions. This is the case of *Biblioteca Enciclopédica Popular* (SEP 1944-1957), directed by Jaime Torres Bodet. This series of small booklets printed in newspaper, “benemérita a pesar de su pobreza tipográfica” (Garciadiego, 2015: n. 91) was issued weekly in runs of 25,000 copies, of which 10,000 were distributed among rural teachers, while the rest retailed at 25 cents (Torres Septién, 2005: 326). The series published a wide array of national and international classics, although it did so in abbreviated versions probably to conform to its booklet format. Besides classics, the series was also concerned with providing content that would be useful in day-to-day life. Thus, it also included manuals on agriculture and practical trades (Torres Septién, 2005: 326).

In 1948, the state-funded FCE started publishing one of its most important series with massive appeal, *Breviarios*. The series was characterized as an “enlace vivo del hogar y de la Universidad, del pueblo y de las aulas, sobre la base de un nivel intelectual insobornable” (cited in Torres Septién 2005: 316). This series covered religion, philosophy, psychology, social sciences and literature. Rather than publishing classics, it was mostly based on monographs and critical works. Some of its translated titles include: Edward Sapir’s *El lenguaje*, Wilhelm Dilthey’s *Historia de la Filosofía*, Marc Bloch’s *Introducción a la historia*, Erich Fromm’s *Ética y psicoanálisis*, Mijail Bajtín’s *Problemas de la Poética de Dostoievsky*, and Harold Joseph Laski’s *El liberalismo europeo*, to name a few. Its translated repertory reveals the higher instruction level required by this series’ intended readers.

Another highly accessible series by FCE was created in 1959: *Colección Popular*. Although this series was mainly concerned with Latin American topics, it also included translations. Among its Spanish-language repertory, there are first-hand literary works such as Juan Rufo's *El llano en llamas*, Mariano Azuela's *Los de abajo*, and the Mayan origin stories known as *Popol Vuh*. However, just as *Breviarios*, its translated repertory shows a predilection for monographs. In its catalogue there are works such as Jacob Burckhardt's *Reflexiones sobre la historia universal*, Edward A. Wright's *Para comprender el teatro actual*, Raymond Barre's *El Desarrollo económico*, Joachim E. Berendt's *El Jazz*, Thorstein Veblen's *Teoría de la clase ociosa*, and André Gorz's *Historia y enajenación*, to name a few. The aforementioned series by FCE clearly reflect this publishing house's sympathy for the social sciences and a degree of sophistication not seen in other series.

This list would be incomplete without mentioning SEP's series *SepSetentas* (1971-1982). Its volumes were printed in large runs that ranged between 5 000 and 60 000 copies, through a wide distribution system that relied heavily on education institutions. A total of 315 volumes make up this series' catalogue. Its volumes, which were printed in a pocket-book format, were sold at very low prices and were aimed at a readership with a medium instruction level. As most of the series described above, it published books touching on a great variety of topics: history, literature, anthropology, sociology, education, art, philosophy, economics, politics and historiography (Greaves, 2005: 348-349). It included both translations and works written originally in Spanish. Among its translated repertory, Greaves (2005) cites its inclusion of several foreign works versing on Mexican history, such as Friederich Katz' *La servidumbre agraria en México en la época porfiriana*, John Coatsworth's *El impacto económico de los ferrocarriles en el Porfiriato*, John Britton's *Educación y radicalismo en México*, and Stanley

Ross' *¿Ha muerto la Revolución Mexicana?* (350). But despite *SepSetentas'* importance in Mexican publishing history, Gabriel Zaid (2012b), an expert in Mexican publishing matters, points out that its title selection and large runs were not always adequate for the Mexican context. In his opinion, the number of books printed under this project was a demonstration of power on behalf of the State rather than a well-thought repertory capable of responding to the population's needs:

En el mismo sexenio de Luis Echeverría (1970-1976), la Secretaría de Educación Pública tiró millones de pesos con su colección popular Sep-Setentas, que publicó unos 300 libros también casi regalados a \$10 pesos. La tirazón no estaba, naturalmente, en vender barato, sino en hacer tirajes demagógicos, mayores que las ventas posibles a ningún precio. Si Paul Petrescu, autor de *La habitación campesina en Rumania*, hubiese regalado su libro a todos los mexicanos que se lo pidieran, ¿cuántos habrían sido? ¿Dos, 20, 200? ¿Qué estaba haciendo en una colección popular? ¿Para qué imprimir 10,000? (Zaid, 2012b, para. 11)

Throughout the 20th century Mexican series like *Colección Cvltvra*, *Biblioteca Enciclopedia Popular*, *Breviarios*, *Colección Popular*, and *SepSetentas* have allowed for the existence of accessible editions of the works that both shaped and reflected the modern Mexican ideology. *Colección Cvltvra*'s distribution method did not allow it to reach wide, popular audiences. It adhered to a high literary standard that made it a favourite among intellectuals. *Biblioteca Enciclopédica Popular* enjoyed a broad distribution and although it lasted longer than *Colección Cvltvra* and Vasconcelos' *clásicos*, it only circulated for 13 years. Straying away from the category of classics, FCE's *Breviarios* and *Colección Popular*, along with *SepSetentas* introduced an alternative program for culture democratization in Mexico. Despite their unquestionable merits, their repertories oftentimes cater to readers with an education level that is not enjoyed by the majority of the population. Nevertheless, what characterizes all of these projects is that they tried to push the limits of the knowledge to which the Mexican population

could come in contact with. Their aim was not only to provide books for the masses, but to create the opportunity for anyone that was willing to do it, to access the texts read among well-educated and experienced readers.

Although the national series that I mentioned above coincide with SC's goal to democratize culture through rustic and affordable editions, their repertoires are notably different. The only broad characteristic in terms of the repertoire that SC shares with them is that they combine a Mexican and an international canon. However, these series' repertoires are not as constrained by the label of classics, as Porrúa's is. The series of classics that are more similar to SC that circulated in Mexico since the beginning of the 20th Century are foreign. For instance, *Colección Universal* published by Calpe (Spain, 1923), *Colección Austral* (Spain-Argentina, 1937), *Clásicos Jackson* (W.M. Jackson 1948)³³, *Biblioteca Básica Salvat* (Spain, 1969) and in recent years *Penguin Clásicos* (Random House)

The Spanish *Colección Universal* (1923) by Editorial Calpe was one of the first pocketbook series in Europe. This project was based on the French series *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Sánchez Vigil, 2006: 261) and was the forefather of the widely popular *Colección Austral* published by Espasa-Calpe in 1937. *Austral* has been, for decades, an important source for cheap editions of classics across the Hispanic world. Its catalogue is considerably larger than SC's and it has had a longer existence than the Mexican publication, which has made it an important competitor for the Mexican series³⁴.

³³ W.M. Jackson is an American publishing house that expanded its operations to Latin America in the early 20th century. The house had branches in Mexico, Argentina, and other important Latin American cities (cf. Foz & Atala, 2019). Although Jackson's series were funded by American capital, the selection of the works was carried out by Latin American intellectuals. In the case of *Clásicos Jackson* the Committee in charge of the selection of the works was composed by Alfonso Reyes, Francisco Romero, Germán Arciniegas, Federico de Onís and Ricardo Baeza (Zaro, 2017).

³⁴ Through its long development, however, different changes have been introduced to the series. Its catalogue has been completely renovated in what are now known as these series' different periods.

It is important to clarify that *Colección Austral* took-off in Argentina, when its Spanish publisher Espasa-Calpe opened a branch office there as a result of the Spanish Civil War. In its early years the series was marked by a slight Latin American perspective (unseen, for instance, in *Colección Universal*), which was a direct effect of the publisher's new physical position in the American continent. This perspective was felt particularly in the inclusion of Latin American authors in its catalogue, which, after a few years, was considered unsuitable by the firm's Spanish administration. The series' first director, Gonzalo Losada—who later founded his own publishing house, Losada—discussed the state of affairs:

Losada se refirió muchos años más tarde al veto a la publicación en la colección Austral de los libros *Historia argentina*, de Emilio Ravignani, y *Romancero*, de Arturo Capdevila. Según el testimonio de Losada, a la dirección de la editorial 'le molestaba que en estas obras se hablara de la independencia de América, de sus héroes y de sus hechos' (as cited in Larraz, 2009: 3)

In this sense *SC*'s markedly Mexican and Latin American stance is notably different from *Austral*'s apparently deterritorialized profile. It is only apparent because although its paratexts do not pinpoint it as a Spanish product, its exclusion of American topics does. Even so, *SC*'s translated repertory is closer to *Colección Austral*'s than to the Mexican series' previously described in this section. The link between *SC* and those Mexican series relies mostly in their adoption of the national discourse linked to culture democratization. Furthermore, the inclusion of the Mexican and Latin American perspective in *SC* shows its adherence to the trends seen in the Latin American publications of the time. In the 1940s and 1950s several series aiming to revendicate American (understood in its broader continental sense) identity, emerged. *Austral* co-existed with these projects detached from these ideological currents. Although *Austral* was meant to circulate transnationally and thus it did not aim overtly to cater to a Spanish audience, this did not prevent it from suffering the effects of the Spanish ideological shifts. For instance, it

was subject to the intense censorship imposed on cultural products during Franco's regime (see Larraz, 2009).

In summary, the first 50 years of the 20th century were marked in Mexican and Latin American publishing history by a shift towards the local. In Mexico, at the turn of the century, translated books were primarily selected and produced abroad which did not allow for the inclusion of a local perspective in the paratexts included and in the language used—many intellectuals read books in their original language or in French translation. The slow trajectory towards a local production of books allowed for the selection of repertoires, the creation of paratexts and the production of translations. Although throughout the 20th century (and still in the 21st century) the dynamics of the Hispanic book market have been mainly conducted by Spanish interests, the emergence of important Latin American (and Mexican specifically) series during the 1940s and 1950s was a turning point. In this sense, the appearance of products presenting themselves as Mexican, Argentinean, or simply *American*, is very significant.

When Daniel Cosío Villegas narrates the story of the creation of FCE (1934), he exposes the urgency of the assumption of agency by Latin American actors in the Spanish-language publishing industry. As an Economics university professor in Mexico, Cosío Villegas perceived the need for translations given the inability of most students to speak other languages and thus, to access the books required for their education. Translating those texts into Spanish was Cosío Villegas' solution to the problem. He and his team would select the required texts and translate them. The project was so promising that he thought a Spanish publisher might be interested in financing it. He decided to present the idea to Espasa-Calpe via Genaro Estrada, Mexican ambassador in Spain at the time. The project, however, was rejected. Renowned Spanish

philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, a member of Espasa-Calpe's board, was strongly opposed to it:

alegando como única razón que el día en que los latinoamericanos tuvieran que ver algo en la actividad editorial de España, la cultura de España y la de todos los países de habla española 'se volvería una cena de negros'. La idea fue desechada, pues Ortega era el consejero mayor de Espasa. Cuando Genaro acabó su relato, conservé el bastante buen humor para comentar que hasta en eso se había equivocado Ortega, pues debía haber dicho cena de indios y no de negros. (Cosío Villegas, 1985: 172-173)

In many regards and perhaps with less overt racism, the Spanish publishing industry has perpetuated an unbalanced dialogue with Latin America. The region is an important market for the Spanish book industry, but the projects and translations are created with a clear peninsular perspective. Later on, Cosío Villegas was given a subsidy by the Mexican government to start the project. The translation of economical texts in Spanish began and along with it the Fondo de Cultura Económica was born.

Although Porrúa's founders and Teixidor, the first director of *SC*, were Spanish, their particular interest to steer the firm and its publications towards Mexican topics positions *SC* among the Americanist projects of the mid 20th century. Porrúa is above all a private business, but its interaction with the broad ideological trends surging in the Latin American book industry of its time made *SC* a hybrid product. On one side it reflected the nationalist goal to fulfill a social function, on the other, it reproduced the cheap paperback model recognized in other foreign series. The popularity of *SC* to this day and its positioning as an important source for world classics in Mexico due to their wide availability and low prices speaks of the extent to which the publisher's mission was attained. The objective to offer through these books "ventanas abiertas al mundo" (Pérez Porrúa & Pérez Porrúa, 1979: 6), was at least carried out by the material existence of these books.

1.5. A periodization as an initial approximation to the series

SC is not a fixed object of study. Synchronically, it changes depending on the agents that give life to each volume (e.g., paratexts, translation, compilation, adaptation). Diachronically, shifts in contextual factors and the broader changes in the agents involved in it impacted its development. However, the conditions surrounding the series and the textual practices carried out in it were not the only ones to be affected by these shifts. It is important to emphasize that throughout *SC*'s trajectory, the perception of it as an object in the Mexican book market has also undergone transformations. Ostensibly, this series simultaneously occupies a place in the present and in the recent past. Thus, I became keenly aware of the risks of allowing present perceptions within Mexican culture to influence my research.

Suspending my own perception of *SC*, as well as the one reflected in the bibliography, became a central task in the first stages. As I showed in the introduction, a general negative perception of this series appears to have affected its inclusion in Mexican cultural history, despite some flippant recognition of its value. My own experience with the series has also been tangled in this contradictory characterization; it is useful and also low quality. *SC*'s volumes were a part of my own education. I came in contact with the series between the late 1990s and early 2010s, from high school through university. Professors recommended these books to ensure that all students used the same edition of the work being analyzed. Given the low price point and wide availability of these volumes, most students would easily be able to acquire the same edition of a certain work. However, in my personal experience, booksellers would often suggest

a “better” edition of a work whenever it was available³⁵, which alluded to the underlying assumption that this was not the best available edition of the requested work.³⁶ All anecdotes aside, confronting my own experience with the series compared to its various—sometimes even contradictory—depictions in the literature, made its polyhedric nature very apparent. How could this object be valued by some intellectuals (Monsiváis, Zaid, Domínguez Michael) and yet be ignored by the histories of publishing and reading practices? How could it be so commonly used and so scarcely discussed?

The issue I detect in the very few mentions of *SC* in scholarly works (be they positive or negative), is that it is depicted as something homogeneous. According to these sources, either all translation in *SC* is good, or all of it is bad; the series is either worthy of consideration, or it is completely excluded. As I examined the glaring discrepancies in the series from one volume to the next, the need to offer a more nuanced depiction of this object became highly necessary. I am not concerned with determining what constitutes a good or a bad edition, or even a good or a bad translation. (However, some elements, such as the notoriety of the agents who were involved and the originality of the translations, could be responsible for influencing the either positive or negative perceptions around this product). Given that at first sight I could not perceive standardized practices in regard to translation sources and work selection, a periodization became an initial tool to organize this material. This became instrumental in attempting to understand the conflicting perceptions of the series.

³⁵ During this time, there were no Porrúa bookstores in my hometown, Puebla, therefore I purchased these books in small independent bookstores who likely would have earned a larger profit from those “better” editions.

³⁶ A situation that must have been very different for students in Mexico City, where more bookstores and more editions were available, and in more rural parts of the countries, where perhaps the edition offer was even more limited than in Puebla. I cannot deny either that my own experience not only contrasts with that of students geographically distant from me, but chronologically as well. I grew up at a time in which the book market was more diversified than when the series took off in 1959.

The following pages summarize the initial periodization I produced to resist a homogenous portrayal of this highly mutable object. In the absence of academic sources devoted specifically to this series, and the lack of accessible and comprehensive records from its publisher, my reconstruction was initially based on broad observations of the volumes and literature on 20th and 21st century Mexican history.

This periodization is a construction that by no means pretends to be exhaustive, or even final. I include it as a testimony of the development of this research. After my first explorations of the series, I propose the following four broad periods for the series:

- 1) A Mexican repertory of *classics* (1959-1968)
- 2) The enthronement of niche repertories (1969-1981)
- 3) Production over selection: the entertainment moment (1982-1989)
- 4) The series recycles itself (1990-2013)

1.5.1. A Mexican repertory of classics (1959-1968)

The first period I propose comprehends the highly nationalistic beginnings of the series and it spans from 1959 until 1968. According to my observations, nationalism is present in three main ways. The first one is the selection and order of appearance of texts. The second one is the production of anthologies tailored for a Mexican audience. Finally, the third one is the intense intervention of Mexican agents as preface writers and translators.

The first visible sign of a nationalist perspective is detected in the introduction of Mexican classics alongside world classics. The ten initial volumes of the series are telling in this respect.

Table 1. SC's first 10 titles

Vol.	Author	Title	Year of pub. in SC	Origin
1	José Joaquín Fernández de	<i>El Periquillo</i> <i>Sarniento</i>	1959	Mexico

	Lizardi			
2	Homero	<i>La Iliada</i>	1959	Greece
3	Manuel Payno	<i>Los bandidos de Río Frío</i>	1959	Mexico
4	Homero	<i>La Odisea</i>	1960	Greece
5	Bernal Díaz del Castillo	<i>Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España</i>	1960	Spain / New Spain
6	Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra	<i>El ingenioso Hidalgo, Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	1960	Spain
7	Hernán Cortés	<i>Cartas de Relación</i>	1960	Spain / New Spain
8	Francisco Montes de Oca (ed.)	<i>Ocho siglos de poesía en lengua española</i>	1961	Hispanic world
9	Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra	<i>Novelas ejemplares</i>	1961	Spain
10	Juan Ruiz de Alarcón	<i>Cuatro comedias</i>	1961	New Spain

This table shows the priority given in the catalogue to national authors such as Fernández de Lizardi and Payno as well as canonical texts of the conquest (those by Bernal Díaz del Castillo and Hernán Cortés). Thus, two 19th century Mexican novels are interspersed with Homer's epics. Cervantes' *Don Quijote de la Mancha* was only the fifth title published in the series, after Bernal Díaz del Castillo *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*. The canon is thus rearticulated according to the national perspective.

On a second level, nationalism enters the series through anthologies, which, as configured corpora are “one of the most enlightening and memorable ways of transmitting culture within a country, or of transferring it internationally” (Frank, 2005: 14). A total of 79 anthologies were published in SC, and approximately 30% of them were published between 1959 and 1968. Overall, the anthologies that were included in the catalogue during these initial years appear to have a stronger pedagogical and nationalistic purpose. It is not rare to find references

to students as the ideal readers of these volumes, and sometimes explicit interpellations to Mexican readers. The inclusion of the Mexican horizon is highly visible in anthologies such as Vol. 15 (1963) María de Pina (ed.), *Fábulas* and Vol. 23 (1963) Salvador Novo (ed.), *Joyas de la amistad engarzadas en una antología*. The former divides its material in two sections: *Fabulistas mexicanos* and *Otros fabulistas* (that include Aesop, Phaedrus, Lafontaine and several Spanish authors). The latter segments the material in dyads (that mimic the friendship *leitmotiv*): *griegos y latinos, ingleses y franceses, españoles y mexicanos*. Ultimately, the construction of these anthologies shows the importance of circumscribing Mexican culture within a broader canonical culture. In other anthologies of this period the Mexican lens is shown in the prefaces. With time, I argue, the anthologies in the series lose the Mexican perspective.

The third element that reinforces the claim that this is a greatly nationalistic period in the series is the higher visibility and intervention of Mexican agents. During the initial years of the series there is a larger number of prologist and translator credits on the covers who are, for the most part, Mexican or are linked to the Mexican context. Overall, prologists are more visible than translators. Translation may not have been a privileged activity in the series but commissioning the introductions of the volumes to local authors could have been a strategy to appropriate these materials, to make them fit into the national discourse, and to legitimize the series in the national context during the early days by showing that prominent intellectuals were associated with it.

During the first period of the series there is a strong adhesion to uncontested classics. Greek and Latin antiquity are at the head of the translated repertory. In the Hispanic repertory, the series takes off with a strong orientation for the Spanish *Siglo de Oro*, conquest chronicles and 19th century Mexican novels. However, in terms of the translated repertory some aperture is

perceived as of 1967, when translations of 19th century novels started appearing in the catalogue.³⁷

1.5.2. Niche repertories (1969-1981)

By 1969 a strong phenomenon is predominant in the series: a few preface writers became very recurring, influencing large segments of the catalogue. Contrary to what happens during the first period, when a wider variety of agents are in charge of the introductions and translations, throughout the second period many works are in hands of a more reduced number of agents.

The most important of these agents are Francisco Montes de Oca, Francisco Larroyo and María Elvira Bermúdez. Montes de Oca introduced 27 works in the series: a great number of Latin works (Horacio, Terencio, Demóstenes, Séneca, Epicteto, Marco Aurelio, Longo, Apuleyo, among many others) as well as classics in the framework of the European nation states, such as Goethe, Dante, Bocaccio and Stendhal. Francisco Larroyo was the great selector and presenter of philosophical works in the series. He annotated, revised and introduced a total 17 philosophical titles for the series. No other agent had such a visible influence over the philosophical repertory in the series. Lastly, María Elvira Bermúdez is present in the catalogue through the 30 prefaces she wrote for works steered towards a younger readership: Emilio Salgari, Julio Verne, Edgar Allan Poe, Marco Polo, and Edmundo D'Amicis. Although the groups of works presented by these agents fall under the broad category of classics (and Bermúdez repertory perhaps stretches that category), these agents create repertories with their own logic, mission and reader profile.

This influence of fewer agents over more works occurs at a point of increased new volume output in the series. In the first period a total of 109 volumes were published, whereas

³⁷ Namely, *La cabaña del tío Tom* by Harriet Beecher (1967), *Los tres mosqueteros* by Alejandro Dumas (1967), *Los miserables* by Víctor Hugo (1967), *La cartuja de Parma* by Stendhal (1968), *Los hermanos Karamazov* (1968) by Fedor M. Dostoievsky and *La isla del tesoro* (1968) by Robert Louis Stevenson.

between 1969 and 1981, a total of 244 volumes were published. Another significant change was that the series slowly started giving a greater place to translation (40.9% of the volumes published in the first period were translations; 55.1%, translations were published in the second period). This goes hand in hand with a decrease in Mexican authors in the catalogue. Although the Mexican perspective would remain throughout the series' entire development, the aim of showing a Mexican canon side by side with a universal one starts to dissipate during these years.

1.5.3. Production over selection: the entertainment moment (1982-1989)

The first 19th century European novels were included in the series as early as 1967, but at that time, their presence was eclipsed by the inclusion of remote and highly canonical philosophical, dramatic, epic and historical works. María Elvira Bermúdez' intervention in the series during the second period produced a shift in that respect. She prefaced 16 volumes by Emilio Salgari and 14 by Jules Verne. No other preface writer presented with such reiteration the work of the same authors in the series. With Bermúdez' insistence over these widely popular but not canonical authors, she opened SC's catalogue to a broader spectrum of works. Her bet for 19th century entertainment novels must have proven successful for the publishers because during the 1980s, 20 additional works by Salgari and 10 by Verne were published, alongside a myriad of 19th century European novels with a high representation of the French *roman feuilleton*. During this third period, a diminished presence of the Mexican works as well as of works traditionally perceived as canonical is observed. This is a period of intense new volume output, where translation became predominant in the series (e.g., 29 out of the 34 volumes published in 1987 were translations).

Besides the shift towards literature in general, and 19th century novels in particular, another feature of this moment was the disappearance of translation agents (prominent preface

writers and, to a lesser extent, translators). Volumes are presented without prefaces, and when there is a preface, it is not made originally for the series. For instance, only 6 out of the 34 volumes published in 1987 had a preface. The prefaced volumes often include a translated preface. These practices could have been related to the easiness of resorting to a successful formula (novels) and boosting production by not commissioning prefaces but repurposing pre-existing ones. During the first two periods translation credits are modestly present. In contrast, during this period, they are an absolute rarity. Translations, just as prefaces, could have been repurposed too.

1.5.4. The series recycles itself (1990-2013)

After 1990 the addition of new volumes to the catalogue decreases considerably. During the 18 years covered by this period only 146 new volumes are published. It has to be taken into account that by this time, SC also relied on the sale of the reprints and re-editions of its previous volumes. It is particularly difficult to find patterns in the repertory of these years. A very miscellaneous character becomes the norm for the series. There are some late inclusions of canonical texts like Montaigne's *Ensayos completos* (1991), Chaucer's *Cuentos de Canterbury* (1992), Aristotle's *Arte Poética* and *Arte retórica* (1999), Sigmund Freud's *Introducción al psicoanálisis* (2002). But there is also a sporadic move towards more contemporary anglophone authors: John Steinbeck's *Las uvas de la ira* (1998), Ernest Hemingway's *El viejo y el mar / Las nieves del Kilimanjaro / La vida breve y feliz de Francis Macomber* (1998), Virginia Woolf's *Al faro* (1998), George Orwell's *Rebelión en la granja* (1999).

A few prominent Mexican agents intervene in the series. José Emilio Pacheco (Mexican translator and writer who was awarded the Premio Cervantes in 2009) was in charge of the anthology of Marcel Schwob's texts *Vidas imaginarias* and *La cruzada de los niños*. Ilán

Stavans (writer, translator, literary critic and active advocate of the *Latino* cultural identities in American academia) put together three anthologies for SC: *Antología de cuentos de misterio y terror* (1993), Machado de Assis *El alienista y otros cuentos* (1993), *Cuentistas judíos* (1994). The production of original anthologies for the series had severely waned during the previous period. Thus, the creation of original material with a marked perspective by a renowned intellectual is reminiscent of the first years.

The Mexican theme among the works originally written in Spanish is highly visible in this last period. Translations are still privileged over originals (84 translations vs. 61 texts written originally in Spanish), but in terms of the non-translated texts the thematization of Mexico is overpowering: *La verdadera Revolución Mexicana* (11 volumes published between 1991 and 1993), *Corrido histórico mexicano* (5 volumes published between 1997 and 1998), *Filósofos mexicanos del siglo XX*, *La pastorela y el diablo en México* (2005) and the very last volume of the series *Leyendas del sureste* (2008). Only five translations are credited during this period and two of them represent the return of two central figures in the series: Ángel María Garibay, through *Llave del náhuatl* (1999) and Alfonso Reyes, with his translation of Chesterton's *El hombre que fue jueves* (2000). Both of these are posthumous publications, and this makes the decision to bring them back to the series more significant. Since, as I mentioned earlier, Reyes allegedly named the series and, as I will show later, Garibay carried out the nationalist mission of the series more clearly than any other agent, this is a symbolic return to the series' beginnings.

I must add that when I produced this initial periodization in 2015, no new volumes had been added to the catalogue. The 2013 catalogue registered that the last volume of SC had been published in 2008, and thus I thought the project had concluded. However, in 2016 two new volumes were included in the catalogue: vol. 745. *Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos*, and

vol. 745 Thomas Mann's *Mario y el mago*. In 2018 I found volume 747 in a Mexican bookstore: an anthology summarizing Ángel María Garibay's works prepared by his disciple Miguel León Portilla. Although I inquired for volume 746, clerks at the bookstore were unable to provide the title, as their catalogue does not contain the volumes according to volume number. I do not include these volumes in my study. Nevertheless, their addition to the catalogue shows that this project is still ongoing.

As a conclusion to this periodization, I would like to offer a broad consideration of the most important contextual factors influencing *SC* over time. Underlying the first and second periods the most important socio-historical factors are, in my opinion, the strengthening of the Mexican publishing industry that took place between 1940 and 1950, the economic stability that enabled the growth of the urban middle class, and the increased demand for reading material in education contexts. Simultaneously, the intense nationalist ideology at the time, observed in the publishing industry through the creation of CONALITEG in 1959 and the decree that only Mexican-born authors could be involved in textbook production, offered a welcoming environment for a series that despite having a great focus on foreign texts, had a clear national stance. The nationalist ideology is most visible in the first period, when Mexican works are presented as part of the world's canon and a variety of local intellectuals determine the selection and presentation of the works. During the second period the nationalist agenda survived through the work of fewer agents who appear to have been attuned to the needs of niche readerships in the country. These niche repertoires do not rely on national works and their prefaces are devoid of the overt nationalist tints seen in previous years. Yet, they are undoubtedly a continuation of the pedagogical aim that characterized the first volumes of the series and Porrúa's previous publications. In this sense, the lengthy introductions to Latin classics by Francisco Montes de

Oca, the heavily annotated versions of philosophical works for university students prepared by Francisco Larroyo, and the adventure novels that María Elvira Bermúdez' enthusiastically prefaced probably to attract young readers beyond the scope of the classroom, tie into the broad national goals of culture democratization.

SC's new volume's intense production during the 1980s, the third period I propose for the series, occurred during a severe economic crisis in the country. In 1981 the bet that Mexico had made on the oil industry failed due to the drop in the oil prices. By 1982, the government declared bankruptcy, and inflation was almost as high as 100% (Aboites Aguilar, 2008: 519). Greaves (2005) points out there was an abrupt change in the country's publishing activities due to the economic crisis that broke in 1982, as production costs increased, and book sales suffered:

el libro se iba transformando inexorablemente en artículo de lujo; su precio era como una forma de censura implícita que los ponía fuera del alcance de quienes más lo necesitaban. [...] la carestía del libro se fue agudizando; las editoriales tuvieron que reducir drásticamente sus planes de publicación disminuyendo la producción de sus títulos así como el número de ejemplares. [...] Las editoriales que sobrevivieron fueron aquellas que controlaban el mercado del libro escolar o puramente comercial (366).

SC's strong position in the publishing field, as it had a foot set on the education circuit and the other on the commercial market, must have granted its survival. The series was a well-oiled machine by then. The newly introduced repertory of translated novels became a low-cost and effortless publishing formula. Publishing many books by popular authors that penned numerous works, such as Salgari, Verne, French authors of the *roman-feuilleton*, using pre-existing translations, without prefaces, or with pre-existing prefaces, enabled the project to continue growing despite the economic crisis.

The slowdown of SC's new volume output in the 1990s could be partly due to the diversification of the publishing field in recent years, as more publishing houses and publishing

products competed with Porrúa's. However, the economic crisis of 1995 followed by Mexico's recession in 2008 (a result of the global crisis triggered in the United States) could have also impacted *SC*'s development. Instead of focusing on adding new volumes to the catalogue following the practices observed in the 1980s, the series could continue its operations at a low cost by re-printing its existing titles. Because the demand for classics had not changed, the first titles of the series could still fulfill the national demand. This saved Porrúa the need to select new titles and sourcing translations and prefaces.

I am aware of the difficulty of establishing causality between the alluded contextual factors and the trends I have pointed out in each of the proposed periods. The consideration of external factors is taken here as a point of departure rather than a point of arrival. The subsequent analysis of the languages, genres, authors, translation's sources, and paratextual elements, aims to test the validity of this periodization. Although considerations on contextual factors underlie my analysis, my work is mostly based on the textual evidence in the publisher's catalogues, the volumes of the series, and the bio-bibliographical information I acquired on the series' most important agents.

CHAPTER 2. PORRÚA'S REPRESENTATIONS OF *SEPAN CUANTOS*

2.1. *Of systems, rewritings and publisher's series*

The first step towards the in-depth study of *SC*'s repertoire is to explore its existing catalogues. Series' catalogues offer an overview of their contents and valuable empirical data for the archaeological phase of translation history (Pym 1998). They also allow us to grasp the rewriting carried out by the series as a whole. In the case at hand, they reveal the general interpretation of canonicity in the series. In this chapter I offer a comparative analysis of *SC*'s catalogues. I look at two different representations of the repertoire and the implications of this in *SC*'s overarching rewriting. This will then be weighed against the analysis of the series' contents (chapter 3), the analysis of translation (chapter 4) and prefatory practices (chapter 5) in the volumes.

Before introducing the catalogue's analysis, I would like to discuss some theoretical concepts that were useful to approach the series' broad repertoire. To begin with, the series is seen here as a dynamic system of elements that react to one another. In that sense, I take into account Itamar Even-Zohar's notion of polysystem, defined by him as "a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent" (Even-Zohar, 1990: 11). The individually numbered volumes of *SC* are the items that make up the series' system. Furthermore, the series is a structured whole where items occupy different positions. There are hierarchical relations within this system.

One of the criteria used by Even Zohar to explore the hierarchical relations in a polysystem is the dichotomy opposing *canonized* vs. *non-canonized* systems. He defines canonized literature as those works "accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles within a

culture and whose conspicuous products are preserved by the community to become part of its historical heritage” (Even-Zohar 1990: 15). The issue of canonicity is particularly relevant in the study of series of classics. However, it must be taken into account that despite *SC*’s broad adhesion to the notion of canonicity, its titles do not have the same status. As I discuss in the following sections, within the whole system embodied by this series there are different subgroups: children’s literature, ancient Greek and Latin classics, European 19th century novels, Conquest Chronicles, Spanish Medieval and *Siglo de Oro* literature, Latin American indigenous literature, Mexican novels, and adventure novels, to name only a few. Each of these elements has a different place in the series’ hierarchy, and in the larger Mexican literary system. The categories used to organize this material, the number of works included under each of them and the order in which they are presented in *SC*’s catalogues are indexes of the hierarchical relations they maintain. However, the hierarchy changes over time. What is central at some point in the series becomes peripheral in later years and vice-versa. Furthermore, it should be considered that the hierarchies within *SC* do not necessarily match the broader Mexican literary system. This is mostly evident in the place given to entertainment literature in *SC*. In chapter 5, I discuss the prefaces written by María Elvira Bermúdez for Emilio Salgari and Jules Verne’s works. In them, she shows an acute awareness of the secondary place of this literature in the wider Mexican literary system.

Despite the usefulness of Even-Zohar’s formulations, they offer limited possibilities to explore translation history’s central question: *why things happen* (Pym, 1998: 143). In response to the flat-causation observed in system-based approaches, Anthony Pym (1998) proposes a wider view of causation. This point of view accepts the co-occurrence of several types of causes, some of which have often been disregarded such as material causes and the agendas of human

translators (Pym, 1998: 143-159). As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the consideration of broader contextual factors goes hand in hand with the exploration of the way translation phenomena change throughout this series. Looking at *SC* as part of a specific publishing house's activities and considering its position within the broader Mexican publishing scene offers useful data to understand the dynamism observed in the development of the series' catalogue. By taking into account the notion of agency and emphasizing the role of institutions, I put in evidence the underlying influence of Pierre Bourdieu's field theory over my research.

In fact, Bourdieu's approach and the systemic approach can be complementary (Grutman, 2009). Although Even-Zohar acknowledges that "the polysystem constraints turn out to be relevant for the procedures of selection, manipulation, amplification, deletion, etc., taking place in actual products [...] pertaining to the polysystem" (1990: 15) he fails to thoroughly describe those constraints and giving them more weight, a criticism already made by Hermans (1999) and Pym (1998). Hermans (1999), deems this kind of studies "ferociously abstract and depersonalized" partly because "polysystem theory is aware of the social embedding of cultural systems but in practice takes little heed of actual political and social power relations or more concrete entities such as institutions or groups with real interests to look after" (118).

Bourdieu's field theory describes with more detail some of those constraints that are so minimized in Even-Zohar's theory. Thus, Bourdieu explains that

The more or less charmed interactions occurring in every editorial microcosm are themselves determined by the publishing field's global structure. It is the latter that determines the size and structure of the unit responsible for decisions (from what seems to be a single decision-maker in smaller publishers to the complex power field of the major houses); it also determines the relative weight placed by interacting agents on specific evaluation criteria, making them privilege 'literary' or 'commercial' texts... (Bourdieu, 2008: 14)

As I explained in the first chapter, *SC* is produced by a central bookseller / publishing house in Mexico: a publishing house founded in Mexico City that is also one of the oldest in the country and thus considered very emblematic of Mexican book culture. Additionally, this publishing institution belongs to the private sector, a trait that puts it in a second tier in relation to the broader set of publishing powers in the country, where government-based institutions occupy the most central position, namely the Fondo de Cultura Económica (FCE), the Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP) and the National University (UNAM). Although the two latter are not exclusively dedicated to publishing, their publishing activities are very influential in the country. The place of Editorial Porrúa's publications is subjected to this overarching structure of the Mexican publishing industry. I already alluded to the importance of the education market, where Porrúa and *SC*'s have thrived. Taking this situation into account is helpful to account for certain selections in *SC*.

Despite the value of Bourdieu's and Even-Zohar's theories to frame my broad observations of *SC*, this study is in no way strictly sociological nor polysystemic. My ultimate attempt in this thesis is to look at books and observe how translation has taken place and is specifically presented in this series. Translation is not the main focus of Bourdieu's or Even-Zohar theories. Although the consideration of their theories can broaden the conceptualization of translation phenomena, they are mostly useful for large-scale observations and contribute to the distancing from actual texts seen in recent years in our field. André Lefevere, whose work stemmed from a Translation Studies perspective and focused on the role of mediated forms in the circulation of knowledge, "recognizes that a great deal of cultural transmission, and hence much of our cultural knowledge, is based not on direct contact with 'originals' but on the various 'rewritings' in circulation" (Hermans, 1999: 128).

Lefevere conceives of the literary system as part of a wider social system. Through notions such as patronage³⁸, ideology³⁹ and poetics⁴⁰, he links the practices taking place within the literary system (the production of originals as well as rewritings) to their broader social context. This approach allows us to consider the macro-structure alongside the micro-structure. Besides, as I described in the introduction, rewritings can take a variety of forms. Although translation is the most obvious form of rewriting, this phenomenon can also be traced in anthologies, criticism and theatre adaptations, among other manifestations. All of these are very concrete practices that in many cases allow for textual analysis.

Rewriting in *SC* takes place at a macro and at a micro level. At a macro level, it is involved in the general representation of canonical works carried out by the sum of the volumes constituting the catalogue. At a micro-level, singular rewritings occur in each volume of the series. This is the level where things become more complex. The conjugation of the series' format, the selection of the work/s, their presentation (e.g., in an anthological form or in conjunction with other texts, with or without a paratexts that in turn can be specifically written for the series or translated, and that can fulfill various functions) and the characteristics of the translations in the case of foreign works, result in multi-layered rewritings. What is most interesting about some of *SC*'s volumes is that many times the text selection, paratexts and translations were carried out by different people at different times, which means that these are discrete rewritings threaded together in one of the series' volumes. Chapters 4 and 5 are

³⁸ "The powers (persons, institutions which can further or hinder the reading, writing and rewriting of literature" (Lefevere, 1992: 14)

³⁹ "that grillwork of form, convention and belief which orders our actions" (Lefevere, 1992:16).

⁴⁰ "For Lefevere, poetics is the dominant concept of what literature should be, or can be allowed to be, in a given society (1992:14). He also thinks of it as a code which makes literary communication possible (1985: 229). A poetics consists of an inventory component (devices, genres, motifs, prototypical characters, situations and forms) and a functional component. The latter is described as 'an idea of how literature has to, or may be allowed to, function in society' (Lefevere, 1982: 6) or 'a concept of what the role of literature is, or should be, in the social system as a whole' (1992:26" (Hermans, 1999: 127).

concerned with those cases. This chapter is devoted to the macro rewriting produced by this series' selection of canonical works.

Series as rewritings

It is important to stress here the characteristics of *SC* as a specific type of publishing project. *SC* is a publisher's series (Spiers, 2011) or what in French is known as *collection éditoriale*⁴¹. From a thematic perspective, it is a series of classics. From a format perspective, it is a paperback series. Although literary canons have materialized in the forms of series for many centuries (Neavill, 2011), the advent of the paperback revolution in the 20th century allowed the juncture of mass production methods and high culture (Spiers, 2011). In consequence, as other series of this kind, *SC* creates “the illusion that the whole of high culture has been made familiar and available to all” (Smith, 2018: 544), a trait that is central for the understanding of *SC*'s global rewriting.

In his study of publisher's series of classics, Neavill (2011) comments that canonicity not only shifts greatly across time, but it also varies across regions and publishing projects because it is a social construct. Canonicity is based on the perception of what is significant by a given group at a given moment. Additionally, Neavill points out there are different levels of canonicity, which is why the concepts of center and periphery are helpful for its understanding. Most contemporary series of classics in the Western world share authors such as Homer, Shakespeare or Dante—what could be considered the center of the Western canon—but changes occur as each publishing project moves away from this undisputed center. In this sense, and as is shown in this chapter, series renegotiate the positions allotted to works that are less canonical. It is then

⁴¹ “D’un point de vue bibliographique, une collection éditoriale de livres est une publication en série regroupant chez le même éditeur, sous un même titre, des livres portant chacun un titre particulier. Le titre collectif est le titre de la collection. Il doit être mentionné sur chaque livre. Les livres qui composent une collection éditoriale peuvent être publiés dans un ordre spécifique ou non (*Les collections éditoriales de livres*, n.d.)”.

possible to see varying trends. How far does a series of classics stray from its national and/or linguistic boundaries? Does it include indigenous cultures? What is its chronological point of departure? What place does it give to children's literature and popular culture? What place does it give to translation?

The inclusions and omissions in a series' catalogue reveal what is central and peripheral at a given point in time for a particular country or market (in many cases markets surpass national borders, like in the Hispanic case). For example, in the anglophone world, *Penguin Classics*' current catalogue shows a clear slant towards anglophone authors—series of classics tend to privilege works produced in the national language—and even reveals certain asymmetries within that group (162 authors from the United States, 146 from England, 19 from Ireland, 18 from Scotland, 2 from Australia, 1 from Canada). It is understood, then, that in this canon, the United States and England occupy the most central position, whereas Australia and Canada, for instance, are peripheral, even more so than countries where different languages are spoken. The “Ancient world” (58 authors) and France (62 authors) are the non-Anglophone repertoires with the highest representation. Hispanic culture, by contrast, does not occupy a prominent space in the catalogue, with 19 Spanish-speaking authors in total (10 from Spain, 4 from Mexico, 2 from Argentina, 1 from Chile, 1 from Cuba, 1 from Nicaragua) (*Penguin Classics. A Complete Annotated Listing.*, n.d.). The place of French culture as well as ancient Greek and Latin authors as epitomes of what is a classic are emphasized in this repertoire where, in general, European culture plays a central role. No indigenous works are included in this catalogue, a trend more readily observed in Latin American book series of classics. However, there is some space given to 10 African authors (a region rarely covered in Hispanic series). In this way, catalogues of classics series offer an image of the position of cultures, authors, languages and genres at

particular moments in time and according to where these publishing projects take place. Thus, canonicity in book series of classics is a deictic phenomenon. What is a classic and consequently what is canonical is informed by who says it and when: it is a matter of perspective.

The change in perspective is not only related to the geographic region where the series are made but to time as well. This is what is observed in the very visible changes many series of classics have suffered over the years. The *Penguin Classics* currently in circulation are not the same as the ones originally published in the 1930s. This project, as well as *Colección Austral* in the Spanish-speaking world have transformed their repertoires, translations, format and design throughout time. *Colección Austral's* first period elapsed between 1937 and 1985, when a total of 1678 books were published. This is described as the original or primitive version of *Colección Austral* (Sánchez Vigil & Olivera Zaldúa, 2012: 37). Several complete restructurings of the series have taken place since then: *Segunda versión. Austral nueva* (1987-1992), *Tercera versión: la era planeta* (1997), *Cuarta versión: Austral Hoy* (2007), *Quinta versión: de colección a sello editorial* (2010) (Sánchez Vigil and Olivera Zaldúa 2012: 37-41) These changes reveal shifts in what is perceived as part of the canon and offer snapshots of the dynamism of literary systems already discussed here. *SC* has not suffered the dramatic changes of the series described above: the contents of *SC's* first volume published in 1959 are unchanged in the most recent edition sold nowadays. This does not mean, however, that changes in the selection of the volumes across time did not reflect different trends in the overall representation of canonical texts.

2.2. *Sepan Cuantos' catalogues*

In this chapter I analyze Porrúa's representation of *SC*'s repertoire in two of its catalogues. I center my attention on paratextual information, content arrangement, and agent representation. Three catalogues of *SC* have been published. They date from 1979, 1986 and 2013. The catalogue from 1986 titled "*Sepan Cuantos...*". *Quinientos volúmenes con más de 1100 obras. 1959-1986, Catálogo de la Colección* reproduces the paratexts and format of the 1979 catalogue. The only observable changes are in the title and in the addition of the volumes published between 1979 and 1986. It does not propose a new categorization of the works and it reproduces all the paratexts from the 1979 catalogue without providing new ones. For this reason, I center the following analysis on the 1979 and 2013 catalogues exclusively.

The usefulness of bibliographies and other lists as sources of data for the history of translation has been discussed by translation history researchers (Foz & Payàs, 2011; Poupaud et al., 2009; Pym, 1998). Although not always in the most evident way, because translation is rarely at the forefront, as suggested by Foz and Payàs (2011), publisher's catalogues and bibliographies can contain valuable information about translation. Through careful observation often involving the creation of supplementary databases that allow to parse the data from various angles, and supplementary bibliographical research, translator's names sometimes can surface, as well as certain notion of which translated works circulated among non-translated works. The distinction made by Pym (1998) between catalogues as lists whose objective is to "approach maximum completeness" (42) and corpora, "seen as lists of translations drawn up according to strictly controlled criteria—of which relative completeness may or may not be one—in order to test a hypothesis" (Pym, 1998: 42) is important for the analysis that follows. My ultimate goal is to find the information that is most relevant in the description of the way translation takes place in

SC. In this chapter, thus, I explore what image, or rewriting, of the canon is presented by SC's catalogue. I also ask the question: what is the place given to translated works in this rewriting?

SC's catalogues were fundamental in my exploration of the series, the construction of my database and the delimitation of a corpus. In them, the volumes of the series can be grasped at a macro scale, making the context of translational and non-translational documents more tangible. As I discuss in the following sections, none of these documents puts translation at the center,⁴² and yet they provide useful information to answer questions such as: What place does translated material have in the series? What kind of material was translated for the series? Which authors, genres, languages and cultures are mostly represented in it? These catalogues are interesting ways to identify the canon put forward by the Porrúa publishing company, and the changes in the ways in which the series has been represented. The categories used in SC's catalogues have changed considerably over time. I contend that such changes evidence the shifts in the hierarchies of works that make up the series. Each catalogue puts the accent on different elements, suggesting the effects of the passage of time in the ideology and poetics to which the series has subscribed.

2.2.1. More than a list: 340 "*Sepan Cuantos...*" 1959-1979

The catalogue, titled 340 "*Sepan Cuantos...*" 1959-1979 (1979), is a small booklet that was published to commemorate the series 20th anniversary. It includes various paratexts and four different lists that I summarize in the following table.

⁴² In "Las bibliografías hispanoamericanas coloniales y las bibliotecas americanas europeas como fuentes para la historia de la traducción" (Foz & Payàs, 2011) the authors reflect on the challenges posed by the lack of explicit translation information in these resources and the required alertness on behalf of translation scholars when exploring these documents: "[...] podemos suponer de antemano que en una obra de referencia (bibliografía o *biblioteca*) no van a aparecer en el primer plano (ni tampoco en el segundo) las prácticas traductorales ni los traductores. Por eso, ponerse a buscar referencias explícitas al fenómeno de la traducción en una obra que no fue escrita para tal fin puede implicar una considerable inversión [...]" (216).

Table 2. Contents of 340 “Sepan Cuantos...”

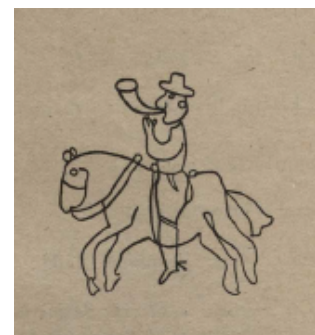
	Title	Description	Additional information
Paratext 1		Vignette	Vane p. 2
Paratext 2		Epigraph	“Quisiera yo que los ayres de México bolaran por todo el mundo...” (Dávila Padilla, siglo XVI) p.2
Paratext 3	“Al benévolo lector”	Introduction	Signed by Francisco Pérez Porrúa and José Antonio Pérez Porrúa pp. 3-6
Paratext 4	““Sepan Cuantos...” Justificación del nombre”	Reproduction of the name justification included in the second issue of <i>SC</i>	Signed by Editorial Porrúa S.A. p. 9
List 1	“Sepan Cuantos...”	List of volumes 1 through 340 according to categories. Simple bibliographical entries: Author, title, [number in the series] e.g. Homero: <i>La Iliada</i> [2]	Categories in order of appearance: Historia de la literatura. Estudios literarios / Novela/ Novela española / Novela mexicana / Novela latinoamericana / Cuentos y narraciones / Fábulas / Leyendas y tradiciones / Poesía / Teatro / Literatura precolombina / Literatura oriental / Literatura para niños y adolescentes / Historia / Biografía / Filosofía / Mitología / Política y sociedad / Pedagogía / Epistolarios / Antologías / Obras diversas pp. 13-66
List 2	“Títulos publicados”	List of volumes 1 through 340 following the numbering of the issues. Exhaustive bibliographical entries: Number in the series, Author, Title, Preface writer/Translator/Annotator/ number of editions until 1979, pages. e.g. 2. Homero: <i>La Iliada</i> . Versión directa y literal del griego de Luis Segalá y Estalella. Prólogo de Alfonso Reyes. 17ª edición, 1975, xxxiv-267 pp.	pp. 67-108 [Vols. 1-338] p. 146 [Vols. 339 and 340]
List 3	“Prologuistas...”	List of works according to	Legend under title

		preface writer presented in alphabetical order. Simple bibliographical entries: Preface writer: author, title, number in the series e.g. Reyes, Alfonso: Homero, <i>La Iliada</i> [2]	“Prologuistas...” Hombres y mujeres: mexicanos, españoles de España y españoles de México, cubanos, guatemaltecos, franceses, argentinos, norteamericanos, nicaragüenses, puertorriqueños, uruguayos, chilenos, alemanes, ecuatorianos y checoslovacos... pp. 109-136
List 4	“Traductores”	List of works according to translator presented in alphabetical order. Simple bibliographical entries: Translator: author, title, number in the series e.g. Segalá y Estalella, Luis: Homero, <i>La Iliada</i> [2]	pp. 139-142
Paratext 5	La mesa de ‘Sepan Cuantos...’ en la Editorial Porrúa	Photograph	p. 143
Paratext 6	Colecciones de Editorial Porrúa	Brief description of: • Colección de Escritores Mexicanos • Colección Jurídica Porrúa • Biblioteca Porrúa • Biblioteca Porrúa de Arte	Signed respectively by: • Antonio Castro Leal • Eduardo García Máynez • Miguel León Portilla • Javier Moyssén pp. 145- 151
Paratext 7	“Nota Bene”	Warning signaling the continuation of List 2	“Por exigencias de formación los núms. 339 y 340 de la Colección ‘Sepan Cuantos...’, no figuran en sus secciones respectivas. Damos en seguida su descripción: p. 146.
Paratext 8	“Pregones y trompetas en el México del siglo XVI”	Compilation of 16th century Mexican proclamations. Various kinds.	Example: “Se limitan los precios de los huevos. Que no se den menos de 12 huevos por un real de oro so pena de 5 pesos de oro la primera vez, 10 pesos de oro la segunda y la tercera que sean llevados a la vergüenza públicamente. Se pregonó públicamente (15 de febrero de 1527) pp.153-163
Paratexts 9-32		24 Vignettes	Trumpet and herald motifs included throughout the volume

Paratexts

As it can be immediately observed in Table 2, this catalogue is accompanied by several paratexts. The introduction, “Al benévolo lector”(Pérez Porrúa & Pérez Porrúa, 1979), and the name justification, “Justificación del nombre” (1979), offer important information to deduct the series’ adoption of the culture democratization mission that I already described in chapter 1. In the brief text “Justificación del nombre” (1979), also discussed in the previous chapter, the notion of the proclamation or street cry (*pregón*) is underlined. The proclamation theme is highly exploited throughout this catalogue. Besides its mention in the “Justificación del nombre”, it is present in the numerous vignettes that adorn the catalogue. All vignettes in the volume, except one, depict trumpets and heralds.

Figure 1. Vignettes in 340 “Sepan Cuantos ...”

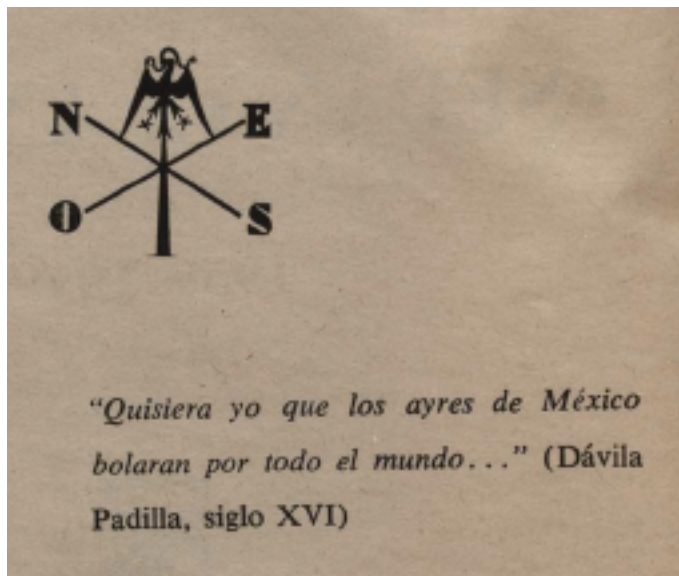


These images represent a call for attention and a public communication of a message. It must be noted that Paratext 8 extends this theme textually. The text titled “Pregones y trompetas en el

México del siglo XVI” (1979) is a somewhat bizarre compilation of 16th century proclamations that, as the example in table 2 shows, discusses the price of eggs, the salary of *pregoneros* and various other advertisements.

As I mentioned before, there is one vignette that does not follow the proclamation theme. I refer to the vignette included above the epigraph. In this case, the image is one of a vane. This vignette complements the notion of the series’ reach. Considering that the catalogue was published 20 years after the series’ inception, the project is presented here as one of proven success. The solidity of the series is not only demonstrated by its 20 years of existence but by the fact that it surpassed Mexican borders, as confirmed by the publishers in the introduction.

Figure 2. Vignette of vane accompanying epigraph



I should also point out that instead of the cock that usually is mounted on vanes, there is an eagle holding a snake in its beak, the symbol in the Mexican flag. Besides suggesting the strength of the series for its ability to surpass national borders, this image reinforces the nationalistic stance of the series.

There is only one photograph (paratext 5) included in the catalogue. It displays an office and a desk that give the impression that the catalogue serves as a museum tour of *SC*. It is interesting that the picture does not portray any of the series' directors or the people involved in its creation. It is simply called: "La mesa de 'Sepan Cuantos...' en la editorial Porrúa". The picture portrays a desk, an empty chair, numerous books, scattered papers, and a typing machine. This depiction is coherent with the very discrete presence of the publishers and series' directors in the paratexts of the series. Although it is known that Felipe Teixidor directed the series precisely during the 20 years covered by this catalogue, no mentions of his role as a director are included in the volumes of the series, nor in this catalogue.

The paratexts in this catalogue add a lot of information about the series' scope. They represent, textually and visually, 1) the series mission to disseminate information, 2) the potential of this national product to circulate in other countries, and 3) the well-established status of the publication 20 years from its creation.

Content arrangement

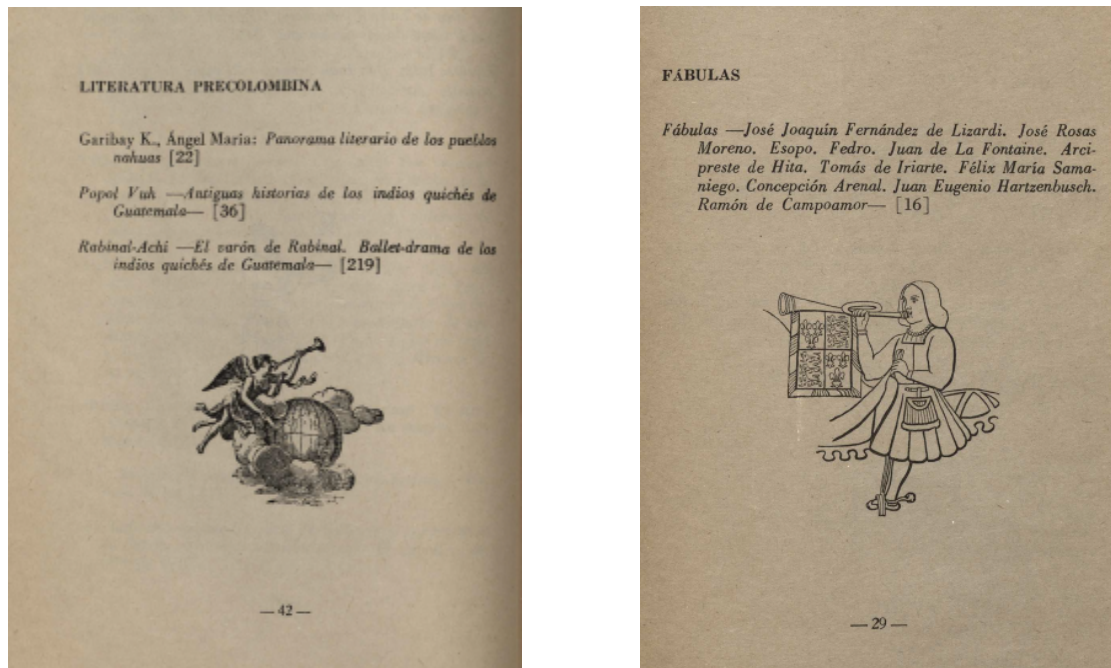
The body of the text is made up by the four lists that organize the series' repertoire. The choice to present the series' contents in four different ways is in and of itself significant. List 1 emphasizes the portrayal of the different categories or themes found in the series. List 2 provides exhaustive information about the volumes in chronological order. List 3 presents the material according to the preface writers. List 4 presents the material according to the translators. Because not all the volumes have a preface or a translator (not all the volumes in the series are translations, and out of the translations not all mention the translator), Lists 3 and 4 only present a partial portion of the catalogue. List 4 is considerably shorter. It is only 3 pages long, which shows the lower visibility of translators that I will discuss in the next subsection.

The selection of the categories presented in List 1 is very important to understand the hierarchies in the series. The first thing to be said is that they were created exclusively for the catalogue. There are no indications of them in the volumes of the series. Several things come to mind upon examining these categories: the importance given to literature, their disparate nature, and the appearance of national and regional configurations, are among the most salient. Certain hierarchy could be inferred from the order of appearance of the categories, given that they are not presented in alphabetical order. The fact that List 1 starts with *Historia de la Literatura* and stays within the literary realm up until the 10th category, shows the overwhelming presence of literature in the series. However, *SC* goes beyond the literary.

The disparate nature of the categories is visible (see Table 1). There are thematic categories such as *Filosofía* or *Política y Sociedad*, as well as some that refer to the composition of the volume such as *Antologías*. Another inconsistency in the categorization can be seen in the choice to add generic details in several literary categories with markers such as *novela*, *cuento*, *fábula*, *poesía*, *teatro* only to go back to the broader use of the term *literatura* in the cases of *literatura precolombina*, *literatura oriental*, *literatura para niños y adolescentes*. There are repetitions among the categories. For example, *Mujercitas* by Louisa M. Alcott has an entry in *Literatura para niños y adolescentes* as well as in *Novela*, the same way that Ibn Zaydun's *Casidas de amor profano y místico* appears under *Poesía* and *Literatura Oriental*. The duplicity of the entries indicates that showing the wide array of works included in this canon is a priority. The categories reflect a very open image of canonicity, where items such as *Literatura para niños y adolescentes* or *Literatura precolombina* are included. Showing the presence of these works in the series is very intentional. As Figure 3 shows, some of these categories have very few volumes. Nevertheless, demonstrating that they were represented in the series took

precedence. This suggests that rather than canonicity, the guiding principle was to cast a wide net to attract as many readers (buyers) as possible. There is a principle of inclusion rather than exclusion, which could be related to the series' marked economic goals.

Figure 3. Example of a category with very few titles



The diversity of the series' repertoire goes hand in hand with its potential to appeal to all kinds of audiences, but also contribute to celebrate the extent of the labor carried out by this publication in 20 years.

To conclude my observations about the categories, I would like to discuss the regional markers added in some cases. The category *Novela*, presented with no geographic specification, corresponds to anything that is not Spanish, Mexican or Latin American, that is to say: translations. The decision to insert the sub-sections *Novela Española*, *Novela Mexicana* and *Novela Latinoamericana* (in that order) suggests a certain hierarchy. By 1979, 35 Spanish novels had been published in the series, a number that highly contrasts with the 13 Mexican novels and 7 Latin American novels in the catalogue. The reduced representation of Mexican novels in the

series could be attributed to the fact that Porrúa had another series devoted exclusively to Mexican literature: *Colección de Escritores Mexicanos*. Perhaps, the editors wanted to avoid the overlap between its series. What is truly remarkable is the very small and Hispanocentric representation of Latin American novels in the series. Out of the 7 works published, none comes from Brazil or any of the Latin American French-speaking countries. In chapter 3 I discuss these trends in depth and elucidate whether they changed after 1979.

List 2 provides the complete bibliographical information about the series' volumes. The entries begin with the number of the volume in the series, the name of the author, title of the work, information about the preface, translation, annotations, existing editions, year of publication of the last existing edition, and number of pages. For example:

2. Homero: *La Ilíada*. Versión directa y literal del griego de Luis Segalá y Estalella. Prólogo de Alfonso Reyes. 17a edición, 1975, xxxiv-267 pp. (340 "*Sepan Cuantos...*" 1959-1979, 1979: 69)

In addition to this information, indications of whether the volumes contain illustrations or portraits are included, as well as complete lists of titles in volumes compiling more than one work:

321. Leibniz, Godofredo G.: *Discurso de metafísica / Sistema de la naturaleza / Nuevo tratado sobre el entendimiento humano / Monadología / Principios sobre la naturaleza y la gracia*. Estudio introductivo y análisis de las obras por Francisco Larroyo. 1977, liii-415 pp. (340 "*Sepan Cuantos...*" 1959-1979, 1979: 106)

In some entries, the titles can take several lines. The transcription of titles is never abbreviated. All the information provided on the covers is transcribed in these bibliographical entries. Thus, there are indications such as "Novela premiada por la Academia Española de la Lengua en 1915"

or “edición, puesta al día con documentos y datos hasta ahora casi desconocidos” (340 *Sepan Cuantos... 1959-1979*, 1979: 95). This list’s aim for completeness is evident. However, besides making it a useful reference material, the details included in the bibliographical entries, showcase the added value of paratexts and translations in these editions.

Agent representation

The choice to present the material in List 3 and List 4 according to preface writers and translators, reinforces that these practices added value to the series. The insistence in showing the identity of the people who carried out these functions could be an indicator of agency in the series. Nevertheless, I must point out that preface writing is more visible than translation in the catalogue. Not only is the preface writer list longer, but it is accompanied by the legend:

“hombres y mujeres mexicanos, españoles de España y españoles de México, cubanos, guatemaltecos, franceses, argentinos, norteamericanos, nicaragüenses, puertorriqueños, uruguayos, chilenos, alemanes, ecuatorianos y checoslovacos...” (340 *Sepan Cuantos... 1959-1979*, 1979: 109). Once again, we observe that the purpose behind this booklet is to display the scope of *SC*. Just as the volumes—which cover a wide terrain of subjects, genres, traditions and geographical areas—the series collaborators come from very different latitudes. The inclusion of the ellipsis after the title “Prologuistas...” reminds of the openness of this project to diverse sources and its continuous growth (in the same way it happens in the title).

A tenuous hierarchy is perceived in the preface writers’ presentation. Mexicans are at the forefront, followed by Spaniards, with the clarification “españoles de España y españoles de México”. This reference is most likely linked to the aftermath of the Spanish Republican exile in Mexico. Although I do not offer here a detailed analysis of the relationship between nationality and agency in the series, this brief paratext suggests that nationality was attributed importance, as

it reinforced the trope of the series' openness and inclusivity. But what does this indicate about *SC*'s stance in the post-revolutionary debates about who was authorized to produce education material in the country? Displaying the heterogenous nationalities of *SC*'s preface writers could mean the series did not participate in the trend to nationalize the production of textbooks at the end of the 1950s (Ixba, 2013). Nevertheless, although the openness to other nationalities is evident in the alluded legend, the clarification "españoles de España y españoles de México" could reveal the need to portray these foreign actor's proximity to the national context to legitimize their participation. After all, the debates regarding the nationalization of textbook production at the time, was a reaction against the intervention of Spanish actors in this area.

Setting aside the considerations about the nationality of *SC*'s preface writers, these actors have a more pronounced representation than translators: 105 prologists compared to 18 translators. List 3 presents preface writers in alphabetical order. These 105 prologists produced a total of 327 prologues for the series. By 1979 the series had 340 volumes, which means that 96% of the volumes were introduced with a preface, proving the importance of this activity within this publishing project. The bibliographic entries are very brief, just like in the list of volumes by categories: author, title and number of the volume in the series. The emphasis is put on the actors, not so much on the works. Some preface writers become very visible due to the sheer number of prefaces they wrote. But the number of contributions by actor is very disparate: some wrote as many as 23 prefaces for the series, whereas some just wrote one. The average number of prefaces per person is 3, indicating that the text output per listed person was relatively low (50% of the named people is credited for just one preface). However, there are 9 prologist who contributed to the series more than 10 times.

Table 3. Most prolific preface writers according to 340 “Sepan Cuantos...”

Preface writer	Number of prefaces
Montes de Oca, Francisco	23
Bermúdez, María Elvira	22
Lazo, Raimundo	17
Larroyo, Francisco	16
Souto Alabarce, Arturo	16
Garibay K. Ángel María	11
Moreno, Daniel	10
Ontañón, Juana de	10
Peñalosa, Joaquín Antonio	10

This led me to the initial questions: is a high number of prologues in the series indicative of agency? Were these prologues produced specifically for the series? How were these actors associated with Editorial Porrúa and SC? Are there common characteristics in the group of works these actors prefaced?

When it comes to the representation of translators in the catalogue, there is considerably less information. To begin with, and as mentioned before, the list of translators (List 4) is considerably shorter. It is also lacking an introductory note. Just as in List 3, the translators’ name is followed by the works’ simplified bibliographical data: author, title and number of the volume in the series. A total of 20 translators responsible for 37 translations appear on this list. The highest number of translations per person is 7, and the majority of the translators (12 out of 20) only contributed with one translation.

Table 4. Complete list of translators mentioned in 340 “Sepan Cuantos...”

Translator	Number of translations
Garibay K. Ángel María	5
Alvar, Manuel	4
Bolaño e Isla, Amancio	4
Alfau, Monserrat	3

Benach, F	3
González, Carlos Ignacio	2
Segalá y Estalella, Luis	2
Teixidor, Felipe	2
Cantarino, Vicente	1
Cardoza y Aragón, Luis	1
Gil Ildefonso, Manuel	1
Gómez Robledo, Antonio	1
González Brown, José	1
Isla, José de	1
Mondada, Ana Victoria	1
Montes de Oca, Francisco	1
Oeste de Bopp, Marianne	1
Philips, Rosa María	1
Porúa, María de los Ángeles	1
Saravia, Albertina	1

Interestingly enough, 18 out of the 20 people credited as translators are also included in the preface writer list and most of them penned the preface for the volume where the translation appears. In these cases, translation is part of a broad intervention on behalf of an agent. However, the fact that only a few preface writers (16%) also fulfilled translation functions shows that this compounded intervention was not the norm. Translation is made visible in this catalogue, but it is portrayed as a secondary activity in relation to preface-writing. This is surprising given that translations were already quantitatively significant in the catalogue: 170 translations had been published to that date and the catalogue only provides credit for 37. Does that imply that the remaining 131 translations are uncredited? Who are the translators on this list and what were their links to *SC*? Could the inclusion in the list suggest that these are original translations for *SC*? Does the disparate visibility between prologists and translators indicate that the former are more important than the latter in terms of agency?

My first intuition was that the remaining translations are not credited in the catalogue because they were recycled translations, that is, they were pre-existing translations reprinted in the series. One of my hypotheses regarding this issue is that producing original translations would increase costs and delay the production, and thus was not prioritized. Avoiding further costs, such as paying rights for the recycled translations could have prevented the publisher from crediting them. In fact, this was not an unusual practice in the Mexican context. The already alluded *Clásicos* by Vasconcelos resorted to this strategy. In a letter to Alfonso Reyes, Julio Torri explained the omission of the translator's names in this project: "No expresamos más visiblemente los nombres de los traductores, porque temimos Vasconcelos y yo pleitos con las casas editoras, pues desgraciadamente con nuestras leyes romano-cartaginesas-yanquis, no está permitido el robo que perpetramos" (as cited in González Kahn, 2013: 164). However, the importance of adapting the works to a national readership was still important, and, consequently, the production of paratexts became central. In this sense, preface writers could in fact be the ones assuming the position of *original writers* in the translated repertoire of the series.

As I show in this chapter, the definition of agency in *SC* is not self-evident. This catalogue allowed me to formulate the aforementioned questions but in order to answer them, further quantitative and qualitative analysis is necessary. In chapters 4 and 5, I introduce some of the conditions I identified as important in the determination of agency: iterative contributions, high visibility on covers and on 340 "*Sepan Cuantos...*", explicit discursive interventions in prefaces, footnotes and glossaries, national and professional profiles.

2.2.2. Online book marketing: *Sepan Cuantos*' 2013 catalogue

The last existing catalogue of *SC* was published online, in Editorial Porrúa's website (porrua.mx). This document includes information up to 2013⁴³: from volumes 1 to 743. Although it is incomplete—a few volumes have been added after 2013—this is the last available catalogue of the series and the most complete one. Consequently, it was the main source of information for my translation archaeology. This document—a downloadable PDF file—is notably different from 340 "*Sepan Cuantos...*".

Paratexts

The 2013 catalogue is devoid of a title and the lengthy paratextual interventions seen in 340 "*Sepan Cuantos...*". The first page, that could be considered its cover (shown in Fig. 4), depicts the publisher's logo—the Aztec warrior that is printed on all of *SC*'s covers—an image of several books among which we can spot *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* in *SC*'s edition, the blurb "Célebres colecciones, libros de interés general y coediciones con las

Figure 4. Front cover of the 2013 catalogue



instituciones académicas más reconocidas del país avalan nuestro prestigio y tradición", followed by the publisher's slogan: "Cultura al alcance de todos". This collage represents Editorial Porrúa's entire body of work, not *SC*'s in particular. The fact that books from different

⁴³ In 2020 Porrúa updated this catalogue. I am unable to update the analysis with the new information provided in that catalogue, which only became available during the revision phase of this thesis.

publishing houses are included, also shows the

Figure 4. Front cover of 2013 catalogue

company's scope as a bookseller. The emphasis put on the words *prestigio y tradición* pinpoint the place of Porrúa in the contemporary Mexican book scene. Thus, *SC* is presented as one of the many projects of its publisher.

There is no title indicating this is *SC*'s catalogue. In fact, the name *SC* is not included in the document, except in the reproduction of the volume's covers. The catalogue does not have an introduction or paratexts related to the series' mission. Besides the aforementioned front cover and the list presenting *SC*'s volumes, there are four advertisements related to Editorial Porrúa's services and products: *Biblioteca Jurídica Porrúa*, Porrúa's loyalty card for regular clients, Porrúa's loyalty card for professors, and Porrúa's publishing services (book digitization, consulting for self-publication projects, and technologies for education projects). Discursively, the paratexts in this catalogue emphasize Porrúa's strength as a multifaceted enterprise in the book industry: it is prestigious and linked to tradition and education, but it also creates a direct link with its customers through the offer of publication technologies and loyalty cards.

Content arrangement

The body of the 2013 catalogue is a list of the volumes organized according to the categories: *Literatura*, *Cuentos y relatos*, *Poesía*, *Teatro*, *Filosofía*, *Religión*, *Biografía*, *Historia* and *Ciencia* (presented in that order). The most significant feature of these categories is their broader nature in comparison to those in the 1979 catalogue. Just as in 1979, literature remains as the core content of the series. In this catalogue, however, *Literatura*, becomes an umbrella term covering a wide array of works including novels, essays, monographs and works of difficult classification. The regional markers seen in the 1979 catalogue disappear.

Table 5. Categories in 340 “Sepan Cuantos...” and the 2013 catalogue

1979 catalogue	2013 catalogue
Historia de la literatura. Estudios literarios	Literatura
Novela	Cuentos y relatos
Novela Española	Poesía
Novela Mexicana	Teatro
Novela latinoamericana	Filosofía
Fábulas	Religión
Cuentos y narraciones	Biografía
Leyendas y tradiciones	Historia
Poesía	Ciencia
Teatro	
Literatura precolombina	
Literatura oriental	
Literatura para niños y adolescentes	
Historia	
Biografía	
Filosofía	
Mitología	
Política y sociedad	
Pedagogía	
Epistolarios	
Antologías	
Obras diversas	

The simplification of the thematic threads results in a broader heterogeneity within the categories. For example, works as *El Periquillo Sarniento*, *La Odisea*, *Ben-Hur*, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (Ensayo de Psicología)*, *El Ramayana*, *Hazañas de Rocambole*, *Los hermanos Karamazov* and *El Conde de Montecristo* are grouped together under *Literatura*.

Perhaps the most unusual categorization can be observed in the category *Ciencia*, a category that was not present in the 1979 catalogue. To begin with, *Ciencia* includes some of the works that in 1979 were included under *Política y Sociedad* and *Pedagogía*, producing some initial questions about the publisher’s understanding of the label. As Table 6 shows, this is a very open interpretation of the scope of science, resulting in a repertoire that not only combines authors from different disciplines, latitudes and time periods, but whose place in the canon is notably different. Notwithstanding the questions regarding their grouping under science, authors with an indelible legacy such as Maquiavelo, Rousseau and Darwin are placed along with little

remembered authors such as Paul de Kruif. The same can be said about the works that are specifically pertinent to the Mexican context: *Relecciones del estado, de los indios, y del derecho de la Guerra* or *El positivismo en México*.

Table 6. Works included in category Ciencia in 2013's catalogue

Vol.	Author	Title
152	Nicolás Maquiavelo	<i>El príncipe</i>
159	Juan Jacobo Rousseau	<i>Emilio o la educación</i>
167	Didáctica Magna	<i>Juan Amós Comenio</i>
261	Francisco de Vitoria	<i>Relecciones del estado, de los indios, y del derecho de la Guerra</i>
301	Tomás de Aquino	<i>Tratado de la ley</i>
308	Juan Enrique Pestalozzi	<i>Cómo Gertrudis enseña a sus hijos</i>
335	Gabino Barreda	<i>La educación positivista en México</i>
369	Juan Enrique Pestalozzi	<i>Canto del cisne</i>
385	Charles Darwin	<i>El origen de las especies</i>
447	Juan Luis Vives	<i>Tratado de la enseñanza</i>
637	Paul de Kruif	<i>Los cazadores de microbios</i>
736	Sigmund Freud	<i>Introducción al psicoanálisis</i>

The creation of the category *Ciencia* could reflect a change in the perceived importance of this subject in more recent times. Its inclusion could have been deemed necessary to reinforce SC's encyclopaedic image. Its contents, however, reveal it is only an artifact of the catalogue. The reduced number of works in this category and the bizarre selection show that publishing scientific works was not a guiding principle in the development of the series.

In terms of the presentation of the works in the catalogue, the works are offered in a single list, arranged by categories. Four works are presented per page (see image right).

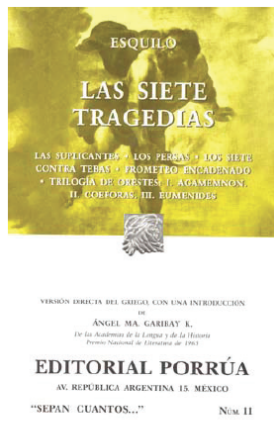
The entries consist of an image of the volume's front cover, followed by the fields: *Autor*, *Prólogo*, *Traductor* (in a few cases), *Primera edición Sepan Cuantos*, *ISBN*, *Edición*, *Año de edición*, *Páginas*. The bibliographical character observed in the 1979 catalogue is gone. The

Figure 5. Entries in 2013 catalogue



portrayal of the product (the image of the book object), the inclusion of the ISBN number and the nature of the ads, signal that this catalogue is a pragmatic marketing tool rather than a bibliographical compendium.

Figure 6. Omission of information in entry



I must point out that the information about the number of editions each volume has had over the years became a valuable source of information for my analysis of the volume's popularity across time (discussed in Chapter 3). This information is a good point of reference to grasp the individual volumes' history and to elucidate whether certain groups of works reflect momentary trends.

Las siete tragedias

11

Agent representation

Autor: Esquilo
Prólogo: Ángel María Garibay
Primera edición Sepan cuantos: 1962
ISBN: 9789700772462
Edición: 27
Año de edición: 2011
Páginas: 246

The names of preface writers and translators included in the 2013 catalogue are solely based on the information provided on the volumes' front covers. In a few cases,

information from a given front cover is left out from its corresponding entry. However, there are no cases in which information that does not appear on the front cover is included in the entry. This has visible repercussions on the representation of translators in this catalogue, as most of them are not credited on the front covers.

A total of 37 translation credits are included in the 2013 catalogue. This is a low number considering that by 2013 as many as 415 translations were included in SC's catalogue. The lower proportion of mentions of the translation fact in this catalogue shows a clear deterioration of translation visibility in the series. The contrast with the 1979 catalogue is noteworthy: it

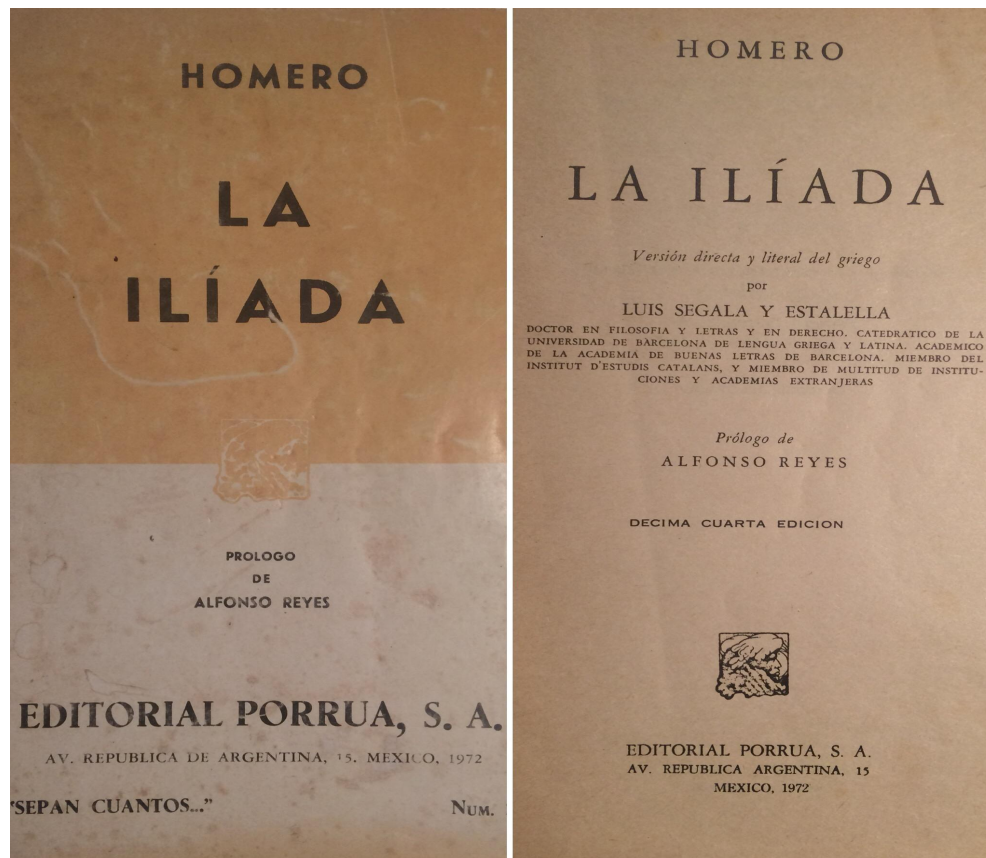
accounted for 39 translations (List 4) at a time when 170 translations had been published in the series. As I mentioned, the translation credits in the 2013 catalogue's entries are limited to front cover credits. Thus, only the 10 translations published after 1979 that had been credited on the front covers were included in the 2013 catalogue's entries. The 1979 catalogue included translations that were not credited on the front cover, thus, many of the credits that appeared in 1979, are omitted in 2013. These omissions include Manuel Alvar's several intralingual translations of Medieval Spanish literature, as well as those translations signed by F. Benach (the other name used by Felipe Teixidor to sign some translations) and Luis Segalá y Estalella's translations of *La Iliada* and *La Odisea*. The importance of the agents that produced them granted their inclusion in the 1979 catalogue. Manuel Alvar was a renowned Spanish philologist, Teixidor was the director of the series and Luis Segalá y Estalella's translations of Homer were very well-respected in the Spanish-speaking world (to this day they continues to be reprinted by several publishing houses in Spain and Latin America). This shows that there was some thought behind the representation of translators in the 1979 catalogue.

By contrast, the information in the 2013 catalogue seems to obey mechanical principles. Some omissions cannot be attributed to anything but mistakes in the transcription of the information. There are a few volumes whose translators were credited on the front cover but the entries in the catalogue do not reflect that information. This is the case, for instance, of Ángel María Garibay's translation credit for Aeschylus and Sophocles' tragedies which was left out from the 2013 catalogue. As a result, only Garibay's intervention as a preface writer is portrayed. This goes against the importance given to his translation task on the legend on the front cover of the volume: "Versión directa del griego con una introducción de Ángel María Garibay K. ...".

These omissions as well as rare inclusion of front cover credits emphasizes the prioritization of preface-writing over translation tasks in 2013.

There is no clearer example of the prioritization of preface writing than the one observed in the entry for *La Iliada*, where no translator is registered in the 2013 catalogue. As I mentioned earlier, the 1979 catalogue included Luis Segalá y Estalella (Homero, *La Iliada* [2] and *La Odisea* [4]) among the translators credited in List 4. Segalá's credit is not included on the volume's front cover, but on the inner cover. Despite this fact, he is granted considerable visibility in the volume, as his list of credentials accompany his name, reinforcing his authority to translate this text (See Figure 7). Despite Segalá's legitimacy as a translator and his semi-visible credit on the volume, his lack of front-cover centrality left him out of the 2013 catalogue. In fact, beyond what happens in the 2013 catalogue, what this case suggests is that from the outset, the publishers privileged certain agent's visibility over others. In this sense, the inclusion and place of inclusion of translation and preface-writing credits could be an index to determine which actors were considered more important. Similarly, the inclusion and placement of credits is also revealing about the different place given to preface-writing and translation. Although in general, preface-writing appears to be at the forefront in the editorial policy, an agent's centrality in the Mexican context also appears to determine whether translation or preface-writing activities will be highlighted. Segalá is treated in the volume as an authority, but the absence of his name proves that he was given a secondary position in relation to the preface writer of the volume. Perhaps this strategy allowed to give centerstage to the volume's preface writer, which in this case was Alfonso Reyes, who was central in the series' history.

Figure 7. Example of contrasting information on inner and outer cover



The shifts in the representation of translators and preface writers in the catalogues and on the volumes of the series guided my initial exploration of agency in the series. The actors highlighted in SC's catalogues could be the agents of translation in the series. I must clarify that I follow Poupaud's (2008) three-dimensional understanding of agency as: ability or capacity, performance and discourse (Poupaud, 2008: 39)⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ I follow Sandra Poupaud's operationalization of the concept of agency within our discipline, where she highlights the aforementioned three dimensions of the term: "The first aspect is an understanding of agency as ability or capacity and deals with the resources that enable agency. Drawing on Bourdieu's model, we will consider these resources to be the type and amount of capital at stake in translational practices. The second aspect is an understanding of agency as performance and deals with the effect produced by a particular phenomenon or action, or in other terms, with the successful deployment of resources to reach a particular objective. The third aspect is an understanding of agency as discourse. This involves studying how agents conceive and represent their own agency and that of others, how agency is expressed through discourse and the values put forward in these discourses" (Poupaud 2008: 39)

Conclusions

From the museum showcase to the store window

The most evident change observed in the analyzed catalogues is the change in the series' *ethos*.

The first catalogue is a curated object where the numerous paratexts display SC's mythology.

This document has a pragmatic function, but it is, above all, a tour through SC's history and achievements. Considering that catalogues function as displays for a publisher's production, 340

"*Sepan Cuantos...*" would be a museum showcase. In a very different direction, the 2013

catalogue, devoid of broad paratextual reflections on the significance of SC is but a store

window. To some extent, this noticeable change could indicate that at least in 1979, SC was

portrayed as an object belonging to what Bourdieu called *the field of restricted production*. To

describe the field where symbolic goods circulate and function, Bourdieu established a

distinction between the *field of restricted production* and the *field of large-scale cultural*

production:

a system producing cultural goods (and the instruments for appropriating these goods) objectively destined for a public of producers of cultural goods and the *field of large-scale cultural production*, specifically organized with a view to the production of cultural goods destined for non-producers of cultural goods, 'the public at large'" (Bourdieu, 1984: 4)

The presence of the 16th century epigraph, the paratexts that compile the *Pregones and*

trompetas, the careful presentation of the contents of the works in several lists, shows that the

series appealed in 1979 to readers who could appreciate the bibliographical work that this intends

to be. In contrast, the 2013 catalogue does not seem to necessarily address readers but

consumers.

Hierarchical relations in agent participation

Although the first catalogue offers a very inclusive image by including a wider variety of categories, its highly segmented content shows a repertoire that has to be discreetly separated. Things are not the same, they do not have the same weight and so are they presented. Translation in general is more central in the first catalogue, even though it is secondary to preface-writing. The situation aggravates considerably in the 2013 catalogue. My task in chapter 3 is to determine whether these shifts are observable in the volumes or if they are only a product of the catalogue's representation.

The canon is made more democratic by accident in the 2013 version. There are less categories, less strict differentiations of the works. The hierarchy is lost to some extent. This categorization of the works produces a very different effect than the one observed in the 1979 catalogue. Blurring the lines of the hierarchies in the catalogue could signal the importance of the commercial logic. The lack of paratexts specifically commenting on the series' legacy also highlights that this catalogue is more steered towards being a marketing tool.

Another hierarchical relationship clearly established in these catalogues is that between authors, preface writers and translators in the series. This fact made me consider the importance of reflecting not only on the series' repertoire but also on the different ways in which the agents involved in the creation and presentation of this repertoire are portrayed in it.

The starting point for a translation archaeology

I would also like to discuss briefly the value of each of these catalogues in my research process. Even though the first catalogue I encountered and examined was that of 2013, it was not until I contrasted its information with the one provided in 1979 (340 "*Sepan Cuantos...*") that I could

grasp the material better and start detecting issues that could be interesting from a translation perspective. It is important to consider these catalogues' different forms and motivations. As mentioned earlier, the first one is a booklet, accompanied by a multitude of paratexts and segmentations that make it much more than a bibliographical list. The paratexts included in this catalogue make it a greater source to understand the series initial profile. Also, the 2013 document is dominated by a pragmatic logic. In this document *SC* is shown as one of Editorial Porrúa's many publications. We see the volumes as objects, not only through the depiction of their covers but by the introduction of the ISBN number. The classification of the works is simple and sometimes flawed, but it provides the sufficient organizing structure for non-specialist consumers. The information related to number of pages and editions provides a general understanding of the volume's presence as material objects in the world. Not only do we learn that the number of pages was not a limiting factor in this project (some volumes exceed the 1000 pages) but that some of these books have come back to life at least 37 times.

The combination of the discursive and pragmatic information provided in both catalogues was a good starting point to formulate questions and hypotheses about the series. Translation appears to be important due to its quantitative presence in the series, but the translation fact is very rarely visible. What could be behind this? Who are the translators that become visible in the series? What is the role of prologists in the presentation of translation? Who are the translation agents in this project and how does their agency manifest in the volumes? What types of works are included in the series and for what purposes? How does the translated material contribute to the creation of a post-revolutionary national identity? How is it positioned as education material? Is it even presented as education material? Do translation practices and translation agents change over time in this project?

What is most evident in both catalogues is that the inclusion of the works in *SC* did not follow a well set out plan. As I have been pointing out, I suspect that the series' sometimes random growth is related to the different agents participating in this project. Many hands throughout time intervened in the selection of the material, building the series on the go and it is not surprising that the works that make up this series offer several classification challenges. The changing segmentations of the material in the alluded catalogues, and the existence of sections that are open-ended, such as *obras diversas* or *literatura*, evidence the difficulties of giving this catalogue a neat logic.

However, these contradictions are only visible to those of us analyzing the catalogues, as these categories are not present in the volumes themselves. Nowadays *SC*'s books are usually displayed in bookstores following a color-coded pattern that also appears to follow a loose categorization: red for novels, yellow for theatre, purple for poetry, gold for essays and historical texts, and green for philosophy. The patterns can be observed in the online catalogue, thanks to the thumbnails of the covers. Nevertheless, the pattern, as I discussed in the introduction, is not always uniform. Determining the factors that affected these choices is difficult and perhaps an interview with the series' decision makers could have helped, but several emails and visits to the main store were unfruitful. However, as with the categories, this issue undoubtedly indicates that this project is not necessarily rigorous. Could this be due to the fact that the series is intended for a non-expert readership?

Resulting from these observations, the examination of the volumes to provide a more complete sense regarding translation in the series, became necessary. This led me to build a database of the series parting from the information provided in the online catalogue and

supplementing it with information gathered from my examination of the volumes and bibliographical research.

CHAPTER 3. JOURNEY TO THE CENTER OF THE SERIES: AN EXPLORATION OF *SEPAN CUANTOS*' CONTENTS

Without a doubt, the series' catalogues studied in the previous chapter contain useful information, but they are display cases that reflect the publisher's vision at a given moment and thus, are limited. In order to gain a deeper understanding of *SC*'s content and translation practices, I built a database that combined the information provided in the catalogues, as well as information gathered from my own empirical and bibliographical research. Databases offer the possibility of filtering data and producing frequency tables. Not only was I concerned with grouping the foreign works published in the series and identifying trends in genres, source languages and authors (the subject of this chapter), but I was also interested in obtaining a more detailed picture on how translation was handled, in general. For this reason, I completed a database containing the 743 volumes that make up the series catalogue up until 2013. I had four initial questions, which were the following:

1. What kind of texts were selected for the catalogue, and how many of these were translations?
2. What source languages were represented in the catalogue?
3. Who were the translators? The vast majority of translations are uncredited in the catalogues. Is this true also for the volumes themselves?
4. How were the translators credited, if at all?

I began by transcribing all of the information provided in the series' catalogues. Then, I added additional fields to register if the volume included was a single work, a compilation of works, or an anthology. Immediately, this raised further questions. For example: are all the volumes introduced by a preface? Are prefaces originally made for the series or repurposed? Are

translations originally made for the series or repurposed? If yes, what proportion of them are repurposed or original? How can this be explained? The answers I produced for these questions are mostly presented in chapters 4 and 5. In this chapter I focus on my general observations about the series' content. I offer this general description of the construction of the database and the questions that were at the base of its development to facilitate the understanding of how I acquired, organized and analyzed the data that informs this and the following chapters.

I must point out that the data I analyzed in this chapter relates to the entire catalogue, as I had information about all the series' titles up until 2013. The fields of source text origin and source language were completed through my own research, as they were not provided in the series' catalogues. I completed this information for the entire catalogue. When the acquisition of the data required the qualitative analysis of the volumes such as translation credit placement, type of preface and type of translation, I only worked with a 197 volume sample. This was also the case with the data about recycled translations' original publication date and translator's biographical information. For practical purposes, the following table summarizes the fields in my database:

Table 7. Fields in database for each volume

Fields in database	Description	Applied to
Assigned number in the series		All volumes
Title		All volumes
Author		All volumes
Volume type	Single work, compilation, anthology	Sample
First edition in <i>SC</i>		All volumes
Number of existing editions	Until 2013	All volumes
Year of last edition	Until 2013	All volumes
Number of pages		All volumes
Genre	According to 2013 catalogue	All volumes
Preface	Yes, No	All volumes
Type of preface	Original, recycled, anonymous/undetermined	Sample
Preface writer		All volumes
Translation	Yes, No, Mixed	All volumes
Translator	Translator 1, Translator 2, Translator 3... in cases of volumes compiling more than one translated text, or one text translated by different translators.	Sample

Translator's biographical information	Nationality, date of birth and death, main professional activities, institutional affiliations	Sample
Type of translation	Original, recycled, undetermined	Sample
Year of translation's first publication		Sample
Place of translation credit	Front cover, inner cover, copyright page, preface, footnote	Sample
Origin of source text		All volumes
Language of the source text		All volumes

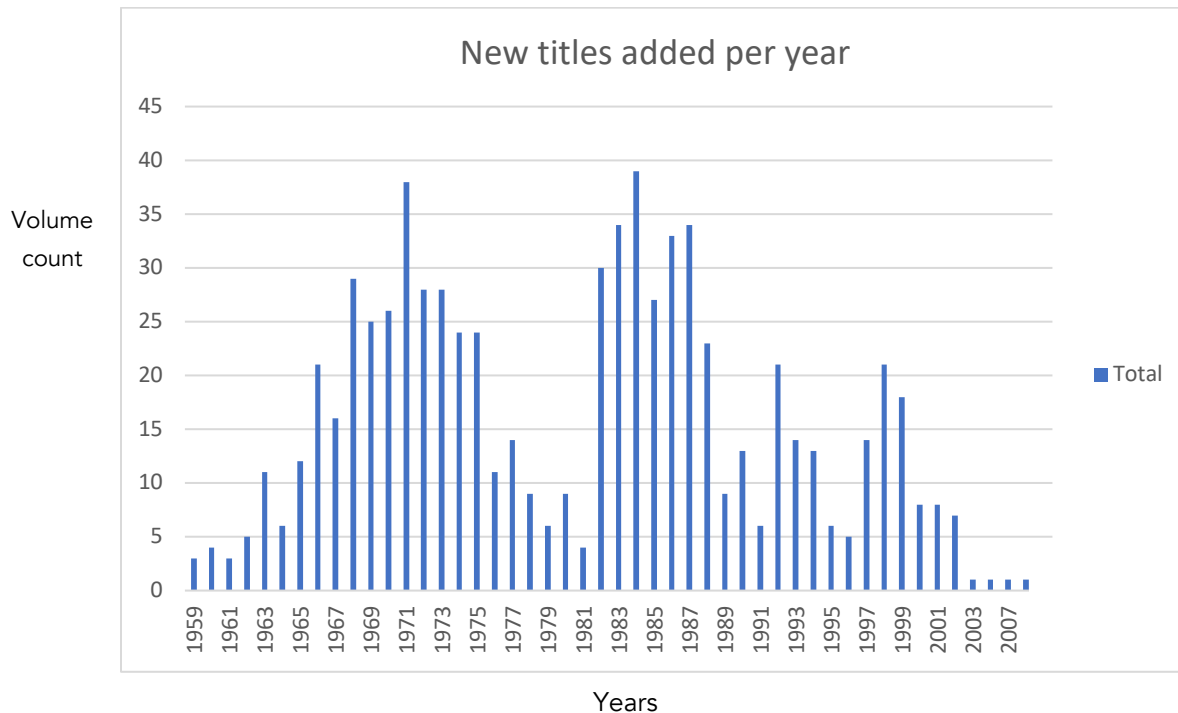
The database allowed for a quantitative analysis of the series based mainly on frequency distributions. This was my initial approach because “commencing with a quantitative phase has the potential advantage of exposing some trends that can then be further probed via qualitative data” (Saldanha & O’Brien, 2014: 23). Although quantitative studies aim to make generalizations about a certain population (Mellinger & Hanson, 2017: 9), this stage of the research led me to a more nuanced view of the series’ periods and contents. Following Mellinger and Hanson’s (2017) text on Quantitative studies in Translation and Interpretation studies, I carried out a broad statistical analysis of the series. However, although this chapter has a high quantitative component, it is not devoid of qualitative observations. Through this analysis I aimed at having a more complete map of the series development over time, which involved looking at new volume output per year and each volumes’ number of editions. The most important question at this point of my analysis was what was included in *SC*’s catalogue. Thus, I present the main trends observed in relation to genres, languages and authors.

3.1. New volume output per year

SC’s rhythm of new title production cannot be described as steady. The series started with a modest production, issuing an average of 3 annual new titles during the first four years. Its rhythm of publication increased slowly, reaching its first peak in 1971, when 38 new titles were

added. However, the moments of highest new volume output were hardly sustained, resulting in a highly fluctuating production that can be observed in Chart 1.

Chart 1. New titles added per year in SC



The waves observed in chart 1 could be indicative of changing agendas introduced by the different agents involved in the series as well as new economic and political conditions. For instance, the decreased production at the end of the Teixidor period after 1979, could reflect that this was a transitional phase for the series. Although I have been unable to determine who was in charge of the series after Teixidor, the noticeable increase in new volume output throughout the 1980s suggests a change in editorial policy for the series. The data about authors and genres could help confirm this.

Besides the exit of Teixidor as director of the series, the increase in new volume output observed in the 1980s could also be related to contextual factors. As I pointed out in chapter 1, the economic crisis of 1982 had a direct impact over publishing activities in the country, and

state-funded publishers were particularly affected. This could have meant that *SC* had less competition and saw this moment as an opportunity to boost its operations.

As for the fluctuations in later years, the deceleration in new volume production that began in the 1990s and became acute in the 2000's could be due to the fact that the texts with the highest appeal to the series' target audience had already been published. From the 1990s onwards, *SC*'s sales could have been mostly sustained by reprints or re-editions of its previous volumes. These observations are only tentative in an attempt to find evidence that sustains the periodization presented in the first chapter. Although the correlations that I pointed out do not prove causation, the lack of a constant production rhythm is a strong indicator that the series had different phases. I cannot confirm at this point of the analysis that those phases are determined by the alluded contextual factors and by the incidence of certain agents. However, the trends in rhythm production highlight certain moments in the series development: a parabolic development between 1959 and 1981; a sharp and sustained increase in production throughout most of the 1980s; a more modest production from 1989 and 2001, where the fluctuations show certain attempts to revive the project; and, finally, a notable descent in new volume output in the early 2000s. Although the trend observed in the 2000's could suggest the decline of the project, it is important to consider that to this day, *SC* also subsists through the repeated editions of its pre-existing volumes.

3.2. A volume's afterlife

The addition of new titles across time allows us to understand the series' changing growth rate and to identify what are seemingly important moments in its conformation. This perspective, however, offers a partial view of *SC*'s overall production because the series has also relied on

reprints and re-editions of its existing titles. Looking at the number of editions of individual volumes over time allows us to grasp the endurance of certain choices. Some of the authors with the highest representation in the catalogue were only edited once whereas some that appear in it with only one or two volumes have had a more lasting presence because their work was edited multiple times. Therefore, in this section I will focus on the trends regarding the iterations of certain volumes in the series, focusing on those edited⁴⁵ the most and the least.

Chart 2. Number of editions of existing volumes

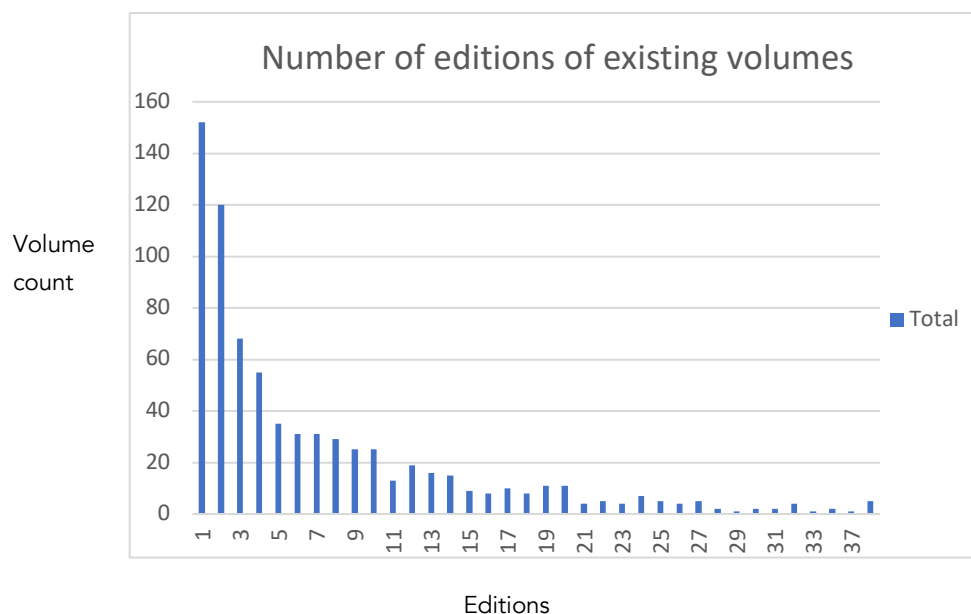


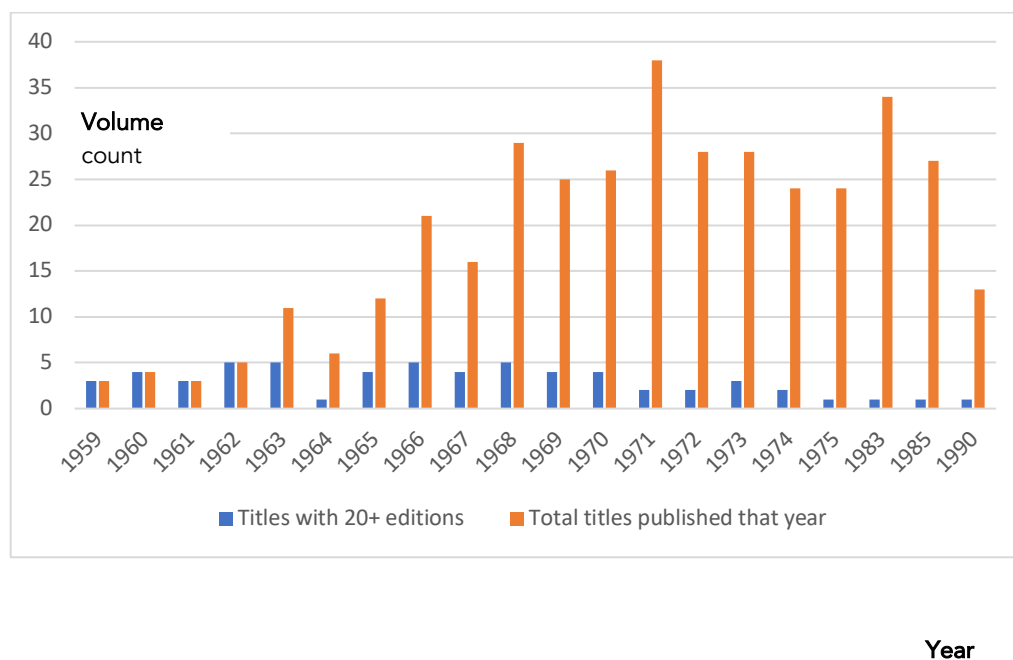
Chart 2, presented above, shows the distribution of volumes according to the number of editions they had until 2013. A stark contrast is seen in both extremes of the chart. On one side, a considerable amount of volumes only had one edition (152 volumes), whereas very few had more than 30 editions (12 volumes). A volume's number of editions can indicate some works' sustained popularity as opposed to other's ephemeral presence. There are a total of 340 volumes with a low number of editions (1 to 3 editions), 231 volumes with a low to medium number of

⁴⁵ The 2013 catalogue includes the field "editions". It is not clear if this field refers to a combination of re-editions and reprints, or one of these exclusively. Due to the difficulty to clarify the issue and because this analysis follows the information provided in the 2013 catalogue's field "editions", I use the same term. Despite its ambiguity, the term "editions" is indicative of an iteration of an existing title, which is what interests me.

editions (4 to 10 editions), 109 volumes with a medium to high number of editions (11 to 19 editions) and, finally, 60 volumes with high number of editions (20 or more editions)⁴⁶.

It is interesting to note that 95% of the volumes with the greatest number of editions were included in the catalogue between 1959 and 1975 (See Appendix 3). This period coincides with Felipe Teixidor's time as the series' director, suggesting there might be a correlation between the selection of the repertory during this time and its popularity. Chart 3 shows the growing gap across time between the number of volumes published each year and their success over time. This chart reveals that after the late 1960s, a very low proportion of the total new volume output would move on to have more than 20 editions.

Chart 3. Volumes with more than 20 editions according to their first year of publication in the series in relation with total new title output that year

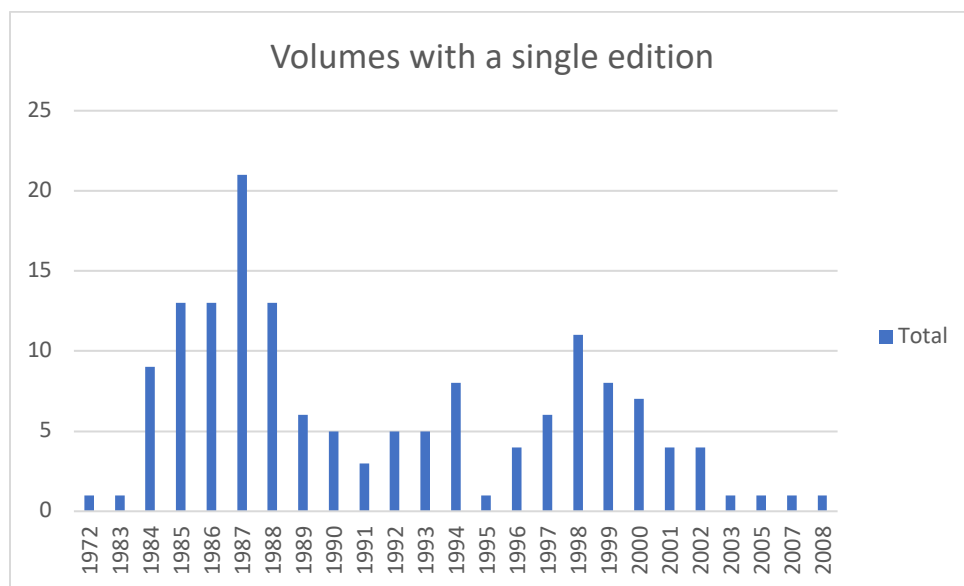


⁴⁶ The total volume count is 740. There are three volumes for which no editions' information is provided in the 2013 catalogue: Vol. 354, José María Gabriel y Galán, *Obras Completas* is missing in the catalogue; Vol. 493, Carlos Pereyra, *La Guerra de los Conquistadores* is included in the catalogue but the editions field in its entry is empty; and Vol. 732, Manuel Márquez Sterling, *Los últimos días del presidente Madero* provides incorrect information, as it registers 1975 as the year of the first edition of this book in the series, which is not possible due to its assigned number.

In Chart 3, the 1980s and 1990s are barely represented. Only three volumes added to the catalogue during this period moved on to have more than 20 editions: Vol. 368 (1983) Miguel de Unamuno, *Niebla/ Abel Sánchez / Tres novelas ejemplares y un prólogo*, Vol. 467 (1985) Franz Kafka, *La metamorfosis / El castillo* and Vol. 592 (1990) John Kenneth Turner, *México bárbaro*.

In fact, the volumes produced during the 1980s and 1990s were rarely edited more than once. Although the single-edition phenomenon starts being observed in volumes included in the catalogue by the end of the 1960s, it is a staple of the 1980s production (see Chart 4). Within the larger population of the series, the 1980s stand out as the moment in which a great number of titles with only one edition were included in the series' catalogue.

Chart 4. Year of publication of volumes with a single edition



It could be argued that the volumes first included in the series have had a greater chance of being re-edited, as more time has elapsed. However, my hypothesis is that the greatest number of editions for the initial titles is closely linked to their greater centrality in the Mexican literary system. One of the main arguments that sustain this hypothesis is the 1980s single-edition phenomenon. Enough time has passed between the first publication of this set of works to allow

for several editions. However, the lack of demand for these titles shows that perhaps their place in the literary system is not central. In this way, the contrast between the representation of certain works, languages and authors in the catalogue, should always be contrasted with their demand (revealed by a volume's number of editions over time). In consequence, in the next section I present the main trends in genres, authors and languages through the double lens of their representation in the catalogue versus their popularity over time.

3.3. Genres

For this analysis I follow the genre classification provided in the 2013 catalogue. Despite this classification's shortcomings, it is more succinct than the one provided in the 1979 catalogue and therefore more manageable to provide an overview of the series' contents. Although there are many things to be said about the hierarchy of genres in the series, I limit my observations to the most popular genres. To begin with, the number of volumes under each genre indicates a clear preference over literary material in the series. This was already evident in the 1979 catalogue.

Literatura is the category with most volumes in the series, amounting to 343 volumes.

Table 8. Number of volumes per genre in the 2013 catalogue

Genre	Number of volumes
Literatura	343
Historia	102
Filosofía	69
Poesía	59
Cuento y Relato	58
Teatro	47
Biografía	32
Religión	21
Ciencia	12

As I mentioned in the analysis of the 2013 catalogue, the works grouped under this category are very heterogeneous. Although it includes monographs about literary history, literary essays, epic poems and other texts of difficult generic adscription, the main type of works found in this category are 19th century novels. Furthermore, if we take into account the other literary categories *Cuento y Relato*, *Poesía*, and *Teatro* the total count of literary or literature-related works in the series sums a total 507 volumes. This is nearly 70% of the series' repertory. Taken independently, the heavy reliance on 19th century novels in the category *Literatura* could point to this material's instrumentality in the promotion of reading practices in the country. In this regard, the series is less oriented towards the transmission of knowledge. According to the report by Mexican IBBY (International Board on Books for Young People), "La novela es el género más popular entre los mexicanos, leído por cerca del 36% de los lectores de libros." (Pérez Buendía & Sánchez-Anaya Gutiérrez, 2016). Although a considerable number of national and Spanish novels are included in this category, there is an abundance of French, Italian and Russian novels. This is a repertory that contains a high proportion of translated material. I provide more information about the novels included in the series in the next section.

History is the second most represented genre in the catalogue, with a total of 103 titles. The centrality of historical works in the series also corresponds to the information provided in current surveys about reading practices in the country. According to polls and recent studies, history is the second preferred reading material in Mexico after novels (Escalante Gonzalbo, 2007; "*Novela, género literario más leído*", 2009). Among the titles included in this category, there is a clear trend towards Mexican history, which is also coherent with Editorial Porrúa's

overall sympathy for representing Mexican matters in its publications. There is a focus on three key moments of Mexican history: the Conquest, the Independence and the Revolution.

Despite the fact that a considerable amount of the historical works in *SC* revolve around Mexican events, some of these texts were not written originally in Spanish. Thus, the historical repertory in *SC* covers both local and external accounts of the country's history. Take for instance: Vol.39 (1965), Alejandro de Humboldt, *Ensayo político del Reino de la Nueva España*; Vol.74 (1967), Mme. Calderón de la Barca *La vida en México durante una residencia de dos años en ese país*; Vol.150 (1950) William R. Prescott, *Historia de México*; Vol.366 (1982) John Reed, *México Insurgente. Diez días que estremecieron al mundo*; Vol.591 (1990), John Kenneth Turner *México Bárbaro* and Vol.666 (1996) Beatrice Berler *La conquista de México*. What kind of interpretations of Mexican history and culture are portrayed in these texts? How are they introduced and translated? This subgroup of works could make an interesting case study.

The third most important genre in the catalogue is Philosophy. However, unlike History and Literature, which appear to respond to general reading preferences in the country, this material is not associated with the series' mass appeal. Philosophical works in the series are accompanied by lengthy introductions and annotations that evidence they were designed to be used in a pedagogical environment. The philosophical repertory in *SC* cannot be conceived without the participation of Francisco Larroyo, one of the most visible collaborators in the series.

Larroyo (1908-1981), was an important Mexican philosopher who was highly invested in education projects and in the production and dissemination of pedagogical materials. After a long career in public service, he taught Philosophy at UNAM, where he also directed the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. His links with pedagogy and the Ministry of Education (SEP) are significant. In 1944 he was part of the *Comisión Revisora de Planes, Programas y Libros de Texto* that

produced the new curriculum for the Escuela Normal put in place in 1945. He also directed the *Instituto Nacional de Pedagogía* (1945), was appointed *Director General de Enseñanza Normal* (1947) and was president of the *Comisión General de Libros de Texto*.

Although Larroyo's professional trajectory touches a lot on pedagogy, his role in the development of Mexican philosophy is not negligible. He is known for introducing Neo-Kantianism in Mexico. As a part of his dissemination of this school of thought, he co-founded the *Gaceta de los Neokantianos de México*, where he translated several philosophical works. He embarked in well-documented debates with Spanish exiled philosopher Jose Gaos⁴⁷. His body of work for SC is considered part of his legacy in the dissemination of philosophy in Mexico⁴⁸. His heavy hand in the philosophical repertory in the series is evidenced by his multi-faceted intervention in 17 volumes, where he selected, presented, annotated and occasionally translated texts. Larroyo's role in the Mexican cultural scene of the mid-20th century is highlighted in Villalpando Nava's *Historia de la Educación en México*

el crédito de Larroyo no reside en la autoría de sus libros, sino en el hecho palpable de su influencia ideológica, que no sólo unificó la formación de los maestros, sino el criterio educativo de todo el país. [...] Por cerca de cuarenta años fue realmente el rector del pensamiento pedagógico en México. [...] Igualmente, en el campo de la enseñanza de la filosofía, su influencia fue decisiva; hasta su muerte, en 1981, sus libros informaban los cursos en las escuelas preparatorias, normales, técnicas y militares. (Villalpando Nava, 2009: 480)

The philosophical texts in SC are different from the novels and historical works discussed previously because they appear to be directed exclusively for university students. This is

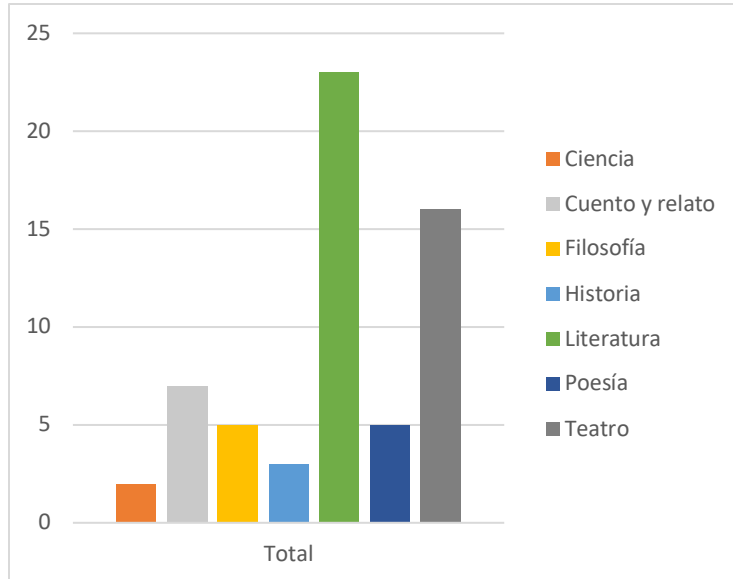
⁴⁷ For example, some of their exchanges were recorded in the volume Gaos, José y Francisco Larroyo, 1940. *Dos ideas de la filosofía*, México: La Casa de España en México.

⁴⁸ Among the long list of the books he authored, his dissemination works are singled out in the following way: "De difusión de filósofos: Aristóteles, Bacon, Comte, Descartes, Hegel, Hessen, Hume, Kant, Leibinz, Messer, Natorp, Platón, Spinoza (todos en textos de la Colección 'Sepan Cuantos', de la Editorial Porrúa, México)" (Villalpando Nava, 2009: 481).

evidenced by the different nature of the prologues, which tend to be more specialized, whereas those for literature and history are usually biographical or contextualize the work in a very panoramic way.

Thus far, this analysis has revolved on what the publishers considered was relevant to include in the series, but it does not necessarily indicate if the genres' popularity over time followed the same route. If we focus on the number of times each volume has been edited since its inclusion in the series, the hierarchy regarding genres is slightly different. Based on the analysis of the works with more than 20 editions, an important shift is observed. Although literature's predominance remains unchanged, history becomes the second least popular genre. Instead, theatre rises as the second most popular genre, and *Cuento y Relato* occupies the third place.

Chart 5. Genre distribution in volumes with 20 or more editions



The descent of history in this chart could be related to the disconnect between the high place given to it by Mexican readers in the national reading surveys and the actual place of this genre

in national book production. Referring to the importance given to history in the polls, Escalante Gonzalbo states:

[es] muy extraño el peso de la historia. Los datos de la industria dicen otra cosa: [...] los libros de geografía e historia no llegan a ser el 1%. Sólo es posible proponer conjeturas: que se confunden los libros de historia con novelas históricas y cosas similares, que la historia tiene en México una legitimidad particular y los libros de historia son los libros por excelencia, que es una de las pocas materias en que se sienten competentes los entrevistados. (2007: 125).

Although Porrúa gave a great priority to the insertion of historical material in the series' catalogue, its low popularity over time could reflect that this genre is not in fact as popular among Mexican audiences as it is claimed in surveys. It could also be argued that the decrease in popularity of *SC*'s historical works could be due to a misalignment between this repertory and broader trends in the historical works recommended in school curricula.

The rise of theatre and short stories in the hierarchy of genres over time is also worth exploring. Theatre was a genre that saw a distinct boost during the Teixidor era, when a total of 38 works under this category were published for the first time. After 1979 only 9 volumes classified as theatre were published in the series. The repertory of dramatic works is highly canonical. In the Hispanic portion of this repertory there are authors such as: Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, Calderón de la Barca, José Zorrilla, Cervantes, Leandro Fernández de Moratín, Lope de Rueda, Guillén de Castro, and Federico García Lorca. As for the translated material, the authors represented range from Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Terence and Plautus to Goethe, Schiller, Molière, Corneille, Shakespeare, Wilde, Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Chekhov and Turgenev. Many of the works produced by these authors are basic in the study of literature. In this sense, this repertory is highly

traditional, and its popularity could be linked to the permanence of these authors in reading lists at schools and universities.

Finally, the importance of the category *Cuento y Relato* according to number of editions over time, shows SC's role as source of attractive texts for a young readership. The list of works with over 20 editions in this genre are:

Table 9. Works classified as Cuento y relato with more than 20 editions

Vol.	Title	Author	Year of first publication	Editions
16	Fábulas (José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi. José Rosas Moreno. Esopo. Fedro. Juan de la Fontaine. Arcipreste de Hita. Tomás de Iriarte. Félix María Samaniego. Concepción Arenal. Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch. Ramón de Campoamor)	María de Pina (ed.)	1963	24
31	Mitología griega:Dioses y héroes	Ángel María Garibay	1964	24
36	Popol Wuj. Antiguas historias de los indios quichés de Guatemala		1965	24
97	Cuentos	Horacio Quiroga	1968	29
136	Las mil y una noches		1970	25
210	Narraciones extraordinarias	Edgar Allan Poe	1972	34
299	El Principito	Antoine de Saint Exupéry	1975	30

The volumes in Table 9 are not only thematically attractive to a young readership, but when I examined them, I was able to detect that they were further adapted to be amenable for children. For instance, the anthology *Fábulas* includes a glossary at the end of the volume where some of the entries forced me to wonder just how young its intended reader was. This glossary provides definitions such as “Brincar. Dar saltos”(de Pina, 1963: 277), or “Danza. Baile” (de Pina, 1963: 278). Although it contains words that are either uncommon in Mexico, archaic or belonging to a higher register (acribillar, auriga, bellaco, jeringonza, podenco, proboscidio, zarandajas...) it also contains words that are considerably more common (atrapar, catedral, coyote, esponja, flauta, jaula, necio, oruga, tímido, trampa). Besides including a highly pedagogical glossary, SC's edition of *Popol Wuj* includes a highly adapted version of this text. This *Popol Wuj* is

considerably shorter than the one in other editions. It follows the 18th century translation of this text by Fray Francisco Ximénez, adapting the language in some passages, removing the column of Quiché that accompanied his version, cutting several passages and including images from Mayan codices (which were completely unrelated to these tales) to function as illustrations. This *Popol Wuj* looks like a low-quality children's book.

The contents of *Cuento y relato* changed drastically in the mid 1980s. The titles in this category that were published before the 1980s were primarily translations of youth literature classics such as *Cuentos de Grimm*, Kipling's *El libro de las tierras vírgenes*, Carroll's *Alicia en el País de las maravillas*, *Cuentos de Hans Christian Andersen*, *Las mil y una noches*, and several anthologies with highly pedagogical prefaces such as *La india literaria*, *Proverbios de Salomón y Sabiduría de Jesús Ben Sirak*, *Voces de Oriente. Antología de textos literarios del cercano oriente*, and *Fábulas*. The non-translated material goes in another direction, as it extends the great representation of 19th century Mexican narrative seen in the category *Literatura* with the works of authors such as Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera, Francisco Zarco and Vicente Riva Palacio. Only Horacio Quiroga's short stories could be considered as a continuation of the translated repertoire that might appeal to a young readership. After the 1980s the translated material stops being as homogeneous and it stops including works typically associated with a young readership. The works in this category produced from the 1980s and onwards were penned by authors such as: Chekhov, Rousseau, Marcel Schwob, Henri-Frédéric Amiel, G.K. Chesterton, Isaac Babel, Montaigne⁴⁹, Heinrich Heine, Giovanni Papini, Franz Kafka, Stefan Zweig, Sainte-Beuve and Alberto Moravia. In the non-translated repertoire we see more Mexican narrative (Juan de Dios Peza, Heriberto Frías, Artemio del Valle Arizpe), Juan Burgos'

⁴⁹ Essays by Montaigne, G.K. Chesterton and Sainte-Beuve are oddly included as *Cuento y relato*, as well as Ángel María Garibay's Nahuatl grammar, *Llave del náhuatl*.

anthology “Antología del cuento hispanoamericano”, Emmanuel Carballo’s “Protagonistas de la literatura mexicana” (this is not a compilation of short stories), and several works by Guadalupe Appendini about Mexican folklore: “Leyendas de provincia”, “Refranes populares de México”, “Refranes y aforismos mexicanos”, and “Leyendas del sureste”.

3.4. *Authors*

Although the names of several authors have emerged in the previous analysis, in this section I would like to focus on the authors that stand out in the complete catalogue. A total of 354 authors are identified on the covers of the volumes. Most authors are represented in the catalogue through one volume. Only 70 authors are represented with between 2 and 5 volumes in the series, and the number of authors who are represented with 6 volumes or more, is minimal (only 8 authors), as it can be observed in the following table.

Table 10. Authors with more than 5 volumes in the series

Author	Volumes in SC
Emilio Salgari	36
Julio Verne	24
Benito Pérez Galdós	14
Alejandro Dumas	11
Victoriano Salado Álvarez	8
Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo	6
Miguel de Unamuno	6
León Tolstoi	6

With the exception of Marcelino Mendéndez Pelayo and Victoriano Salado Álvarez, who are represented in the series with critical works, the rest of the authors in this list are authors of novels. This reflects the preference for narrative in the series that I already discussed in the genre section.

Spanish novelists like Pérez Galdós and Miguel de Unamuno have a significant visibility in the series. Galdós enjoyed great success in Mexico since the late 19th century. At the time, Galdós was the most popular Spanish author in the country. His success in the country was only compared to that of Jules Verne (Sinnigen & Vieyra Sánchez, 2001: 226). According to a detailed study of Galdós' reception in Mexico, his popularity is explained by several factors: he was a prolific writer who offered a lot of material for Mexican publishers, he wrote in Spanish and thus his work was more accessible for Mexican readers, his work served as a model at the early stages of the development of a nationalist trend in Mexican narrative, and his work revolved around Spanish historical events that were parallel to those in Mexico (foreign interventions and civil wars) (Sinnigen and Vieryra Sánchez, 2001: 229). Unamuno's popularity in Mexico has also been considerable. According to Gordo Piñar (2013), Unamuno not only had a great interest in Mexican culture, but he had close contact with several Mexican intellectuals, which could have enhanced the promotion of his works in Mexico.

It is worth pointing out the prominence in the catalogue of Emilio Salgari and Jules Verne as the two authors with the greatest number of volumes in the series. Emilio Salgari enjoyed great success in Latin America at the beginning of the 20th century. Translations of his works had circulated in Mexico through the Spanish editions of Calleja and the uncredited translations of Mexican publishing house Pirámide. Jules Verne's popularity in Mexico was also exceptional. To this day, Verne is the second 19th century European author with more works at the Mexican National Library (Vieyra Sánchez, 2005: 28). Although the Verne phenomenon arrived with a slight delay to Mexican soil —22 years after the publication of his first novel in France— soon after his works started circulating in the country, they became a great success. His

works were published as newspaper serials⁵⁰, devoid of introductions and through pre-existing Spanish translations (Vieyra Sánchez, 2005: 28). The value attributed to his work was pedagogical. Just as Salgari's works, "la producción de Verne [...] representaba un magnífico medio para entretener a la juventud e inculcarle valores morales y científicos" (Vieyra Sánchez, 2005: 30).

The great majority of Salgari and Verne's volumes were added to the series in the 1980s. During this decade, European 19th century novels flooded SC's catalogue. Beyond the pedagogical value in Salgari and Verne's novels, their entertainment potential appears to be what made their works so popular in SC. The rest of the repertory published in the 1980s reveals that besides these authors' adventure novels, the 1980s publishing boom relied heavily on the French *roman-feuilleton* repertoire. The place of Alexandre Dumas, an exponent of the French *roman-feuilleton*, as the fourth author with more volumes in the series, reflects this trend. As my readers know, the term *roman-feuilleton* refers to the episodic publication of popular novels in newspapers that started in Europe during the 19th century. French literary critic Sainte-Beuve famously called this phenomenon "industrial literature". Important representatives of this literature—Ponson du Terrail, Eugène Sue, Balzac and Dumas—are included extensively in SC.

However, the predilection for 19th century European novels signaled by the importance of the authors portrayed in Table 10, does not coincide with the most popular authors according to the volumes' number of editions. Although including the works by Salgari, Verne, Galdós, Dumas, Unamuno, Menéndez Pelayo, Salado Álvarez and Tolstoi, was important at a given point, as time went by their popularity waned. This is the case of Salgari and Verne, whose works rarely had multiple editions.

⁵⁰ The national newspapers that published Verne's works were: *El Diario del Hogar*, *El Federalista*, *El Porvenir*, *La República*, *El Universal* and *La Voz de México* (Vieyra Sánchez, 2005: 28)

If the focus is put on the most popular authors not according to their presence in the catalogue but to the number of editions of their works across time, the perspective is rather different. There are 54 volumes with more than 20 editions in the series. On this list, that includes anthologies and a few anonymous works, there are 48 identified authors.

Table 11. Authors whose works in the series have more than 20 editions

Alejandro Casona	Franz Kafka	Juan Valera
Ángel María Garibay K.	Goethe J. W.	Lope de Vega
Antoine de Saint Exupéry	Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer	Manuel Payno
Aristófanes	Hernán Cortés	Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra
Aristóteles	Homero	Miguel de Unamuno
Arturo Cuyás Armengol	Horacio Quiroga	Molière
Benito Pérez Galdós	Ignacio Manuel Altamirano	Nicolás Maquiavelo
Bernal Díaz del Castillo	Jack London	Oscar Wilde
Dante Alighieri	Jesús Goytortúa Santos	Pedro A. De Alarcón
Descartes	John Kenneth Turner	Pedro Calderón de la Barca
Edgar Allan Poe	Jorge Isaacs	Platón
Edmundo de Amicis	José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi	Rubén Darío
Esquilo	José Zorrilla	Sófocles
Eurípides	Juan Amós Comenio	Terencio
Federico García Lorca	Juan Ramón Jiménez	Víctor Hugo
Francisco de Quevedo	Juan Ruiz de Alarcón	William Shakespeare

These are the most demanded authors over time in the series. Upon a first look, I thought this represented a rather conventional view of canonical literature. However, in order to make claims about canonicity it is necessary to compare this list to others. I used Harold Bloom's *The Western Canon* (1994) not only because it provides accessible and organized lists but because it comes from another linguistic background. Although it would be productive to establish a comparison with other series, it is very difficult to find catalogues that facilitate this task. For instance, there is currently an online catalogue for *Colección Austral* available both at Editorial Planeta's website and at cervantesvirtual.com. However, this list does not provide information about which Austral era is represented, and it is difficult to explore because the works are organized according to the work's titles. There is no indication about the number of editions, and thus one cannot single out certain authors as the ones that have been particularly important over

the years. Despite some reservations one might have regarding Harold Bloom's work, the list of authors he provides is a useful point of reference. For practical purposes I will organize these authors following the four ages used by Bloom (1994). Whenever there is overlap between the authors in *SC* and in Bloom, I registered the author in the left column. When the authors only correspond to *SC*'s catalogue, their names are registered in the right column. This gives a sense of the shared canon and one that is more specifically Hispanic and Mexican.

Table 12. Authors according to ages proposed in The Western Canon

Age	In <i>SC</i> and <i>The Western Canon</i>	Only in <i>SC</i>
Theocratic age (2000 BCE- 1321 CE)	Aristófanes Aristóteles Esquilo Eurípides Homero Platón Sófocles Terencio]	
Aristocratic age (1321 – 1832)	Dante Alighieri Descartes Francisco de Quevedo Goethe Lope de Vega Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra Molière Nicolás Maquiavelo Pedro Calderón de la Barca William Shakespeare	Juan Ruiz de Alarcón Bernal Díaz del Castillo Hernán Cortés Juan Amós Comenio
Democratic age (1832- 1900)	Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer Oscar Wilde Victor Hugo	Edmundo D'Amicis José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi José Zorrilla Jorge Isaacs Juan Valera Manuel Altamirano Manuel Payno Pedro A. De Alarcón
Chaotic age 20th century	Federico García Lorca Franz Kafka Miguel de Unamuno Rubén Darío	Alejandro Casona Antoine de Saint-Exupéry Horacio Quiroga Jack London Jesús Goytortúa Santos John Kenneth Turner Juan Ramón Jiménez

Although there are many things to be said about the inclusions and exclusions in this list, my attempt is limited to showing the contents of *SC*. The tables presented above show the importance of the ancient Greek and Latin texts (Theocratic age), that is rather stable across any series of classics. Things start to differ in the category corresponding to the Aristocratic age. Although the authors on the left column tend to be incontestable figures in most repertoires of classics, the place given to Spanish *Siglo de Oro* authors could vary. More often than not, Cervantes will stay along Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe and Molière. But Quevedo's poetry and Calderón de la Barca and Lope de Vega's theatre, might not be as commonly found in lists beyond the Hispanic world. However, the main difference seen here is the presence of authors that represent the Spanish conquest (Hernán Cortés, Bernal Díaz del Castillo). John Amos Comenius' importance in *SC* is not reflected in Bloom's list. However, it can be explained by the place of pedagogy within *SC*. For the Democratic age, authors from the Hispanic tradition have had great demand in *SC*. Great Mexican classics like Altamirano, Fernández de Lizardi and Payno are usual school readings, which explains their place among the most edited authors in the series. Finally, for the chaotic age some authors with less firm canonicity within and beyond the Hispanic borders are found in *SC*, like Alejandro Casona and Jesús Goytortúa Santos. Some of the authors on this list could be appealing to younger readers beyond the school context: Kafka, Horacio Quiroga, Saint-Exupéry and Jack London.

Although the list of authors with more editions is to some extent an indication of demand, pragmatic factors could have affected which works had more or less editions over time. Some authors or repertoires might be absent from this list not because of a lack of demand but because there might have been many other cheap editions of their works available in the Mexican market. In spite of this, the broad difference between what is important in the catalogue and what is

important over time, is very evident. Salgari, Verne and the myriad of novels that were incessantly added to the series during the 1980s were a localized bet that fizzled out with time. All in all, the popularity of the world and Hispanic classics confirms the place of *SC* as a provider of material for education contexts.

3.5. Languages

In the following table I present the results of the source language quantification in the series. The category “Various” accounts for anthologies containing texts from several source languages.

Table 13. Number of volumes per language in the series

Language	Number of volumes in the series
Spanish	335
French	120
English	81
Italian	53
German	49
Russian	27
Latin	27
Greek	24
Various	6
Portuguese	4
Swedish	3
Hebrew	3
Arabic	2
Norwegian	2
Sanskrit	2
Bengali	1
Catalan	1

Polish	1
Finnish	1
Danish	1
Grand Total	743

The series has slightly more translations than non-translations. Nevertheless, as a whole, Spanish-language works make up the greatest linguistic group in the series. The place of the Spanish language is foreseeable given the tendency in series of classics to overrepresent the national tradition within the world's canon as a legitimization and marketing strategy, but also because in the national context Spanish-language works tend to have a preferred role in education contexts (for instance, works like *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, *El cantar del mio Cid*, *El lazarillo de Tormes*, *El Periquillo Sarniento*, etc.). The national culture is represented in the series, but there is also an adscription to the broader Hispanic tradition, where the notion of locality is tripartite: Mexican, Latin American (to a lesser extent) and Spanish.

Chart 6. Origin of Spanish texts

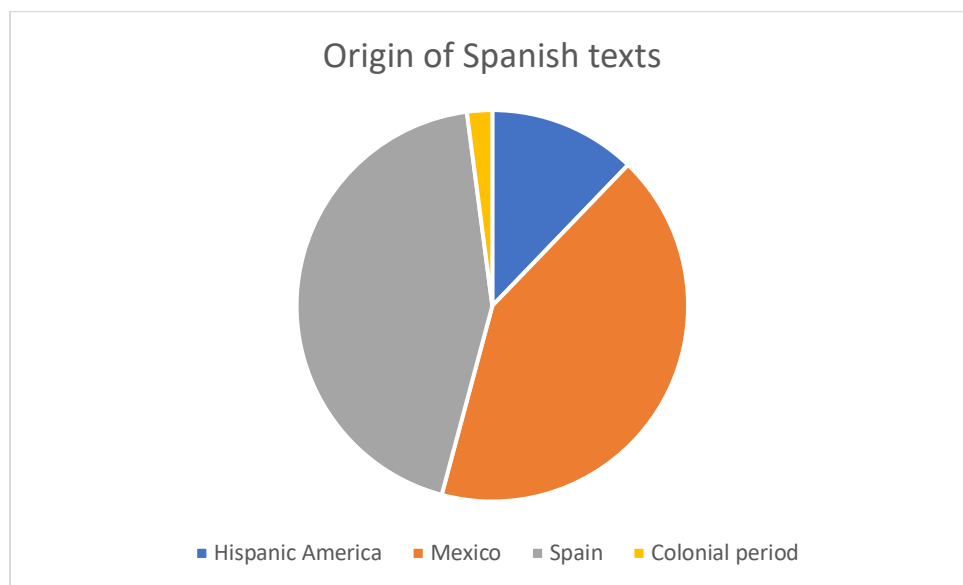


Chart 6 shows that within the Spanish language repertoire, Spanish works predominate in the series (44%), with Mexican works following (42%) and a considerably less visible representation of Hispanic American authors⁵¹ (12%). I distinguished the works produced during the colonial period, because of their hybridity.

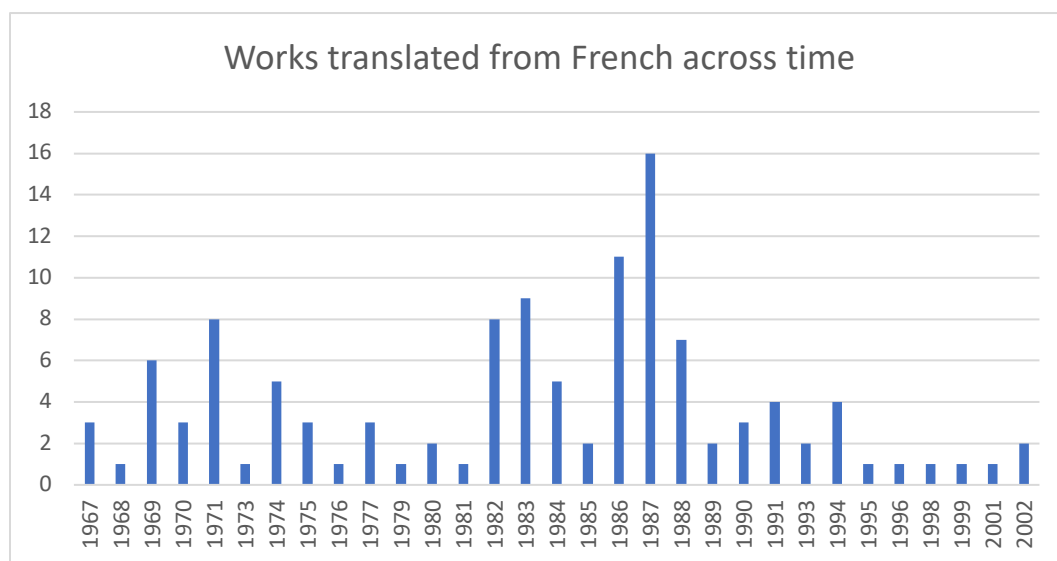
Concerning other source languages, French, English, Italian, German, Russian, Latin and Greek are highly visible in the series, which is not surprising given their central position in Western culture. European novels from the 19th century, Ancient Greek and Latin philosophy and drama, German Philosophy and Italian pedagogy and Salgari's novels are some of the most visible language-linked repertoires in *SC*. The secondary position English occupies next to French is unexpected given the growth of anglophone influence over Latin American culture throughout the 20th and 21st centuries. Within the anglophone repertoire in the series, the United States has a minor presence: it makes up 32% of this repertoire. With its deep roots in the 19th century, *SC*'s portrayal of French culture as the undisputed main source of foreign material is proof of the enduring cultural influence of Francophone culture in Mexico despite the attempts initiated by the United States since the early 1900s to expand its influence over the region. However, emphasis must be made on the fact that the great presence of French in *SC* is affected by the numerous French novels (*roman-feuilleton*) included during the 1980s peak. In the next paragraphs I will provide a detailed analysis of the French, English and Italian works published in the series, as they are the three languages with the highest representation.

The French repertory in the series is a combination of a few uncontested French classics from different periods and genres, and a great number of 19th century novels with high entertainment appeal. Thus there are unquestionable classics such as Rabelais, Molière and

⁵¹ Argentina, 6; Chile, 3; Colombia, 3; Cuba, 11; Dominican Republic, 1; Ecuador, 2; Nicaragua, 2; Peru, 2; Puerto Rico 1; Uruguay, 6; Venezuela, 2; Hispanic American literature anthologies, 2.

Corneille; influential thinkers like Descartes, Rousseau, Voltaire, Montaigne, Montesquieu, Comte; authors that have lost their luster today but who were highly influential in their time such as Pierre Loti, Sainte-Beuve, Alphonse Daudet and Hippolyte Taine; along with the main representatives of the *roman-feuilleton* (Alejandro Dumas, Víctor Hugo, Eugene Sue, Ponson Du Terrail, Miguel Zévaco, Paul Feval, Honorato de Balzac), which are the ones more profusely published during the 1980s peak.

Chart 7. Works translated from French across time



Despite the great presence of French texts throughout the series' life, this repertory was not included from the very beginning. In fact, translations of French works were included almost 10 years after the series take-off, and for the first couple of decades their presence was modest. Between 1967 (the year in which the first translated volume from French was included in the series) and 1981, an average of 2.5 French works were added to the catalogue each year. However, between 1982 and 1988 the average of French works rose abruptly to 8.2 per year. This rise took place within the overall increase in new volume production discussed in section 2.2. The emphasis put on novels, and French novels in particular, seems to be closely related to a shift in the publishing policy of the series, where well-established classics would still be

published but would occupy a secondary position. As suggested in section 2.2, the selection of many of the volumes published during the 1980s appears to be justified by their entertainment appeal. The characteristics of the French repertory, along with the anglophone repertory that is addressed in the next subsection, confirm this.

Only seven French works published during the 1980s peak do not correspond to the category *Literatura*. The vast majority of French works in the catalogue, and especially the ones added during the 1980s, are novels. The priority given to 19th century novels, and the particularly central role given to Verne, Dumas, Ponson du Terrail, and Michel Zevaco, all linked to literature of high appeal to younger readers can be observed in Table 14.

Table 14. Volumes written originally in French published between 1982 and 1988

Vol.	Title	Author	Prologist	1st ed. in SC
359	<i>Rojo y negro</i>	Stendhal	Francisco Montes de Oca	1982
360	<i>Gargantúa y Pantagruel</i>	Rabelais	Anatole France	1982
361	<i>El castillo de los Cárpatos / Las indias negras / Una ciudad flotante</i>	Julio Verne	María Elvira Bermúdez	1982
364	<i>El vizconde de Bragelonne 1</i>	Alejandro Dumas		1982
365	<i>El vizconde de Bragelonne 2</i>	Alejandro Dumas		1982
371	<i>Viajes</i>	Marco Polo	María Elvira Bermúdez	1982
375	<i>El crimen de un académico / La azucena roja / Tais</i>	Anatole France	Rafael Solana	1982
377	<i>Tartarín de Tarascón / Tartarín en los alpes / Port Tarascón</i>	Alfonso Daudet	Juan Antonio Guerrero	1982
382	<i>El genio del Cristianismo</i>	René Chateaubriand	Arturo Souto	1982
387	<i>Aventuras de Telémaco</i>	Fénelon	Jeanne Renée Becker	1983
398	<i>Cándido / Zadig / El ingenuo / Micromegas / Memnón y otros cuentos</i>	Voltaire	Juan Antonio Guerrero	1983
399	<i>Los dioses tienen sed / La rebelión de los ángeles</i>	Anatole France	Pierre Josserand	1983
404	<i>Historia de los grandes viajes y los grandes viajeros</i>	Julio Verne		1983

407	<i>El paje del duque de Saboya</i>	Alejandro Dumas		1983
410	<i>Bola de sebo / Mademoiselle Fifi / Las hermanas Rondoli</i>	Guy de Maupassant	René Dumesnil	1983
412	<i>Naná</i>	Emilio Zola	Emilia Pardo Bazán	1983
414	<i>La taberna</i>	Emilio Zola	Guy de Maupassant	1983
415	<i>Los cuarenta y cinco</i>	Alejandro Dumas		1983
423	<i>La becada / Claro de luna / Miss Harriet</i>	Guy de Maupassant	Dana Lee Thomas	1985
426	<i>Las flores del mal / Diarios íntimos</i>	Carlos Baudelaire	Arturo Souto Alabarce	1984
437	<i>La vida intelectual / El trabajo intelectual</i>	A.D. Sertillanges / Jean Guittou		1984
442	<i>El lirio en el valle</i>	Honorato de Balzac	Jaime Torres Bodet	1984
445	<i>Hector Servadac</i>	Julio Verne	María Elvira Bermúdez	1984
452	<i>La dama de Monsoreau</i>	Alejandro Dumas		1984
470	<i>Confesiones</i>	Juan Jacobo Rousseau	Jeanne Renée Becker	1985
491	<i>Introducción a la metafísica / La risa</i>	Henry Bergson	Manuel García Morente	1986
500	<i>Biblia de Jerusalén</i> ⁵²			1986
502	<i>La reina Margarita</i>	Alejandro Dumas		1986
504	<i>La mano del muerto</i>	Alejandro Dumas		1986
505	<i>Diario íntimo</i>	Enrique Federico Amiel	Bernard Bouvier	1986
509	<i>La jangada</i>	Julio Verne		1986
510	<i>Hazañas de Rocambole Tomo I</i>	Ponson Du Terrail		1986
511	<i>Hazañas de Rocambole Tomo II</i>	Ponson Du Terrail		1986
512	<i>El jorobado o Enrique de Lagardère</i>	Paul Feval		1986
513	<i>Escuela de los Robinsones</i>	Julio Verne	María Elvira Bermúdez	1986
518	<i>La resurrección de Rocambole Tomo I</i>	Ponson Du Terrail		1987
519	<i>La resurrección de Rocambole Tomo II</i>	Ponson Du Terrail		1987
522	<i>Cicerón y sus amigos</i>	Gastón Boissier	Augusto Rostagni	1987
524	<i>Atala / René / El último abencerraje / Páginas autobiográficas</i>	René Chateaubriand	Armando Rangel	1987
525	<i>Los misterios de París Tomo I</i>	Eugenio Sue		1987

⁵² The source text was the French *La Bible de Jérusalem* (1955)

526	<i>Los misterios de París Tomo II</i>	Eugenio Sue	1987
528	<i>Los Pardaillan Tomo I</i>	Miguel Zévaco	1987
529	<i>Los Pardaillan Tomo II</i>	Miguel Zévaco	1987
530	<i>Los Pardaillan Tomo III</i>	Miguel Zévaco	1987
531	<i>Los Pardaillan Tomo IV</i>	Miguel Zévaco	1987
532	<i>Los Pardaillan Tomo V</i>	Miguel Zévaco	1987
539	<i>Norte contra Sur</i>	Julio Verne	1987
541	<i>Las aventuras del capitán Hatteras</i>	Julio Verne	1987
543	<i>El país de las pieles</i>	Julio Verne	1987
548	<i>Los Pardaillan Tomo VI</i>	Miguel Zévaco	1987
551	<i>Kerabán el testarudo</i>	Julio Verne	1987
552	<i>Matías Sandorf</i>	Julio Verne	1987
555	<i>Los Pardaillan Tomo VII</i>	Miguel Zévaco	1988
556	<i>Los Pardaillan Tomo VIII</i>	Miguel Zévaco	1988
558	<i>Los Pardaillan Tomo IX</i>	Miguel Zévaco	1988
569	<i>El archipiélago de fuego (3+)</i>	Julio Verne	1988
570	<i>Los amotinados de la Bounty / Mistress Branican</i>	Julio Verne	1988
571	<i>Un drama en México / Aventuras de tres rusos y de tres ingleses en el África Austral / Claudio Bombarnac</i>	Julio Verne	1988
575	<i>César Cascabel</i>	Julio Verne	1988

A similar trend is observed in the second most visible foreign language in the catalogue, English. Out of the 81 volumes included in *SC* written originally in English, 51 correspond to the category *Literatura* and are mostly novels, analogous to what happens in the French repertory. As observed in Table 15 this sub-group contains numerous works often associated with a young readership: *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Treasure Island*, *Little Women*, *David Copperfield*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Gulliver's Travels*, *Robin Hood*, *Oliver Twist*, *Frankenstein*, 1984, and *The strange case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* are only some of the titles on this list that have become youth classics.

Table 15. Volumes originally written in English under category Literatura

Vol.	Title	Author	First
72	<i>La cabaña del tío Tom</i>	Harriet Beecher Stowe	1967
110	<i>La isla del tesoro / Cuentos de los mares del sur</i>	Robert Louis Stevenson	1968
119	<i>Cumbres borrascosas</i>	Emily Brontë	1969
126	<i>Mujercitas / Más cosas de mujercitas</i>	Louisa M. Alcott	1969
127	<i>David Copperfield</i>	Carlos Dickens	1969
133	<i>El retrato de Dorian Gray. El príncipe feliz. El ruiseñor y la rosa. El crimen de Lord Arthur Saville. El fantasma de Canterville.</i>	Oscar Wilde	1969
138	<i>Ivanhoe o El cruzado</i>	Walter Scott	1970
140	<i>Aventuras de Robinson Crusoe</i>	Daniel Defoe	1970
161	<i>Fabiola o la iglesia de las catacumbas</i>	Cardenal Wiseman	1970
170	<i>Ben-Hur</i>	Lewis Wallace	1971
194	<i>El paraíso perdido</i>	John Milton	1971
196	<i>Viajes de Gulliver</i>	Jonathan Swift	1971
209	<i>Las aventuras de Tom Sawyer</i>	Mark Twain	1972
273	<i>Hombrecitos</i>	Louisa M. Alcott	1974
276	<i>El lobo de mar / El mexicano</i>	Jack London	1974
277	<i>El llamado de la selva / Colmillo blanco</i>	Jack London	1974
310	<i>Canción de Navidad / El grillo del hogar / Historia de dos ciudades</i>	Carlos Dickens	1976
337	<i>El príncipe y el mendigo</i>	Mark Twain	1978
341	<i>Aventuras de Sherlock Holmes</i>	Conan Doyle	1979
343	<i>Aventuras de Sherlock Holmes</i>	Conan Doyle	1979
345	<i>Aventuras de Sherlock Holmes</i>	Conan Doyle	1980
362	<i>Oliver Twist</i>	Carlos Dickens	1982
390	<i>Retrato del artista adolescente / Gente de Dublín</i>	James Joyce	1983
409	<i>El monasterio</i>	Walter Scott	1983

416	<i>El pirata</i>	Walter Scott	1983
420	<i>Jane Eyre</i>	Carlota Brontë	1983
431	<i>Orgullo y prejuicio</i>	Jane Austen	1984
432	<i>Robin Hood</i>		1984
506	<i>Moby Dick o La Ballena Blanca</i>	Herman Melville	1986
508	<i>Las minas del rey Salomón</i>	Henry Rider Haggard	1986
516	<i>Los últimos días de Pompeya</i>	Bulwer-Lytton	1986
587	<i>Un mundo feliz / Retorno a un mundo feliz</i>	Aldous Huxley	1990
631	<i>La letra escarlata</i>	Nathaniel Hawthorne	1993
648	<i>Almacén de antigüedades</i>	Carlos Dickens	1994
662	<i>Las llaves del reino</i>	Archibald Joseph Cronin	1996
663	<i>La ciudadela</i>	Archibald Joseph Cronin	1997
665	<i>Servidumbre humana</i>	William Somerset Maugham	1997
667	<i>La buena tierra</i>	Pearl S. Buck	1997
684	<i>Las uvas de la ira</i>	John Steinbeck	1998
687	<i>Frankenstein</i>	Mary W. Shelley	1998
688	<i>El viejo y el mar / Las nieves del Kilimanjaro / La vida breve y feliz de Francis Macomber</i>	Ernest Hemingway	1998
692	<i>Al faro</i>	Virginia Woolf	1998
693	<i>El poder y la gloria / Caminos sin ley</i>	Graham Greene	1998
697	<i>La luna y seis peniques</i>	William Somerset Maugham	1998
698	<i>El filo de la navaja</i>	William Somerset Maugham	1998
699	<i>La Guerra de los Mundos / La Máquina del Tiempo</i>	H.G. Wells	1999
707	<i>Rebelión en la granja / 1984</i>	George Orwell	1999
720	<i>El extraño caso del Dr. Jekyll y Mr. Hyde (...)</i>	Robert Louis Stevenson	2000
725	<i>El hombre que fue jueves / Pesadilla</i>	Gilbert K. Chesterton	2000
734	<i>El negro del 'narcissus'</i>	Joseph Conrad	2002
742	<i>La Dama de Blanco</i>	Wilkie Collins	2007

Whereas French novels carried most of the production weight during the 1980s, English novels did it in the 1990s: by then, the number of French novels decreased, perhaps because the *roman-feuilleton* repertory had been exhausted. We see, in turn, the increase of anglophone novels, which, during that decade, rose to 16. If the main cultural source for material changed, the focus on highly entertaining material remained unchanged, as proved by the centrality of novels in the English repertory. 19th century canonical authors like Dickens, Shelley, Brontë and Stevenson were compatible with the series focus on long-breadth novels, but I must also point out that besides gaining visibility after the 1990s, the English repertory of those years, though still focused on novels, started being characterized for providing the most contemporary authors to the series: Aldous Huxley, Archibald Joseph Cronin, John Steinbeck, Virginia Woolf, Ernest Hemingway, William Somerset Maugham, H.G. Wells, Graham Greene, and G.K. Chesterton. This small repertoire provides a sample of literary modernity in the series that is hardly detectable in other source-language repertories.

Finally, Italian appears as the third most prominent foreign language in SC. Its importance is closely linked to the relevance of adventure novels in the series, and the particular role Emilio Salgari played in it: 36 out of the 53 Italian works in SC's catalogue were authored by Salgari. Beyond Salgari, the Italian repertory is not broad.

Table 16. Italian works in SC excluding Emilio Salgari's works

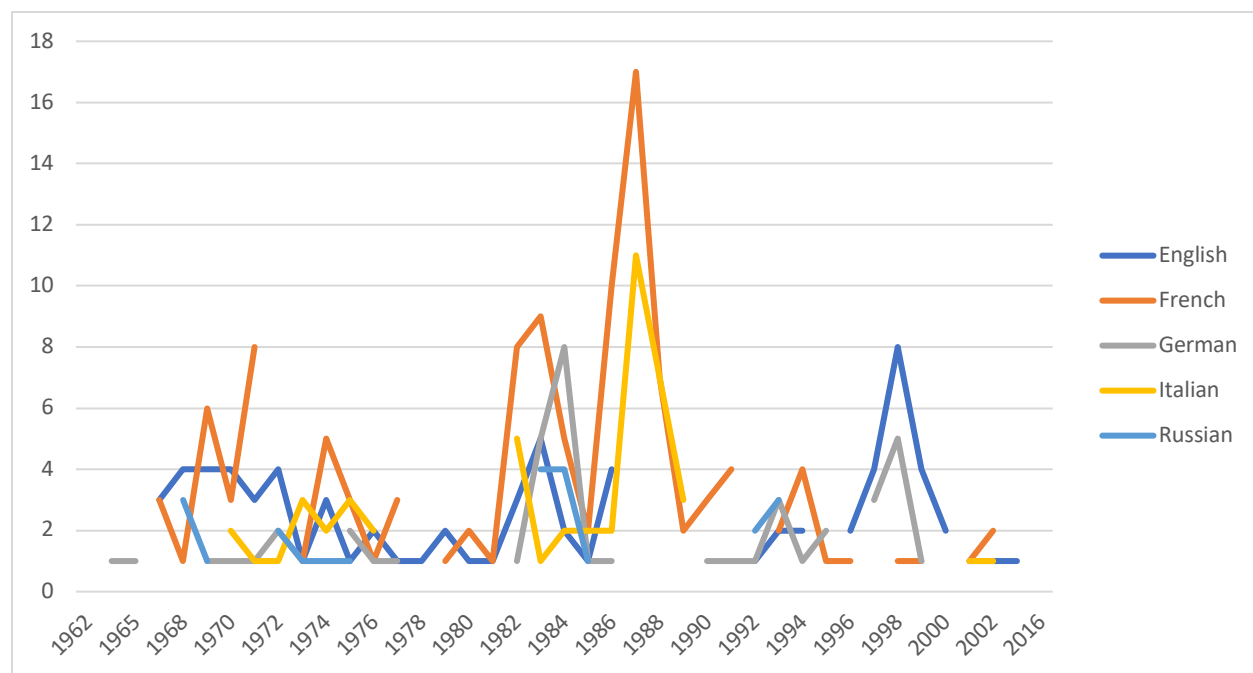
Vol.	Title	Author	1st ed. in SC
15	<i>La divina comedia / La vida nueva</i>	Dante Alighieri	1962
40	<i>Floreccillas de San Francisco de Asís</i>	Anonymous	1965
152	<i>El príncipe</i>	Nicolás Maquiavelo	1970
157	<i>Corazón / Diario de un niño</i>	Edmundo de Amicis	1970
178	<i>Los novios</i>	Alejandro Manzoni	1971
380	<i>El decamerón</i>	Boccaccio	1982
403	<i>Jerusalén libertada</i>	Torcuato Tasso	1983

421	<i>Gog / El libro negro</i>	Giovanni Papini	1984
424	<i>Historia de Cristo</i>	Giovanni Papini	1984
484	<i>Diálogos de amor</i>	León Hebreo	1985
492	<i>Cancionero /Triunfos</i>	Petrarca	1986
550	<i>San Agustín: el hombre, el pastor, el místico</i>	Agostino Trapé	1987
643	<i>Autobiografía</i>	Benvenuto Cellini	1994
644	<i>Los operarios de la viña y otros ensayos</i>	Giovanni Papini	1994
660	<i>Vidas de grandes artistas</i>	Giorgio Vasari	1996
726	<i>Cuentos romanos</i>	Alberto Moravia	2001
737	<i>El diablo</i>	Giovanni Papini	2002

In this short group of Italian works there are several classics of what Bloom called the *Aristocratic age* such as Dante, Machiaveli, Bocaccio, Tasso, and Petrarch. However, we also see some authors that represent modern Italian narrative such as Alejandro Manzoni, Alberto Moravia and Giovanni Papini. Papini is one author that is worthy of mention because he had been very popular—and controversial—in Mexico and Latin America around the 1950s (Barrios, 1947). Several editions of his works had been edited in Mexico in the 1950s and 1960s. Although this author is included in the series with certain delay from the height of his fame in the country, his inclusion could be telling of his lingering popularity. Papini, on the other hand, is similar to Salgari (at a smaller scale) in the series. They appear to reflect a momentary fashion that did not prevail.

In summary, despite the splashes of canonical works, a great majority of the French, English and Italian repertoires are based on adventure novels, detective stories, marvelous travels, utopian and dystopian fiction. These repertoires are united by their appeal to the greater audience. The following chart shows that their moments of heightened representation correspond to the 1980s production peak and the late 1990s where the series starts marching towards its dissolution.

Chart 8. Top 5 non-Spanish source-language inclusion through time



The distribution of languages according to the list of volumes with more than 20 editions reflects a different segmentation. The only thing that remains unchanged is the place of Spanish as the most popular source language (32 volumes). However, in terms of the translated repertoire, not only different languages emerge in the ranking but the hierarchy changes:

Table 17. Languages in volumes with more than 20 editions

Language	Number of volumes
Spanish	32
Greek	8
English	6
French	5
Italian	3

German	2
Arabic	1

In this table, Greek becomes the top foreign language in the series. From 1959 until 1975 translations of Greek works appear almost every year: Homer, Aeschylus, Plato, Sophocles, Euripides, Plutarch, Aristophanes, Aristotle, Herodotus, Hesiod, Xenophon, Pindar, Demosthenes, Longus, Thucydides are published during this period. After 1975 the inclusion of Greek works fades away considerably with four works included between 1982 and 1985. The last Greek addition to the series takes place very late, in 1999: Aristotle's *Ars Poetica* and *Rhetorica*. Despite these exceptions, the Greek repertoire is concentrated in the first years of the series and with the selection of more strictly canonical works.

On this list we also see an inversion of the hierarchy occupied in the series by English and French. The difference is negligible, as English only has one more volume than French among the list of most edited works. Nevertheless, this shows that once the repertoire is depurated from the French *roman-feuilleton*, of which only Dumas and Balzac resist the pass of time, English is a slightly predominant force in the Mexican literary system of the 2nd half of the 20th and early 21st centuries. The English-speaking authors on the list of volumes with more than 20 editions are: Shakespeare (2 volumes), Oscar Wilde, Edgar Allan Poe, Jack London, and John Kenneth Turner (with the work *México Bárbaro*). For the French repertoire, the most popular authors are Víctor Hugo, Verne, Molière, Descartes and Antoine de Saint-Exupéry. Both repertoires reflect the importance of the two main forces in SC: highly canonical works and literature that is appealing for young readers.

Conclusions

The observations of the series' trajectory over time in terms of new volume output, number of editions and its contents reveal that:

Broad trends

Rhythm of production and selection of content can help delineate the broad publication policies in place throughout time: adherence to a conventional Western canon during the series' early years; prioritization of engaging narrative over canonical works during the 1980s; permanent portrayal of Mexican literature, folklore and history; late and contained boost of English-speaking novels as entertainment material during the 1990s. The texts included in the years 2000 suggest there is a dissolution of the project. Very few texts (a total of 26) are added to the catalogue between 2000 and 2008, the year when the last volume included in the 2013 catalogue was published. Furthermore, among these 26 texts, we have very late additions of highly canonical works: e.g., Vol. 720 Robert Louis Stevenson, *El extraño caso del Dr. Jekyll y Mr. Hyde*, Vol. 725 J.K. Chesterton, *El hombre que fue jueves*, Vol. 736 Sigmund Freud, *Introducción al psicoanálisis*. But along with these highly canonical late additions, there are also some late inclusions that resemble the repertoire of the 1980s and 1990s such as Vol. 729 Honoré de Balzac, *Ilusiones perdidas*, Vol. 742 Wilkie Collins, *La dama de blanco*. In the non-translated material, there is a strong return to Mexican topics. The series at this point lives from its previous formulas, where the triad composed of highly canonical works, Mexican culture and novels seem to be the greatest bets.

A few strong agents

Certain actors emerge as strong agents within this project: Felipe Teixidor, Francisco Larroyo, Francisco Montes de Oca and María Elvira Bermúdez

The close relationship between the type of works selected during the first 20 years of the series' development and Teixidor's involvement in this project, and the abrupt change in content selection after his departure, suggest his place as one of the main agents in this series' history. Other names stand out in association with certain groups of works: Francisco Larroyo and philosophy, Francisco Montes de Oca and Latin texts from the Roman Empire, María Elvira Bermúdez and entertainment novels. Their association with a repertoire of more than 15 volumes per person also points them as important agents in the series.

A Shift in the highly canonical beginnings

The novels published during the 1980s introduce a break from the canonical beginnings of the series. Although the majority of works published during the 1980s were translations and represent a moment of splendor of French culture in the series, the type of selected works does not correspond to a production traditionally regarded as canonical. In fact, the abundance of works by representatives of the French *roman-feuilleton* brings into the series a repertoire that has been often perceived as low to middle brow. Marc Angenot (1974) characterized the *roman-feuilleton* as a paraliterary fact: "La paralittérature s'inscrit en dehors de la *clôture* littéraire, comme une production taboue, interdite, scotomisée, dégradée peut-être, tenue en respect, mais aussi riche de thèmes et d'obsessions qui, dans la haute culture, sont refoulés" (10). In this way, although deeply inscribed in tradition, *SC* admits a broader understanding of literature, where elements of high and low brow culture can co-exist. This exemplifies how series can depart from the selective spirit of anthologies and become storehouses of wider literary universes. A series like *SC* becomes symbolic libraries (a sign of this is the appellative *bibliothèque* or *biblioteca* commonly used in the French and Spanish-speaking world to designate these objects) where the inclusion and organization of works abides by less normative criteria. *SC* allows for

the inclusion of works and authors that subscribe in different degrees to the notion of canonicity.

This is similar to what Angenot observes about the classification of literary works in libraries according to the Dewey decimal system. In contrast to the restrictive definition of Literature (with a capital L) that adheres to notions of elite and social prestige, this library classification offers an exceptional space that allows for a more lax understanding of literary material:

“L’acceptation non normative n’apparaît presque que dans la catégorie <<800 : Littérature >> du Classement Décimal Universel. Dans le classement de Dewey, en effet, coexistent Homère et Ponson du Terrail, Énée et Fantômas!” (Angenot, 1974: 13). The boundaries between these authors with significantly different weight in literary history are erased. This can be tied into Roger Chartier’s (1994) conceptualization of series as libraries without walls. In the case of *SC* walls are not only physical but symbolic. The walls proscribing the intermingling of texts of different prestige are brought down in objects like *SC*.

The canon at school

The editions-over-time-lens shows that despite the shifts in the repertoire seen in the 1980s and onwards, *SC* survives mainly through the texts included in the first 20 years of the series, which are more canonical and have a higher education capital.

This suggests the pervasiveness, at least in Mexico, of a traditional view of canonical works as those that equate education. In Bloom’s words: “The Canon, once we view it as the relation of an individual reader and writer to what has been preserved out of what has been written, and forget the canon as a list of books for required study, will be seen as identical with the Art of Memory, not with the religious sense of canon” (1994: 17).

A mixed canon

Despite the importance of the foreign repertoire, the series as a whole gives a central place to texts originally written in Spanish. By this, it introduces a local canon: Mexican classics mixed with world classics. However, the local canon is enlarged by the Hispanic meridian. The importance of the Spanish repertoire is highly visible. Although the legacy of Latin American authors is considerably less numerous in relation to Mexican and Spanish authors, it is an important point of reference in many of the paratexts and anthologies in the creation of a local identity. The sense of a local identity produced in *SC* operates in a Russian-doll fashion: the Spanish tradition encapsulates the Latin American tradition, which in turn contains the Mexican tradition. Showing that triadic basis of the local culture is what makes the non-translated material so significant in *SC*. It seems that we have the opposite of what Adolfo Castañón describes about the role of translation in the definition of a publisher's profile. Referring specifically to the Mexican publishing industry, Castañón states: “Dentro de ese marco pedagógico, a través del cual el Estado va definiendo sus ideas sobre la ciudad que quiere producir y los individuos que quiere que la compongan, se plantea una cuestión: ¿Qué traducir? La parte más visible de la línea intelectual de una casa editorial suele estar formada por traducciones” (Castañón 2012: 98).

Although I do not question the validity of this generalization, *SC* shows an interesting counterpoint. In fact, it could be argued that an important part of *SC*'s translated repertoire is not *selected* but *inherited*. The inclusion of *The Odyssey*, *The Divine Comedy*, *Faust*, etc., are not the product of selection or importation. Even the *roman-feuilleton* repertoire has its legacy. An important Argentinean series of classics *La Biblioteca de la Nación* included a similar repertoire of the *roman-feuilleton* in its pages (Willson 2003).⁵³ However, if *SC* and a pre-existing series

⁵³ Establishing a more detailed comparison between *Biblioteca de la Nación* and *SC* was an original objective of mine. However, the difficulty to obtain a complete catalogue of the series and the fact that it does not coincide in time with *SC* made me postpone this task. Patricia Willson has written several articles about this series, and in her summary about its contents, I notice striking similarities with *SC*. The translated repertoire in this series is closer to

such as *La Biblioteca de la Nación* (1901-1920) are similar in their translated repertoire, they diverge greatly in the non-translated portion. In this sense, the operational question in *SC* does not seem to be what to translate but what local texts to include with the translated texts. In other words, a considerable portion of the translated repertoire in the series is a given, but the non-translated repertoire not so much. It is the combination of the non-translated and translated repertoire that makes this project singular.

The many-headed hydra

SC admits a broad range of repertoires under its arm: well-established world classics, Hispanic classics, adventure novels, *roman-feuilleton*, Mexican history and folklore, to name the main ones. The absence of clear walls proscribing the combination of incompatible elements is a defining feature of this series. This is seen in the selection of works, but also, as I intend to show in the next two chapters, in the way texts are presented via translation and paratexts. This chapter shows the many heads of the hydra in the overall catalogue. Building on the notion of the grotesque body, this chapter shows that the non-normative perception of Literature in *SC* makes the series surpass its own body. *SC* starts off as a series of classics and becomes more than that. I chose the image of the many-headed hydra as an analogy to the series' multiple heads. The heads are the authors involved, but also the agents of the series, and the translators and authors of the paratexts repurposed for the series. Chapters 4 and 5 explore the multiplication of the hydra's heads when it comes to the translations and paratexts used in the series. This chapter has revolved around the series as a whole. The next chapters, instead, focus on more restricted portions of the series: the translated repertoire and some volumes.

the one in *SC* than the one of its contemporary *Colección Austral*, or any of the Mexican series I mentioned in Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 4. TRANSLATION IN *SEPAN CUANTOS*: UNRAVELING THE ENIGMA

As observed in the previous chapter, non-Hispanic material in *SC* was, on the one hand, instrumental in the construction of this series' canon, bringing the universal to the national context, while inscribing the national within the universal context. The numerous translations that populate this series offer a mosaic of classics beyond the Mexican and Hispanic borders. In turn, the insertion of national works alongside works widely acknowledged as classics legitimizes the local production. Consequently, a combination of local and foreign works carry-out the goal to offer “obras cimienta de ilustración” (Pérez Porrúa & Pérez Porrúa, 1979: 6) to a general Mexican audience. In addition to this, the profuse translated material linked to certain genres (e.g., adventure novels and philosophical works) shows the role of translation in supplementing the material for the areas considered of commercial and pedagogical significance in the country and by the publisher. But despite translation's instrumentality in the conformation of *SC*'s catalogue, at the level of each volume, the translation fact tends to have low visibility. Not only are translation credits very scarce, but even when they are present, they tend to occupy a second place next to preface credits (if we take into account the inclusion and placement of credits).

Before moving on to the analysis of translation in *SC*, it is pertinent to discuss in more detail the concept of rewriting. To begin with, André Lefevere (1985) was concerned with the study of the dissemination of literature across cultures. The most conspicuous way in which this cultural process takes place is translation. Nevertheless, as I mentioned in the introduction, Lefevere acknowledges that the image of a given work or group of works in a new context can also be affected by other means of adaptation. Among the examples he cites are criticism, commentary, historiography, teaching, the collection of works in anthologies, the production of

plays, editing, and the adaptation for film and television (Lefevere, 1982, 1992). The previous chapters, focused on the catalogues and the selection of works in *SC*, deal with the broad rewriting of *classics* provided by this publishing project. In this and the following chapter, I zoom into the volumes. This provides an opportunity to observe the interaction of several forms of rewriting within the body of the individual items making up the series. In many cases there are three levels of rewritings: editing, criticism and translation. In terms of the editing I consider elements such as the series format and design; when it comes to criticism, I base my observations mainly on the prefaces that present the works; and finally, when it comes to the translations I delve into their sources. Because, as I explain in the following pages, translation rarely happens specifically for the series, studying who produced the translations reproduced in *SC* and when they were produced is of paramount importance considering that “rewritings are produced in the service, or under the constraints, of certain ideological and/or poetological currents” (Lefevere, 1992: 4) but also under certain patronage (Lefevere, 1992:12). What are the implications of the fact that the great majority of the translations included in *SC* were not made under the patronage of Porrúa, and under the ideologies and poetics reigning in Mexico during the second half of the 20th and beginning of the 21st centuries?

Lefevere stated, “Rewriting manipulates, and it is effective” (1992: 6). By this he did not mean “there is a ruthless, unprincipled and excessively cunning band of translators, critics, historiographers, editors, and anthologists ‘out there,’ snickering as they systematically ‘betray’ whichever work(s) of literature they are dealing with” (1992: 10). The manipulation perspective puts the accent on the effects that the system (the broader constraints like ideology, the poetics of the time and patronage) exert over the adaptation of literary works. This highly contextualized view of the transfer of literature across cultures is very appropriate in a product like *SC*. This

series as a whole is a contemporary Mexican rewriting made up by rewritings of different times and geographies (mostly from Spain). To what extent these elements are presented in a coherent way will be tackled in the final conclusions of the thesis. But in order to reach that point, and before even displaying the different interactions of translations and paratexts, it is necessary to historicize the translations in *SC* and to find out who are the agents behind them. This will facilitate the discussion of the other two layers of rewriting (editing and prefaces) presented in the next chapter.

The first step I took to acquire a deeper understanding of translation in *SC* was to determine who translated the foreign material in the series. As it has transpired in the previous chapters, mentions to translators are scarce. In that sense, the inclusion and visibility of credits offered initial insights on the different status ascribed to translators (why are only some credited?) and to the practice of translation versus preface writing (why is preface-writing more visible?). In a few volumes the translation fact is highlighted, whereas in most it is not. The forms in which translation is highlighted at times, and concealed in others, in comparison to the more consistent visibility given to preface writing allowed me to reflect on what I have identified as an important preliminary norm of series of classics, where the basic options are re-translating the classics or reprinting pre-existing translations. Some series, like *SC*, opt not to put all their efforts in the production of original translations⁵⁴. The difficulty of finding translators for certain languages (e.g., ancient Greek) and the interest to reduce costs and expedite the production process could be reasons motivating this choice. However, there have been series of classics that

⁵⁴ I labeled these translations as *original SC* when I could confirm they were published exclusively within the limits of this series. I searched the combination of translator name plus title of the work in Google, UNESCO's *Index Translationum*, Cervantesvirtual.com, Worldcat.org, Amazon.com, Mercadolibre.com, Abebooks.com, and the library catalogue of the Biblioteca Nacional de México to confirm that there were no editions other than that of *SC*. This does not exclude, however, the possibility that other translations included but not credited, were made exclusively for the series.

have put translation at the top of their mandate. This is the case of Penguin classics, in the English-speaking world. In the first declaration of intentions for this series, its inaugural editor, E.V. Rieu, left no doubt about the role of translation in this project:

The series is to be composed of original translations from Greek, Latin and later European classics, and it is the editor's intention to commission translators who can emulate his own example and present the general reader with readable and attractive versions of the great writers' books in modern English, shorn of the unnecessary difficulties of erudition, the archaic flavour and the foreign idiom that renders so many existing translations repellent to modern taste. (*A History of Penguin Classics*, 2020)

In this testimony the linguistic features of the translations are equated with accessibility. This is a project where the paperback format, low price, wide availability and features of the translations march together towards the aim of culture dissemination. Thus, the reappropriation of old translations, as it happens in *SC* would have been unthinkable.

Another example of the prioritization of translation in a series of classics is provided by *Biblioteca Americana* (FCE 1947). This series of classics that restricted its repertoire to works produced in Latin America, conceived of Brazil's inclusion as a fundamental part of its project. To do so, producing quality translations was necessary. The correspondence maintained between Pedro Henríquez Ureña and Daniel Cosío Villegas, founders of this project, during the early planning of the series, clearly shows the status given to translation. Cosío Villegas asks Henríquez Ureña: “¿Debe la colección incluir al Brasil? Supongo que sí, como lo incluye TIERRA FIRME. Para eso habrá que hacer buenas traducciones. Te mandaré un folleto que hemos impreso en la Editorial Losada sobre lo que deben evitar los traductores...” (as cited in Weinberg, 2014: 29). By mentioning a guideline for translators, Cosío Villegas shows that the model of translation envisioned for *Biblioteca Americana* was part of a conception of translation that went beyond the scope of the series. It could be argued that the necessity to translate the Brazilian authors that

would be included in *Biblioteca Americana* stemmed from the absence of pre-existing translations of these works⁵⁵. But judging by Cosío Villegas *Americanist*⁵⁶ militancy, which can be perceived in his criticisms of the Spanish monopoly over publishing matters cited in Chapter 1, it is very likely that his vision of *ad hoc* translation was similarly grounded in an American perspective. Furthermore, the mandate to produce first-hand and *good* translations of Brazilian authors is coherent with the overall discourse of the series embodied by its name *Biblioteca Americana*, where not only the classics but the translations and paratexts that accompanied them, would also be American.

The examples of *Penguin Classics* and *Biblioteca Americana* show how translation is linked to broad discursive position-takings in the conformation of series. By contrast, what does the very subtle translation visibility and translation activity in *SC* say? Because translator visibility is highly heterogeneous in *SC*, I used it as the starting point to unravel where translations come from in *SC*. Does high visibility point to cases of original translation for the series? In what cases are original translations made, and in what cases are recycled translations reproduced?

It is my contention that the rare production of original translations and the greater visibility of some translators in *SC* is linked to the status of such translators in Mexican culture. In Lefevere's work there is a special emphasis on rewriters, the professional readers in charge of the adaptation of literature. Using the example of St. Augustine's interpretation of certain

⁵⁵ A comprehensive historical study of the translation of Brazilian literature into Spanish between the 19th century and the late 20th century is provided by Gustavo Sorá (2003), *Traducir el Brasil. Una antropología de la circulación internacional de las ideas*, Buenos Aires, Libros del Zorzal.

⁵⁶ In the sense given to *Americanismo* in the Spanish-speaking world as an equivalent to *Latin Americanism* more recurrently, and to the *Pan Americanism* less recurrently. Not to be confused with the association of this word with the United States in the English-speaking world.

passages of the Bible to better fit the behavior expected by the Christian Church at the time,

Lefevere explains:

Augustine's situation is exemplary for that of all rewriters. He is obviously influenced by the fact that he occupies a certain position within a certain institution, as all rewriters are. Toward the end of his life he occupied a somewhat elevated position in an organization based on a certain ideology that had therefore a vested interest in preserving that ideology and in combating and destroying rival ideologies (Lefevere, 1992: 5).

Discovering all the intricacies of the who, what, and why of all translations in *SC* would exceed the scope of this thesis. Identifying the sources (names of translators, time and place of production) is perhaps a more modest but still productive approach to identify some of the ideologies, poetics and patronages of part of the rewritings contained in *SC*. In this chapter I provide the most general picture I could acquire of who rewrites. Information about why, under what circumstances and for which audience, is provided only for a few cases, due to the challenges to carry out such a comprehensive study in the context of this thesis. Nevertheless, the more detailed examples I present as well as the bibliographical data I acquired about the translations produced for and reproduced in *SC* provide interesting leads about the complexity of the rewritings in its volumes, which could be studied in the future.

The higher or lower status ascribed by the placement of the credits (on the front cover, inner cover, copyright page, preface or footnote) not only highlights or conceals the translation fact, but the intervention of certain actors/rewriters and institutions in this project. Who are these rewriters? is a question that leads part of the analysis presented in this and the next chapter. In the following pages I provide an overview of the original translations and their translators, as well as the recycled translations and translators in the series. I also discuss the many translations presented as anonymous and for which I was unable to find a source.

4.1. Questions of method

Given the limitations of *SC*'s catalogue, I examined a sample of the series' volumes to extract more data about rewriters, translation sources and paratexts. During the very first stage of this research I examined a total of 150 volumes, exclusively those including translations, which I was able to gather in a Mexican library. At that point in time I was specifically concerned with finding out whether the credits on the cover of the volumes were the only credits found in the series. I soon discovered that it was possible to find credits on footnotes, prefaces, and copyright pages. As I was looking at the volumes I also skimmed through the prefaces and the footnotes, realizing that they offered interesting data regarding the very different ways translations were presented. The examination of the volumes also revealed data about the wide range of paratextual elements included in the volumes throughout time, as well as the number of printed copies of a volume on a given year (some volumes included that information in the colophon). However, at that point, analyzing this information was not my priority, and therefore I did not document my findings systematically.

After refining my research questions and hypotheses, it became necessary to re-examine the volumes and register all these details in a systematic way. Although I originally intended to examine a sample of over 200 volumes more systematically, the time required to do so during short visits to Mexican libraries forced me to reduce the size of my sample. The examination of the volumes requires to find them in library catalogues, retrieve them from such libraries, and transcribe the information that results from flipping and reading many of the volume's pages. Although some volumes of *SC* are found in Canadian university libraries, the lesser availability of this material in Canada forced me to be very exhaustive when registering the volume's information during my visits to Mexican libraries. Although I was not able to analyze all the data

I documented, producing the most comprehensive entries for each volume was a precautionary measure I decided to take. The first step required the transcription regarding the presence of epigraphs, subtitles, credits, dedications, or any textual information not included on the cover and consequently in the 2013 catalogue. The second step involved reading the prefaces, registering their length in pages, and producing a very general categorization of the types of prefaces encountered. I also recorded the inclusion of timelines, bibliographies and glossaries, if such paratexts were presented from a Mexican perspective, their length and type (which varied greatly in the case of glossaries). After that, I accounted for the presence of footnotes in the volumes and also offered a general categorization for them. I indicated who was in charge of such footnotes, in the cases in which it was clear. Finally, I looked for translation credits or clues to find the translation sources in the body of the volumes. I transcribed all this information directly into my database and finalized the examination by scanning the cover, inner cover, copyright page, prologues, glossaries, timelines and colophons of every volume of my sample, in case I needed to go back to that information.

I later retrieved biographical information about all the translators credited in the series or that I could identify through supplementary bibliographic research. I searched for and registered their place and date of birth and death, their main professional activity and whether they were associated with any institution. In terms of the sources of the translations, I soon noticed that even though there are more translation credits inside the volumes than the ones registered in the 2013 catalogue, there are also many volumes devoid of any translation credits. For all of these volumes with an unknown translator, I carried out online searches where I followed three different strategies: entering a fragment of the translation and the title of the work, searching for

a translation of the text produced in the year indicated in the volume's copyright page⁵⁷, and searching for all the translations of a given text available online (archive.org, cervantesvirtual.com, amazon.com, google books, often provided at least samples of some of the translations) and comparing the text with the one in SC. Through this process I was able to determine the original sources of a few uncredited translations.

It was only possible to carry out this thorough analysis with 112 volumes. It is important to point out, however, that I had already retrieved basic information about translation credits in my first examination of 150 volumes, and with time, I could complete a basic-translator-credit analysis⁵⁸ for 197 volumes. When it came to front cover credits, I based my analysis on the entire catalogue, as all front cover images and a transcription of the information they contain is available in the 2013 catalogue. To sum this up: the data I provide in this chapter is based on the following data sets:

Table 18. Data set breakup

Name of data set	Number of volumes	Recorded data
Data set 1 (Complete contents of the 2013 catalogue. It was the foundation of my general database)	743 (translations and non-translations)	<i>Front cover credits</i> Translators Preface writers Annotators Editors Revisers
Data set 2 (Volumes I purchased, scanned, and examined physically)	197 (all translations)	<i>Translation credits</i> Presentation of translator's names (e.g. abbreviated, through pseudonym, inclusion of credentials...) Placement of credits (front cover, interior cover, legal page, footnote, in prologue, not included...)
Data set 3 (The 112 volumes from data set 2 that I	112 (translations and non-translations)	<i>Author's names</i> Hispanization and other alterations <i>Dedicatories and epigraphs</i>

⁵⁷ Some volumes include at the top of the copyright page information about the first publication in Spanish of the text included in the volume: "Primera edición castellana", followed by the year.

⁵⁸ Based on the questions: is there a translator credit? In case there is, where is the credit inserted?

could analyze in greater detail. The information obtained from this analysis was verted into what I named “sample database”).		<i>Notes</i> before prologues <i>Prologues</i> Prologist names Prologue titles Prologue length in pages Prologue characteristics (e.g. biographical, summary of the work, contextual, panoramic) <i>Timelines</i> Timeline length Inclusion of Mexican events in timelines <i>Glossaries</i> Glossary length in pages Brief entry description <i>Footnotes</i> Number of footnotes Brief footnote description (e.g. bibliographic, lexical, cultural, etc.) <i>Bibliographies</i> <i>Other paratexts</i> (e.g. epilogues, maps, images, etc.) <i>Type of volume</i> (e.g. single linguistic source, combination of translated works and non-translated works...) <i>Volume composition</i> (e.g. single work, compilation of several works by single author, compilation of several works by different authors, anthology...) <i>Front cover color</i> <i>Year of publication of the consulted edition</i> <i>Run data</i> (when available)
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The time challenges associated with data extraction were one of the main limitations of this research. Producing an exhaustive description for the qualitative analysis of an object such as this is very time consuming. Nonetheless, a very careful archaeology of series and periodicals would not only result in valuable information for national translation histories, but for the refinement of transnational translation databases. The history of the journey of certain translations from Spain into the Americas as well as the production of original translations in Latin America is barely depicted in databases such as UNESCO’s *Index Translationum* (<http://www.unesco.org/xtrans/>). Relying mostly on publisher’s lists or catalogues to build

translation databases is not enough. Despite the intensive archaeological work required to supplement translational data, it is necessary to overcome the current biases in resources like the *Index Translationum*, which, at least in what refers to the Spanish language, provides a disproportionate representation of translation activity in Spain. By doing this, Latin America as an alternative space for the creation and circulation of translations becomes erased. Databases tell stories too.⁵⁹

The 112 volumes in Data set 3 include both translated and non-translated volumes. Following my first examination of the volumes, where I only looked at translated volumes, it became evident that some information, particularly the one pertaining to paratexts, should be weighed against the observation of non-translated volumes. Therefore, the composition of the sample I used to extract the data that I will present in the following pages was of 31 non-translated volumes and 81 translated volumes. To carry out the selection I determined that the non-translated volumes were those originally written in Spanish in their entirety. With this in mind, the translated volumes considered for the sample include volumes entirely made up by translation, mixed-language volumes such as anthologies, as well as intralingual translations (which in the context of this series are modernized versions of medieval Spanish literature presented as bitexts).

The selection of the volumes was based on the availability of the volumes. Once I retrieved all of the available *SC* titles at libraries and bookstores, I split them by units of 100:

⁵⁹ For instance, the *Index Translationum* provides only one record of a Spanish translation of the Brazilian novel *Os sertões*: “Cunha, Euclides da: Los sertones [Spanish] / Garay, Benjamín de / Madrid: Fundamentos [Spain], 1981. 498 p. Os sertões [Portuguese]” (*Los Sertones*, 2020), which obliterates the fact that a previous Argentine translation of this novel had been in circulation since the 1940s, published by W.M. Jackson, *Colección Panamericana* (1945). Widely disseminated translations in Mexico are also missing from this database. For instance, there are no indications in this database of the Spanish translations by Ángel María Garibay of Ancient Greek theatre (Aristophanes, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Eurypides). It is evident that the Spanish language database in the *Index Translationum* has been completed for the Spanish production, but very little work has been done in terms of the translations produced elsewhere in the Hispanic world.

from vols. 1 to 100, 101 to 200, etc., so I could get a representative sample of the entire catalogue. Volumes 1 to 300 were readily available; I could even find several copies of the same volume which provided interesting comparative data about runs. Volumes 300s and 400s and even 500s were notably scarce but still available. However, volumes 600s and 700s were almost impossible to find in libraries. The trends in the availability of the series' volumes in different libraries could be used as a measure of the popularity and dissemination of these translations. I observed a similar trend in second-hand bookstores. But beyond these hypotheses, the lack of availability of the latest numbers of the series affected my research in a very pragmatic sense since purchasing these volumes at the Porrúa bookstore, the only place that offered the complete catalogue of the series, became the only way to consult this material.

4.2. *A translation collage*

Although some authors have made generalizations about the characteristics of translation in *SC*, the evidence in the volumes shows that there is anything but a model for translation in this series. This is self-evident only by comparing some critical comments about certain translations published in *SC*. One critic, for instance, issued the following comment on *SC*'s translation of Dante's *La Divina Comedia*:

En las varias ediciones castellanas que circulan en México se presenta un tanto indescifrable o, en efecto, 'monstruosa' [...] (la de Sepan Cuantos, que aparece como contemporánea y anónima, es la chilapastrosa⁶⁰—aunque útil: peor sería nada—de 1871 de Manuel Aranda y San Juan [...]; la misma que prolifera en otras ediciones populares) (Blanco, 2005)

⁶⁰ Mexican word used to designate something that is raggedy, scruffy or shabby. This colloquialism is not included in the *Diccionario del Español de México* by El Colegio de México, nor in the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*. Some more informal online sources online, define it. The website *mexionario.com*, defines it as “Se usa para referirse a alguien con mal gusto al vestir o que lo hace de forma descuidada” (Cabo, n.d.). The *Diccionario abierto del español* offers the following definition: “Chilapastroso: (adj.) Se dice del individuo que presenta desfachatez, suciedad o mugre” (Fabrizio, n.d.).

First off, the author denounces the deceptive presentation of the translation as “contemporary and anonymous”. The volume he refers to, indeed lacks a translation credit in its pages. However, the conclusion that the series presents it as a contemporary rendition is Blanco’s own deduction, as no claims are made in the volume regarding the nature of the translation. In second place, we identify the recycled translation phenomenon I have been alluding to and that is perhaps one of the most recurring translation practices in *SC*. As Blanco declares, repurposing old translations is not exclusive of *SC*. Aranda y San Juan’s translation of Dante has been reproduced in many popular editions in the Spanish-speaking world. Finally, this testimony shows the translation at hand as flawed but useful, a theme that, as I discussed in the introduction of the thesis, has been very pervasive in the few descriptions of *SC*.

In another article by the same author where he touches on the version of Tolstoi’s *War and Peace* in *SC*, he offers a slightly different portrait. In this case, the translation is deemed of better quality but the complaint about *SC*’s tendency to keep translators in anonymity persists: “La edición castellana de la *Guerra y la paz* de Porrúa, en ‘Sepan Cuantos’ [...] es muy legible y está bien cuidada; sólo hay que reprocharle que omite, como suele ser la inexplicable costumbre de esa generosa colección, el nombre del traductor” (Blanco, 1998). Thus, not all translations in *SC* merit adjectives like *chilapastrosa*. Quality—notwithstanding what Blanco means by that—is not precluded from *SC*’s translations.

The criticism of *SC*’s tendency to present translations as anonymous is echoed by Christopher Domínguez: “por lo general eran anónimas y no siempre las mejores” (Domínguez Michael, 2010: 2). Domínguez’s objection to the dubious quality and anonymity of the translations is nuanced, as he presents them as a general but not overarching characteristic of the series. In a later article, however, he is more categorical in his disapproval of omitting translator’s

credits: “[...] antimoderna, se niega a consignar el nombre del traductor” (Domínguez Michael, 2016: 101). This personification of the series shows it as actively resisting giving translators their due credit. By adding the adjective *antimoderna* Domínguez Michael is adding the weight of the contemporary conventions in the publishing scene, where translators have gained ground in the battle for visibility. *SC*’s persistence to not name translators (still by 2016) shows it as a publication steeped in questionable publishing practices.

And yet, despite the undeniable trend towards anonymity and recycled translations, as well as the common perceptions of these translation’s bad quality, some testimonies provide evidence about original translations that are worthy of praise. Gabriel Zaid, for instance, provided a brief apology of one of *SC*’s translations:

(...) la edición que cité es la económica versión de *Las once comedias* de Aristófanes (colección Sepan Cuántos de Porrúa, p. 77), muy recomendable, a pesar de que Ángel María Garibay ha sido acusado de no saber tanto griego y aprovechar una versión francesa. De la cual no pudo haber tomado el sabroso lenguaje de teatro populachero, ni los mexicanismos (*pelado*, *tompeate*) que tan bien le van a Aristófanes (Zaid, 2012a)

Testimonies like this show that *SC* is more than a repository of pre-existing translations. Ángel María Garibay, a prominent Mexican scholar who is famous for his translations of Nahuatl literature (Payàs, 2004a; Torres, 2004), emerges as one of the translators of *SC*. Garibay’s translations are extraordinary in view of the last examples of recycled translations presented as anonymous and their appropriateness to the Mexican context enhances their exceptionality.

A collage of various types of translations and translators in the series is evident from the comparison of testimonies such as the ones cited above. The analysis presented in the next section is partly devoted to providing more precise information about the proportion of translations that are first and recycled. I also attempt to find explanations related to the decision to produce original translations or to reproduce recycled translations. Furthermore, I explore the

different modes of translation visibility and establish links with the original or recycled nature of the translations. This information sets the ground for the question addressed in the next chapter: how do these heterogeneous translation practices interact with the likewise heterogeneous paratextual elements in the volumes?

The mix of original and recycled translation, as well as the high proportion of translations presented as anonymous was confirmed in my data analysis. I established there are only 39⁶¹ volumes crediting translators on the front cover, which amounts to 9% of all volumes containing translations in the series. Then, from the analysis of Data set 2 (197 volumes) I extracted 54 additional translation credits. These credits were found inside the volumes: on the inner covers, copyright pages, in prefaces and footnotes⁶². The remaining 106 volumes in Data set 2 did not include any translation credit, exposing the overwhelming translator invisibility in the series.

My guiding assumption is that there is a correlation between visibility/invisibility and original and recycled translation in the series. I initially inferred two trends linked to the poles of the spectrum. On one side, high visibility could be very likely linked to original translations. On the other side, invisibility would be mostly associated with recycled translations. The 54 translation credits found inside the volumes of my sample, however, made matters more complicated. Several questions arose from these translations in the middle of the spectrum.

Given that these translators were granted some visibility, why not credit them on the front cover?

⁶¹ As discussed in Chapter 2, the 2013 catalogue only includes data about 37 front cover translation credits as it failed to transcribe the credit for two of Ángel María Garibay's translations. Adding those two works to my count, the total raises to 39.

⁶² Data set 2 which is the group of volumes I have either purchased, scanned, or studied in person, comprises 197 volumes, and it includes 37 of the 39 volumes containing front cover translation credits I already mentioned. The reason why I made sure to obtain physical access to almost all of the volumes containing front-cover translation credits was their probability of being the few original translations in the series, which steered me towards reading their paratexts and observing the characteristics of the translations. However, for this part of the study, concerned mainly with showing the proportion of volumes with known translators, I make a point of presenting the data about front cover credits and credits inside the volumes against different backgrounds because my 197 data set is skewed towards showing a greater number of volumes with known translator as a consequence of including almost the entire group of front-cover credits.

Who are these translators? Are there any trends regarding their nationality and/or professional profile? Do they have a different cultural weight in Mexico than translators credited on the covers? How are these translations different from the translations presented anonymously (for which I was able to find a source)? Is this type of medium visibility necessarily linked to the original or recycled nature of the translations?

In general, I interpreted the presence of the two clearly demarcated poles as evidence of two overarching translation phenomena in the series. There is *translating* in the present tense (original translations), where translation is assumed as a form of rewriting, and where translators are allowed to exert their agency in the series. But there is also *presenting*⁶³ *translations* (recycled translations). In this case, translation happened in the past. The rewritings embodied by these translations do not correspond to the communicative situation for which *SC* is created. The translators in charge of these texts were agents in a context that, more often than not, is completely blurred from *SC*'s volumes. These are recycled rewritings. Potentially, the prefaces presenting these recycled translations will assume the role of original rewritings in *SC*, but that analysis is provided in the next chapter. In the sections that follow I summarize my observations about the original and recycled translations in the series. This analysis is focused on the translators. I was unable to study the features of the translations themselves due to the size of the corpus. However, general observations about some of the translations are offered in the various examples presented in this and the next chapter.

⁶³ I chose the term present and not reproduce because in some cases these repurposed translations are modified.

4.3. Original translations

Following my hypothesis linking high visibility and original translations, the point of departure for the analysis provided in this section is the group of 39 volumes with front-cover translation credits. In a series where the translation fact is virtually erased, these prominent mentions of translation become very significant. The covers of the volumes offer rich information for the study of translation in view that “the liminal features of translated books play an extremely important role in the manipulation approach” (Belle, 2019: 21). The variety of translation credit placement in *SC* could indicate a hierarchy of translators: 39 credits on the front cover, 33 on the copyright page, 7 on the inner cover, and 14 on footnotes and prologues. I presumed that this hierarchy must be linked to whether or not the translations were produced specifically for the series.

To begin the analysis, I looked at the group of translations that were credited on the front cover, which I present in Table 19, below. My hypothesis was that most of the translations, if not all, credited on the front cover would equate to *SC*’s original translations.

Table 19. Translation front cover credits in entire catalogue⁶⁴

Volume information	Transcription of translation complete translation credit
11. Esquilo. <i>Las siete tragedias</i>	Versión directa del griego, con una introducción de Ángel Ma. Garibay K. de la Academia de la Lengua y de la Historia. Premio Nacional de Literatura de 1961
14. Sófocles. <i>Las siete tragedias</i>	Versión directa del griego. Introducción Ángel Ma. Garibay K. de la Academia de la Lengua
24. Eurípides. <i>Las diecinueve tragedias</i>	Versión directa del griego, con una introducción de Ángel Ma. Garibay K. de la Academia de la Lengua
27. <i>Voces de Oriente. Antología de textos literarios del cercano oriente</i>	Traducciones, introducciones y notas de Ángel Ma. Garibay K. de la Academia de la Lengua y de la Academia de la Historia
28. Don Juan Manuel. <i>El Conde Lucanor</i>	Versión moderna e introducción de Amancio Bolaño e Isla
35. Gonzalo de Berceo. <i>Milagros de nuestra</i>	Prólogo y versión moderna de Amancio Bolaño e Isla

⁶⁴ In this list, items are separated according to the label *traducción* or *versión* following the hypothesis that this distinction could indicate a different treatment of the texts, such as freer translations in the case of the use *versión*, or the preference for this label in the case of the modernization of old Spanish texts. Through the examples developed in chapter 5, I expand on this reflection.

<i>señora [...]</i>	
36. <i>Popol Wuj. Antiguas historias de los indios quichés de Guatemala</i>	Advertencia, versión y vocabulario: Albertina Saravia E.
48. <i>Libro de los Salmos</i>	Versión directa del hebreo y comentarios: José González Brown. Doctor en Sagrada Escritura.
51. <i>Sabiduría de Israel. Tres obras de la cultura judía</i>	Traducciones directas de Ángel Ma. Garibay K.
54. <i>Proverbios de Salomón y Sabiduría de Jesús Ben Sirak</i>	Versiones directas de los originales de Ángel Ma. Garibay K.
67. Aristófanes. <i>Las once comedias</i>	Versión directa del griego con una introducción de Ángel Ma. Garibay K. De la Academia de la Lengua y de la Historia. Premio Nacional de Literatura de 1965
70. Aristóteles. <i>Ética nicomaquea / Política</i>	Versión española e introducción de Antonio Gómez Robledo
74. Madame Calderón de la Barca. <i>La vida en México durante una estancia de dos años en ese país</i>	Traducción y prólogo de Felipe Teixidor
76. Arcipreste de Hita. <i>El libro del buen amor</i>	Versión antigua con prólogo y versión moderna de Amancio Bolaño e Isla
85. <i>Poema de Mio Cid</i>	Versión antigua con prólogo y versión moderna de Amancio Bolaño e Isla seguido del <i>Romancero del Cid</i>
133. Oscar Wilde. <i>El retrato de Dorian Gray [...]</i>	Traducción, prólogo y notas: Monserrat Alfau
142. San Agustín. <i>Confesiones</i>	Versión, introducción y notas de Francisco Montes de Oca
174. <i>Romancero viejo y tradicional</i>	Selección, introducción, traducción moderna y notas de Manuel Alvar
196. Jonathan Swift. <i>Viajes de Gulliver</i>	Traducción, prólogo y notas: Monserrat Alfau
219. Rabinal-Achi. <i>El varón de Rabinal. Ballet-Drama de los indios quichés de Guatemala</i>	Traducción y prólogo de Luis Cardoza y Aragón
238. Oscar Wilde. <i>La importancia de llamarse Ernesto [...]</i>	Traducción y prólogo de Monserrat Alfau
247. Le Sage. <i>Gil Blas de Santillana</i>	Traducción y prólogo de Francisco José de Isla y un estudio de Sainte-Beuve
251. Luis de Camoens. <i>Los lusíadas</i>	Traducción, prólogo y notas: Idelfonso Manuel Gil
279. <i>El cantar de Roldán</i>	Versión de Felipe Teixidor
285. <i>El cantar de los nibelungos</i>	Traducción al español e introducción de Marianne Oeste de Bopp
299. Antoine de Saint-Exupéry. <i>El principito</i>	Nota preliminar y traducción: María de los Ángeles Porrúa
301. Tomás de Aquino. <i>Tratado de la ley</i>	Traducción y estudio introductorio: Carlos Ignacio González, S.J.
303. Enrique Ibsen. <i>Peer Gynt [...]</i>	Versión y prólogo: Ana Victoria Mondada
317. Tomás de Aquino. <i>Suma contra los gentiles</i>	Traducción y estudio introductorio: Carlos Ignacio González, S.J.
318. Ibn Zaydun / Ibn Arabi. <i>Casidas de amor profano y místico.</i>	Estudio y traducción de Vicente Cantarino
427. Diógenes Laercio. <i>Vida de los filósofos más ilustres.</i> <i>Filostrato. Vidas de los sofistas.</i>	Traducciones y prólogos de José Ortiz Sanz y José M. Riaño

428. Anonymous. <i>Aventuras del pícaro Till Eulenspiegel</i> . Jorge Wickram. <i>El librito del carro</i>	Versión y prólogos de Marianne Oeste de Bopp
484. León Hebreo. <i>Diálogos de amor</i>	Traducción de Garcilaso de la Vega, El Inca
550. Agostino Trapé. <i>San Agustín</i>	Presentación y traducción: Rafael Gallardo García, O.S.A.
564. <i>Pobreza y riqueza en obras selectas del cristianismo primitivo</i>	Selección de textos, traducción y estudio introductorio por Carlos González, S. J.
624. Andrés Capellán. <i>Tratado del amor cortés</i>	Traducción, introducción y notas: Ricardo Arias y Arias
666. Beatrice Berler. <i>La conquista de México. Versión abreviada de la historia de William H. Prescott</i>	Traducción de Magdalena Ruiz de Cerezo
709. Thomas Merton, <i>La montaña de los siete círculos</i>	Traducción de Aquilino Tur
725. Gilbert Keith Chesterton. <i>El hombre que fue jueves</i>	Traducción y prólogo: Alfonso Reyes

To confirm that these are original translations a supplementary bibliographical research was required. Besides acquiring basic bio-bibliographical information about the translators, I looked for the translator-title of the work combination in online databases and in library and bookstore catalogues⁶⁵. I confirmed that 29 of the 39 front cover translation credits correspond to translations that were exclusively published in *SC*. In some cases, I found information in the paratexts corroborating the specificity of the translation for the series. Although these 29 volumes confirm that high translator visibility has a high prevalence among original translations, I identified eleven additional volumes containing original translations that were not credited on the front cover and had varying visibility. In addition to that, not all the translations credited on the front were original translations. Namely, El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's translation of León Hebreo's *Diálogos de amor* (1590), and Alfonso Reyes' translation and prologue of Chesterton's *El hombre que fue jueves* (1922) are two cases at hand. The fact that both de La Vega and Reyes

⁶⁵ Nowadays websites selling used books online are valuable sources of information. I found information about the previous editions of a translation on websites like mercadolibre.com or abebooks.com. Such information is not registered in library catalogues, academic sources or in worldcat.org. These sources often display images of the front covers and copyright pages, which allow to confirm the existence of the edition.

are very renowned authors in Mexico and Latin America suggest that the translator's status in the literary field also influenced their visibility in the series.

In fact, the characteristics of the credits also suggested that the status of these translators in Mexican culture played a role in their visibility. Although the names of translators like Garcilaso de la Vega and Alfonso Reyes are presented plainly (perhaps due to their notoriety) many of the other translators in Table 19 are introduced by means of their credentials. This paratextual information highlights these agent's symbolic weight. Ángel María Garibay is presented as a member of the Language and History Academies, and the recipient of the 1965 National Literary Award. Three other translators' names are accompanied by abbreviations that show their association with the catholic church: Carlos Ignacio González, S.J. [*Societas Jesu*], Rafael Gallardo García O.S.A. [*Ordo Sancti Agustini*], and other details that support their knowledge of religious texts in the case of José González Brown, *Doctor en Sagrada Escritura*. These credentials also manifest an agent's link to an institution (in this case, the catholic church and academia). Yet, a higher cultural status was not the only factor determining front cover visibility, as lesser-known actors such as Aquilino Tur or Ricardo Arias y Arias, with no known links to Mexican culture, appear on the front cover.

In summary, front cover credits tend to correspond to original translations. The translator's status is also related with higher visibility. However, the policy to credit translators on the front cover is not entirely clear in a few cases. This analysis, however, suggests that whenever original translation happened in the series, it was granted visibility. Furthermore, in the cases of original translations, the range of influence of the rewriters is wide. As observed in most of the cases in Table 19, translation is rarely a single activity. Preface writing and translating are typically carried out by the same person in these front cover credits, and in a few cases, other

functions such as text selection, annotation, and the production of other paratexts such as vocabularies, can be agglutinated. Judging by the information presented in this table, it would be possible to affirm that highly visible translators are usually preface writers too. Furthermore, the fact that most of these agents carry out functions that surpass translation could indicate their direct involvement with this publishing project and a greater degree of influence over it. There is a correlation between the number of functions carried out by a translator, their front cover visibility and the original nature of their translation.

Although the front cover credit analysis offered insights about original translation, as I mentioned earlier, not all original translations were credited on the front cover. In the following pages I analyse the original translations grouping them according to the placement of their credit in the volumes.

The following table synthesizes the information I took into account to produce the analysis presented in this section. I introduce the translator's name and a brief column containing basic biographical information. Because I omitted the titles of the works on this table to save space, on the right column I offer a broad categorization for the source text and in parenthesis the number of works translated by the translator in question. For the most part there is a 1 to 1 correspondence between translator and translation, but in the case of a few agents that produced more than one translation, such as in the case of Garibay, it was necessary to indicate how many original translations are attributed to him and what type of texts they were.

Table 20. Original translations according to placement of translation credit

Front cover, 30 volumes ⁶⁶			
Translator	Type of translator	Date	Text type
Ángel María Garibay	Religious, scholar, renowned, Mexican, Recurring.	1962-1967	Ancient Greek theatre (4) Hebrew-religious (2) Ancient Eastern (1)

⁶⁶ Of 422 translated volumes

Amancio Bolaño e Isla	Scholar, Spanish immigrant in Mexico, Professor at UNAM, Member of Mexican Spanish Academy.	1964-1968	Medieval Spanish Literature (4)
Albertina Saravia	Scholar, Guatemalan, no indication of migration to Mexico, Historian, Single-time translator	1965	Indigenous literature (1)
José González Brown	Religious, Mexican, Scarce bio-bibliographic information, Single-time translator	1965	Religious (1)
Felipe Teixidor	Porrúa, Editor of <i>SC</i> (1959-1979), erudite, Spanish immigrant in Mexico, RAE, Frequent.	1967, 1974	Mexican history/culture (1) French Medieval literature (1)
Montserrat Alfau de Teixidor	Porrúa, Wife of <i>SC</i> 's editor, Spanish immigrant in Mexico, Frequent.	1959-1973	English literature (3)
Francisco Montes de Oca	Editor-educator, no biographical data available, bibliographical info: highly involved in Porrúa's publications as editor and prologist, collaborated in UNAM's publications as well.	1970	Philosophy (1)
Manuel Alvar	Scholar, Spanish with no known living experience in Mexico, several collaborations in <i>SC</i> , was President of RAE.	1971	Medieval Spanish literature (1)
María de los Ángeles Porrúa	Porrúa, No bio-bibliographical information, member of the Porrúa family. Single-time translator.	1975	Youth literature (1)
Marianne Oeste de Bopp	Educator, scarce biographical info. Taught at UNAM and Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, Specialized in German literature	1975, 1984	German Medieval literature (2)
Carlos Ignacio González S.J.	Religious, Mexican priest, taught theology in Rome and Lima, scarce biographical info.	1975, 1977, 1988	Religious (3)
Vicente Cantarino	Scholar, Spanish immigrant in Mexico, taught at UNAM.	1977	Hispano-Arabic literature (1)
Rafael Gallardo García O.S.A.	Religious, Mexican priest, no biographical info, wrote and translated religious texts in Mexico in 2nd half of 20th century	1987	Religious (1)
Ricardo Arias y Arias	Scholar, Spanish with no known living experience in Mexico. Previously selected and introduced vol. 327 <i>Autos Sacramentales</i> in the series	1992	Medieval literature (1)
Magdalena Ruíz de Cerezo	Porrúa? No biographical data, only bibliographical trace is this book, could have been close to the Porrúa family judging by characteristics of prologue.	1996	Mexican history told from US perspective (1)
Preface, 3 volumes⁶⁷			
Juan José Arreola	Writer, well-known cultural figure in mid 20 th century, Mexican.	1968	Didactic anthology to develop reading abilities (1)
Francisco Montes de Oca	Scholar-editor-educator, no biographical data available, bibliographical info: highly involved in <i>SC</i>	1983	Greek and Latin classics (1)
José Emilio Pacheco	Writer, translator, Mexican.	1991	French symbolism (1)
Footnote, 2 volumes			
Fedro Guillén	Scholar, Mexican, UNAM	1975	Russian literature (1)
Francisco Larroyo	Scholar, Philosopher, Mexican, UNAM, Ministry of Education.	1979	Philosophy (1)
Copyright page, 3 volumes			
Adolfo de Alba	Professional translator, Mexican, very active in	1972	English literature (3)

⁶⁷ This and the following categories are weighed against 160 volumes in the 197 data set, with no front cover credit.

	2 nd half of 20 th century, translated for various publishing houses.		
Inner cover, 3 volumes			
F. Benach [Felipe Teixidor's second last name]	Porrúa, Editor of <i>SC</i> (1959-1979), erudite, Spanish immigrant in Mexico. Frequent.	1976	French 19 th century literature (3)

The date column reveals that the vast majority of original translations were carried out during the first 20 years of existence of the series, when Felipe Teixidor directed it (1959-1979). It is possible that Teixidor, a translator himself, encouraged this practice among the series' closest collaborators. Many of these translators are not known primarily for being translators, but rather for their relation to the Mexican academic, religious, pedagogical, intellectual, and publishing spheres. I have grouped these translators according to very broad professional categories:

Table 21. Translators' professional profile

Translators' professional profile	Name
Academic	Amancio Bolaño e Isla- UNAM Manuel Alvar - RAE Vicente Cantarino - UNAM Albertina Saravia - ? ⁶⁸ Ángel María Garibay – UNAM (also linked to the Church) Francisco Larroyo – UNAM (also linked to the Ministry of Education) Fedro Guillén (UNAM) Felipe Teixidor – RAE (also linked to the Porrúa house) Marianne Oeste de Bopp (also educator) Francisco Montes de Oca (UNAM)
Associated with the Catholic church	Ángel María Garibay (presented in the series as a scholar) José González Brown Carlos Ignacio González S.J. Rafael Gallardo García O.S.A.
Writers / Intellectuals	José Emilio Pacheco Juan José Arreola
Associated with Porrúa	María de los Ángeles Porrúa Felipe Teixidor Montserrat Alfau

⁶⁸ The back cover of an English edition of *Popol Wuj. Ancient Stories of the Quiche Indians of Guatemala*. Turismas, Guatemala (1997) describes Saravia as an academic: "... a graduate of the Faculty of History, University of San Carlos of Guatemala, and lecturer and author of several articles and book [sic] on Indian life [sic]". However, I have been unable to find evidence about her links to any university. I have not found the articles and books mentioned in the quote.

	Magdalena Ruíz de Cerezo
Professional translators	Adolfo de Alba

Besides the professional lens, these actors can be seen through a geographical lens. Although not all of these agents are Mexican by birth, most of them lived in Mexico and were directly linked to Mexican institutions. Agents such as Teixidor, Alfau, Bolaño e Isla, and Cantarino, were Spanish immigrants in Mexico, showing that their involvement in this publication was closely linked to their residence in the country. Only in the case of Albertina Saravia, a Guatemalan historian, and Manuel Alvar, former president of the RAE who contributed to *SC* with several prefaces and one translation but never lived or taught in Mexico, the link to the series, and Mexican publications remains undetermined.

4.3.1. The stellar translators on SC's covers

Going back to the analysis according to the place where the credits are included, it is clear that academics constitute the most visible translator profile in the corpus of original translations, not only because there are more academics on this list but because they are the ones most often credited on the front cover as preface writers as well. This fact evidences the existing link between the series and the university (UNAM, specifically). The close relationship between the works translated by these agents and their area of scholarly expertise, and the courses they taught at the university, suggest that these translations could have been motivated by their particular interest to produce *ad hoc* material for their courses.

Although most of the original translations credited on the front covers were carried out by Mexican academics, they compete in visibility with another translator profile: translators associated with the catholic church such as Ángel María Garibay, Carlos Ignacio González, Rafael Gallardo García, and José González Brown. All of them translate religious texts (although

Garibay translates more than religious texts). As I discussed in the previous section about credits, the inclusion of these translator's credentials appears to emphasize their authority to present religious works. The inclusion of religious works in the series, in and of itself, reflects that this publication was one of the last bastions of Catholic influence over educational material after the strong laicism imposed over education since the Reform wars. This repertory is absent from other popular series of classics of its time like Austral and Biblioteca Básica Salvat. By including this repertory and emphasizing the participation of religious translators, *SC* makes its association with Catholicism explicit and to a certain extent, borrowing Christopher Domínguez to describe the series, "antimodern". Interestingly enough, Garibay writes on the prologue to his anthology *Sabiduría de Israel* how religious texts' inclusion is justified for their intellectual, cultural weight rather than their doctrinal dimension:

Dos son las fuentes de nuestra cultura occidental. Una viene de Grecia y Roma. Otra viene de Israel. El Cristianismo es la gran potencia que hizo de Europa y después del mundo por ella conquistado, un modo de sociedad y de pensamiento que se basa en ideas muy altas. Aun el que no admita revelaciones de lo alto tiene que conceder que el pensamiento cristiano ha transformado al mundo. (Garibay, 1966: ix)

It does not lack interest to note that next to some of the academic and religious translators on the covers of *SC*, a group of translators that are not known beyond the universe of this publication share their prominent status on the front covers. I am referring to Felipe Teixidor, Monserrat Alfau de Teixidor, María de los Ángeles Porrúa and Magdalena Ruíz de Cerezo. Teixidor is more widely known than the rest, due to his legacy as a bibliographer, and his membership to the Spanish Language Academy, RAE. However, his centrality as one of the few front-cover translators on the series is above all explained by his work as director of the series. Similarly, the appearance in the series of his wife, Monserrat Alfau, as well as María de los Ángeles Porrúa, a member of the Porrúa family and Magdalena Ruiz, whose link to the house

has not been determined although her paratext indicates a close relationship with the author she translated, Beatrice Berler, is mainly explained by their direct association with the publishing house. Furthermore, the two latter have no other publications in the series. These are circumstantial translators, and their paratexts show it, as they are more personal than the rest of the more pedagogical and scholarly paratexts in the series. Take for instance, the dedication by Magdalena Ruiz to Beatrice Berler: “Gracias, Beady, por confiar en mí, por tu cariño y sabios consejos a lo largo de mi vida como escritora. / Niní” (Ruiz de Cerezo, 1996).

The contrast between the inclusion of academics and religious translators on the front cover, on one side, and Porrúa’s in-house translators, shows that the front cover space fulfills two functions. In the case of the first group, we see the most common transfer of cultural capital from the agent to the series, whereas in the case of Porrúa’s circumstantial translators, it is the series that transfers cultural capital to them.

4.3.2. Preface credits’ potential to enhance or diminish the translator’s task

The three original translations credited on the preface are cases in which original translations share the space with recycled translations, an operation that is explained in the paratext. The more complete explanations about the decision to combine first and recycled translations take place in the two volumes where writers / intellectuals intervene. In volume 103, the anthology *Lectura en voz alta*, Juan José Arreola, writer of the preface and person in charge of the selection of the works states: “Los libros en que leí los textos que amo y rescato, no consignan casi nunca el nombre de los traductores. Conozco algunos, pero los omito en favor de los anónimos. A cambio, entrego una decena de traducciones mías, sin identificarlas. Vaya lo uno por lo otro” (Arreola, 1968: 10). In the case of volume 603, *Vidas imaginarias* and *La cruzada de los niños* by Marcel Schwob, José Emilio Pacheco (1991) explains in the prologue that this volume is in

fact a tribute to renowned Mexican translator of Schwob, Rafael Cabrera⁶⁹. Given that Cabrera did not translate Schwob's selected works in their entirety, Pacheco, completes the work and adds his own translations. Both Arreola and Pacheco show their greater agency by assuming control of the narrative about translation in their respective volume. The concealment of their translation credit is their own choice.

A similar concealment of the original translation task occurs in the preface written by Antonio Marichalar to volume 393, Luciano de Samosata's *Diálogos / Historia verdadera*:

Los diálogos incluidos en la presente selección fueron traducidos, en su mayor parte por Cristóbal Vidal, que fuera catedrático de griego en la Universidad Literaria de Sevilla. Vieron la luz en 1882 en la 'Biblioteca Clásica', editada por la librería de Hernando en Madrid. Le pertenecen a él las versiones de: El sueño, Nigirino, Timón, Alción, Prometeo, Diálogos de los dioses, Diálogos marinos, Diálogos de los muertos y Menipo. Los restantes fueron traducidos por un discípulo suyo, Federico Baráibar, también insigne helenista, que culminó la obra del maestro cuando éste hubo de abandonarla por razones de salud. La traducción de la *Historia Verdadera* se debe a Francisco Montes de Oca. (Marichalar, 1983: xviii)

In this case, broader information is provided about Vidal and Baráibar, the authors of the recycled translations used in the volume. We learn that these translators were highly authorized to carry out the translations of Luciano de Samosata's works thanks to their academic credentials. In stark contrast, the mention of Montes de Oca's contribution as a translator is not only quick but lacks a justification, as the one offered in the two examples above. Montes de Oca was a highly visible preface writer in the series. Although there is very few information about his life, a 2018 Twitter threat regarding his death⁷⁰, reveals that he was a catholic priest and that he

⁶⁹ Cabrera's translations of Schwob, which he carried out by recommendation of Julio Torri, had been previously published in *Colección Cvltvra*, described in chapter 1. *Mimos: La cruzada de los niños* appeared in Cvltvra in 1917, and *Vidas imaginarias* in 1923.

⁷⁰ I have been unable to find any information about Montes de Oca in academic sources. The only hints about his life are found in databases showing his bibliographic legacy through publications at UNAM and Porrúa. Recently, I was able to find data delineating his biography on Twitter. The *Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes y Literatura* [@bellasartessinba] tweeted on September 2, 2018, “‘El Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes lamenta el sensible

had close links with SC. Unlike Pacheco and Arreola, Montes de Oca did not write the preface for the volume where his translation is inserted and thus the erasure of his translation activity is not performed by himself. However, due to his great presence as a preface writer, indicating his degree of closeness to the series, he could have asked Marichalar to keep his credit succinct. The way he is portrayed in this credit appears to be the result, perhaps, of his willingness to remain in anonymity. This self-imposed anonymity could have stemmed from a modesty similar to that of Juan José Arreola and Francisco Montes de Oca. And yet, Montes de Oca is given credit on the front cover for volume 142, San Agustín, *Confesiones*, where he was in charge of the version, introduction and notes. He also appears on 27 front covers credited as a preface writer. Similarly, Arreola and Pacheco are highly visible in their respective volumes for compiling the texts they present. Could the erasure of translation in these prefaces be indicative of the subservience of the translation task Simeoni (1998) discusses in his well-known work about the translator's habitus? Is this a reflection of the hierarchy of activities where authorship of the work comes first, followed by authorship of a preface, editions and anthologies, and where translation is perceived as belonging to a lower stratum?

4.3.3. Enigmatic translation credits in small font: footnotes

As we move away from the front cover, the credits become smaller, not only typographically but rhetorically. This is the case with the two footnote credits found for original translations. As it can be observed, the credit assumed by Fedro Guillén, a former professor of Russian literature at UNAM, for translating Tolstoi's short stories, is barely delineated:

De las traducciones publicadas en este volumen, han sido hechas directamente del ruso las siguientes: “Dos muertes”; “Polikushka”; “La muerte de Iván Ilich”; “Donde está el amor

fallecimiento de don Francisco Montes de Oca, cuya labor editorial dejó honda huella, sobre todo en la colección ‘Sepan cuantos...’ que a tantos lectores ha formado”.

está Dios”; y “Pakhon el Mujik”. Las versiones de los otros cuentos incluidos fueron cuidadosamente revisadas, en vista del texto ruso (Guillén, 1979: xiv)

It is inferred that the direct translations alluded here were carried out by Guillén himself.

Although for the remaining texts he confesses selecting pre-existing translations, the mention of a *careful revision* against the Russian text, evidences his imprint on the volume. In this case, the use of the impersonal voice blurs the translator credit. Once again, this is a case of modesty and/or subservience of the translation task that reminds of the Montes de Oca’s credit in the previous example.

The second case of a footnote translation credit for an original translation is very perplexing. Francisco Larroyo is, along with Francisco Montes de Oca, one of the most prolific preface writers in *SC*. Larroyo was notably in charge of the philosophical repertory in the series until the mid 1980s. He often appears as reviser and annotator of the translations, and only in the case of volume 340, Augusto Comte. *La filosofía positiva*, he is credited as translator. However, this happens in a volume that uses fragments of different recycled Spanish translations of an also fragmentary original. Among the credited recycled translators are Giner de los Ríos, Demetrio Náñez, Carmen Castro, A. Leal, Antonio Zozaya, F. Canals Vidal, and J. Moreno B. These translations come from Spain and Mexico and have very different original publication dates (the dates are not provided in the volume). The credits are limited to introducing a footnote at the end of the fragment stating succinctly legends such as: “*Tomo IV. Versiones españolas: del primer apartado, F. Larroyo; de los otros tres, D. Náñez” (Comte, 1979: 65). However, at times, the change of translation source takes place in the middle of a section, an explanation that Larroyo, author of the preface as well, fails to explain to the reader either in the footnotes or in the preface. Why did Larroyo deem necessary to become a translator for this volume, when he most

often revised the translations of the volumes he presented for the series? Why did he opt for this juxtaposition of translations? In this case, the visibility offered by the footnote credits has the opposite effect of clarifying the information for the reader, as it raises a lot of questions by surfacing the heterogeneous sources for the translation.

4.3.4. The hidden visibility of copyright page credits

The translation credits in footnotes discussed above show a paradoxical example of translation visibility. In both cases although due credit is given to translators and the various translation sources are shown, the lack of explanations about these choices minimizes the translation task. Nevertheless, both Larroyo and Guillén seem in control of this representation. A very different thing happens with the remaining legal page credit for an original translation. I am referring to Adolfo de Alba's original translations for the series. De Alba is the only professional translator I identified among the translators credited on the front covers of *SC*. Despite being a very prolific translator between the 1960s and the 1980s⁷¹, his apparent lack of weight in the Mexican cultural apparatus appears to have rendered him unable to bring prestige to the series and thus he has no paratextual voice in it. The works he translated for the series are: Vol. 204 (1972) Rudyard Kipling *El libro de las tierras vírgenes*, Vol 209 (1972) Mark Twain *Las aventuras de Tom*

⁷¹ According to the results of a query on worldcat.org, Adolfo de Alba authored numerous translations of which I offer a sample. For editorial Diana, he translated a wide array of works such as: Gaston Bouthoul (1964) *La sobrepoblación: inflación demográfica*; François-Xavier Coquin (1966) *La revolución rusa*; Pierre Ducasse (1965) *Las grandes filosofías*; Jerome-Antoine Rony (1966) *Las pasiones*; Marie Claire Blais (1967) *Una estación en la vida de Emmanuel*; Robert Mengin (1967) *De Gaulle sin laureles*; Claude David (1967) *La Alemania de Hitler*; Marie Louise Sondaz (1975) *La influencia de los astros en su vida sentimental* Roland Villeneuve, (1976); Bersia (1976) *La radiestesia a su alcance*; Roland Villeneuve (1976) *Satán entre nosotros: veinte siglos de 'posesión'*; Georges Elgozy (1979) *La empresa en peligro*; Odette Aimée Grandjean (1981) *Los juegos al aire libre en diez lecciones*; Jacqueline Chaumont (1981) *El arreglo de su departamento en diez lecciones*; Jean Paul Aymon (1981) *La educación sexual en diez lecciones*; Serge Marland (1981) *¿Quiere que su hijo sea feliz?*; Christian Constans (1982) *La fotografía en diez lecciones*; Nicole Bamberger and Madeleine Banier (1987) *El parto en diez lecciones*; Marcel Boll (1986) *Historia de las matemáticas*; J. V. Cerney (1990) *Cómo desarrollar una personalidad de un millón de dólares*. For El Fondo de Cultura Económica he translated more specialized social science texts such as: Harold McCarty and James B. Lindberg (1980) *Introducción a la geografía económica*; Frederick Crosson and Kenneth Sayre (1982) *Filosofía y cibernética*; and John Beattie (1986) *Otras culturas: objetivos, métodos y realizaciones de la antropología social*.

Sawyer, and Vol. 215 (1972) Lewis Carroll *Alicia en el País de las Maravillas*. All of them have been reprinted at least 15 times since their first publication. The question in the case of this translations and de Alba's apparent secondary status among SC's translators, is why commission him these translations at all given the ease with which the series resorted to pre-existing translations?

4.3.5. Interior cover credits for a translator in disguise

Three original translations for the series credited in the inner cover are Vol. 314 (1976) Honorato de Balzac *Papa Goriot*; Vol. 328 (1977) Edmundo Rostand *Cyrano de Bergerac*, and Vol. 337 (1978) Mark Twain *El príncipe y el mendigo*. These are all attributed to F. Benach on the inner cover with a very small font. F. Benach, as mentioned before, is a pseudonym used by Felipe Teixidor, whose second last name was Benach. It is interesting that he used a pseudonym for these translations given that he signed other translations in the series with his name. Besides signing the translations with his name, he wrote the preface for Vol. 74, Madame Calderón de la Barca (1967) *La vida en México durante una residencia de dos años en ese país* and Vol. 279 (1974) *El cantar de Roldán*. In both cases, the credit is given on the front cover. These works, perhaps more *bookish* or amenable to his more serious bibliographic persona could explain the different portrayal of his relationship with the works. Unlike the case of Adolfo de Alba's legal page credit, the concealment here is entirely Teixidor's doing given his status as director of the series.

To sum up what I have observed in this section, original translations are primarily a phenomenon of the Teixidor period in the series, showing the influence of an agent over the

production of original translations in the series. Although the most common type of *active*⁷² translators in the series are academics and priests, who potentially transfer cultural capital to the series, other types of translators, such as writers, people related to the publishing house, and a professional translator, participated sporadically in this task. In the case of the two latter, the cultural capital transference is inverse; their inclusion in the series gives them prestige. The inclusion of front cover credits for these original translations is undoubtedly common and in most of the cases where these credits appear elsewhere in the volume, this decision appears to have come from the translators themselves. Some translators assume control of their representation as translators in the series and prefer to keep this facet on a second plane. A professional translator like Adolfo de Alba has little visibility, although due credit is given to him in the legal page. Teixidor is the best example of a translator managing his own representation in the series: highly visible in the case of works that link his image to erudition, whereas concealed behind a pseudonym and the interior cover for those that are more linked to entertainment. More than anything, it seems like *SC* translators have agency in their own portrayal. This is, additionally, an argument supporting my claim that the series evolved without a strong editorial policy but allowed its collaborators to represent themselves with certain freedom and, even more, choose what works to include, and opt to translate them and write prefaces for them. We will see more on that in chapter 5, centering on paratexts.

4.4. Recycled translations

Despite the significance of the few original translations I have just described, the fact remains that using pre-existing translated material is one of the main preliminary translation norms in *SC*.

⁷² As opposed to the *passive* translators, the ones in charge of the recycled translations, who were *active* in their original context of publication.

In this section I offer a detailed account of the type of translator visibility for recycled translations, of the origins of these translations, and of their general presentation in the series. Although I provide some information about the translators, my focus on them is more general than in the previous section.

I was able to find a previous source for 54 of the translations credited in *SC*. This confirms that they are repurposed translations. In the following table, I provide a list of the translators in charge of these 54 translations accompanied by general biographical data and the original date of publication for the translations. I also provide information about the date of publication in *SC* to give an idea of the distance between the first publication of the translation and its publication in *SC*. To provide a more succinct list, I omitted the title of the work but included a *Theme* column to reflect the content of the text. Finally, I registered the origin of the translator and whether s/he had any kind of link to Mexico. The table is segmented according to the placement of the translation credit, starting with footnote, front cover, inner cover, copyright page.

Table 22. Recycled translations according to credit placement

Footnote, 5 volumes						
Translator	Tags	1 st pub	Pub in <i>SC</i>	Theme	Origin	Mex?
Patricio de Azcárate	Philosopher, politician, translator, Spanish	1874	1969	Greek classic	Spanish	No
Diego Gracián	Humanist, translator, interpreter, Spanish	1564	1975	History	Spanish	No
1) Francisco Giner de los Ríos 2) Demetrio Náñez 3) Carmen Castro 4) A. Leal 5) Antonio Zozaya	1) Spanish philosopher (1839-1915) and intellectual, exiled in Mexico during Civil War, worked at FCE, 2) Mexican	1)1942 ⁷³ 2) 1943 3)? 4)? 5) 1886 6) 1974	1979	Philosophy	Mixed	Yes/No

⁷³ This group of translations were published originally in different sources: 1) Augusto Comte (1942) *Primeros Ensayos*. Trad. Francisco Giner de los Ríos, México, FCE; 2) Demetrio Náñez (1943) *Comte. Selección de textos precedidos de René Hubert*. Buenos Aires, Sudamericana; 5) Augusto Comte (1886) *Catecismo positivista*. Trad. Antonio Zozaya, Madrid: Biblioteca Económica Filosófica; 6) Francisco Canals Vidal (1974) *Textos de los grandes filósofos. Edad Moderna*. Barcelona, Herder; 7) *Compendios de grandes filósofos*. Trad. Juan Moreno Barutell. Madrid, La España Moderna no. 554, Biblioteca de Jurisprudencia, Filosofía e Historia, Sección Filosofía.

6) F. Canals Vidal 7) J. Moreno B.	philosopher (1912-1981), 3) No bio, 4) No bio, 5) Spanish intellectual exiled in Mexico (1859-1943) 6) Spanish Philosopher (1922-2009) 7) Prolific Spanish translator, first half of the 20 th century	7) 1913				
1) José Gaos 2) Fernando Vela	1) Philosopher, Republican exiled in Mexico, Spanish 2) Scholar, writer, co-founder of Revista de Occidente, Spanish	1) 1940 2) 1927	1980	Philosophy	Spanish in Mexico Spain	Yes
Miguel León Portilla	Scholar, Mexican	1961		Philosophy	Mexican	Yes
Front cover, 9 volumes						
Antonio Gómez Robledo	Scholar, Mexican	1954	1967	Greek classic	Mexican	Yes
Francisco José de Isla	Religious, Professor of philosophy and theology, satirist, translator, renowned	1787	1973	French literature, 18th century	Spanish	No
1) José Ortiz y Sanz 2) José M. Riaño	1) Religious, Translator, Specialist in classic antiquity, Spanish 2) Translator (prolific), Spanish	1) 1792 2) 1973	1984	Philosophy	Spanish	No
Ildefonso Manuel Gil	Writer, Spanish, 1912-2003	1955	1973	Poetry	Spanish	No
El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega	Renowned cultural figure, colonial period, Peru	1590	1985	Philosophy	Peruvian	No
Luis Cardoza y Aragón	Writer, diplomat, Guatemalan exiled in Mexico.	1953	1972	Indigenous literature	Guatemala in Mexico	Yes
Aquilino Tur	Translator, Spanish living in Argentina	1948	1999	Literature, English	Spanish	No
Ana Victoria Mondada	Scholar, translator, Spanish language didactics, body of work published in Mexico	1948	1976	Theatre	Mexican?	Yes
Alfonso Reyes	Writer, translator, diplomat, renowned, Mexican	1922	2000	Literature, English	Mexican	Yes
Inner cover, 4 volumes						
Luis Segalá y Estalella	Scholar, Spanish	1908	1959	Greek classic	Spanish	No
Luis Segalá y Estalella	Scholar, Spanish	1910	1960	Greek classic	Spanish	No
José María González de la Vega	Translator, Mexican, 19th century Credit also included in preface	1844			Mexican	Yes

1) Julián Besteiro 2) A. Sánchez Rivero	1) Politician, philosophy professor, Spanish 2) Writer, art critic, translator, librarian, Spanish	1) 1912 2) 1932	1973	Philosophy	Spanish	No
Copyright page, 30 volumes						
Nicolás Estévanez	Military, ideologist, Politician, poet, translator, Spanish	1921	1971	Philosophy	Spanish	No
Manuel de Valbuena	Latinist, lexicographer, Spanish	1777	1973	Philosophy	Spanish	No
Agustín Escalasans	Writer, poet, Catalan, Spanish	1946	1973	Greek classic	Spanish	No
Ildefonso Manuel Gil	Writer, Spain	1955	1973	Portuguese poetry	Spanish	No
P. Adriano Suárez O.P.	Religious, Spain	1924	1974	Religion	Spanish	No
1) Pedro Fernández 2) Nicolás Estévanez	1) Religious, poet, humanist, translator, Spanish 2) Military, ideologist, Politician, poet, translator, Spanish	1) 1627 2) 1915	1975	Philosophy	Spanish	No
1) Antonio Brum 2) Jacinto Díaz de Miranda	1) Translator, Spanish 2) Translator, Spanish	1) 1669 2) 1785	1975	Philosophy	Spanish	No
Infante don Gabriel (Gabriel de Borbón)	Royal, Spanish	1772	1975	History	Spanish	No
Carlos Coloma	Military, writer, diplomat, translator, Spain	1629	1975	History	Spanish	No
Pedro Umbert	Translator, Catalan, Spanish	1907	1976	History	Spanish	No
Roberto Brenes Mesén	Politician, writer, educator and journalist	1912	1977	Theatre	Costa Rican	No
Daniel Tapia	Writer, publisher, exiled in Mexico, Spanish	1947	1982	Literature, Italian classic	Spanish in Mexico	Yes
Vicente Viqueira	Writer, expert in philosophy and psychology, pedagogy, Spanish	1923	1977	Philosophy	Spanish	No
José Ixart (Josep Yxart)	Writer, translator, Catalan, Spanish	1880	1983	Literature, German 18th century	Spanish	No
Rafael Jiménez	Translator, Argentine	1944	1983	Literature, Anglophone 19 th century	Argentine	No
Eduardo Ovejero y Maury	Scholar, specialist in Philosophy, translator, Spanish	1905	1984	Philosophy	Spanish	No
Irene Tchernowa	Translator, Several translations in Spain, probably Spanish	1951	1984	Literature, Russian	Spanish?	No
Santiago Cunchillos	Translator, Spanish (Basque) exiled in Argentina	1947	1985	Literature, French	Spanish in Argentina	No

Don José Marchena	Religious, scholar, translator	1791	1985	Philosophy	Spanish	No
1) M. Aberasturi 2) F. de la Milla	1) Translator, Spanish 2) Journalist, writer, translator, Spanish living in the U.S.	1) 1943 2) 1930	1986	Religion	Spanish	No
1) Enrique Garcés 2) H[ernando]. de Hoces [Hozes]	1) Writer, translator, Portuguese who lived most of his life in Perú, renowned for his translation of Petrarch 2) Spanish translator	1) 1591 2) 1554	1986	Poetry, Italian	Spanish	No
1) M[anu]el. García Morente 2) J[osé]. Ramón Pérez Brances	1) Religious, scholar, philosopher, translator, Spanish 2) Translator, linked to Revista de Occidente, Spanish	1924	1991	Literature, German	Spanish	No
Juan G. De Luaces	Translator, very prolific in post-war period, Spanish	1947	1991	Literature, French	Spanish	No
1) A. Pozo 2) J. Fernández	1) Translator, exiled in the USSR during Civil War 2) Very prolific translator, exiled in the USSR during Civil War	1977	1992	Literature, Russian	Spanish	No
Amalia Raggio	Translator (prolific), Argentine	1947	1993	Literature, German	Argentine	No
Balbino Santos Olivera	Catholic priest, translator, Spanish	1942	1994	Literature, Italian	Spanish	No
1) D[avid]. J. Vogelmann 2) F[rancisco]. Zanutigh	1) Translator, writer, Austrian expat in Argentina 2) Argentine translator (prolific)	1) 1955 2) 1977	1995	Literature, Czech	Argentine	No
Eduardo Ovejero y Maury	Scholar, specialist in Philosophy, translator, Spanish	1970	1999	Philosophy	Spanish	No
Luis López Ballesteros	Scholar, translator, Spanish	1977	2002	Philosophy	Spanish	No
Pablo Uriarte	Translator, Spanish	1963	2002	Literature, Italian	Spanish	No
Preface, 6 volumes						
Vicente González Arnao	Scholar, Spanish	1822	1965	Mexican colonial history	Spanish	No
1) Eugenio de Ochoa 2) Manuel Machado	1) Writer, critic, Spanish 2) Writer, Spanish	1) 1869 2) 1914	1970	Roman classic	Spanish	No
1) Tomás Meabe 2) Francisco Montes de Oca	1) Basque socialist activist, worked as a translator in France and England 2) Mexican scholar	1) 1913 2) 1961	1973	Latin classic	Spanish	No
1) Cristóbal Vidal 2) Federico Baráibar 3) Francisco Montes de	1) Academic, translator, Greek literature specialist,	1) 1882 2) 1889 3) 1961	1983	Greek classic	Spanish	No

Oca (1st hand translation)	Spanish 2) Academic, Cristóbal Vidal's disciple, translator, Spanish					
1) Rafael Cabrera 2) José Emilio Pacheco (1st hand translation)	1) Mexican poet, diplomat and translator 2) Mexican writer and translator	1) 1922 2) 1991	1991	French narrative	Mexican	Yes
Ángel Ma. Garibay	Mexican scholar, priest, translator	1940	1999	Prehispanic literature	Mexican	Yes

As it can be observed on Table 22, above, and on Table 23, below, there is a stark contrast in the placement of original and recycled translation credits when it comes to the front cover and copyright page. Among recycled translations, copyright page credits are the most common, unlike original translations, which tend to be highly credited on the front-covers. It would appear that the choice for front cover and copyright page credits indicate a policy about translation visibility in the series (agents deemed the most important for the series appear on front covers, whereas less important translators are relegated to the copyright page), while the other placement of translation credits relies mostly on an individual agent's choice. Being more concerned with reserving front-cover credits to carry out a transfer of cultural capital (from the agent to the series or vice versa in fewer cases), the series displays the names of the translators whose names could potentially mean something to their audience. The greatest number of translators who fall under these categories are the academics, writers, and intellectuals, alive at the time, either living in Mexico or associated with Mexican institutions, that participated directly in this publication. This situation could have affected the characteristics of the translations and paratexts, in terms of higher appropriateness to the Mexican context, and an open recognition of adapting this material for a general audience. The fact that there is an inverse trend for recycled translations, which, as shown in the table above, are more often than not carried out in Spain (sometimes in Argentina),

and in different time periods, shows that the broken link to the Mexican context lessens translator's visibility.

Table 23. Comparison of translation credit placement

Place of translation credit	Original translations	Recycled translations
Front cover	30	9
Inner cover	3	4
Copyright page	3	30
Footnote	2	5
Preface	3	6

Besides the geographical distance of these recycled translation's original publishing context (the majority of translators are from Spain and have no links to Mexico), what stands out is the chronological disparity in their date of original publication. Recycled translations in *SC* come from as far back as the 16th century. It is undeniable that these *older* translations are not the most representative (there are 4 translations from the 16th century, 3 translations from the 17th century, 6 translations from the 18th century, and 7 translations from the 19th century)⁷⁴. The vast majority of the repurposed translations are 20th century translations. The inclusion of copyright page credits for these mostly contemporary translations could have been a result of copyright obligations. Several translations on this list are canonical translations of certain texts; they have been printed by several publishing houses throughout the years and, thus, their credit might have been unavoidable. The question remains, as I discuss in the next section, why were credits avoidable for another set of translations of similar characteristics?

At the level of the entire catalogue, the non-Hispanic content in *SC* is a heterogeneous mixture of old and contemporary, and recycled translations. At the level of the volumes, translation source mixtures also occur. This had already been shown in the description of original

⁷⁴ Note that this count corresponds to each translation source identified, regardless of the fact that two or more of them are included in the same volume.

translations, where Pacheco and Arreola, known writers, make this hybrid condition very clear and explain it to some extent, because in both cases they complement a translation corpus that was incomplete. Among the volumes included in Table 22, more cases combining translations from different sources arise. In the following table I present the volumes in my sample containing translations from more than one source.

Table 24. Volumes with more than one translation source

Translator	Year of publication
Vol. 340. Augusto Comte. <i>La Filosofía positiva</i>	
1) Francisco Giner de los Ríos	1942
2) Demetrio Náñez	1943
3) Carmen Castro	?
4) A. Leal	?
5) Antonio Zozaya	1886
6) F. Canals Vidal	1974
7) J. Moreno B.	1913
Vol. 427. Diógenes Laercio. <i>Vida de los filósofos más ilustres</i> . Filostrato. <i>Vidas de los sofistas</i>	
1) José Ortiz y Sanz	1792
2) José M. Riaño	1973
Vol. 246. Kant. <i>Prolegómenos a toda metafísica del porvenir</i> / <i>Observaciones sobre el sentimiento de lo bello y lo sublime</i> / <i>Crítica del juicio</i>	
1) Julián Besteiro	1912
2) A. Sánchez Rivero	1919
Vol. 281. Séneca. <i>Tratados Filosóficos</i> / <i>Cartas a Lucilo</i>	
1) Pedro Fernández	1627
2) Nicolás Estévanez	1915
Vol. 283. Epicteto. <i>Manual y máximas</i> . Marco Aurelio. <i>Soliloquios</i>	
1) Antonio Brum	1669
2) Jacinto Díaz de Miranda	1785
Vol. 490. G.K. Chesterton. <i>Ortodoxia</i> / <i>El hombre eterno</i> .	
1) M. Aberasturi	1943
2) F. de la Milla	1930
Vol. 492. Petrarca. <i>Cancionero</i> / <i>Triunfos</i> .	
1) Enrique Garcés	1591
2) H[ernando]. de Hoces (Hozes)	1554
Vol. 599. Enrique Heine. <i>Alemania</i> / <i>Cuadros de Viaje</i>	
1) M[anuel]. García Morente	1924
2) J[osé]. Ramón Pérez Brances	1991
Vol. 625. Isaac Babel. <i>Caballería roja</i> / <i>Cuentos de Odesa</i> .	
1) A. Pozo	1977
2) J. Fernández	1977
Vol. 656. Franz Kafka. <i>Carta al padre y otros relatos</i> .	
1) D[avid]. J. Vogelmann	1955
2) F[rancisco]. Zanutigh	1977
Vol. 147. Virgilio. <i>Eneida</i> / <i>Geórgicas</i> / <i>Bucólicas</i> .	
1) Eugenio de Ochoa	1869
2) Manuel Machado	1914
Vol. 240. Horacio. <i>Odas y épicos</i> / <i>Sátiras</i> / <i>Epístolas</i> / <i>Arte poética</i>	
1) Tomás Meabe	1913
2) Francisco Montes de Oca	1961
Vol. 393. Luciano de Samosata. <i>Diálogos</i> / <i>Historia verdadera</i>	
1) Cristóbal Vidal	1882

2) Federico Baráibar	1889
3) Francisco Montes de Oca	1961
Vol. 603. Marcel Schwob. <i>Vidas imaginarias / La cruzada de los niños</i>	
1) Rafael Cabrera	1922
2) José Emilio Pacheco (original translation)	1991

The table above reflects the usual practice in *SC* of including more than one work in a volume. We observe, too, that the multiplicity of works within one volume is accompanied by a multiplicity of translation sources. The choice of translation source varies for each collected work in a volume. For instance, in Vol. 246. we have Julián Besteiro's 1912 translation of Kant's *Prolegómenos: a toda metafísica del porvenir que haya de poder presentarse como una ciencia*, originally published in Madrid, accompanied by A. Sánchez Rivero's 1919 translation of *Lo bello y lo sublime: ensayo de estética y moral* also published in Madrid, as part of Calpe publishing house's famous series of classics *Colección Universal*. In cases like this above, the collected translations come from a similar context (both translations were published in Madrid, in the 1910s) but there are also cases where the collected translations in a volume are widely distant from each other. Take for example, Vol. 281, gathering Pedro Fernández' translation of Séneca's *Tratados filosóficos* from 1627 and Nicolás Estévanez' 1915 rendering of Séneca's *Diálogos de Lucio*. It is self-evident that these translations were produced for very different audiences, in notably different contexts.

There are a few extreme cases like the already mentioned Vol. 340, that gathers fragments of various translations for a single original. Although it could be argued that the source text, Auguste Comte's *Cours de philosophie positive* is fragmentary itself and consequently, a similar fragmentation in the translation sources could be justifiable, the change of translation source in *SC*'s edition takes place, at times, within the same section, demonstrating that it is a translation made up by pieces of translations stitched together without an explicit

logic. The credits to each translator are included in footnotes, at the end of the section corresponding to each translator's work, and the credit only consists of the translator's name. No information about the original year of publication is given, and no reflections about the choices for these sources are offered in the preface.

As I pointed out before, many of these recycled translations had seen the light several times in other publishing projects before *SC* and continued to be published after and outside of this series. In other words, there are a number of translations that have been very popular in the Spanish-speaking publishing context. The great resort to pre-existing translations in *SC* and the popularity of this practice among other publishing projects shows some kind of literary translation memory at work within the publishing industry, where retranslating is not always feasible or desirable. The pragmatic imperative to *produce the presence* of the required work in the catalogue appears to suspend the potential tensions that might arise from reprinting translations reflecting different ideologies and poetics.

Table 25. Multi-edited recycled translations in sample

Original translation	Some later existing editions: ⁷⁵
Petrarca (1591), <i>Los sonetos y canciones del poeta Francisco Petrarca que traduzía Henrique Garcés de Lengua toscana en castellana</i> , Enrique Garcés (tr.), Madrid, Guillermo Droy	1968 (Madrid, Aguilar) 1985, 1996 (Barcelona, Planeta) 2018 (Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española)
Diógenes Laercio (1792), <i>Vidas, opiniones y sentencias de los filósofos más ilustres</i> . D. José Ortiz y Sanz (tr.), Madrid, Luis Navarro, Editor.	1887 (Madrid, Luis Navarro) 1910, 1914, 1922 (Madrid, Librería de Perlado, Páez y ca.) 1940 (Madrid/Buenos Aires) 1945 (Buenos Aires, Biblioteca Clásica Universal) 1946, 1964 (Madrid, Aguilar) 1947 (Buenos Aires, Librería 'El Ateneo' editorial) 1950 (Buenos Aires, Espasa-Calpe) 1985 (Barcelona, Orbis) 2008 (Valladolid, Maxtor)
Kant (1912), <i>Prolegómenos: a toda metafísica del porvenir que haya de poder presentarse como una ciencia</i> , Julián Besteiro (tr.), Madrid, Daniel Jorro.	1954, 1959. 1965, 1968 (Madrid / Buenos Aires, Aguilar) 1984 (Madrid, Sarpe) 2005 (Buenos Aires, Losada)

⁷⁵ Excluding Porrúa's editions.

Homero (1910) <i>La Odisea</i> , Luis Segalá y Estalella (tr.), Barcelona, Montaner y Simón Editores.	1938, 1968, 1976 (Buenos Aires, Losada) 1951, 1972 (Madrid, Espasa-Calpe) 1962 (Barcelona, Editorial Argos) 1970 (Madrid, Aguilar) 1971 (Barcelona, Círculo de Lectores) 1978 (Barcelona, Bruguera) 1983 (Bogotá, Oveja Negra) 2003 (Madrid, Jorge A. Mestas Ediciones Escolares) 2016 (Bogotá, Panamericana Editorial) 2019 (Barcelona, Salvat)
Montaigne (1947). <i>Ensayos completos</i> , Juan de Luaces (tr.), Barcelona, Iberia	1959 (México, UNAM) 1965, 1968 (Barcelona, Iberia) 1984 (Barcelona, Orbis) 1984 (Buenos Aires, Orbis) 2000 (Barcelona, Folio) 2002 (Barcelona, Omega)

The trajectory of some of these translations through different editions has stripped them from some of the characteristics that linked them to their context of production. Similar to originals traveling without their context, many of these translations traveled without theirs. Such is the case, for instance of Enrique Garcés' translation of Petrarch's *Cancionero*, produced in 16th century Perú (Virreinato del Perú), to which he added multiple paratexts such as poems of his own authorship imitating Petrarch's style that are left out in SC's edition. To conclude his translation, Garcés added *Canción al Pirú*,⁷⁶ a declared imitation of "Italia mia, ben che'l parlar sia indarno", where he inscribes his own contextual preoccupations. In this addition to the text:

Garcés traduce únicamente la primera y la última estrofa del poema de Petrarca, y las utiliza como pretexto para hablar de los problemas económicos de la zona y, sobre todo, de los problemas mineros y de impuestos sobre la plata que tanto le preocupaban, dado sus intereses en la minería que ya hemos comentado. De hecho, la pieza está considerada como la primera reivindicación, la primera muestra de amor por la patria de América escrita por un peninsular en el siglo XVI. (Bertomeu Masiá, 2007: 460)

⁷⁶ More on the Peruvian inscriptions of this translation in Paola Mancosu (2012), "'El cancionero' de F. Petrarca, en la versión de Enrique Garcés", Alicante, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes.
URL:<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmccn7q2>

Whereas the presence of Garcés' context transpired in his translation most notably through the added paratexts that were not preserved in *SC*, in the case of Juan de Luaces' translation of Montaigne's essays (originally published in 1947) the influence of the context in which he produced his translation is imbricated in the translation itself. De Luaces' translation is by far closer in time to *SC*. However, its inception during Franco's regime in Spain, and the strong censorship imposed upon most publications of that period, left a strong imprint on Luaces' translations (Ortega Sáez, 2008, 2013; Petit, 2001). It is a known fact that Montaigne's *Essais* in Spanish have been touched heavily by censorship. In earlier times, the *Tribunal de la Santa Inquisición* prevented this work from circulating in Spain from the mid 1600s when it commissioned a translation to verify its contents, until the mid 1800s, when the tribunal was dissolved. The first translation of the *Essais* published in Spanish dates back to 1898. Almost fifty years later, in 1947, Juan de Luaces' translation under Franco's regime omitted several passages alluding to the Spanish conquest, showing "expurgaciones que no están relacionadas con la religión católica sino con esa idea de nación impoluta y única, tan cultivada y promovida por el fascismo" (Durán Luzio, 1997: 57). As Durán Luzio explains in his study of the Spanish censorship suffered by this text, passages such as the ones depicting the torture of Aztec noble, Cuauhtemoc, by the hands of the *conquistadores*, the imprisonment of Atahualpa, and the vivid depictions of the conquest as a genocide, were removed from Luaces' translation because "en ellos se expresa una negación del concepto de la guerra justa, tan proclamada como razón de la conquista acentuando la disparidad de actitudes y de preparación entre los actores de ese choque" (Durán Luzio, 1997: 57). Luaces' mutilated rendering of Montaigne's fundamental work was reprinted several times in the Americas. It was published in Argentina in 1984 by Ediciones

Orbis, and in Mexico by UNAM, with a preface by Juan José Arreola in 1959 and in *SC* in 1991. *SC*'s edition is still in circulation and is widely available.

In contrast to the cases where the reproduction of pre-existing translations belonging to widely different contexts (with their different poetics and ideologies) seems to be intertwined with the reproductive inertia of the publishing industry, it is undeniable that some recycled translations closer to the Mexican context are reproduced with a higher degree of intentionality. These cases seem to go hand in hand with a more prominent translator's visibility. One example of this is the front cover credit given to Alfonso Reyes for his translation of Chesterton's *El hombre que fue jueves (Pesadilla)* published in the series in the year 2000, in volume 725. Reyes had died in 1959 and this translation had been originally published in 1922⁷⁷. However, the visibility given to Reyes' translation in *SC* as late as 2000, a moment when front cover translation credits were extremely scarce, is explained by his weight in *SC*'s history (he was, after all, responsible for the series' title) and in Mexican culture in general.

The centrality of some translators in the Mexican context justifies their front cover visibility even for some recycled translations. This is the case of Antonio Gómez Robledo, a respected Mexican scholar and an expert in ancient Greek and Roman culture; Luis Cardoza y Aragón, a Guatemalan writer exiled in Mexico, and Ana Victoria Mondada, a prolific writer of Spanish language pedagogic material in Mexico.⁷⁸ The aforementioned actors are important in the more restricted Mexican cultural field.

⁷⁷ Reyes' weight in the broader Hispanic literary field is echoed by the geographically wide-spread popularity of his translation, which was published in the following years and places: 1922 (Madrid: Saturnino Calleja), 1955 (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe in *Colección Austral*), 1961 (Buenos Aires, Plaza Janés), 1984 (Bogotá, Seix Barral: Oveja Negra), 1998 (Buenos Aires, Losada), 2012 (México, FCE).

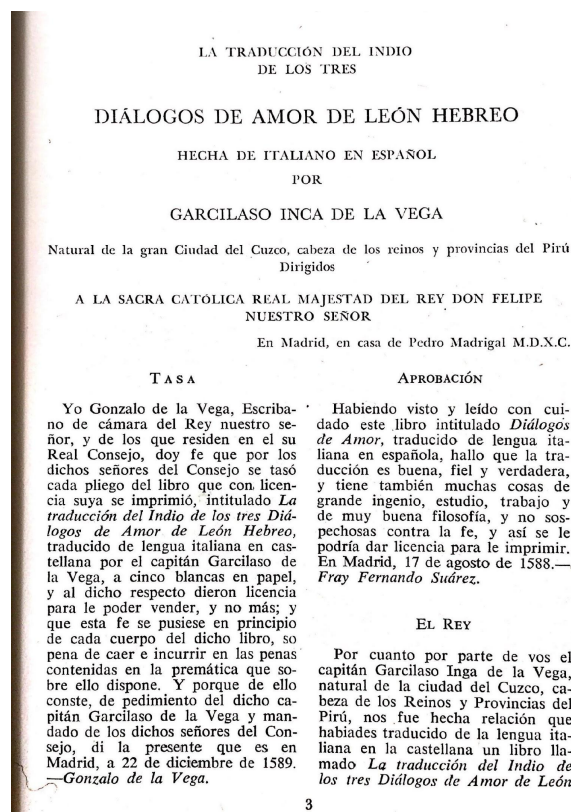
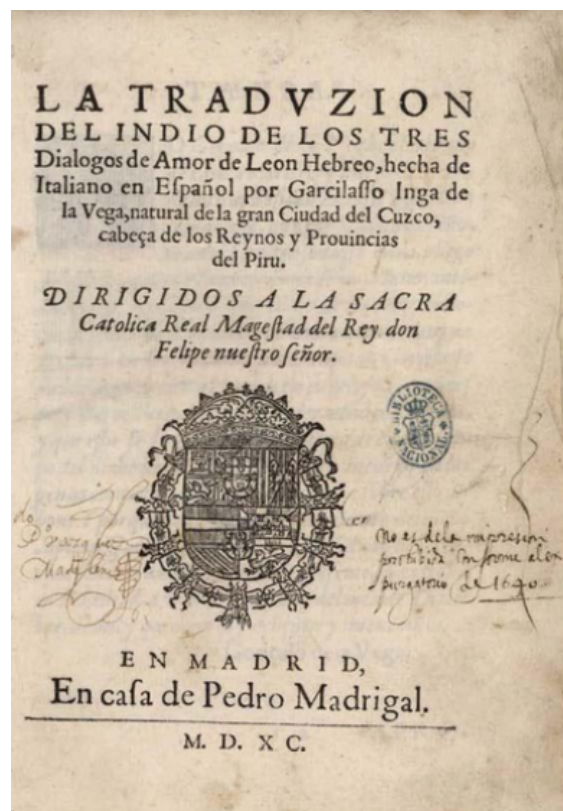
⁷⁸ Besides writing several Spanish orthography manuals for Fernández Editores, such as "Abejitas: libro de lectura y escritura para niños de primer año integrado según el nuevo programa de la Secretaría de Educación Pública" (México: Avante, 1983) or the series *Prácticas de Ortografía* (vols. 1 through 4) published by Fernández Editores in the 1990s and 2000's, Mondada authored a long list of didactic books about literature published either by Editorial Trillas or Fernández editores, two important publishing houses in Mexico dedicated exclusively to pedagogic

An important recycled translation within the scope of the broader Latin American identity is also highly visible in the series. This is the case of El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's translation of *Diálogos de amor* by León Hebreo, a 16th century translation by a paradigmatic author in the colonial history of America. De La Vega was born in the Viceroyalty of Peru and is considered the first *mestizo* writer in Latin American history. He achieved recognition in Europe and is remembered for his thorough exploration of the indigenous identity in his original writings as well as in his translation of León Hebreo's work (del Pozo, 2012; Soria Olmedo, 2001).

SC's edition of Garcilaso de la Vega's translation is another great example of how visibility is mostly determined by the weight of the translator / rewriter in Mexican culture. This is not only a recycled translation, but one of the oldest in the series. Unlike the other repurposed translations coming from the 16th- 19th centuries, the historicity of Garcilaso de las Vega's version is fully exposed in SC's volume, showing that this translation has value because it is the work of de la Vega. That explains the inclusion of the original paratexts of the translation: the "*permisos y dedicatorias*" and even the scholia throughout the text.

material and often subsidized by the government. Among these, there are titles such as *Literatura griega: Homero* (México: Trillas, 1973), or *Víctor Hugo: Nuestra señora de París. Apuntes autodidácticos para estudiantes* (México: Fernández Editores: 1986). She wrote similar educational monographs about Virgil, Sophocles, Modernism, Flaubert, Dostoievsky, Proust, among many others. Mondada sets a precedent for a type of actor associated with SC: without being particularly famous in Mexican culture, she played an undisputable role in the dissemination of knowledge in the country. Another figure similar to her is María Elvira Bermúdez, often associated with the adventure novels repertory in SC.

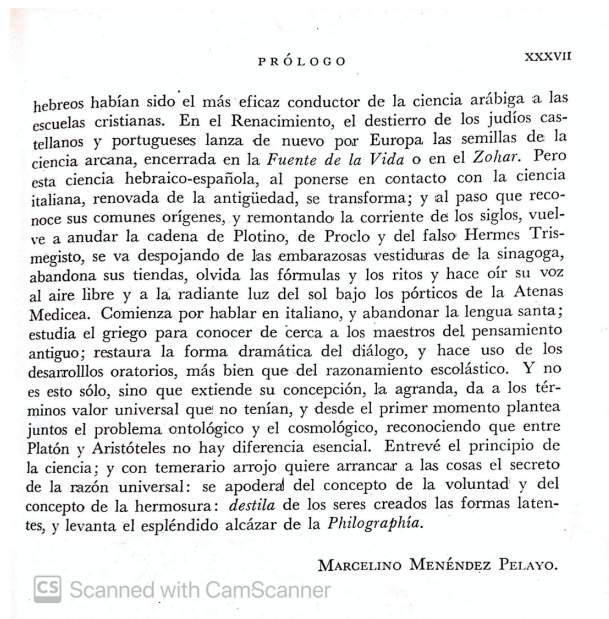
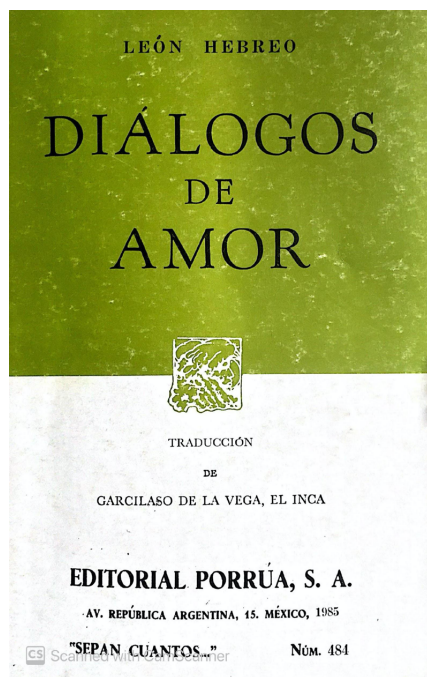
Figure 8. Comparison of cover of the original edition of Garcilaso de la Vega's translation (left) and the transcription of this information in SC's edition (right).



The image on the right shows the first page of the text in SC, which is inserted after the preface and the mid-title page of the work (I offer more details about this case in the next chapter). Therefore, this information, which is the transcription of the paratextual information of the translation, becomes in SC's edition, part of the text. In that sense, Garcilaso de la Vega's translation acquires original status to some extent. Furthermore, the prominence of de la Vega is also evidenced by the way he eclipses the author of the preface on the front cover. SC's edition uses Spanish literary critic Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo's sixth chapter of his famous *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España* (Madrid, 1883-1889) for this volume. However, the front cover does not include any information about this, and Menéndez Pelayo's credit for the preface only comes at the end of the text. In other volumes, a source like this is portrayed on the front cover,

especially considering the relevance of preface credits on the series' front covers. However, volumes like the one at hand show the interplay between the agent's relevance and the display of the credits. In this case, Garcilaso de la Vega's importance in Latin American culture overshadows the visibility of Spanish scholar Menéndez Pelayo.

Figure 9. Front cover of *Diálogos de Amor*'s translation omitting the preface credit (left) and Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo's credit at the end of the preface (right)



It is important to remember here the opposite example, where Alfonso Reyes' credit for the preface for *La Iliada* in the series, takes precedence over Luis Segalá y Estalella's translation credit. Homer and Reyes' names are the only ones displayed on the front cover of SC's volume, whereas Segalá y Estalella's credit for the recycled translation used in the series is relegated to the inner cover. He is without a doubt granted some recognition, as his name is accompanied by his credentials, showing he is an illustrious translator. However, his distance from the Mexican context makes his relevance in the series secondary to that of Reyes, a *giant* in Mexican literary history.

Thus far it has been shown there is a correlation between high cultural capital in Mexico and high visibility, but there are some outliers, as usual in *SC*, that I have to acknowledge despite the difficulty to explain them. An example of this would be the front cover credit given to Francisco José de Isla for his translation of Le Sage's *Gil Blas de Santillana* originally published in 1787. It could be argued that this is a very well-known translation with multiple editions. However, other translations in the series have been similarly popular throughout time but are not credited on the front cover. This is the case of Diego Gracián's 1564 translation of Thucydides' *Historia de la Guerra del Peloponeso* used in Vol. 290 of the series, or Manuel de Valbuena's 1777 translation of Cicero used in Vol. 230 *Los oficios o los deberes / De la vejez / De la amistad*. What made Francisco José de Isla's translation worthy of a front cover mention remains unclear.

Another enigmatic recycled translation front cover credit belongs to Aquilino Tur for Thomas Merton's *La montaña de los siete círculos*. Tur's biographical information is very hard to trace, but some hints found in his publications indicate that he was originally Catalan and moved to Argentina, probably during the Civil War⁷⁹. Tur's relationship to Mexico is hard to establish, and his translation of Merton's work, originally published in Argentina by Editorial Sudamericana in 1948, is not a well-regarded translation, as it is apparently plagued with flaws. Ernesto Cardenal, the famous Nicaraguan poet who was a priest and who had a close relationship with Thomas Merton (a priest as well), recalls in his memoirs:

⁷⁹ The only biographical information I have found about Aquilino Tur is the one found on the cover of "La acentuación ortográfica al día" authored by him and published by Argentinean publishing house Colmena in 1958, where it says that he was *Licenciado en Filosofía y Letras en la Universidad de Barcelona*. His translations were published in Argentina, mostly, although some were published in Mexico as well: besides the one published in *SC*, his rendering of *De la sabiduría de Norteamérica* by Yutang Li was published in Mexico by Editorial Hermes, in 1952. An entry about a translation into Catalan signed by Tur, published in 1981 in Barcelona, by Edhasa, suggests that Tur was originally Catalan.

Los trabajos en el monasterio eran mañana y tarde, pero Merton muchas veces me asignaba trabajos literarios. Uno de ellos fue corregir los errores de la edición en español de *La montaña de los siete círculos*. Había tantos errores que las correcciones no alcanzaban en las márgenes del libro; había que dejar las menos importantes. La prestigiosa Editorial Sudamericana encargó la traducción a alguien que no sabía bien inglés: o que la hizo a vertiginosa velocidad. Allí pude comprobar qué grande era la humildad de Merton. Que su gran *best-seller* estuviera tan desfigurado en español no le importaba nada. Los disparates que le hacían decir le daban chiste. Como el que un árbol tenía la copa llena de raíces, porque en inglés las palabras “cuervo” y “raíz” se parecen. (Cardenal, 2003: 150)

Discordant cases as the one presented above are common in *SC* and show that the presence of certain patterns is transient and that a global editorial policy in the series was very weak. For the most part, recycled translations seem to be repurposed in the series with the sole intention of securing a version of a given text in Spanish. The tensions that could come from the inclusion of archaic language, fragmented translations, unexplained additions of translation paratexts that could be difficult to decipher without proper contextualization, censorship or basic translation mistakes are rarely addressed by *SC*'s paratexts. This mindless repurposing logic shows translation in the age of mechanical reproduction, to borrow Walter Benjamin's title.

4.5. Sepan Cuantos' *unnamed translators*

Although I have shown that the visibility of the translators can vary, the fact remains that most translators are invisible in the series. There are 106 volumes in Data set 2 that do not provide any information about the author of the translation. Therefore, the proportion of translations presented as anonymous is significant. It was very difficult to identify patterns among this group of volumes. This practice does not seem to be specific to a period or genre. The omission of the translator's name could have been motivated by a desire to avoid paying for translation rights.

However, I identified the original source for a few of these uncredited translations, where the presence of very old translations makes me question the copyright hypothesis.

Table 26. Identified source for translations without a translator credit in SC

Vol	Title	Author	Preface author	Pub. in SC	Translator	Trans. Bio	Orig. pub.
15	<i>La divina comedia / La vida nueva</i>	Dante Alighieri	Francisco Montes de Oca	1962	Manuel Aranda y San Juan	Spain (1845-1900). Translator	1871
59	<i>La ciudad de Dios</i>	San Agustín	Francisco Montes de Oca	1966	Joseph Cayetano Díaz de Beyral y Bermudez	Spain (lived in the 18 th century) “del Gremio y Claustro de la Real Universidad de Huesca, Opositor a sus cátedras de Leyes y Cánones...”	1793
79	<i>Cuentos de la Alhambra</i>	Washington Irving	Ofelia Garza de del Castillo	1967	Ofelia Garza del Castillo	Mexican (1892-?)	
86	<i>Hamlet / Penas por amor perdidas / Los dos hidalgos de Verona / Sueño de una noche de verano. Romeo y Julieta.</i>	William Shakespeare	Los editores	1968	1) Leandro Fernández de Moratín (Hamlet) 2. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo (Romeo y Julieta)	1) Spain (1760-1828) Neo-classic playwright 2) Spain 1856-1912 Spanish historian and literary critic	1798 /1881
94	<i>Otelo / La fierecilla domada / A vuestro gusto / El rey Lear</i>	William Shakespeare	Montserrat Alfau	1968	Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo (Otelo)	Spain (1856-1912) Spanish historian and literary critic	1881
96	<i>Macbeth / El mercader de Venecia / Las alegres comadres de Windsor / Julio César / La tempestad.</i>	William Shakespeare	Montserrat Alfau	1968	Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo (Macbeth y El mercader de Venecia)	Spain (1856-1912) Historian and literary critic	1881
119	<i>Cumbres borrascosas</i>	Emily Brontë	Sergio Pitol	1969	Bachiller Canseco	Spanish prolific professional translator in post-Civil War period	1947
253	<i>Comedias</i>	Terencio	Francisco Montes de Oca	1973	Pedro Simón Abril	Spain (1530-1595) humanist, pedagog, translator	1577
316	<i>Las metamorfosis</i>	Publio Ovidio Nasón	Francisco Montes de Oca	1977	Jorge de Bustamante	Spain (16 th century) Author of the first translation of Ovid's <i>Metamorphoses</i> in Spanish	1545

Although the data in the table above cannot be considered representative of the entire corpus of translations presented as anonymous in *SC*, it helps to uncover some cases in which despite the notoriety of the translator and the translations, the credit is concealed. This happens with Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo's and Leandro Fernández de Moratín's well-known translations of Shakespeare's plays, which are combined in *SC*'s volumes. For instance, in Vol. 86, there are at least 3 different translation sources. Fernando de Moratín's translation of *Hamlet* is presented with *Los dos hidalgos de Verona* and *Sueño de una noche de verano* by translators that I could not identify, and Menéndez Pelayo's translation of *Romeo y Julieta*. In fact, Menéndez Pelayo translated four of Shakespeare's works, which he published in a single volume. However, his translations are split among three different volumes in *SC*. This could have been a strategy to conceal the origins of these translations, suggesting that Porrúa did not acquire the rights for these works. The paratexts that introduce these works do not address the origins of the translations, and thus this volume of many translation sources is presented as a terse whole.

The copyright argument is hard to sustain in the case of Joseph Cayetano Díaz de Beyral's 1793 translation of Saint Augustine's work, which is also famous and has been disseminated widely. As shown in Table 22, there are several 18th century (and even older) translations that are credited in the series. What made this translation different? Could this translation credit omission reveal that *SC*'s reproduced the translation from another source that concealed the credit as well?

In the case of the only 20th century translation in Table 26, the omission of El Bachiller Canseco's 1947 credit for his translation of Emily Brontës *Cumbres borrascosas* could be due to an attempt of the publishers to distance themselves from the post-Civil war translations that were highly censored by the fascist regime or affected by the lack of training of these translators, as

has been pointed out by Pérez Porras (2017). However, in the previous section and in Table 22, I discussed the inclusion of the credit to Juan de Luaces, one of the most prolific post-Civil War translators, which appears to contradict such a hypothesis. It is unlikely that the Porrúa house was even aware of the limitations of these translations. The numerous editions of de Luaces and Canseco's now highly criticized translations reveal that Porrúa and many other publishers reproduced them blindly, without realizing the numerous mistakes they contained. Interestingly enough, *SC* is not the only publisher to avoid crediting El Bachiller Canseco for *Cumbres borrascosas*. In 2009 Edimat's edition published in Madrid, this translation is credited to "*El equipo editorial*". In his review of this translation, Vicente López Folgado (2011) not only confirms that this is Canseco's translation, originally published in 1947 by the publishing house Aguilar, but he denounces the numerous and unnecessary explicitations, misunderstood referents and transfiguration of the structure of the original's paragraphs in the translation, which make him recall Javier María's statement that "El del libro parece el único mercado que ofrece de continuo productos podridos o defectuosos sin que nadie reclame ni se dé cuenta" (López Folgado, 2011: 233). The reproduction of a translation of these characteristics is even more surprising if we consider that the person in charge of the preface for Brontë's work in *SC*'s edition, Sergio Pitol, devoted a good amount of his creative and critical efforts to translation. Contrary to the close relationship some preface writers appear to have with the selection and content of the volumes in *SC*, the case at hand is representative of other type of volumes where preface writers appear to have been more distant from the material they presented (something I discuss in more detail in the next chapter devoted to paratexts). In this case, the publishing machine, preoccupied mostly with acquiring a text to reproduce, seems to be at the forefront. The

omission of Canseco's credit could have been due simply, once again, to the fact that *SC*'s reproduced the text from an edition that also omitted the translation credit.

Conclusions

Translation as a second-tier form of rewriting

Given the exceptionality of original translations, it becomes evident that, overall, translation was not the preferred form to exert influence over the reception of the foreign material included in *SC*. Although a few actors did assume translation as an important practice to influence the perception of a given literature (as shown by the case of Ángel María Garibay presented in the next chapter) this was not a general policy in the series. In fact, the decision to produce original translations appears to stem from the individuals rather than requested by the publisher. Only in the cases of original translations produced by agents with no links to Mexican culture, the publishing house could have commissioned the translations. Therefore, the few instances of translation are seemingly highly intentional and worth studying in the future.

Fossilized rewritings and the literary translation memory

We are in presence of a project where translation is subsumed to the inertia of mechanic reproduction. In this sense, the greater number of recycled translations points to a phenomenon that is the polar opposite of rewriting. Whereas Lefevere's term entails a process and an intended action, these reused translations are fossilized rewritings⁸⁰ that are taken from one editorial vessel to another. Although in this case they are undoubtedly re-framed within the

⁸⁰ It is very striking that Cámpora (2017) resorted to very similar imagery to describe translation recycling in Argentine series of classics: "arrastran de esta forma el limo de las ediciones previas, al que añaden las capas de su propio contexto. Esta serie de recursividades implica la mineralización de un tiempo histórico pasado y ajeno, y su puesta en contacto, artificial y abrupta, con uno nuevo" (329). My observations of *SC* are in several ways parallel to the ones she offered for the Argentine case. The great similarity of the practices we both describe offers the possibility to do a comparative analysis of what she calls "proyectos comerciales de pedagogía cultural" in Latin America. The resort to pre-existing translations and the resulting imbrication of discourses is the same, but the context that hosted these practices not so much. This is where the interest in the comparison could lie: how the same practices served different purposes in different Latin American countries.

series larger logic (which in this case would entail a basic use of the disguise of culture democratization due to the series' paperback format, low prices, and wide availability), at a discursive level, their correspondence to the source culture is very relative. Following Lefevere, "...rewriters will much more frequently adapt works of literature until they can be claimed to correspond to the poetics and the ideology of their age" (Lefevere, 1985: 226). But that hardly ever happens in *SC*. The recycled translations, unearthed from notably different contexts, do not correspond to the series' Mexican profile. In this sense, the commercial logic is more important than the nationalistic discourse seen throughout the series' development.

Erasure of translation and the intelligibility pact

Cecilia Alvstad (2014) proposed the notion of the 'translation pact' to speak of the common practice to refer to translations (mostly in the pedagogy of literature) as if they were originals, and I would like to suggest here that the modern publishing industry has heavily relied upon an 'intelligibility pact' when it has come to translation. In this case, the ability to reproduce an existing version in Spanish of canonical works to fulfill the market's demand surpasses any tensions that might stem from the characteristics of these translations, made for a different audience and a different time, under a different patronage. In many cases this goes hand in hand with the overarching trend in the Spanish-speaking world to use peninsular Spanish for translations that are distributed among Latin America. The 'intelligibility pact' goes in the opposite direction of the revisionist attitude that motivates retranslations. Along with the assumption of these works' intelligibility, the great absence of translation credits, accompanied by the Hispanization of foreign author's names (discussed in the next chapter), contribute to presenting this material as more homogeneous than it actually is. The undifferentiated

presentation of translated and untranslated works presents the canon proposed by the series as a unified block.

CHAPTER 5. PARATEXTS AND THE MULTIPLICATION OF REWRITINGS

French literary critic Gérard Genette (1987), characterized paratexts as thresholds of interpretation. Paratexts are all those elements ranging from the publisher's peritext which involve the format, series, cover, title page, typesetting and printings, to the presentation of the author's name and title of the work, the dedications, epigraphs, prefaces, intertitles and notes. The combination of these elements (that are verbal in most cases) surrounding the text predisposes reader's receptions of the work. Genette's perspective is deeply grounded in the material inscription of texts in the book form⁸¹, as he declares that "...the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public" (Genette, 1987: 1).

Genette's concept intersects with the TS concept of rewritings in that both stress the influence that the framing of a literary work exerts over its interpretation. Although the origins and scope of both concepts differ in the weight they give to translation and consideration of broader constraints such as ideology, poetics and patronage (which is what Lefevere brings to the table), I rely on both because their combination results in a powerful descriptive tool, which has already been proven in the work of Marie-Alice Belle (2019). Furthermore, the usefulness of

⁸¹ As Kathryn Batchelor (2018) points out, Genette produced this work at a time where the physicality of texts was being explored by different disciplines: "Research which has some aspects in common with Genette's concerns in *Seuils* was also being carried out in other disciplines: in 1978, for example, Derrida (1978) published a long essay on Kant's *Critiques* interrogating the concepts of the *ergon* (work of art) and the *parergon* (that which frames it) in the contexts of painting and philosophy; book history, which is concerned with the book as material object, was emerging as a field in the 1980s (see Finkelstein and McCleery, 2006); and scholars researching mass communications and media in the 1970s and 1980s were already drawing on the idea of frames, exploring their 'tremendous power to shape the manner in which we interpret certain issues and situations' (Kuypers 2009, 181). Genette does not refer to any of these developments, perhaps because the motivation for his innovations lay within his own discipline and the shortcomings that he perceived within it" (23).

Genette's framework in translation research has been aptly explored by Batchelor (2018) and Tahir-Gürçaglar (2002).

Genette's work is fundamental for my thesis because Lefevere's work focuses on cases where translation is the main form of rewriting (even though he admits there are others). Because of the considerable use of recycled translations in *SC* discussed in the previous chapter, putting the accent solely on the study of the translations (and translator's paratexts) in my corpus would offer a very limited view of the complex phenomenon at hand. It is not without interest to unearth the co-presence of translations of such various origins—transplanted rewritings—alone. However, the paratexts that accompany those translations and that are produced by different authors, reveal the multiple understandings of what adapting material for *SC*'s meant, and through them we see the interaction of different ideologies and the power of different institutions and agendas in the construction of a canon such as this one. The imbricated rewritings are held together by the thread of a publication formula that had its own impositions over the way the material was presented. The purpose of this chapter is thus to offer a basic map of the types of paratexts in the series and show the way they accentuate the complexity of the rewritings included in the series. At the end of the chapter, I offer details of these complexities through the analysis of the work carried out by some of *SC*'s most important rewriters.

Broadly speaking, the complete catalogue of *SC* represents a macro-rewriting, a broad interpretation of what classics are, as is shown in chapter 3. But one could argue that each volume carries out a particular rewriting of the work in question that is dependent on the time and agent in charge of its presentation. In the following sections I present the characteristics of *SC*'s paratexts aiming to provide a broad context against which the examples included at the end of this chapter should be considered. I focus on the influence of the format, the presentation of

author's names and the prefaces. However, that does not discount the fact that other paratexts such as dedications, footnotes, glossaries and timelines also have an important role in the discussion of rewritings in some of *SC*'s volumes.

5.1. The format speaks volumes

In chapter 1, I provided a basic characterization of *SC*'s format to present the series. In this section I discuss in more detail the way in which the series' format can influence the reception of the works included in the catalogue. Four elements guide this discussion: the colour-blocked covers, the graphic elements on the front and back-covers, the text layout and the paper in which the series has been published.

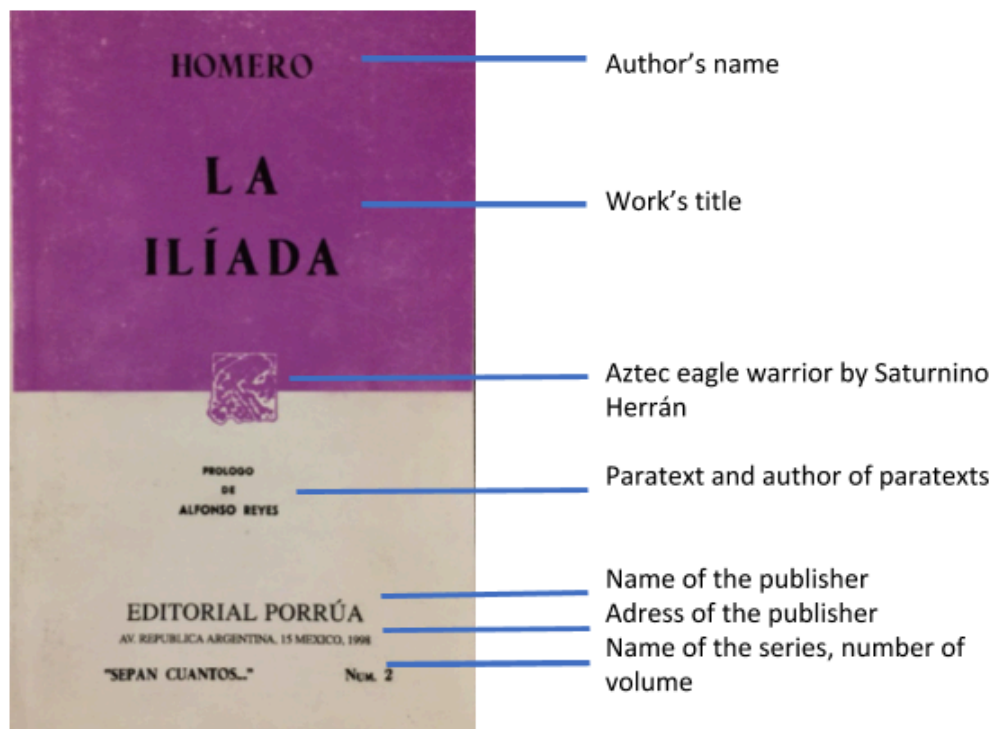
5.1.1. Dressing the part: *Sepan Cuantos*' colour-blocked covers

Visually, nothing is more characteristic of *SC* than its color-blocked design. According to the only article I found reflecting on this series' design, which I will refer to at different points of this section, "Revisar la historia del diseño editorial en México no sería posible sin reparar en 'Sepan Cuantos...'" (Solano Rojas, 2018). The information provided on the covers of *SC* has been traditionally split in two vertical blocks that separate things between the realm of the text and the realm of the book. On one block we have the original sender, whereas the other block mentions the senders and paratexts added for the series. The top-coloured block, which changes according to the genre, presents the name of the author and title of the text in large font. The bottom white block present in all the volumes, introduces a broader range of information that varies according to the volume and constitute the added elements to the original in *SC*'s edition: the preface writer, the annotator, the compiler, the translator, to name the main types of senders

included in this section, as well as the myriad of paratexts included such as: chronologies, notes, studies, revisions and glossaries (the types of paratexts also vary greatly among editions, some do not mention any paratextual additions, and thus appear blank, some include a single credit for a translation or a prologue, and others include an agglutination of paratexts and senders).

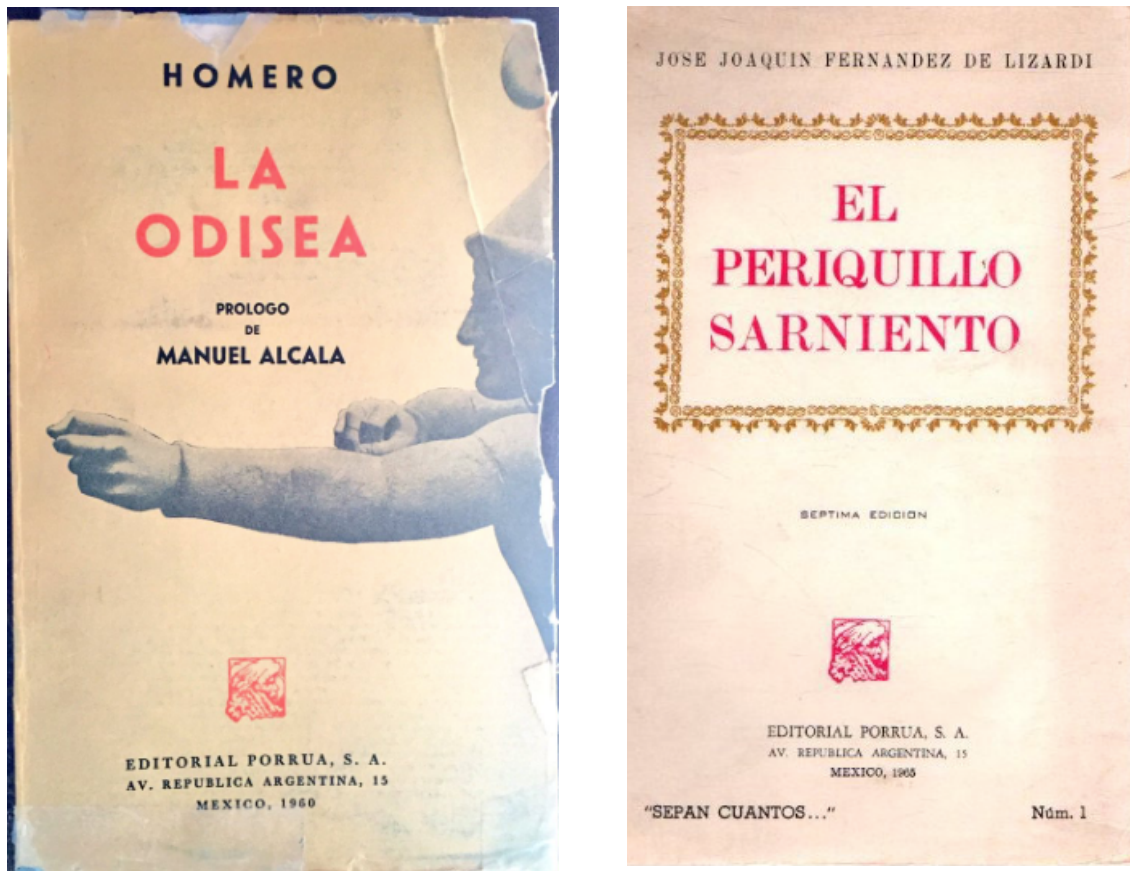
Additionally, at the lower margin of the bottom block there is a banner that remains unchanged in all volumes and includes the name of the publisher in large type (second in size after the title of the work): Editorial Porrúa, followed by the address of the publishing house: “Av. República Argentina 15. México”, and at the very bottom, the name of the series, “Sepan Cuantos...”, accompanied by the number of the volume in the series.

Figure 10. Example of cover design of SC (until year 2000)



Although the colour-blocked design has been used for many years in SC, the series' appearance was not set from its inception. The first editions of the first volumes of the series have a different design.

Figure 11. *Front cover of first edition of La Odisea in the series (left) and front cover of seventh edition of El Periquillo Sarniento (right)*



The examples shown above show that the series' took some years to adopt its current form, similar to what happened with the adoption of the series' title. As revealed in the legend about the series' name cited in chapter 1, the title of the series was not decided nor included until after the first number had already been published. In fact, the front cover of *La Odisea* presented above does not include the name of the series, showing that by 1960 the inclusion of the series'

title had not been made part of the design. With time, the series would acquire the paradigmatic book series appearance that we know today, where the color-coding plays a main role.

The use of colors on the covers to organize a series' content is a known strategy used by other series such as *Austral* and *Penguin Classics*. In his account of SC's design, Solano Rojas assumes that SC's covers represent a colour-coding of the works according to categories: "Cada libro señala la categoría a la que pertenece mediante el color de la parte superior de la carátula" (2018). SC's design relies heavily on the use of different colours on the covers of its volumes, but to elucidate the link between these colours and the genres of the books is not a simple task. Unlike, for instance, *Colección Austral*, which explained its colour code on the jackets of its books (at least during its first period), SC does not provide (neither on the volumes nor in the catalogues) a key to decipher the correspondence between colours and genres. It is undeniable that certain regularities can be observed on the covers included in the 2013 catalogue where, for instance, many volumes in the category *Literatura* have red covers, whereas blue is common among those grouped under *Poesía*; green for *Filosofía*; and yellow for *Teatro*. But the numerous interruptions to such regularities make the colour coding confusing.

Not only do we know that over time Porrúa has tested different categorizations for the works (as seen in chapter 2), but that the color given to each work has been subject to change throughout the years. This can be confirmed by a simple google search of a given volume of SC. The images of the different editions of a volume showcased on websites selling second-hand books (mercadolibre.com, abebooks.com), show the lack of consistency in the choice of colours for a given volume in SC. For instance, the series' edition of *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*. This volume has a red cover in the series' most recent editions, but images of its 1979 and 1985 editions show that, for some time, its cover was green. Homer's *Odissey* went

from orange to blue in the series, and Virgil's *Aeneid* from orange to green. It appears that after the 1990s the colours became more stable. That is to say, that ever since, *Don Quijote*, *The Odissey*, and *The Aeneid*, to take the examples offered above, have been more consistently red, blue and green, suggesting that a stricter use of colour was established around those years (this is an approximation because it is very difficult to find all the covers for all the editions of the volumes of the series).

However, even within the more consistent use of colour seen in the last 30 years, there are some inexplicable disruptions. *The Odissey* and *The Aeneid* had the same colour in their first editions (orange), which could have corresponded to their categorization as ancient Greek and Latin classics, but their different colour in recent editions means that now they are shown as belonging to different categories. In the 2013 catalogue blue is the most common colour for poetry, and green is very consistently used among philosophical works. It follows that currently, *The Odissey* is presented as a poetic work due to the use of blue, which is an understandable categorization, whereas *The Aeneid* is presented in the colour used for Philosophy, which is difficult to explain. To add to the confusion, both works are included in the 2013 catalogue under *Literatura*, accounting for some of the breaks in the red covers that populate that section.

More inexplicable is the fact that Homer's *The Iliad* and *The Odissey* have different colours in the catalogue. The editions of these works shown in the 2013 catalogue are from 2011 and 2012, respectively. The trajectory of the colours used on these works' covers across time show the transient colour-coding in the series.

Figure 12. Examples of colour change in The Odyssey's SC editions (1978, 1993, 2000, 2011 and most recent edition)



Figure 13. Examples of colour change in *The Iliad*'s SC editions (1979, 1990, 1998, 2012 and most recent edition)



These works' covers started off as orange and then became blue together, but in the 1990s they took different paths. The covers of these works in the 2013 catalogue show that the cover of *The Odyssey* in its 2012 edition is blue, whereas *The Iliad*, in its 2011 edition, is purple. Both editions are very close in time demonstrating that the diverging color choice for each work's cover is not

a matter of when the volume was published. The fact is that as of the 1990s these works have alternated between blue and purple covers without any discernible logic. *The Iliad* was orange in 1969, blue in 1990, and changed to purple from 1998 to the present. When it comes to *The Odyssey*, I have found an orange volume from 1979, and numerous blue covers as of 1993 with the exception of a very recent edition in purple⁸².

The fact that *The Odyssey* remained blue throughout the 1990s, the 2000's and 2010s, whereas as of 1998 *The Iliad* became purple shows the mysterious use of the colour-coded design. Only in the most recent editions of both works their cover's colour coincide, as they are both purple, a colour that in the 2013 catalogue is sprinkled throughout different categories but is more visible among the section *Historia*. The trajectory of Homer's works in *SC* tells how the colour choice in the series can be very capricious. Other series that use colour-coding and that have had similarly long history, have also changed their used of colour throughout time. The difference is that *SC*, unlike *Austral*, for instance, has never included any key to decipher the colour-coding.

Considering the information above, there is an evident contradiction between the categories in the 2013 catalogue and the colours of the works included in them. The colour-coding perhaps is an internal order established and known only by the directors of the series, and it appears to have been changed over the years. The fact that the 2013 catalogue includes covers from very different years explains the lack of colour-uniformity in each category. It is a colour-coding that leads nowhere, a labyrinth with so many pathways that it is impossible not to get lost. It would be very different if the volumes included a key to interpret the colours, or if the volumes

⁸² The most recent editions of *SC* do not include the year of publication on the front cover. I can say that the above-mentioned volume is one of the most recent because its illustrations differ from the ones included in the year 2000. I discuss the transformation of the illustrations in the following section.

or catalogues established a direct link to the color-code. In any case, the heavy reliance of *SC*'s design on this apparent colour-coding links it to other series of classics, showing that externally, at least, it follows a publishing formula. (Appendix 4 provides an image of the display of these books at a Librería Porrúa, following the colours of the covers).

Although the shiftiness of the colour-coding design could be due to economic or practical constraints (e.g., the availability of certain colours at a given time in the different printing presses where the series was published) this feature of the series could be partly responsible for the prevailing disdain towards it. The lax use of the colour-coding in *SC* evidences this series' grotesque form, as it is "an open structure in which there can be no certainty... the grotesque does not inhabit a stable or predetermined ground. Nor does it provide a simple measure for prearranged decision-making [...]. The grotesque can, at times, lead to anxious indeterminacy" (Edwards & Graulund, 2013: 3).

The only stable elements in *SC*'s design are the few iconic elements on its front and back cover. Not many iconic elements are included in *SC*'s design, known for being very austere. However, two very significant images have always been part of these editions. The first one is the image of the Aztec Eagle Warrior by Saturnino Herrán, a Mexican artist with close links to the *Ateneo de la Juventud* of which Reyes, Vasconcelos, Torri were members (see chapter 1).

Figure 14. Detail of Saturnino Herrán's engraving on SC's front covers



(Source: <https://www.facebook.com/BibliotecaJuridicaPorrúa/posts/2305776789459370>)

Its location on the border between the realm of the original text and that of SC edition (See Fig. 10) makes it reminiscent of a stamp acknowledging and approving the entrance of these works into Mexican culture and into Porrúa's repertoire. This image is not exclusive of SC. It appears on all of Editorial Porrúa's publications. The use of the Eagle Warrior as one of the logos of this publishing house comes to show that despite the Spanish origins of its founders, its Mexican grounds define it, as mentioned in Chapter 1.

It is important to emphasize that when the series took off, the books that were available in Mexico were not often made in Mexico. The use of the eagle warrior emblem in Editorial Porrúa's publications could be a predecessor of what later on, in 1978, the Mexican government would do with the official badge for Mexican products "Made in Mexico". This badge was meant to make Mexican products identifiable to Mexican consumers in an attempt to promote the consumption of national products.

Figure 15. Current official badge for Mexican products



(Source: <https://www.gob.mx/hechoenmexico>)

According to the Mexican government, this icon:

Es el distintivo oficial que identifica los productos hechos en México y que les permite ser reconocidos por los consumidores de nuestro país y del mundo. / La Marca Hecho en México es sinónimo de calidad de clase mundial, respaldada por el talento, creatividad e innovación de los productores que en nuestro país trabajan para ofrecer bienes y servicios competitivos. / Hoy, México es un importante productor y exportador de bienes, y a través de esta Marca reafirma su presencia en los mercados internacionales. ("*Hecho en México*", 2018)

The use of a highly nationalistic icon such as this is not as common in other publishing products, where the choice for universal or more neutral images is preferred. For instance, the penguin image used for the homonymous Penguin books and the Capricorn sign for *Colección Austral*, are not circumscribed to a specific national territory.

Figure 16. Penguin and Austral's logos



(Source: <http://www.nitroglicerine.com/2011/12/26/la-historia-de-albatross-penguin-y-austral/>)

By contrast, the iconography in SC's design, is highly territorialized. The Aztec Warrior emblem links it to a symbolic representation of Mexican identity grounded in the pre-Hispanic past. However, the second graphic element that accompanies all these volumes is more literal in showing these books provenance. An image of the building of the Porrúa bookstore in Mexico City is included in all of the volume's back covers. This is significant for various reasons. First off, it contributes to giving the *concrete* coordinates of the series. This project belongs to an institution in Mexican culture, one of the first publishing houses, that started in the building portrayed in the image, which is located in the heart of Mexico City, across the cathedral and the *Templo Mayor*.

Figure 17. *Image included on all the back covers of SC's volumes*

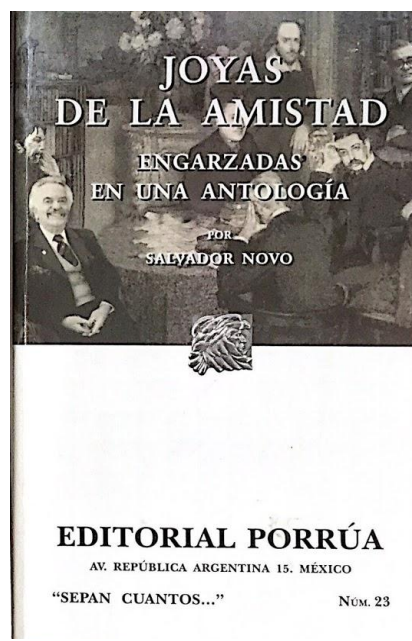
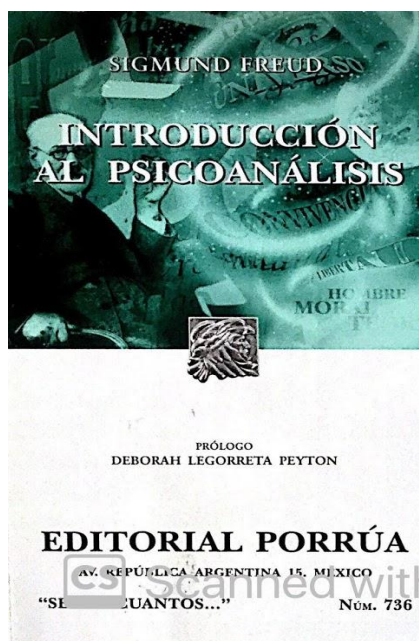
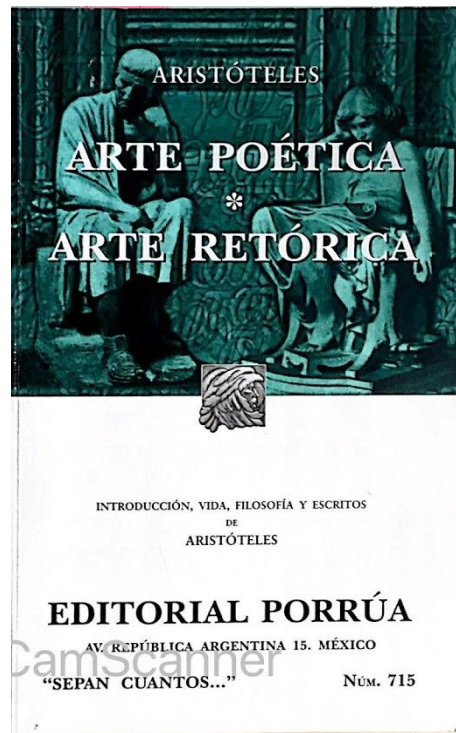
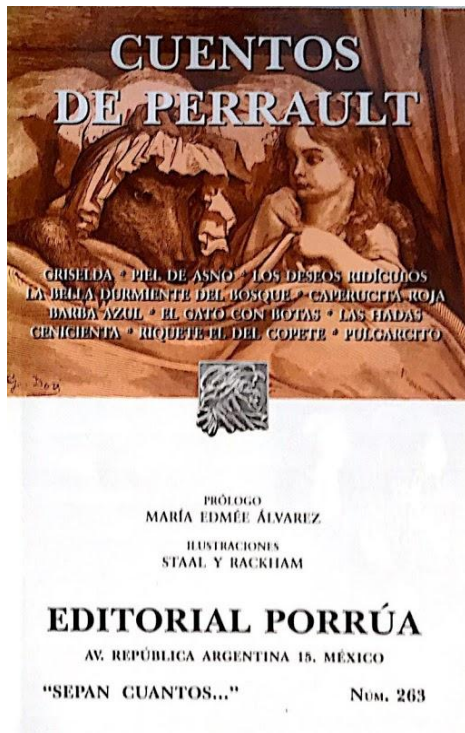


Porrúa is not only a robust institution because of its numerous publications, but an actual monument in Mexico city's map (and of the country, if we consider Mexico City is at the heart of Mexican culture). In this image, the institution is shown in all its physicality.

The two images I have described are tied to the Mexican inscriptions of the series I have been discussing thus far. In fact, these images portray the *mestizaje* that is characteristic of Mexican culture, as the indigenous Aztec warrior appears alongside Porrúa's colonial building. This mixing of the Indigenous and Spanish traditions enhances *SC*'s hybrid nature. I must emphasize, however, that neither of these iconic elements belongs exclusively to *SC*; they are included in all of Porrúa's publications, which results in tying the volumes of the series to the legacy of the broader institution that publishes it. They are significant because they are one of the few things that did not change in this series' design transformations. As of the year 2000 a subtle format renovation took place in *SC*. More graphic elements were included in the upper half of the volumes. A series of collage-like images that did not eclipse the predominant colour-blocked style that I have described, included a new dimension to the interpretation of these works, now no longer solely related to the realm of the book (the Mexican stamp, the monumental presence of Porrúa, the publisher, in Mexican culture) but also to a certain perception of the works. Most of the images chosen to adorn the upper half of the volumes are somewhat antiquated and reinforce a perception of these works as something belonging to the past.

In some volumes, the images shown on the covers are illustrations of a paradigmatic scene from the text. In others, we see collages using images of the author of the work, maps of the region of the world where the work comes from, and objects linked to the culture the work represents. In all of these cases, there is a more intricate construction of the purported legacy of the work.

Figure 18. Front covers including images after year 2000



Along with slight change in front cover design observed after the year 2000, the text layout was also transformed. For most of its existence this series presented the texts in a double column format and in very small font. However, after the year 2000 the text layout changed to a single column and the font size was augmented. The type of paper used to print it also changed. For many years the series opted for a recycled pulp paper. In the latest editions, a cream paper of better quality has been preferred. Despite these changes, the series' format and design have been characterized by their austerity. This feature of *SC* has been seen in correlation to its low cost: "Su sencillez obedece a la intención de abaratar los libros a favor de una mayor accesibilidad al público"(Solano Rojas, 2018). The soft covers of these paperbacks paired with this austere design make clear that these are not luxury items. Although there was the possibility of ordering the volumes in hardcover, with an added cost, as advertised in some of the volumes, this series is generally known in its paperback incarnation. These books are presented as utilitarian objects.

5.1.2. What's in a name?

The way in which authors' names are presented on *SC*'s covers offers ground for discussing the concept of assumed translations. Because it has been established that the tag "translation" (via front cover credit) is uncommon in this series, the weight of the identification of this material as foreign falls mostly on the author's names and titles included in the peritext. Tahir- Gürçağlar reminds in this regard that

The use of foreign names and foreign cultural elements, the subject matter and an unusual syntax may all alert the reader to the possibility of encountering a translation [...]. It can be safely assumed that our first impressions of what distinguishes a translation from a non-

translation are shaped not by the translation (or non-translation) itself, but by the way texts are packaged and presented. (Tahir-Gürçaglar, 2002: 45)

As is common in *SC*, different practices are put in place. Consequently, some material in the series is more clearly identifiable as translated than other. In general, there is a visible trend to Hispanicize foreign authors' names.

In *SC*, the Hispanization of non-Hispanic author's names combined with the absence of front cover translation credits makes the identification of translated material more complex than it appears. Whereas general knowledge about world classics makes it somewhat easy for me and the readers of this dissertation—translation studies and literature scholars—to quickly differentiate translations from non-translations in the series, it is important to consider that this product targets general readers, young students or adults with heterogeneous instruction levels, who strictly depend on the information provided on the book before them to determine the origins of the work. Using the Spanish equivalent for first names, as observed on the right column on Table 27, dilutes the foreignness of the author. In these cases, other elements such as the title, translation credit, preface and the work itself can clarify the status of the work.

Table 27. Examples of translated and untranslated names in the series

Untranslated Names	Translated Names
Harriet Beecher Stowe (1967) ⁸³	Alejandro Dumas (1967)
Robert Louis Stevenson (1968)	Carlos Dickens (1969)
Fedor M. Dostoievski (1968)	Julio Verne (1969)
William Shakespeare (1968)	Honorato De Balzac (1969)
Oscar Wilde (1969)	Enrique Sienkiewicz (1970)
Louisa M. Alcott (1969)	Edmundo De Amicis (1970)
Emily Brontë (1969)	Alejandro Manzoni (1971)

⁸³ Year of first inclusion in the series

Nikolai V. Gogol (1969)	León Tolstoi (1972)
Walter Scott (1970)	Máximo Gorki (1973)
Jonathan Swift (1971)	Enrique Ibsen (1976)
John Milton (1971)	Juan Hessen (1980)
Lewis Wallace (1971)	Gustavo Flaubert (1981)
Rudyard Kipling (1972)	Alfonso Daudet (1982)
Knut Hamsun (1983)	Federico Schiller (1983)
Jane Austen (1984)	Arturo Schopenhauer (1983)
Selma Lagerlöf (1987)	Antón Chéjov (1983)
Johan Gottlieb Fichte (1991)	Federico Nietzsche (1983)
Paul De Kruif (1993)	Enrique Heine (1984)
Heinrich Von Kleist (1993)	Enrique Federico Amiel (1986)
Thomas Mann (1997)	Leónidas Andreyev (1993)
Sigmund Freud (2002)	Ernesto Renan (2002)

As it can be observed in the table, the Hispanization of author's names has not followed a clear pattern. During the same years some authors' names maintained their foreign form, whereas other were presented in their Spanish form. Overall, there is a higher number of Hispanicized names. There is also a slightly higher tendency to Hispanicize French and Italian authors' names and, inversely, English names tend to be kept in their original form (with the exception of Carlos Dickens and Carlota Brontë, which is surprising given that Emily Brontë's name is not Hispanicized). Classical antiquity's author's names constitute a group for which standardized translations into Spanish have been used in the broader publishing industry for many years and remain unchanged: Sófocles, Platón, Aristóteles, Virgilio, to name a few that were mostly published during the first years of the series' development. Russian names are presented in a

variety of ways: in the case of Nikolai Gogol the series avoids the Hispanic equivalent Nicolás, whereas it chose the form Alejandro Kuprín instead of Aleksandr Kuprin.

The Hispanization of author's names was common in Mexican publishing until relatively recent times but is not a phenomenon that is unique to SC or to Mexican publishing. An alternative strategy, also very common, has been the use of the first name's initial, followed by the last name, which avoids the issue of translating first names. This strategy was used, for instance, in combination with the Hispanization of names in the Argentinean series *Biblioteca de la Nación* (1901-1920).

Figure 19. Example of covers of Biblioteca de la Nación



However, the practice shown above is outdated, as introducing the complete and untranslated name of the author appears to be the most popular strategy in the present. *Colección Austral* illustrates the change of this norm in the presentation of author's names. On one side, it shows

that the conventions were not standardized in earlier days. During its first period it combined translated and non-translated names, e.g., Jonatán Swift, Nicolás Gogol and William Shakespeare. On the other side, because *Austral* (unlike *SC*) changed the contents of its front matter throughout time, it admitted the rectification of naming practices, demonstrating that, generally, there was a shift towards preserving the names in their original form (as close as possible in the cases where transliteration is needed). Thus, if in the first edition Swift is presented as Jonatán, in future editions, he became Jonatan (without accent) and then Jonathan; the same for León Tolstoi, whose name has been also presented in *Austral* as Lev N. Tolstói, Liev Nikoláievich Tolstói and Liev N. Tolstói; similarly, Honorato de Balzac becomes Honoré de Balzac in the latest editions.

Figure 20. 1977 edition and 2000 edition of Balzac's Eugénie Grandet in Colección Austral



Figure 21. Example of SC's 1969 (left) and 2013 (right) editions of Balzac's *Eugénie Grandet* in *Sepan Cuantos*.



Such a transformation is not admitted in *SC*, where the frontmatter remains almost entirely unchanged throughout the several editions of a volume. The example of Balzac's *Eugénie Grandet* demonstrates that decisions become fixed in *SC*. In the example offered in Figure 18 we observe that *Austral* not only grew out of the trend to translate authors' names, but it also altered the title to maintain its French origin and added the name of the translator on the cover. *SC* on the other side is static and maintains the Hispanization of authors' names and concealed translation credits in its 21st century editions. These are the elements that contribute to the

perception of the series as stagnated: “Hace meses, en la Feria de Guadalajara, un amigo me dijo, frente al puesto de Porrúa, que todo cambiaba en el mundo, menos la colección Sepan Cuantos” (Christopher Domínguez, 2010: 2).

A second issue I want to discuss briefly is the presentation of names as an indication of literary fame. Some authors are introduced only by their last name: Stendhal, Le Sage [sic], Rabelais, Voltaire, Boccaccio, Ponson du Terrail and Conan Doyle, are a few examples. This omission can be interpreted as a strategy “to make the author appear more famous” (Genette, 1997: 39). The brevity of this presentation of the author’s names assumes certain familiarity on behalf of the readers. These are, in other words, those authors who do not need to be introduced. It is interesting that Ponson du Terrail and Conan Doyle share this status with more canonical authors like Rabelais and Voltaire. However, there is some logic in that many of *SC*’s young readers probably had been exposed to the names of these authors. In this sense, the concept of literary fame is not strictly bound in the series to canonicity, but also to popularity. Or this can also be thought of as the two main canons interacting: the classical canon, and the popular canon.

The Hispanization of names erases the translation fact. Also contributing to this process are the considerable absence of translation credits and the fact that not all the volumes in *SC* have a preface, especially the French *roman-feuilleton* repertoire. For instance, none of the works by Alejandro Dumas are introduced by a preface, which could interfere in the readers’ ability to perceive these texts as translations. Prefaces will have an important role in pinpointing the origins of the texts. Consider the case of Vol. 447 *Tratado de la enseñanza* by Juan Luis Vives where the lack of translation credit and the Hispanic name of the author suggest this is a text written originally in Spanish, when in fact it was originally written in Latin. The translated status

of most of *SC*'s volumes is not necessarily evident for its readers by the presentation of the name, and thus relies on the information provided on the preface and the translation credits to clarify its status.

In terms of the broader framing of translated works, I conclude, on one hand, that the presentation of authors' names is conducive to a naturalization of the catalogue. Approximating a considerable number of authors to the Hispanophone reader through the translation of their names bridges the gap (at least at a superficial level) between local and foreign classics. On the other hand, the resort to presenting certain names devoid of a first name, predisposes readers to assume a higher status for certain works and authors.

5.2 Prefaces

The visible tendency to Hispanicize authors' names discussed in the previous section could be seen as an attempt to make foreign authors more familiar and approachable to the series' Mexican audience. Despite the intentions that could have motivated this practice, when it is seen in combination with the low translator visibility, we observe a trend towards the de-territorialization of the imported works in *SC*. As I have argued thus far, the low proportion of translations made for the series means that active translation was not always a significant way to adapt foreign literature for the audience of *SC*. The liminal information presented on the covers blurs the coordinates of the original. In addition to this, the considerable resort to recycled translations from other countries and time periods introduces a second source context in the series (the source context for the translation). Thus, prefaces—and other paratexts such as footnotes, timelines and glossaries which unfortunately I am unable to analyze in depth due to

the immensity of the task—are where the heavy-duty adaptation of foreign works for the series’ audience can actually take place. The emphasis is on *can* because it does not happen every time and the decision to adapt the material as well as the modes of adaptation rely on the agent and the moment within the series’ development. It is important to clarify that, following Genette, I use the term preface to refer to “every type of introductory (preludial or postludial) text, authorial or allographic, consisting of a discourse produced on the subject of the text that follows (Genette 1997: 161). Prefaces receive different names in the series, such as *introducción*, *prólogo* or *estudio introductivo*, *prefacio*, *nota introductoria*, which can be linked to a different kind of function (these distinctions are addressed later in this section).

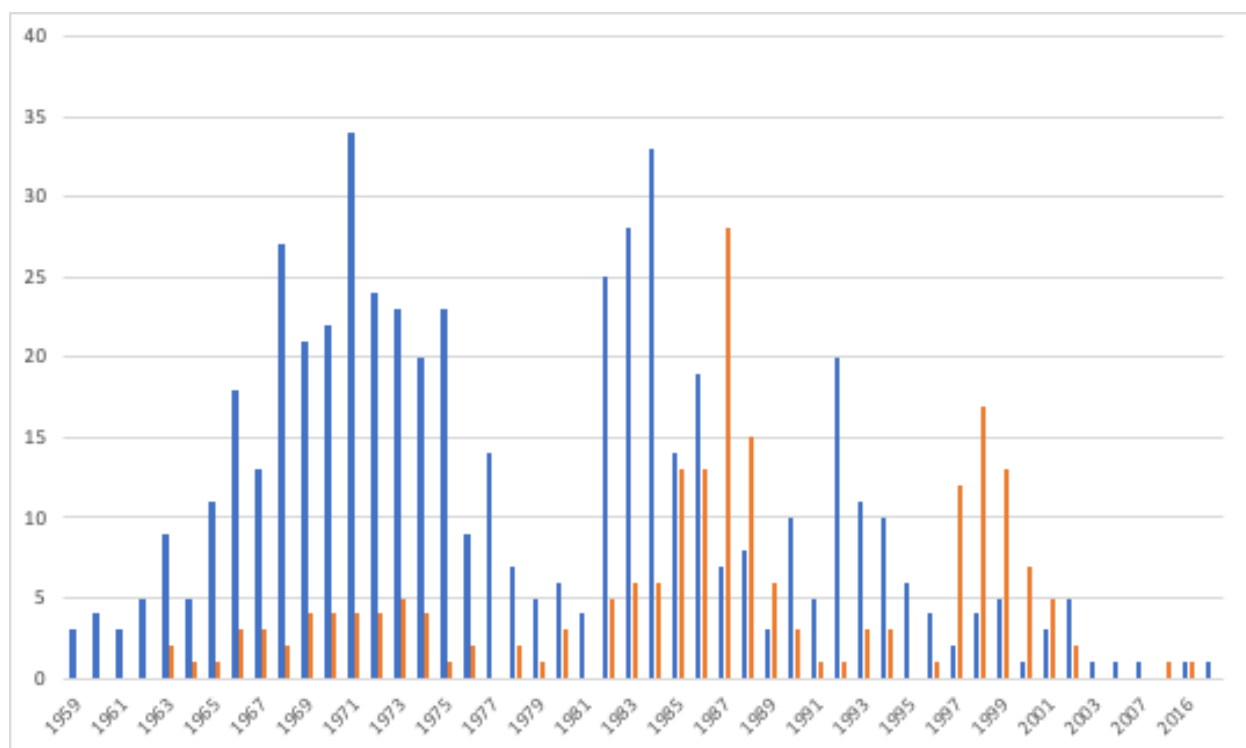
In the following pages I reflect on the importance of prefaces in *SC* as well as in other book series. I then provide some general considerations about the functions prefaces can fulfill and about the difficulty of pinpointing such functions in a complex object of study such as this. Finally, I present the types of prefaces according to a source-oriented categorization that is similar to the one used for the translations: original (made specifically for the series), recycled (taken from previous sources and often times translated) and undetermined. This last aspect is obviously only applicable to allographic prefaces. In the description of this complex genealogy of prefaces, I intertwine comments about the ways in which the co-presence of different prefaces, footnotes and translations in one volume produce the grotesque bodies I introduced at the beginning of the thesis. Showing the often-times conflictive interaction between the texts and paratexts that make up *SC*’s volumes is my ultimate goal.

5.2.1 The importance of prefaces

Prefaces are important in *SC*. Compared to dedications, epigraphs, footnotes, glossaries and timelines; prefaces are the most recurring type of verbal paratexts found inside *SC*'s volumes. Prefaces have a high visibility on the volumes' front covers. In the entire series, 72% of the volumes indicate the inclusion of a preface on their front cover, which is in stark contrast with the 9% of front cover credits for translation.

However, the centrality given to this practice varied over time, and this change is worth analyzing because it helps understand the value of prefaces in series in general, and in *SC* in particular. This analysis also provides another argument to sustain the periodization of the series suggested in the first chapter.

Chart 9. Preface credits on *SC*'s front covers across time



[Blue: Volumes with preface credit on front cover / Orange: volumes with no preface credit on front cover]

As it can be observed in Chart 9, between 1959 and 1984 most volumes indicated the inclusion of a preface in the front cover. Through a qualitative analysis of these volumes I found that between 1963 and 1977 many of the volumes that do not indicate the inclusion of a preface are anthologies, biographies and monographs. These works, in most cases originally written for the series, include an introductory chapter by the same author which fulfill a prefatory function. In the case of some of the anthologies included in this sub-group, despite the presence of a preface, credit is not given to its author on the front cover because crediting the author of the anthology takes precedence over the author of preface, even if both activities were carried out by the same person. The publication of original anthologies, biographies and monographs continued later in the series, but the *Teixidor period* is when most of them were published. In summary and returning to the analysis of the chart presented above, although a few volumes published between 1959 and 1984 did not put preface-writing in the spotlight, the fact that an agent of high reputation intervened in its creation either as author of the preface, the anthology or a monograph tends to be highlighted. This indicates that the different forms of rewriting present in the series are given a different weight. The election of works for an anthology and the authorship of monographs are placed on a higher level, followed by the authorship of prefaces, and lastly, by translation.

Something very different takes place between 1985 and 1989. During this time, the number of volumes lacking preface credits on the front cover were almost equal or greater than those that did. In most of these cases the lack of front cover credit for a preface equates to a lack of preface in the volume. It is pertinent to remember that during this period many works by the same authors, such as Emilio Salgari and Jules Verne, were published. In these cases, the inclusion of a preface for all of their works could have been considered redundant. In addition to

this, most of the *roman-feuilleton* repertoire was published without prefaces, which could reflect the disregard for many of these works as serious literature. At the beginning of the 1990s front cover credits for prefaces reappear, suggesting that the temporary lack of prefaces (and preface credits) between 1985 and 1989 was linked to the profusion of works by authors that had already been introduced in the series and the *roman-feuilleton* repertoire. This means that the interruption of preface inclusion was not related with the loss of significance of this practice within the series, but with a perception that some material did not need to be prefaced.

However, a visible shift in the attitude towards prefaces in the series took place between 1997 and 2001 when the majority of the published volumes did not give any indication of a preface and did not include a preface either. What is more remarkable is that during this time, many authors were included for the first time in the series, which would have called for an introduction. This is the case of Vol. 663 (1997) Archibald Joseph Cronin, *La ciudadela*; Vol. 667 (1997) Pearl S. Buck, *La buena tierra*; Vol. 669 (1997) Erich María Remarque, *Sin novedad en el frente*; Vol. 671 (1997) John Locke, *Ensayo sobre el gobierno civil*; Vol. 683 (1998) Stefan Zweig, *María Antonieta*; Vol. 685 (1998) Mika Waltari, *Sinué, el Egipcio*; Vol. 685 (1998) Herman Hesse, *Bajo la rueda*; Vol. 687 (1998) Mary W. Shelley, *Frankenstein*; Vol. 688 (1998) Ernest Hemingway, *El viejo y el mar / Las nieves del Kilimanjaro / La vida breve y feliz de Francis Macomber*; Vol. 689 (1998) Stefan Zweig, *Fouché*; Vol. 690 (1998) Stefan Zweig *Momentos estelares de la humanidad*; Vol. 691 (1998) H.G. Wells. *Breve historia del mundo*; Vol. 692 (1998) Virginia Woolf, *Al faro*; Vol. 693. (1998) Graham Greene, *El poder y la gloria*; Vol. 694 (1998) Maxence Van der Meersch, *Cuerpos y almas*, to name a few. These works were published in sequence during a short span of time. The wide range of material they represent shows that the lack of preface does not relate to the works themselves. In this list we observe a

combination of well-established authors such as John Locke, Virginia Woolf and Ernest Hemingway to best-selling authors such as Mika Waltari and Pearl S. Buck. Thus, the absence of preface for all of them suggests that at this point of *SC*'s history, the inclusion of a preface did not depend on the nature of the work; this practice stopped fulfilling a primordial function in *SC*. This could indicate that in its later years *SC* lost interest in adapting the works to any degree.

And yet, despite the descent in preface inclusion throughout the years, many of the prefaces included in the series have granted it certain recognition. Although I cannot analyze in detail the reception of *SC*'s prefaces, the following examples show their positive perception:

Inadmisible no recordar el prólogo de Isabel Quiñones a las *Leyendas históricas, tradicionales y fantásticas de las calles de la Ciudad de México*, número 557 de la Colección Sepan Cuántos..., aparecido en 1988. Es un lugar común, injusto y pedante, descalificar los volúmenes de esa benemérita colección que tiene, además, ejemplos memorables de lo que debe de ser un prólogo: el de José Emilio Pacheco a las *Vidas imaginarias* de Marcel Schwob o el de Arturo Souto Alabarce a *Tirano Banderas* de Ramón María del Valle-Inclán. El escrito por Isabel Quiñones pertenece a ese linaje y no existe mejor síntesis sobre los orígenes y desarrollo de la literatura fantástica en México (Monge cited in Esquina & Quirarte, 2013).

Monge gives merit to the prologues in *SC*, and actually uses them as an argument against the prejudices regarding this series' quality. The phrase "...esa benemérita colección que tiene *además* ejemplos memorables de lo que debe ser un prólogo" establishes that the prologues are the series' added value. A similar attitude was observed in a comment by Christopher Domínguez Michael, where he emphasizes the role played by some of the series' prologues in his appreciation for the series: "Me fui reconciliando con 'Sepan Cuántos...' gracias a los prólogos a Emilio Salgari de María Elvira Bermúdez" (Domínguez Michael, 2016: 101). Praises to the series' prefaces abound, especially when it comes to those written by well-known writers or intellectuals. The following evaluation of one of Sergio Pitol's prefaces for the series is an

example of this: “En su breve y genial prólogo de la edición de ‘Sepan Cuantos...’, Sergio Pitol aclara mucho sobre ‘una de las más extraordinarias y revolucionarias novelas del siglo’ (van der Meer, 2018). The prefaces many authors wrote for the series are accounted as part of their critical work, even when the series itself is not explicitly mentioned in some sources. This is exemplified in the following appreciation of Amancio Bolaño e Isla’s adaptations of Medieval Spanish literature, which were published in *SC* in the 1960s:

(...) la bibliografía de don Amancio Bolaño es de obras pedagógicas, de estudios y crítica de literatura, de cuestiones filológicas diversas [...] también, y son muy loables trabajos, el cuidado de ediciones modernas, revisadas y correctas, para divulgación, con notas y prólogos que son estudios adecuados y didácticos, de obras de nuestro tesoro literario como *El conde Lucanor* (versión antigua y moderna), el *Libro de Buen Amor*, el *Poema de Mio Cid*, también en ambas versiones, antigua y moderna, el *Guzmán de Alfarache*. (Martínez, 2004: 59).

The importance of the prefaces as the element adding value to the series is not only evidenced on epitexts such as the ones mentioned above; it is also evident in the 1979 catalogue, that I described in chapter 2.

In fact, book series in the 20th century have traditionally resorted to important cultural figures to write prefaces in the quest to boost their marketing appeal, distinguish themselves from their competitors, and enhance their prestige. Take for instance, one of the paratexts included the series *Clásicos Jackson* and an advertisement of *Colección Panamericana*, both series published in Argentina by W.M. Jackson in the 1940s (Figures 22 and 23 presented on the next page). These examples show the value ascribed to the people in charge of the introductory paratexts in each series through the use of adjectives such as “*eminentes* colaboradores” and “*ilustres* escritores” along with the inclusion of each agent’s credentials, in the first example, and

the statements “uno de los más destacados literatos” in the second one. These strategies establish these agent’s authority to introduce and rewrite the traditions included in the series.

Figure 22. Paratext advertising Clásicos Jackson’s preface writers

CLÁSICOS JACKSON

Publicados con la colaboración y estudios preliminares de los siguientes ilustres escritores de España y América:

EUGENIO D'ORS De las Reales Academias Española y de Bellas Artes. JOSÉ DE LA CRUZ HERRERA Secretario de la Academia Panameña de la Lengua y miembro correspondiente de la R. A. E. GERMÁN ARCINIEGAS Ex ministro de Educación Nacional de Colombia, y ex profesor de las Universidades de Colombia y California. GONZALO MENÉNDEZ PIDAL Catedrático de Literatura Española y profesor del Instituto de II. y EE. Cinematográficos, de Madrid. FRANCISCO ROMERO profesor de las Universidades de Buenos Aires y La Plata, y miembro de honor de la Universidad de Chile y de la American Academy of Arts and Sciences. ADOLFO BIOY CASARES Escritor argentino, varias veces premiado. MIGUEL HERRERO GARCÍA Catedrático de Lengua latina y colaborador del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas de Madrid. PABLO SCHOSTAKOVSKY Escritor e historiador de la literatura rusa, residente en la Argentina. JORGE LUIS BORGES Escritor, crítico y erudito argentino, de extensa y calificada producción poética y novelística.	JOSÉ MARÍA PEMÁN Poeta y autor dramático. De la Real Academia Española. AGUSTÍN MILLARES CARLO Miembro de la Real Academia de la Historia, Profesor de Lengua Latina en la Universidad Nacional de México. Fr. JUSTO PÉREZ DE URBEL (O. S. B.) Catedrático [de Historia] de la Universidad de Madrid. ALFONSO REYES Miembro de la Real Academia Española, de la Academia Argentina de Letras y de la Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana. E. MARTÍNEZ ESTRADA Poeta y escritor argentino, ex profesor de Literatura del Colegio Nacional de la Universidad de La Plata. ANTONIO PAGÉS LARRAYA Catedr. en la Fac. de Filosofía y Letras y Prof. del Col. Nac. de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. GUILLERMO DE TORRE Poeta, crítico y ensayista español residente en la Argentina. ANGEL VASSALLO Profesor de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. Ensayista y crítico. JOSÉ LUIS ROMERO Profesor e historiador argentino. Miembro de la Academie International d'Histotre des Sciences.
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FEDERICO DE ONÍS
 Catedrático de la Universidad de Columbia, de Nueva York,
 y escritor y crítico notable.

Figure 23.
Advertisement of

COLECCION PANAMERICANA

— Los Clásicos de América —



Sólo \$ 20
de enganche
y abonos mensuales de \$ 25

32 volúmenes
14,000 páginas
23 países
70 autores

**36 eminentes
colaboradores**

Las mejores obras, todas ellas completas, del autor o autores más representativos de cada uno de los países de América, desde el Canadá a la Argentina, figuran en esta interesantísima Colección, en la que se ofrece al lector un amplio panorama del pensamiento continental, a través de la novela, el cuento, el ensayo, la poesía, la polémica, el epistolario, etc.

Altamirano, Cuéllar, Gutiérrez Nájera y Rafael Delgado, de México; Martí, de Cuba; Bolívar, de Venezuela; Rubén Darío, de Nicaragua; Sarmiento y Alberdi, de la Argentina; Hawthorne y Hemingway, de los Estados Unidos; Ricardo Palma y Santos Chocano, del Perú; Carrasquilla, de Colombia; el maestro Masferrer, del Salvador, son, entre otros, valores intelectuales de primera magnitud, que están representados con sus mejores obras en la Colección.

Un atractivo más de estos libros es la **RESEÑA CULTURAL** de cada país de América, escrita especialmente para esta Colección, por uno de los más destacados literatos del país a que la reseña se refiere.

In SC's volumes the importance of preface writers is shown by displaying their names on the front-covers. However, whereas almost all preface writers (notwithstanding their status in Mexican culture) are introduced solely by their name, the decision to include some preface

writer's names with their credentials points to their singular status in the series, as well as an indirect link between the series and the institutions they represent, just as it occurred with translators.

Table 28. Complete list of preface writers credited on the front cover of SC accompanied by their credentials

Name	Credentials
Amancio Bolaño e Isla	Miembro de la Academia Mexicana de la Lengua Correspondiente de la Española
Francisco Monterde	Ex Director de la Academia Mexicana de la Lengua Correspondiente de la Española
Raimundo Lazo	Profesor de la Universidad de la Habana, De la Academia Cubana de la Lengua
Antonio Castro Leal	De la Academia Mexicana de la Lengua
Ángel María Garibay	De la Academia de la Lengua y de la Historia. Premio Nacional de Literatura de 1965
Miguel León Portilla	Miembro del Colegio Nacional y de las Academias de la Historia y de la Lengua, Cronista de la Ciudad e Investigador Emérito de la UNAM, y del Sistema Nacional de Investigadores
Antonio Gómez Robledo	El Colegio Nacional
Salvador Novo	De la Academia de la Lengua y Cronista de la Ciudad de México
Manuel Alcalá	De la Academia Mexicana de la Lengua
José González Brown	Doctor en Sagrada Escritura
Edmundo O'Gorman	De la Academia de la Historia y de la Academia de la Lengua

The authors in Table 28 are the only ones whose name is accompanied by their credentials. It could be argued that their notoriety is more modest than that of other preface writers in the series among which there are writers and intellectuals from Mexico, like, Ignacio Manuel Altamirano, Justo Sierra, José Vasconcelos, Alfonso Reyes, Sergio Pitol, José Emilio Pacheco and Carlos Monsiváis; from Spain: Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Dámaso Alonso, and Emilia Pardo

Bazán; and from other latitudes: Milán Kundera, Máximo Gorki, Theodor Adorno, Somerset Maugham, Stefan Zweig and Ralph Waldo Emerson, to name a few. The authors in Table 28 are scholars (with the exception of Salvador Novo, who despite also being a scholar is mostly known as a writer) whose recognition is restricted to the Academic environment; they are mostly Mexican, but also Spanish (Amancio Bolaño e Isla and Antonio Castro Leal) and Cuban (Raymundo Lazo). Rather than a marketing strategy (as in the case of W.M. Jackson's *Clásicos Jackson*) intended for the readers, the inclusion of these author's credentials is an acknowledgement, on behalf of Porrúa, for their contribution, a gesture of gratitude, perhaps, that reveals actual proximity and interaction between these actors and the publishing house.

There is, additionally, a particular emphasis on the capital's culture through the mention of very renowned metropolitan institutions such as UNAM and El Colegio Nacional, as well as the inclusion of two *Cronistas de la ciudad de México*. Raimundo Lazo is the only agent not showing national credentials. This prolific Cuban literature scholar had, however, strong links to Mexico and, particularly, to UNAM and Porrúa. He was appointed as *agregado cultural* in Mexico City in 1947 and was part of the UNAM's faculty of *Filosofía y Letras* in the 1960s. Mexican publishing houses, especially Porrúa, were a fertile ground for Lazo's work⁸⁴. The insertion of José González Brown's credit as *Doctor en Sagrada Escritura* (he is part of the group of agents associated to the Church that also acted as translators in the series that I described in

⁸⁴ In his summary of Lazo's bibliographic legacy, Salvador Bueno shows the ample space given to this scholar's thought in Mexico: "La editorial Porrúa, de México, publicó *La novela andina* (1971) y *Génesis e integración del nuevo mundo hispanoamericano* (1973) y, además, dos tomos de apuntes críticos y ensayísticos: *Para cada día de un año bisesto* (1968) y *Memorias y testimonios de algo de lo vivido* (1969). Asimismo, 'Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios Literarios' de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México publicó la segunda edición muy ampliada de su estudio sobre *La teoría de las generaciones y su aplicación al estudio histórico de la literatura cubana* (1972). Por último, preparó ediciones críticas de las obras más destacadas de la literatura hispanoamericana y cubana que publicó la Editorial Porrúa de: Ricardo Palma, Sarmiento, Enrique José Varona, Horacio Quiroga, Zorrilla de San Martín, Cirilo Villaverde, José Martí, José Hernández, José María Heredia, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, José Enrique Rodó y José Hernández". (Bueno, 1976: 13)

the previous chapter, and whose credentials were inserted through the abbreviated form of their ecclesiastical charges) is also significative in the sense that it brings to the forefront, once again, the weight of the religious institution in the series. In general, the links between *SC* and academic and ecclesiastical figures stands out. It is noteworthy, however, that only a reduced number of figures belonging to these institutions are highly visibilized in the series, as there is a considerable number of writers and academics that were not credited along with their credentials.

Summing up the information provided above, it can be generalized that prefaces are prevalent in *SC* and are considered important in the series as shown by their predominant advertisement on the front covers of the volumes, along with the fact that most volumes included a preface. Beyond the list of authors credited with their credentials, the authors in charge of this task make up a very heterogeneous group of national and international intellectuals representing different institutions. A certain number of prefaces are recycled, as I explain in detail in another section of this chapter, which means that, just as translations, besides being from different countries, preface writers also come from different times. The additional information provided about a reduced number of preface writers (via credentials) is testament of the publisher's interest to acknowledge and strengthen ties with certain agents and institutions.

Thus far I have discussed the centrality given to most prefaces in the series. However, I would like to introduce the issue of the originality of the prefaces, something that for most series is crucial and that in *SC* happens, but not in a constant manner. The inclusion of original (or *ad hoc*) prefaces in the series suggests that for part of this corpus, prefaces are an important space to find *SC*'s original rewritings of non-Hispanic texts. By original rewritings I refer to those adaptations that are meant specifically for the audience of the series. The scope and nature of the adaptations found in the prefaces vary greatly because the general guidelines for the production

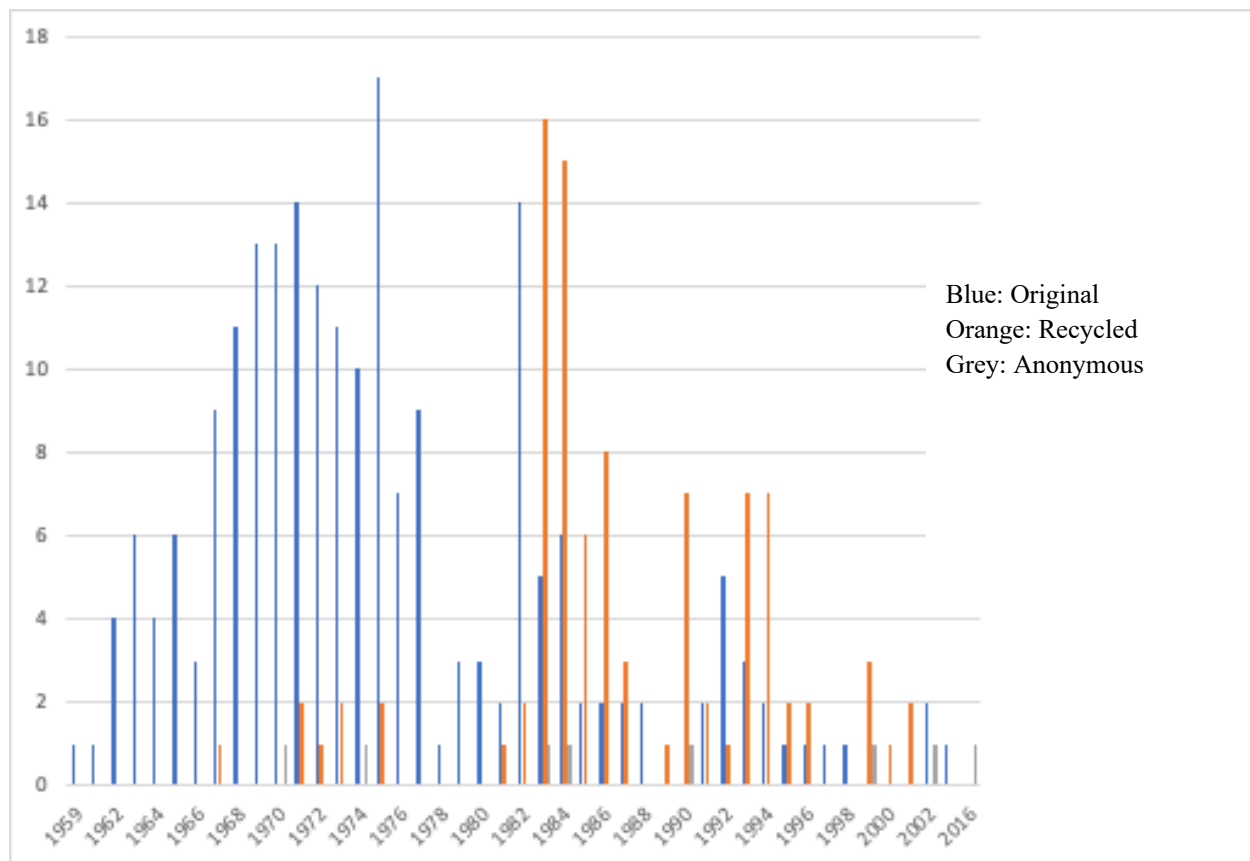
of the volumes appear to have been very loose, allowing agents to have great freedom in the configuration of the volumes of which they were in charge. Whereas some volumes rewrite a foreign text through an original translation and an original preface, there are many other combinations such as: recycled translations introduced by either an original or recycled preface, a mix of first and recycled prefaces from different periods, or by no preface at all. As a result, behind the uniformity entailed by the series publishing formula there are various imbricated rewritings. The use of original and recycled translations in combination with original and recycled prefaces brings together diachronically distant ideologies, poetics and patronages within the same book: these are the cases where recycled rewritings (rewritings made and meant to be consumed in a different context) within original rewritings intertwine as shown by examples presented later in this chapter. Furthermore, among the group of volumes that provide active rewritings produced around the same time, there is dissonance, and this, I attribute mainly to the agents involved, the institutions they were linked to and their specific agendas.

Although in a few cases it is difficult to determine if prefaces are specifically made for the series or not without carrying out bibliographic searches on databases and further research, for the most part, a mere look at the names of the preface writers allows to determine the status of their contribution as original or recycled. For instance, the fact that authors were dead by the time of publication of the volume in *SC*, allows to quickly rule out the collaboration of Spanish authors such as Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, Emilia Pardo Bazán and Dámaso Alonso, whose texts are profusely used as prefaces for the series. In addition to the consideration of the alive/dead status of the authors, the geographical/cultural distance also plays a role in the quick determination of the original/recycled status of the prefaces. Thus, it is easier to determine that those prefaces credited in the series to Milan Kundera, Máximo Gorki, Theodor Adorno,

Somerset Maugham, Stefan Zweig, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Sainte-Beuve, Marc Slonim, M. Th. Laignel, René Dumesnil, Henry Thomas, Ettore Allodoli, Dana Lee Thomas, Guy de Maupassant, Johan Fischl, Wilhelm Dilthey, Ana Karaváeva, Johan Huizinga, Werner Kaegi, Hilaire Belloc, Jeanne Renée Becker, Cancetto Marchesi, Augusto Assía, Ernest Hatch Wilkins, Bernard Bouvier, A. Jrabrovitski, Allan Quatermain, Augusto Rostagni, Marcel Aymé, F. Maurica, Ettore Lo Gatto, Daniel-Rops, Maxime Alexandre, Raymond las Vergnas, Ernest Robert Curtius, Ludwig Lewisohn, Giovanni Papini, C.P. Snow, Gerard Bauer, Jules Romains, to name a few, are recycled. Despite the considerable presence of recycled prefaces in *SC*, the original and recycled preface phenomenon is distinctly localized in the series' timeline, unlike what happens with original and recycled translations.

As it can be observed in Chart 10 included below, original prefaces were the ones included almost exclusively between 1959 and 1980 in the series. In most cases, the recycled prefaces procured in this period were from Mexican intellectuals, and when they were foreign, they were from Spain. In a way, they remained within the local Hispanic sphere. The first recycled preface from a non-Hispanic author was included in 1982, when a text by Anatole France was used to introduce Rabelais' *Gargantúa y Pantagruel* in volume 360. The inevitable conclusion is that commissioning original prefaces and resorting occasionally to recycled prefaces from Spanish authors were policies established by Felipe Teixidor during his time as *SC*'s director (1959-1979). Soon after his exit from the project, and concurrently with the boost in new volume output as well as the push for European 19th century novels, comes a considerable increase in recycled prefaces.

Chart 10. Volumes with original vs. recycled prefaces in SC across time



The evidence supporting the hypothesis of a *Teixidor period* is strong. His intervention in the series not only marked the production of more original translations, but of original prefaces. In the following sections, through the analysis of the functions that can be fulfilled by prefaces, and the presentation of the different types of prefaces in *SC*, I discuss the types of rewritings put at work in the series and their interaction with the other rewritings they are layered with. It is my contention that the dyad preface-translation during the *Teixidor period* will produce rewritings that are more nationalistic whereas after Teixidor's exit from the series, the Mexican scope will not necessarily disappear but lose its strength.

5.2.2 The functions of prefaces

At this point of the discussion, heterogeneity can be assumed as the only constant characteristic of *SC*: it touches the repertoire of works, translation, and prefaces. To abbreviate and organize the very multiform corpus made up by the series prefaces, my initial entryway was to study the prefaces' function according to their denomination. The visible variety of prefatory paratexts' titles, length and scope suggested a change in function that seemed fundamental in my exploration of how translated material was rewritten in the series. Thus far I have used the term preface or prefatorial paratexts as a general category to refer to the texts preceding the works in each volume that carry out an introductory function. These texts either clarify details about the author, the historical context where the work was produced and, in rarer occasions, about the translations and specific publishing choices made by Porrúa. As Genette points out, there are multiple parasynonyms in French (that are similar to the ones used in the Spanish language) to refer to these types of introductory paratexts and acknowledges that behind the different appellatives may lie different connotations and functions, "Naturally, many nuances distinguish one term from another, especially when two or more of these texts appear together, as in the didactic type of work, where the preface takes on a function simultaneously more formal and more circumstantial, preceding an introduction that is tied more closely to the subject of the text" (Genette, 1987: 161). According to Genette's observations, different functions are accompanied by different tones. He points out, for instance, that usually those prefatory texts named *exorde*, *avant-dire*, or *proème* are "more mannered, pedantic, or affected", whereas introductions, notes and notices are "more modest (sincere or feigned" (Genette, 1987: 161). This broad association between the titles and the characteristics of prefaces allowed me to reach a bird's eye view of the types of prefatorial texts in the series. Not only does *SC* use a wide array of titles for its prefaces,

but in many occasions, more than one type is included within one volume, a phenomenon that Genette denominates *co-presence*.

The different prefatorial texts in *SC* include: *Advertencia*, *Estudio preliminar*, *Estudio introductivo*, *Introducción*, *Nota preliminar*, *Prefacio*, *Presentación* and *Prólogo*. The least common title is *Prefacio* while *Prólogo* is the most constant, a feature that can be said to be more general in the broader Spanish publishing world. Parsing the contents of the prefaces in Data set 2 confirmed there is some correlation between title and the general features of the content. I identified three main groups in this sense. The first one is made up by *Advertencias* and *Notas preliminares*, which tend to be very brief and usually focus more on issues about the construction of the volume than the text they introduce. Discussion about the edition reproduced in the series, a credit to a collaborator, reflections on the difficulty of acquiring and organizing the texts, are the most recurring topics; in summary, these tend to offer clarifications about the characteristics of *SC*'s edition, and about the process of putting them together. They are all written by actors that worked specifically for the series and who, in many occasions, make reference to the series. They emphasize the construction of the book and the decisions that were made to reach the end product. For these reasons, the main function observed in these paratexts is meta-communicative. In addition to this, some of them fulfill an informative and referential function, but because they are usually very short texts, this function is carried out in a very brief and superficial way. I also must point out that these prefaces are not very common.

The second group is made up by those named *Introducción*, *Estudio introductivo* and *Estudio preliminar*. These paratexts are characterized by their breadth, they are detailed accounts about the author's biography and cultural context, as well as the school of thought or genre to which the work is usually associated. The authors of these paratexts rarely make themselves

evident in the enunciation, perhaps in an attempt to display objectivity. Interestingly, the different use of bibliographical references and the depth of the analysis justifies a split between those who appeal to general readers and those meant for more specialized readers. These paratexts are the most common in philosophical and ancient Greek and Latin works, which, it could be argued, require a heavier contextualization. The informative and hermeneutic functions are the ones that represent these paratexts more strongly. Finally, there is the third group made up by *Prólogos* and *Prefacios*, which are somewhat similar to the previous group in their attempt to be informative, but they are notably different in their inclusion of the preface writer's authorial voice and perspective. Their evaluative and ideological function can take precedence over the informative, generic and instructive function. I provide examples of fragments of the prefaces where these functions are exhibited in Table 29.

However, as it tends to happen in this corpus, several exceptions arise, like the very persistent meta-communicative function and repetitive declaration by Ángel María Garibay that his main goal is not to provide a very detailed analysis in the *Estudios preliminares*. Another counter example is the authorial point of view in Ilán Stavans *Introducciones*. These texts have their own title inside the volume despite being presented as *Introducción* on the cover. For example, volume 635 (1993), *Antología de cuentos de misterio y terror* is titled "Ajedrez para idiotas". The consistent appearance of outliers in all my attempts to find regularities in *SC* evidence that (even within the Teixidor period) the rewritings at hand depend mostly on the agents in charge of the volumes.

Ultimately, although a function-based typology of the prefaces allowed me to frame the initial analysis of these paratexts, it proved insufficient for my object of study. Even after moving away from the analysis based on the titles given to the prefaces, the study of the

functions was very elusive, mostly because several functions tend to agglutinate in each preface. Following Batchelor's (2018) function-based paratext typology (which is an adaptation of the one offered by Annika Rockenberger (2014) for digital media) I offer the following table showing fragments of the paratexts where some of the alluded functions can be observed in *SC*. However, as it can be seen in the examples, different functions coincide in a single excerpt, just as they do in the larger prefaces that host them. In Table 29 I selected a passage that I thought best represented the function in question.

Table 29. Function-based preface typology

Function	Definition	Examples in <i>SC</i>
Referential	"Identifying the work, establishing its legal and discursive fingerprint." (Batchelor 2018: 160)	Preface to <i>Viajeros Mexicanos (Siglos XIX y XX)</i>: "<i>Viajeros Mexicanos (Siglos XIX y XX)</i> es editado por primera vez en 1939, con una tirada de 500 ejemplares, en la colección <i>Letras de México</i>." (Los Editores, 1982: xi) Preface to <i>El Cantar de Roldán</i>: "El Cantar de Roldán, el más antiguo de los cantares de gesta franceses, fue escrito entre 1110 y 1125. [...]. En 1832 se descubrió la redacción más antigua de <i>El Cantar de Roldán</i>, en la Biblioteca Bodleiana de Oxford. La presente versión se basa en el texto manuscrito número 23 perteneciente al fondo Digby de la mencionada Biblioteca, y que fue puesto al francés moderno por Joseph Bédier." (Texidor, 1974: 5)
Meta-communicative	"Explicitly reflecting on the conditions and constraints of mediated communication in general and the work's placing in particular; includes reflections on translation and/or the difficulties of the translation process." (Batchelor 2018: 160)	Preface to <i>Historia de la conquista de México. Versión abreviada de la historia de William H. Prescott</i>: "Esta edición es una versión bastante abreviada, pero al prepararla, he intentado combinar: corrección literaria y fidelidad a la calidad del original, porque el lenguaje, la excelencia e integridad de su erudición y simpatía del autor hacia el tema, lo hace uno de los trabajos monumentales de la historia de México. Carl Van Doren escribió en 1943: 'Solamente por su extensión es que no ha sido más leído'" (Berler, 1996: ix). Preface to <i>Esquilo. Las siete tragedias</i>: "La versión que se da está hecha sobre el texto establecido por Paul Mazon, como el más ponderado. [...] Sabido es que el estado de los textos griegos es a veces lamentable y los editores divergen en lugares que de suyo son difíciles. En cuanto a las lagunas del texto, a veces evidentes, a veces conjeturales y restituidas por algunos críticos, preferimos dejar el hueco a dar pensamientos que no están en el original, tal como ha podido reconstruirse. [...] Por lo que toca a la traducción, hemos procurado darla literal, pero con tal apego al original que no deje de ser inteligible, para el lector moderno y precisamente de México. [...] No puedo levantar la mano de la máquina, sin expresar mi gratitud a la Editorial Porrúa, que me da hospedaje en esta ya famosa colección, destinada a lectores sin mucho

		tiempo ni mucha preparación; lo mismo que a Jesús Carrillo Méndez, que con tanta diligencia y cariño, preparó el manuscrito para la imprenta.” (Garibay, 1966: xxv)
Informative	“Mediating true empirical data, clarifying internal and external relations and properties of the work, explicitly revealing intentions, removing epistemic obstacles to the reader’s understanding, including, in translation contexts, clarifying culture-specific references for a new audience; referring to other helpful information or services.” (Batchelor 2018: 160)	Preface to <i>Aventuras del Pícaro Till Eulenspiegel</i> : “ <i>Tyll Eulenspiegel</i> , al igual que el <i>Dr. Faustus</i> es una figura histórica. Su apellido está comprobado hasta el siglo xv. Hijo de campesinos de Brunswick, pertenecía a los vagabundos que deambulaban por los caminos del siglo xiv [...]. Este personaje del loco inteligente, que se burla de todo el mundo, llega a ser el héroe de más o menos quince mil farsas [...]. La mayoría de las historias no tiene comprobación histórica alguna.” (Oeste de Bopp, 1984: xi-xii)
Instructive, operational	“Facilitating and guiding reception and use of the product, offering orientation, suggesting, organising and structuring possible approaches to the product, recommending actions; includes navigational paratexts.” (Batchelor 2018: 160)	Preface to the anthology <i>Lectura en voz alta</i>: “Lector, éste es un libro de lectura. Inútil buscar en él otra cosa. No es una antología universal ni un volumen de trozos escogidos [...] En este libro sólo debe oírse una melodía: la de la lengua castellana, por obra y gracia de autores originales o de traducciones anónimas y devotas. Por eso quiero que pueda ser leído en voz alta, sobre todo por los niños que desarrollan su ser en nuestra habla” (Arreola, 1968: ix) Preface to the anthology <i>Joyas de la Amistad</i>: “Planeada para que su edición aparezca y circule en la Navidad de 1963, deseamos poner este libro en las manos de cuantos elijan, al obsequiar con él a sus amigos, manifestarles su recuerdo y afecto; confiar a los autores aquí congregados –voces fraternas en un coro de siglos– la expresión de aquellos saludos con que solemos, por esta época efusiva del año, renovar, preservar y enriquecer el tesoro de nuestras amistades.” (Novo, 1963: xiv)
Generic	“Categorising the work, indicating genre, establishing a ‘generic pact’ concerning the appropriate attitude of reception; includes categorisation as a translation.” (Batchelor 2018: 160)	Preface to <i>Proverbios de Salomón y Sabiduría de Jesús Ben Sirak</i> : “El libro que va en seguida es uno de los más hermosos y representativos de Israel [...]. En todos los pueblos de Occidente se le da el nombre de Proverbios. Fundado en el nombre que el traductor latino S. Jerónimo le puso. Entre los griegos se llamó <i>Paroimiai</i> , o sea lo mismo que proverbios. Para los hebreos, dueños del escrito, es <i>Mishle Selomoh</i> , forma construida de <i>Meshalim</i> , plural de <i>Mashal</i> . Debemos definir que es un <i>mashal</i> hebreo. El sentido fundamental de la raíz semítica MSHL es ‘comparar, cotejar, hacer parangón’. Y en esta general significación va encerrada ya la noción de un cotejo imaginativo entre una imagen que hiere la fantasía y un pensamiento que se clava en la mente, como vestido de aquella. Daré algún ejemplo de este género popular, tan propio de la transmisión oral en todos los pueblos, con ejemplos de la misma Biblia, ajenos a Salomón” (Garibay, 1966: ix)
Hermeneutical	“Offering certain cognitive framings, directing attention, exposing certain aspects or qualities, mediating relevant contexts, instructing the understanding or interpretation [...] and thus widening or restricting interpretative options.” (Batchelor 2018: 160)	Preface to <i>Voces de Oriente: antología de textos literarios del cercano Oriente</i> : “[La escritura sumeria] Comenzó siendo figurativa, como la egipcia o como la náhuatl. Quiero decir, si se habla de una casa, dibujaba el escribano una casa. Es también el origen de la escritura china. Pero la ley del menor esfuerzo fue haciendo, en las tres culturas mencionadas, y en esta también, la modificación al símbolo. Ya no era la casa, sino la puerta, el tejado, etc. Y al fin llegó la forma de cuñas que iban siendo como simbólicas de sonidos y de palabras, ya en camino de nuestro alfabeto. No ha sido ni fácil ni breve la evolución de la humanidad para dejar en forma estable su pensamiento. Esta es la razón de que en aquella región sumérica haya aún tantos textos no interpretados. La clave exacta está en discusión”. (Garibay, 1964: 18)
Ideological	“Promoting certain viewpoint; taking distance from the ideological stance of the text or,	Preface to <i>La India literaria. Antología</i> : “...hemos visto en nuestros días un peculiarísimo resurgimiento del

	particularly in translation situations, of the author or source culture.” (Batchelor 2018: 160)	interés por varias manifestaciones hindúes como la música, por conducto del citarista Ravi Shankar y George Harrison, entre otros; la danza hindú, [...]y, desde luego, existe otra manifestación muy importante del interés por las cosas hindúes: nos referimos a ciertas ideas ‘jipis’. ¿Qué razón puede existir para que una parte de las juventudes de Inglaterra y los Estados Unidos, [...], hayan semiarticulado una pseudomitología, basada en la música y simbología híbridamente hinduistas? ¿Por qué ese interés especial por la disciplina del yoga, por llevar el pelo largo, al estilo hindú, como símbolo de libertad personal; por la contemplación de la naturaleza, las flores [...]? Pues bien, creemos que todo esto indica una falta de fe en que nuestra trayectoria histórica occidental logre investir al individuo contemporáneo de una tranquilidad interna y la libertad externa que evidentemente necesita. [...] Presenciamos un importante resurgimiento del interés por el Oriente en general y por la India muy en especial. Por ello consideramos que la publicación de esta antología de textos hinduistas es en extremo oportuna” (Rohde, 1972: xxvii)
Evaluative	“Claiming or demanding value and cultural significance.” (Batchelor 2018: 160)	Preface to <i>Cantar de Mio Cid</i>: “Ningún héroe épico es producto, como lo es el Cid, del esplendor que comunica la intención poética y de la claridad intelectual de la historia. Sólo en España podemos observar esta coincidencia entre realidad y ficción; esta trabazón íntima entre las palpitantes circunstancias vitales no creadas por el poeta, y los metafóricos esplendores luminosos y relampagueantes de la fantasía. Sólo en España se dan los Cides y Quijotes...” (Bolaño e Isla, 1968: ix) Preface to <i>Los cazadores de microbios</i>: “...la mayor parte de las personas no leen con gusto los libros científicos [...]. Ello se debe a que dichos libros no son amenos, y llevan determinada nomenclatura científica o fórmulas incomprensibles para ellas. Paul de Kruif, como médico bacteriólogo que posee grandes conocimientos, no se aparta de la verdad científica, y como escritor de pluma ágil y amena describe en <i>Los cazadores de microbios</i> [...]. Así es que el libro, tan interesante para todos, cual si fuera una novela, logra que el lector adquiera conocimientos científicos acerca de los microbios, y conozca la lucha ardua y constante que han tenido que seguir los investigadores” (Motts, 1993: x). Preface to <i>La cabaña del Tío Tom</i>: “Pocos libros han tenido una significación más honda y una influencia más determinante en la vida social y política de un país, como el publicado por la novelista Harriet Beecher Stowe a mediados del siglo pasado; obra que llevó el título de <i>La cabaña del Tío Tom</i> y que ahora se incluye en la colección ‘Sepan Cuantos...’ de la Editorial Porrúa.” (Moreno, 1982: ix)

As Batchelor suggests, it is possible, and actually quite common, to identify more than one function in a single preface. I left out from this table some functions observed by Batchelor, that I was unable to identify in my corpus or that were not significantly represented. The examples provided in the table are meant to show how these functions become evident in *SC*. But in view

of the lack of productivity of an analysis that emanated primarily from the functions, I decided to shift my observations towards the agents. It is in the micro-repertoires represented by some agents that I identified more regularities, and where the functions became more visible at a macro-level. In order to reach micro-repertoires associated with agents it was necessary to study the sources of the prefaces and the ways they are presented (in co-presence with other prefatory paratexts and original or recycled translations). This will allow us to understand the different types of agents involved, their different relationship and distance to the series, and the functions perceived in their paratexts.

5.2.3. Original prefaces

To provide a more thorough study of the different functions observed in *SC*'s prefaces, I examine in this and the next section a selection of original and recycled prefaces. In Genette's reflections about the functions of paratexts, authorial intention (thoroughly analyzed by Batchelor, 2018) is crucial. However, in Genette's work the acknowledgment of authorial intention is largely given to the author of the original text, as most of his examples revolve around editions of books that took place during an author's lifetime or soon after their death. Genette does not discuss the multiple layers of authorial intent in the case of the editions of modern translations of classics. In publishing projects like *SC*, the co-presence of various senders (original author and rewriters) and their ensuing authorial intents cannot be overlooked. There are at least three levels of senders in these editions: the author of the original work, the author of the translation, and the author of the paratext. In any given volume, there are multiple players, multiple heads. In some volumes containing several paratexts, there is even a further segmentation of senders. An example of this is provided by the cases where there are two or more prefaces in one volume written by different

authors, or where a preface by a given author is accompanied by a note signed “Los Editores.”

As a result, authorial intent is more diversified in series like *SC*. There is the intent of the original author plus the one imposed by this myriad of senders who produce a rewriting of the original work.

This section focuses on the prefatory texts made specifically for the series, that is, original prefaces. Although I recognize that in this group agents assume different degrees of proximity to the project, I will focus on cases that showed the highest degree of proximity. This decision is motivated by the hypothesis that those rewriters that were more involved with the series’ goal to popularize culture exert their agency more overtly. In these cases, the rewritings tend to be more coherent and homogeneous. However, my focus on these types of rewritings does not mean I disregard those that are heterogeneous. In those rewritings there is an evident disconnection between the intent of the various senders present in one volume. In fact, that is a central question in the next section, where I show that the lack of dialogue between the different senders identified in some of the volumes creates important tensions. The main goal of this section is to give the necessary context to analyze the volumes where the preface writer establishes a dialogue with the other rewritings in the volume to create a more cohesive whole. Here, I depict some of the most cohesive rewritings in *SC*, whereas in the following section I demonstrate the more disjointed ones.

An indicator of a preface writer’s proximity to *SC* is their level of participation. As I have argued thus far, high participation through translation was very sporadic, but the recurring collaboration from a handful of preface writers reveals that a few agents had strong ties with the series. In the group of most-recurrent preface writers I identified some thematic regularities that signalled the presence of agent-determined micro-repertoires. These micro-repertoires display a

thematically cohesive selection of works and they create a distinct reader profile. This demonstrably affects the prefaces' characteristics, such as the level of erudition, the inclusion or exclusion of the Mexican cultural horizon and reflections about translation. In the following table, I present the preface writers with the highest number of collaborations in the series, pointing out the cases where I identified micro-repertoires. The table includes some preface writers who despite participating often in the series, are not associated with a thematically homogeneous repertoire. Nevertheless, there is a correlation between a high number of original prefaces and the presence of thematic micro-repertoires. (Thirteen authors in the table are linked to clear thematic micro-repertoire whereas four are not.)

Table 30. Preface writers with the highest participation in SC

Agent	Thematic lines / List of authors and works	Years of involvement in SC	Number of original prefaces in SC	Type of activity in volumes
Amancio Bolaño e Isla	Medieval Spanish literature (e.g. Arcipreste de Hita, Gonzalo de Berceo, Don Juan Manuel, Poema de Mío Cid)	1964-1971	5	Preface writer and in charge of modern version (bitexts)
Ángel María Garibay	Ancient classics (Greek, Judeo-Christian and Aztec) (e.g. Esquilo, Sófocles, Eurípides, Mitología griega, Panorama literario de los pueblos nahuas, Sabiduría de Israel, Proverbios de Salomón, Voces de oriente. Antología de textos literarios del Cercano Oriente)	1962- 1967	10	Preface writer Anthologizer Author-monograph Translator
Arturo Souto Alabarce	English, American and French literature 19th, 20th century literature e.g., Walter Scott, Rudyard Kipling, Mark Twain, Jack London, Victor Hugo, Alejandro Dumas, Chateaubriand, Baudelaire, Joseph Conrad)	1968-1994 (2002) (two prefaces in 2002 after long hiatus)	32	Preface writer
Daniel Moreno	No clear repertoire (Rabindranath Tagore, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Lamartine)	1965-1978	10	Preface writer
Edmundo O'Gorman	Ancient history (e.g. Herodoto, Tucídides) and Mexican colonial history (Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Fray Toribio Motolinía, Antonio Solís y Rivadeneira, Francisco Cervantes de Salazar)	1963-1975	6	Preface writer
Francisco	Philosophy	1962-1980	17	Preface writer

Larroyo	(Platón, Aristóteles, Descartes, Hegel, Kant, Hugon, Natorp, Bacon, Spinoza, Leibniz, Hume, Comte, Hessen, Messer, Besteiro)			Anthologizer Annotator Reviser of translation
Francisco Montes de Oca	Ancient Greek and Latin classics (Plutarco, Horacio, Jenofonte, Píndaro, Terencio, Plauto, Demóstenes, Séneca, Epicteto, Marco Aurelio, Salustio, Cornelio Tácito, Tito Livio, Ovidio) European classics (Dante, Goethe, San Agustín, Stendhal, Bocaccio)	1961-1982	27	Preface writer Translator (once)
Joaquín Antonio Peñalosa	No clear repertoire (Fray Luis de León, Lewis Wallace, Enrique Pérez Esrich, John Milton, Armando Palacio Valdés, Cicerón)	1966-1973	8	Preface writer
Juana de Ontañón	Spanish classics (Bécquer, Tirso de Molina, Santa Teresa, Larra, Pedro de Alarcón, José de Espronceda...)	1963-1972	10	Preface writer
María Edmée Álvarez	Children's literature (Hans Christian Andersen, Hermanos Grimm, Perrault, Dickens)	1968-1976	8	Anthologizer Preface writer
María Elvira Bermúdez	Travel, adventure, mystery narrative (Julio Verne [12 works], Emilio Salgari [14 works], Edmundo de Amicis, Edgar Allan Poe, Arthur Conan Doyle, Marco Polo)	1969-1988	30	Preface writer
Rafael Solana	No clear repertoire (Molière, Pierre Loti, Balzac, Dickens, Anatole France, Somerset Maugham)	1970-1997	8	Preface writer
Raimundo Lazo	Latin American literature (Rodó, Sarmiento, Quiroga, Palma, Martí, Cirilo Villaverde, José María Heredia, José Hernández, Enrique José Varona, Juan Zorrilla de San Martín)	1966-1974	12	Preface writer Anthologizer Author of monographs
Rosa Ma. Philips	Russian literature (Dostoievsky [4 works], Gógol, Gorki and several other Russian authors in her anthology <i>Cuentos rusos</i>) *1 author off repertoire: E.T.A. Hoffmann	1968-1979	8	Preface writer Anthologizer
Salvador Novo	No clear repertoire: Spanish and Mexican poetry and drama (Zorrilla, Inclán, García Lorca and one anthology of Mexican sonnets) <i>Anthology Joyas de la amistad engarzadas en una antología</i>	1963-1973	6	Preface writer Anthologizer
Sergio Pitó	Classic English literature (Robert Louis Stevenson, Emily Brontë, Charles Dickens, Lewis Carroll, Jane Austen) *1 author off repertoire: José Vasconcelos (2001)	1968-1984 (2001)	6	Preface writer
			One preface written in 2001 after long hiatus	

Before analyzing the characteristics of the two significant micro-repertoires in the series, there are a few things to clarify about the information in the previous table. As I mentioned before, not

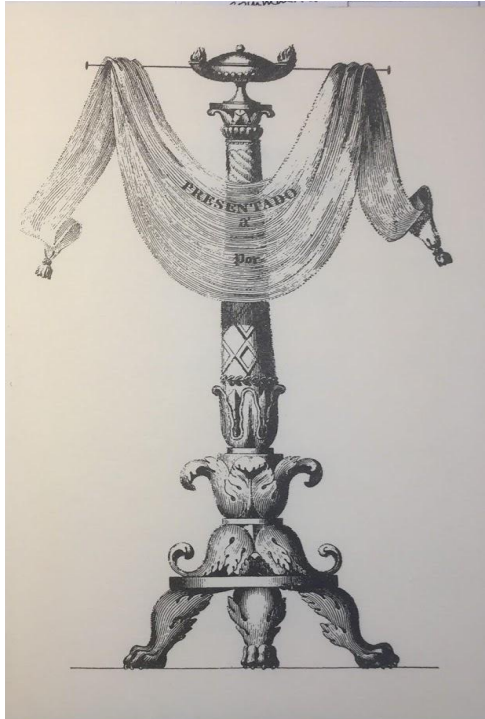
every agent with multiple prefaces in the series can be linked to a thematic micro-repertoire. Such is the case with Daniel Moreno, Joaquín Antonio Peñalosa, Rafael Solana and Salvador Novo. However, it is still possible to find homogeneous traits within the prefaces from each author. This suggests that there are two levels for identifying micro-repertoires: one is the theme, the other the author's approach. Different approaches can be applied to further SC's ongoing mission to popularize culture.

For example, Daniel Moreno often establishes direct associations between the source text and the Mexican context in his prefaces. In the preface he wrote for Vol. 72 (1967) Harriet Beecher Stowe's *La cabaña del tío Tom*, he provided a lengthy discussion about the influence of slavery in the United States on the US-Mexico War of 1847, titled "La esclavitud y la guerra contra México" (Moreno, 1982: xxii-xxviii). His prefaces also tend to be highly meta-communicative, evidencing his awareness of addressing a general Mexican readership and highlighting SC's mission. In his preface to Fustel de Coulanges' *La Ciudad Antigua. Estudio sobre el culto, el derecho y las instituciones de Grecia y Roma*, he states "...al entregar estas notas para la difusión masiva de su obra más conocida, a través de la ya benemérita de la cultura popular, *Editorial Porrúa...*" (Moreno, 1971: viii) he underlines his awareness of these editions' massive appeal.

Although an understanding of the series' mission can be perceived as homogeneous in the body of work of a single preface writer, it usually differs from agent to agent. One case that strays away from pedagogy and enhances instead the commercial potential of these books, can be found in Salvador Novo's preface to his anthology *Joyas de la amistad*. He declares that "Planeada para que su edición aparezca y circule en la Navidad de 1963, deseamos poner este libro en las manos de cuantos elijan, al obsequiar con él a sus amigos, manifestarles su recuerdo

y afecto” (Novo, 1963: 14). This pragmatic function (the anthology as a gift) is further emphasized by the inclusion of an image on the inner cover that states: “Presentado a: / por:”

Figure 24 Image included on the first page of the volume *Joyas de la amistad engarzadas en una antología*



This is a unique case in the corpus I examined. The book in question is not intended for use in a classroom as are many others, but to become a commodity, an object capable of accessing private life.

The uniqueness of this example may harken to Novo’s personal vision for the series’ potential to popularize culture. Novo was at the time a well-known academic, poet and playwright, which could have granted him complete freedom to produce this anthology, to select

the theme and authors, and to present it through a commercial lens. Strangely enough, in the 2004 edition I own of this volume, the reference to Christmas of 1963, as well as the numerous vignettes that are unique to this volume, are kept intact. This strongly suggests that the text, along with its visual embellishments, is as highly regarded as Novo’s own works, and thus is left untouched. Among the texts belonging to Novo’s repertoire, there is no discernible thematic thread, but there is an identifiable idiosyncrasy in his rewritings.

This example shows that imposing a theme within a micro-repertoire was not the only way to influence the reception of works in *SC*. Nevertheless, not all authors associated with a micro-repertoire show an intention to explicitly partake in furthering the series’ global mission. This is evident, for instance, in Sergio Pitol’s prefaces, which do not exhibit a pedagogic intent,

an explicit recognition of *SC*'s purposes or value, or the inclusion of the Mexican cultural horizon. This is worth noting because it is in stark contrast to the majority of other micro-repertoires. Pitol's prefaces put the accent on the source text as well as the author's place in literary culture. He addresses the reader as if they possess a vast literary knowledge, excluding general readers with low instruction levels. Case in point, the premise behind Pitol's preface to Emily Brontë's *Cumbres Borrascosas* draws a parallel between the Brontë sisters' lives and the characters of Anton Chekhov's *The cherry orchard*. He begins the preface by referencing Chekhov's literary universe: "En uno de los más hermosos dramas de Chéjov tres hermanas contemplan pasar la vida mientras sueñan con poder abandonar una mediocre ciudad de provincia..." (Pitol, 1969: ix). After a paragraph where he summarizes Chekhov's drama (which he never names outright), he lands on the Brontë sisters, "Si se cambia el escenario de aquella modesta ciudad rusa por el de una remota aldea del Yorkshire en el norte de Inglaterra, si se acentúan ciertos rasgos dramáticos, encontramos una tragedia asombrosamente semejante: la de las hermanas Brontë" (Pitol, 1969: ix). Pitol does not state the relevance of any of the works he prefaces for the Mexican context. Furthermore, he never comments on the translation he is prefacing, a startling fact given that he himself was a renowned translator. This is not a preface that shows an understanding of literature fulfilling a social function, as many others do in *SC*. Literature for Pitol exists in an autonomous way, which is very reflective of his own poetics (his own literature is known for being literature about literature: his novels are meta-narrative and highly intertextual). Pitol is now a renowned Mexican author, awarded with the Cervantes Prize (2005), and is also known for being one of the most prestigious Mexican literary translators. His lack of participation in the series regarding the translation of the works, and the absence of any allusion to the text as a translation, further emphasizes his detachment from *SC*'s social mission.

Pitol limits his contribution to the creation of a preface and does not reflect on the translation of the work into Spanish, or comment on the choice for the translation and its characteristics. His rewriting of the work does not interact with the other rewriting (the translation) in the volume.

Even though the link between the most recurring preface writers in the series and a micro-repertoire is not constant, and that the fact of being associated to a micro-repertoire does not determine the explicit assumption on behalf of the agents of the series' popularization goals and the inclusion of Mexican cultural referents, the identification of an agent-based repertoire signalled an additional (and more far-reaching) mode of influence in the series. In this sense, some agents appear to have been influential in the inclusion of certain themes and authors in the series, and to have had wider control over the way they represented this corpus. The extent of the control over the representation of these micro-repertoires is also seen in the types of activities carried out by the agents in the volumes. As Table 30 shows, some agents were limited to writing prefaces, whereas others wrote prefaces, translated works, selected texts for an anthology, or wrote a monograph in which some translated fragments were added.

There are stark differences in the control different agents had over the works they presented. I already discussed Salvador Novo's full imprint in the creation of the anthology *Joyas de la amistad*. In some cases, the extent of an agent's contribution to a volume is exposed on the front cover credits. For instance, Francisco Larroyo's heavy influence over the philosophical micro-repertoire is shown not only by the fact that he prefaced 17 philosophical works, but by the fact that he did more than writing a preface. The front cover credits for Larroyo's contributions are very telling in this respect: "*estudio introductivo* [sic], *análisis de los libros y revisión del texto*", "*Estudio introductorio, preámbulo de los tratados y notas al texto*",

“presentación introductoria y análisis de los capítulos”, “Proemio, estudio introductorio, selección y análisis de los textos”.

Wide control over the representation of a work in the series is not exclusively linked to recurrence in the series (even if more recurrence does seem to equate more control). There are a few agents that collaborated only once in the series but had wide control over the choices in the construction of the volume they introduced. Volume 150 containing William H. Prescott’s *Historia de la Conquista de México* advertises an extraordinary number of paratexts on the front cover: “Anotada por Don Lucas Alamán”, “Con notas críticas y esclarecimientos de Don José Fernando Ramírez”, “Prólogo, notas y apéndices por Juan A. Ortega y Medina”. The reader encounters three sets of paratexts which were written in different moments. In fact, two of these sets of paratexts (Alamán’s and Ramírez’s) belong to previous editions of this work in Spanish; they are recycled. However, the author of the original preface, Juan A. Ortega y Medina, carries out the task of giving coherence to these paratexts, and reflecting thoroughly on the choice and characteristics of the recycled translation it resorted to. Ortega y Medina first explains his choice between two translations of Prescott’s work in Spanish, one by José María González de la Vega (1845) originally published by Vicente G. Torres, and one by Joaquín Navarro (1844) originally published by Ignacio Cumplido. He chose González de la Vega’s translation, but decided to include the paratexts from Navarro’s edition, as well as those from Torres’ edition of de la Vega’s translation. He thus untangles the complex layering of paratexts combined in SC’s as follows:

Una vez resuelta la disyuntiva selectiva, nuestro paso siguiente fue el de incorporar en una misma edición las notas de D. Lucas Alamán (en la edición de Torres) y las de D. José F. Ramírez (en la de Cumplido). Las notas de este último referidas a la traducción de Navarro, teníamos que remitirlas al texto vertido por

González de la Vega, semejante en muchos aspectos al otro, pero, por supuesto, diferente a éste. Resolvimos este primer problema añadiendo las notas de Ramírez en un apéndice final de nuestra edición, indicando en cada nota la doble paginación: la que se refiere a nuestra edición y la que remite a la de Navarro, de donde originalmente proceden. (Ortega y Medina, 1970: LV)

The number of paratexts in the volume is justified by Ortega y Medina's desire to offer a very thorough edition of the work. This rare volume exposes the necessary steps needed to avoid confusions when repurposing translations and paratexts. Although paratexts from different origins are combined, Ortega y Medina's original preface clarifies the possible issues that could arise from the use of the selected rewritings. He warns, for instance that González de la Vega's translation added a catholic flair to Prescott's text: "Como Prescott se doliera un tanto irónicamente de que en México uno de sus traductores [González de la Vega] había aderezado de modo conveniente las ideas religiosas protestantes para hacerlas más satisfactoriamente paladeables al gusto del pueblo mexicano, hemos procurado restituir al texto de Prescott su leve impronta no católica" (Ortega y Medina, 1970: LVIII). The complete and overarching control of Ortega y Medina over this rewriting is overt, and his close link to the series is exposed by his acknowledgement to Felipe Teixidor for his help in the preparation of the volume. This agent's direct and overt relationship with Teixidor⁸⁵ explains the extent of his influence over the configuration of the volume, even when he was not a regular preface writer for the series.

However, not all agents had the same freedom to carry out as many functions in the volumes. There are indications that some preface writers had no say in the selection of the works and were exclusively commissioned to write the preface. For instance, Fernando Salmerón states in his preface to Vol. 488 (1985) José Ortega y Gasset's *El tema de nuestro tiempo / La rebelión*

⁸⁵ "No queremos terminar este estudio sin agradecer profundamente a D. Felipe Teixidor la ayuda bibliográfica, gráfica y alentadora en muchos sentidos que nos ha brindado durante el tiempo que hemos dedicado a la edición de la *Historia de la Conquista de México...*" (Ortega y Medina, 1970: LX)

de las masas: “Los editores han querido reunir en un solo volumen dos libros de Ortega diferentes por su materia, por su intención y hasta por sus características literarias [...]. Estas páginas, escritas para figurar como prólogo, no pretenden tanto justificar aquella decisión editorial, como incitar al lector a una lectura atenta de las dos obras...” (Salmerón, 1985: ix). In this fragment the limits to Salmerón’s decisions over the representation of the work are very clear. His logic, which emanates from his knowledge of Ortega y Gasset’s works clashes with the pragmatic logic of Editorial Porrúa, who, perhaps to cut costs, often published more than one work in one volume. Salmerón distances himself from the choice of publishing the two works together but, unlike Ortega y Medina in the previous example, he does not carry out the task of establishing some coherence to the configuration of the volume.

Although highly recurring agents in the series tend to have more control over the configuration of the volumes, there are exceptions. For instance, one of the volumes presented by Mexican historian Edmundo O’Gorman combines rewritings from different origins and that produced incoherent bodies. At the end of O’Gorman’s preface to Vol. 290 (1975) Tucídides. *Historia de la Guerra del Peloponeso* a note states that the translation he cites throughout his preface is not the one that ended up being published in the volume:

En la composición y redacción del estudio introductorio que antecede, su autor se basó –por lo que se refiere a un texto castellano de la obra de Tucídides– en la traducción del humanista español don Francisco Rodríguez Andradós. / Ante la imposibilidad de utilizar la traducción a que se refiere el Dr. D. Edmundo O’Gorman, publicamos la de Diego Gracián, también vertida directamente del griego. (“Advertencia,” 1975: LIX)

In this note by the publishers, there is interference in the links between the paratext and the text. A fundamental dislocation takes place as a result: O’Gorman’s citations of Thucydides’s work throughout the preface do not match the text the reader is about to encounter. The intertextual

link is thus broken in some level. The preface is a point of reference only to a certain degree because if the reader wants to find the alluded passages in the volume, they will have a more difficult time finding them. This case provides a clear representation of volumes including multiple senders that have no dialogue with one another. Here, the discourse of O’Gorman (the preface writer), Francisco Rodríguez Andrados (the translator that appears in the preface through citations), Diego Gracián (the translator of the body of the text), and Thucydides (the author of the work), appear in different layers, and each layer brings with it different contexts and intentions. The rewritings in this volume are presented in very clearly demarcated zones that do not come in contact with one another.

In the examples described in the previous pages it becomes evident that even among the most recurring preface writers in the series, practices varied. *SC* did not impose a general policy regarding the prefaces in the series. The inclusion of the Mexican cultural horizon, the assumption of a social mission, declarations of gratitude to the series and the publisher, and reflections on the value of these editions are some of the aspects in which the prefaces in *SC* vary most notably. They also vary in the degree of specialization of the information provided, an important sign of the power of each preface writer over the configuration of a volume’s addressee. Lastly, the interaction between prefaces, works and translations changes dramatically from volume to volume because preliminary norms depend on the status of the translation agent in charge of the volume. Below is a summary of the main choices that can be combined in the configuration of a volume.

1. Number of works included in the volume

- 1.1. Single work per volume
- 1.2. Compilation of works
- 1.3. Creation of an anthology

2. Completeness of the work
 - 2.1. Complete work
 - 2.2. Incomplete work
 - 2.3. Abbreviated and/or adapted work
3. Visibility and sources for the translations
 - 3.1. Credited translation
 - 3.1.1. Visibility
 - 3.1.1.1. High (Credit on front-cover)
 - 3.1.1.2. Medium (Credit on preface or footnotes)
 - 3.1.1.3. Low (Credit on legal page)
 - 3.1.2. Source
 - 3.1.2.1. Original
 - 3.1.2.2. Recycled
 - 3.2. Uncredited translation
4. Inclusion and characteristics of prefaces
 - 4.1.1. Includes preface (one or more)
 - 4.1.1.1. Source
 - 4.1.1.1.1. Original
 - 4.1.1.1.2. Recycled
 - 4.1.1.1.3. Unknown origin
 - 4.1.1.2. Interconnectedness
 - 4.1.1.2.1. Preface exclusively linked to source text and its context
 - 4.1.1.2.2. Preface adds link to *SC*'s target culture
 - 4.1.1.2.2.1. Reflects about volume construction (selection of work(s), selection of translation, translation choices, translation in general, selection and combination of more than one paratexts)
 - 4.1.1.2.2.2. Reflects about publishing house or the series
 - 4.1.2. Does not include preface

The examples presented in this section and in the previous chapter offer a glimpse of the possible ways in which these elements are combined in the series. So far, I have described individual volumes presented by different agents, which presents a highly heterogeneous picture. Although

that heterogeneity is constitutive of *SC*, the existence of highly regular and coherent patches in *SC* cannot be denied. Regularity surfaces in some micro-repertoires, many of which have been crucial in the survival of the series, as they have created loyal readers and have left an imprint in the history of reading practices in Mexico. In this sense, the micro-repertoires in *SC* are like series within the series and they provide unique possibilities to study more coherent though transient translation policies. With that in mind, I present in the following pages two case studies, based on two of the micro-repertoires that are among *SC*'s most valued legacy: Ángel María Garibay's classics and María Elvira Bermúdez' defense of popular literature.

5.2.3.1. *Garibay's classics*

Ángel María Garibay was born in Mexico in 1892 and died in 1967. He was a prolific intellectual who, among other things, is known for being a Catholic priest, researcher, pedagog, writer, translator, and an advocate for indigenous peoples and culture. Garibay learned Latin, Greek and Hebrew as part of his education at the seminar (*Seminario Conciliar de México*) between 1906 and 1917, and also had command of German, English, and French. During his time at the Seminar he came across different codices and writings in Nahuatl, which sparked his interest for Mexican pre-Hispanic culture and his desire to learn the indigenous language. Besides being a librarian at the Seminar, he taught humanities and rhetoric between 1919 and 1921. From 1921 to 1940 he was a parish priest in different towns with large indigenous populations in central Mexico, where he fulfilled religious tasks, and got involved in social, educational, agricultural and sanitary projects. During this time, he perfected his knowledge of Nahuatl and also learned Otomí (an indigenous language spoken in the central Mexican plateau), whilst carrying out linguistic, historic and ethnographic studies, most of which foregrounded his later reflections on Mexican pre-Hispanic cultures. Later in his life he was the recipient of

prestigious awards and occupied important positions in the Mexican ecclesiastic and academic spheres. He was appointed prebendary of the Basílica de Guadalupe⁸⁶ in 1941; in 1951 UNAM awarded him with a *honoris causa* doctorate; he became a regular Member of the Mexican Academy of language in 1952; throughout the 1950s his activities at UNAM (which began in the 40s) expanded. He was named extraordinary professor at the Department of *Filosofía y Letras*, created and directed the *Seminario de cultura náhuatl*, and became part of the *Instituto de Investigaciones históricas*. He also became a member of the *Academia de la Historia*, besides earning numerous recognitions within the Catholic church (“Ángel María Garibay K.,” 2019; Cruz Hernández, 2020; León Portilla, 1992, 2004)

Garibay is mostly acknowledged for pioneering the study of Mexican Pre-Columbian literature. In the words of his disciple, Miguel León-Portilla, he was a “humanista, hebreólogo y helenista y, por encima de todo, [...] descubridor del legado literario de los antiguos mexicanos” (León Portilla, 1992: 168). He unearthed, translated and made sense of what had been until then a little-known portion of Mexican culture. But most importantly, he contributed to establish that Mexican pre-Hispanic cultural productions had literary value. Even within his own work, reaching a full recognition of the literary status of most of these oral traditions, took time: “En 1940 no se atrevió, del todo, a llamar literatura a los poemas e historias sagradas nahuas, por algo que él llama un ‘atentado a la etimología’, literatura implica alfabeto, letra, y los nahuas, anteriores a la conquista, se expresaban en caracteres simbólicos” (Cruz Hernández, 2020). Although, as I mentioned earlier, he started writing on the subject in his early professional life,

⁸⁶ Significant Catholic temple in Mexico City where the cloak containing the image of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* is located. Millions of pilgrims visit the temple each year.

his most significant body of work was carried out between 1940 and 1965, the time when he had his most intense academic and publishing activity in Mexico City.

Besides his close ties to UNAM, the institution where he taught, carried out research and that published many of his works⁸⁷, during the 10 last years of his life he worked intensely with Editorial Porrúa. He is remembered for directing the famous *Diccionario Porrúa de historia, biografía y geografía* until 1967. Several of his works about Nahuatl literature and his editions of colonial texts for which he is highly recognized today, appeared in the series *Biblioteca Porrúa*, which preceded *SC*. In fact, Garibay was the director of that series from its inception in 1953 until his death in 1967. *Biblioteca Porrúa* aimed to provide texts that directly or indirectly helped understand Mexican history. The two volumes of *Historia de la Literatura Náhuatl* (1953 and 1954) by Garibay inaugurated the series. In 1956 he also included in the series his edition of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia General de las Cosas de la Nueva España*⁸⁸ with important additions and translations of Nahuatl passages⁸⁹ that were not included in the manuscript of this work known as *Códice florentino*⁹⁰. In *Biblioteca Porrúa* he also published his editions of other fundamental works from the Colonial period, such as Diego Durán's *Historia de las Indias de*

⁸⁷ For example, Volumes 1 and 2 of *Poesía Indígena de la Altiplanicie* published in 1940 and 1945 by UNAM within the series *Biblioteca del Estudiante Universitario*.

⁸⁸ A fundamental ethnographic work carried out soon after the Spanish Conquest, between 1540 and 1584. Through the help of several indigenous informants Sahagún collected information about the life and culture of the Aztecs before the arrival of the Spaniards.

⁸⁹ Miguel León Portilla, Garibay's most prominent disciple, explains that among the documents Sahagún used as a source for his manuscript Garibay found some folios in Nahuatl that were left out from his transcription in the *Códice florentino* manuscript. He added these texts in his Porrúa edition of the work and named them *Paralimpómenos* (which stands for something omitted). He also translated the text in Nahuatl included in chapter XII of the *Códice Florentino* that tells the story of the Spanish Conquest (León Portilla, 2018: 70-71) According to León Portilla these additions and Garibay's lengthy study enhances the interest of this edition.

⁹⁰ It receives this name because the manuscript is kept in Florence, Italy, at the Medicea-Laurenziana Library. This manuscript is the most popular source for modern editions of the work. It presents the text in two columns: the transcription of the Nahuatl next to its Spanish translation. However, it is known that Sahagún's translation had several omissions, abbreviations and additions, which explains the disparity between the Nahuatl and Spanish columns. The restitution of untranslated Nahuatl sections was a novel contribution by Garibay in this edition (León Portilla, 2018: 73).

Nueva España e Islas de Tierra Firme, Fray Diego de Landa's *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán*, and Manuel Orozco y Berra's *Historia antigua y de la Conquista de México*. He also contributed to the series with his well-known work *Llave del náhuatl. Colección de trozos clásicos con gramática y vocabulario, para la utilidad de los principiantes*. After Garibay's death, *Llave del náhuatl* [...] and his edition to Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general* [...] were added to SC's catalogue.

The group of works Garibay contributed to SC while he was alive were more diverse than the ones described for *Biblioteca Porrúa*. His first contributions to the series were his direct translations of the ancient Greek dramas by Sophocles (1962), Aeschylus (1962) and Eurypides (1963), as well as Aristophanes' comedies (1967)⁹¹. He later contributed to the series with some monographs and anthologies: Vol. 22 (1963) *Panorama literario de los pueblos nahuas*, Vol. 27 (1964) *Voces de Oriente. Antología de textos literarios del Cercano Oriente*⁹², Vol. 31 (1964) *Mitología griega. Dioses y héroes*⁹³, Vol. 37 (1965) *Teogonía e historia de los mexicanos - Tres opúsculos del siglo XVI*, Vol. 51 (1966) *Sabiduría de Israel - tres obras de la cultura judía*, Vol. 54 (1966) *Proverbios de Salomón y Sabiduría de Jesús Ben Sirak*.

Though the aforementioned texts come from very different traditions they can all be grouped as ancient texts that had a strong influence in the development of culture. The corpus created by Garibay in SC presents the legacy of Near Eastern, Hebrew, Greek, and Aztec cultures. In his prefaces he underlines the direct influence of these works over our modern

⁹¹ Garibay retranslated the same works several times. "In Garibay, the many references to the temporary, provisional nature of his versions do not seem to come from modesty or from a sense of calculation. [...] he forces the texts to surrender through repeated translation assaults" (Payàs, 2004a: 546). Before the publication of these translations in SC, he had attempted previous versions. For example, in 1939 he published *Versión métrica de la trilogía de Orestes* in *Ábside. Revista de Cultura Mexicana*. The versions he offered in SC, however, were his last attempt at this task.

⁹² It included translations of ancient Sumerian, Acadian, Egyptian, Hitite and Arab texts.

⁹³ This volume does not include translations. It is a dictionary of Greek gods and heroes.

culture and he characterizes them as essential. For instance, when he introduces Sumerian culture in his anthology *Voces de Oriente*...he underscores its imprint on our daily life: “El reloj que usamos, la medida del tiempo que fija nuestro calendario, al cabo de cinco milenios, es la de los sumerios” (Garibay, 1964: 12) and reveals its foundational place in the history of culture: “Ellos fueron los padres de la cultura moderna, [...] [Grecia] no dejó de ser tributaria de esa remota raza y de su forma de pensamiento y vida” (Garibay, 1964: 12).

The fact that Garibay establishes direct links between the cultures that make up his repertoire in *SC* shows his awareness of being in charge of a greater *rewriting*. He concludes his preface to *Voces de Oriente* by announcing his intentions to include texts from the Biblical tradition in another volume: “Ha de agregarse a ésta otra serie de textos. Desde luego los de la Biblia, que fuera de ser en lo literario tan altos, son también en materia religiosa esenciales” (Garibay, 1964: 13). In turn, in his volume *Proverbios de Salomón y Sabiduría de Jesús Ben Sirak* he backreferences to *Voces de Oriente*... “Una comparación, por somera que sea, con los textos que di en esta misma Colección con el nombre de *Voces de Oriente*, hará que se perciba el parentesco de estas culturas” (Garibay, 1966: 12) or “Tenemos en esta forma la más autorizada colección folklórica del Oriente intercalada en la Biblia. Puede el interesado cotejar con los proverbios de culturas orientales que inserté en *Voces de Oriente* y hallará que en todo esto se recoge el saber popular de hace milenios” (1966: 14). These internal references across the texts presented by Garibay sustain the micro-repertoire hypothesis.

I would like to explore now what I consider the three main novelties of Garibay’s repertoire in *SC*: 1) his overt efforts to present these works for a non-specialized Mexican audience, 2) the inclusion of the Aztec culture in this corpus of ancient cultural pillars, and 3) his

challenge of the translation norm that privileges *neutral Spanish* by stating the need to translate Greek drama in Mexican Spanish to facilitate its reception among a general audience.

- **Classics for the people**

Garibay's closeness to the series and his full embracement of a culture democratization mission with strong nationalistic tints is expressed in the majority of his prefaces. There are several ways to trace this throughout his paratexts, from the dedication "A la juventud de México" in the volume of Aeschylus' tragedies, to the more expanded descriptions transcribed below [the emphasis in all examples is mine]:

- a) "...intento dar a los lectores de esta ya benemérita *Biblioteca para el pueblo*..."
(Garibay, 1966: ix).
- b) "Hay que reconocer que muchos puntos exigen mayor explicación. Pero una *edición popular* no puede agravarse con un erudito comentario que agobie al lector" (Garibay, 1962: xxxvi).
- c) "Las cuestiones de conservación y transmisión del texto son de índole técnica que no caben en una *edición popular* como es ésta" (Garibay, 1966: xxiv).
- d) "Y uno de los hechos que lamento es no poder dedicar gran espacio a un minucioso comentario, dada la índole de esta publicación hecha *para el pueblo*" (Garibay, 1967: LXIV) .
- e) "...esta ya famosa colección, destinada *a lectores sin mucho tiempo ni mucha preparación*" (Garibay, 1965: xxvi)
- f) "...libros accesibles *al estudiante y al hombre sin mucho tiempo ni grandes estudios*"
(Garibay, 1967: ix).

g) “Aunque hecha con la mayor diligencia que pudimos, esta edición de la versión de Esquilo está destinada a la *difusión general*. *No es obra para sabios, sino para la juventud sin preparación y para el pueblo*. Es un intento de divulgación...” (Garibay, 1962: ix).

In summary, these editions, characterized as popular or for the people, grant accessibility and promote the dissemination of literature in the simplest way possible because their intended consumers lack the time or the education to encounter in-depth-analyses of the works. A basic opposition is established between *sabios, erudición* and *el pueblo, la juventud sin preparación, el hombre sin mucho tiempo ni grandes estudios*. The fact that Garibay has in mind the latter as receivers of these volumes does not impinge, however, in the rigour of his prefaces, made *con la mayor diligencia*, and does not deny the possibility to access more erudite sources, which is why he includes a bibliography at the end of each preface. Garibay’s volumes set the stage for someone’s first encounter with what is commonly considered *highbrow culture*. Although the formulation of *highbrow culture* is not explicit, the reference to wisemen and the erudition surrounding these works makes clear the aura associated with the works. In that sense, Garibay’s open distancing from those terms could serve as a way to ease the fear of an inexperienced reader towards this repertoire. In addition to that, Garibay’s own authoritative status, supported in these books by his credentials added on the front cover, allow him to present these canonical works in a completely humble suit. Whereas, in general terms, the paperback format inaugurated the publication of classics in cheap vessels as a form to attain culture democratization, this mission does not always necessarily reach the characteristics of the paratexts. It does so in Garibay’s repertoire, where the prefaces abide by the consideration of a very inexperienced reader.

One volume in this repertoire, however, has a different addressee. Garibay states that *Panorama literario de los pueblos nahuas* is aimed at “toda persona de mediana preparación científica (Garibay, 1963: 13). These are not the *hombres de cultura media, estudiantes, el pueblo, juventud sin preparación* that are admonished in the other volumes. The change in the addressee in *Panorama*... goes hand in hand with a slight reformulation of the series mission for this volume: “La índole de esta serie de publicaciones es de brevedad y precisión” (Garibay, 1963: ix). The word *divulgación*, so prevalent in the rest of Garibay’s prefaces, is not mentioned here. Perhaps the need to talk about *precision*, notwithstanding *brevity*, is vital when it comes to the Nahuatl production, because the inclusion of this tradition in Garibay’s repertoire of classics could potentially be contested. The volume aims to enhance the acknowledgement of Nahuatl literature. Thus, in this specific volume, the detailed analysis that is not relevant in the introductions for the other volumes in the repertoire, becomes vital for Garibay’s justification of the existence of a literary Nahuatl tradition. A basic scientific background is in this case necessary for the validation of the evidence he provides. The argumentative nature of this work is perceived in numerous passages such as: “Lo que se resume en este capítulo es suficiente para no desdeñar este mundo literario y debe ser acicate para estudiarlo con profundidad mayor” (Garibay, 1963: 70). This attitude, also transpires in the features of his translations of Nahuatl literature, described by Payàs (2006) as *apologetic translations*⁹⁴.

⁹⁴ “Se trata de traducciones apoloéticas, es decir, de traducciones a las que se les ha encargado la misión de defender una gran civilización, comparable a las civilizaciones clásicas. Por eso, esas traducciones deberán forzosamente ser clásicas también. Para ello someterá estos textos a un proceso de normalización; es decir, deberá “estandarizarlos” y, mediante operaciones estilísticas o retóricas, forzarlos para que se avengan a un cánón literario” (Payàs, 2006)

- **Articulating the Nahuatl legacy with other classics**

The shift observed in the previous section shows that despite Garibay considered that all the traditions included in his repertoire were important referents for modern culture, not all could be treated equally. To propose the consideration of the Nahuatl cultural production as literature, and to justify its comparison with other ancient traditions, Garibay had to present it in a different way. Greek, Near Eastern and Hebraic traditions had to be disseminated, made available to the people, whereas, the consideration of the notion of Aztec literature had to be justified before expert eyes. Besides the change in the addressee I discussed previously, another important shift takes place in this volume. The Nahuatl literature presented in *Panorama* is highly mediated by Garibay. He translated and introduced Greek drama, Hebraic and Near Eastern texts. In these cases, the original texts and Garibay's paratexts are clearly demarcated, and the paratexts occupy less space than the original works. In *Panorama literario*... Garibay's discourse embraces the splashes of Nahuatl literary texts used as examples. It is more a description than a direct representation. The translations are scattered islands. Only a few examples are provided in Nahuatl and are heavily glossed by Garibay. For the most part, he uses his translations, and in a few cases, some carried out by other translators. The use of translation in this volume reminds of Venuti's discussion about the use of translated literature in pedagogy, where translations are often treated as originals:

The marginality of translation reaches even to educational institutions, where it is manifested in a scandalous contradiction: on the one hand, an utter dependence on translated texts in curricula and research; on the other hand, a general tendency, in both teaching and publications, to elide the status of translated texts as translated, to treat them as texts originally written in the translating language. (Venuti, 1998: 89)

The volume is not an anthology, as Garibay clearly states: “Como no es posible convertir este estudio en antología, seré parco en las citas, eligiendo poemas breves” (Garibay, 1963b: 44). The translations are the pieces of evidence used by Garibay to show the themes and rhetorical conventions in this literature.

This volume is not devoid of the intertextual references often deployed to thread together the works in his repertoire. Garibay establishes numerous parallels with other literary traditions. This is a resource that allows him to put different Nahuatl cultural manifestations in a larger (and well respected) genealogy. For instance, while discussing the Nahuatl historical production, he states: “La forma literaria que narra una forma de disolución del imperio en lacónicas y humanas frases no puede ser despreciable. Exige que se la mida con los cartabones de Grecia y Roma, con lo cual queda dicho que llega a las alturas del verdadero humanismo” (Garibay, 1963b: 126). Another example is provided in his justification of the existence of Nahuatl epic poetry: “No de otra manera nacieron las epopeyas famosas de los griegos, las hasta hace poco conocidas en la India, las que se van exhumando en Ugarit, en Egipto [...]. Este fenómeno cultural no podía faltar en América.” (Garibay, 1963b: 71). Payàs (2004a, 2004b, 2006) has studied more thoroughly Garibay’s articulation of Nahuatl literature in relation to classical antiquity. She explains that Garibay subjected Nahuatl texts to a process of normalization, whereby he made them fit into the molds of ancient Greek literature. By doing so, these texts “will be standardized and forced into a literary canon” (Payàs, 2004a: 546). For instance, in one of the examples explored by Payàs, Garibay dissolves the ambiguities of the text, adds rhythm, and systematizes the text according to the model of the ‘bailete’, which entails a combination of dance, singing and music. Garibay named this type of composition *poesía mímica, teatral* or *dramática*, evidencing his imposition of a dramatic modality on the text (Payàs, 2004b: 122-123).

The final two pages of *Panorama literario* are devoted to Garibay's conclusions, where the objective to create a space for Nahuatl literature in the canon becomes clearer than ever:

Existe una literatura en lengua náhuatl. [...] La forma es en muchos casos elegante y bella. Nada tiene que envidiar a la expresión de otras culturas primitivas. [...] Es una creación netamente mexicana. Es un rasgo que ayuda a acrecentar su valor. [...] Antecedente necesario de la producción literaria en lengua castellana, ofrece muchos modos de visión y comprensión del mundo, así como de formas de expresión que deben tenerse en cuenta para la interpretación del espíritu de la literatura mexicana en los siglos de vida hispánica y en el mismo período de la vida nacional autónoma. (Garibay, 1963b: 162)

Garibay shows Nahuatl literature as a fundamental element to understand Mexican culture. On one hand, this stance reflects his personal appreciation of Nahuatl culture, which he exhibited early on in his career. On the other hand, the moment in which he carried out this work was a moment of openness towards indigenous culture in Mexico. Payàs (2004a, 2004b, 2006) aptly frames Garibay's early work within the larger processes that influenced the configuration of the modern national identity. This period, marked by great archaeological projects⁹⁵ and the State's adoption of an *indigenist* policy (Payàs, 2004b: 111), paved the way to the reception of Garibay's rewriting of Nahuatl literature as classic.

- ***Mexican translations***

Against this background, Garibay's decision to produce original translations for the series can be more easily understood. Translating for the series' specific audience was not only helpful in terms of the dissemination task, but it intertwined with Garibay's nationalistic ideology. It would be hard to deny that Garibay's solid status in Mexican culture and in *SC* allowed him to translate using the Mexican dialect, considering that in the Spanish-speaking world the use of *neutral*

⁹⁵ She mentions "the highly publicized diggings in Teotihuacán (State of Mexico), *Templo Mayor* (Mexico City) and Monte Albán (State of Oaxaca)" (2004a: 544), the creation of the *Dirección de Antropología* (1917), the *Departamento de Monumentos Prehispánicos* (1925), the *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* (1939).

Spanish in translation is a norm that has prevailed for a long time (Falcón, 2011; Foz & Atala, 2019; Orensanz, 2017; Willson, 2011b). Although the notion of *neutral Spanish* is very elusive, one trait is uncontested in the bibliography on the subject: it is mostly identified with peninsular Spanish (in fact, Spanish from central Spain). The use of Latin American dialects in literary translation is extremely rare, as there has been an assumption that *neutral Spanish* is the epitome of *lengua culta*. Argentina has been more prone to dare this norm, and some debates on the subject took place in the country as early as in the 1920s, where authors of the stature of Borges were involved (Lida, 2012). Still, the norm has prevailed, nowadays, mostly due to the hegemony held by Spanish publishing houses over the Spanish-speaking book market. Garibay's declared intent to produce translations that reflected the Spanish spoken in Mexico is thus extraordinary, even more so when the *classic* status of the source texts is taken into account.

Garibay's open intent to produce Mexican translations, however, is only declared in the Greek theatre he presented for the series. The genre must have influenced his prioritization of using the language used in Mexico, as these versions could potentially be disseminated on two fronts: these editions and live representations. In fact, Garibay provides evidence that his versions were represented in Mexico in a popular context, at the *Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social* (or IMSS). The IMSS is a government-dependent institution founded in 1943 and focused on offering health services, pensions and welfare to Mexican citizens. In the introduction to Eurypides' works Garibay states: "En marzo de 1963 se dio a las tablas en brillante estreno un drama de Eurípides: Las Troyanas, que en este mismo volumen tiene el lector y en esta misma versión. Cuatro meses dura la representación en los diversos teatros del Seguro Social, a los que se debe esta renovación de lo clásico" (Garibay, 1963a: ix). This displays the overarching social program where he inscribed his rewritings of the Greek classics.

The Mexican translations of Greek drama by Garibay are a continuation of his nationalistic culture democratization mission. Because his intended readers are modern-day Mexicans, lexical choices that perhaps are not widespread among the entire Spanish-speaking world but reflect Mexican speech, are preferred. In the following passage, Garibay appears to be addressing the potential detractors of such a choice: "...para el lector moderno y precisamente de México. Es la razón de escoger voces y giros que podrían ser no muy divulgados en otras regiones de la Hispanidad, pero son usados en la nuestra con perfecto derecho" (Garibay, 1962: xxv). The last statement *son usados en la nuestra con perfecto derecho*, is an evident defense of the use of Mexican Spanish in translation. Garibay is using his cultural capital to make this statement uncontested; he does not delve in lengthy justifications (an easier task than creating a space for Nahuatl literature, for instance). He succinctly states his intention and reasons in carrying out translation in this way.

Garibay links the use of Mexican Spanish to the accessibility of the texts. In the history of the defense of *neutral Spanish*, understandability is a common argument, as it is argued that avoiding regionalisms facilitates the understandability by a wider audience. However, this is mostly *justified* in products that have a transnational audience. Garibay circumscribes the audience of *SC* as specifically Mexican, and thus, the issues of understandability only pertain to that region. This means that no concessions have to be made in the inclusion of the regional language use, especially when considering the other traits of his intended reader: young students, adults with low instruction levels, and with no time to spare. Just as Garibay justifies concise and simple introductions, the use of the Mexican variety in the translations would allow a more direct and simple access to the works. He thus has two missions, being faithful to the text and loyal to

Mexican popular readers: “En mi versión, como me empeño, he procurado ser fiel al texto, pero comprensible al lector moderno, en especial al mexicano” (Garibay, 1967: 64).

Producing these translations has a larger nationalistic outcome. When he concludes the multi-volume translation of Greek tragedy in the series (evidence, again, of his awareness of producing a micro-repertoire) Garibay reflects on the larger significance of this task:

Al terminar esta versión de Eurípides, y con ella de toda la tragedia griega, un doble sentimiento se aloja en mi alma: de gozo, por haber realizado una tarea que por primera vez es hecha en lengua de Cervantes y en ésta, nuestra amada nación mexicana, por una sola persona. Y porque es esperanza de quien la hizo dar a los jóvenes medio de ir a la fuente interminablemente viva de los griegos. (Garibay, 1963: xxvi)

Even though Garibay was not the first to translate these authors into Spanish this was the first time the same person translated all of them. He also took pride in the directness of his translations, as many of the pre-existing translations of these texts were indirect. The importance of the directness of these translations is shown by the mention of this fact on Garibay’s front cover translation credits. He also emphasizes the merit of the completeness of his translations: “Es grato [...] ofrecer a la juventud de mi patria, al cumplir mis setenta años, esta traducción completa del trágico inmortal” (Garibay, 1962: xxvi). In these declarations, *ad hoc* translation is presented as a service to the nation.

Garibay’s repertoire is prototypical of the most coherent rewritings in *SC*. The selection of the repertoire, as well as the features of the prefaces and the translations respond to a cohesive plan within Garibay’s vision to popularize culture in Mexico. In 1967, the year of his death, Garibay wrote his last preface for the series. At this point, Garibay looks back at his contributions in the series. In the preface of Aristophanes’ *Comedias*, Garibay already has some

information about the second, and fourth editions of the volumes he published previously in the series. For him, this was the testament of the success of *SC*'s mission:

Al momento en que escribo se han hecho cuatro ediciones⁹⁶ de Esquilo, cuatro de Sófocles y dos de Eurípides. Sumamos los ejemplares de todas y tenemos que se han dado a la luz cincuenta mil libros accesibles al estudiante y al hombre sin mucho tiempo ni grandes estudios. No por vanidad, sino por alabanza del lector doy esta noticia. Dijo un crítico que no hay nadie casi que se interese por la literatura griega. Posiblemente él no, pero el hecho de agotarse estas ediciones, con todo y la imperfección del trabajo de quien las prepara, es dato revelador. Las compran los estudiantes y los de cultura media. Ya sabemos que los sabios, o leen los originales, o no leen nada (Garibay, 1967: ix).

The repertoire of works presented by Garibay in *SC* mimics the interests that he pursued during his entire career. Garibay's previous translations of the Greeks had been published before, his translations of Biblical texts had been disseminated during his time as prebendary at the *Basilica de Guadalupe*, and his works on indigenous literature had been showcased previously by UNAM and *Biblioteca Porrúa*. Yet, in his testimony cited above, he expresses the importance of making his work available in a vessel like *SC*. In his view, these editions succeeded at proving that the greater audience could be interested in reading the classics.

Garibay's case is not typical in *SC*. Very few agents produced such a fully cohesive micro-repertoire in *SC*. Although he often equated his democratizing mission to that of the series, the features of the other micro-repertoires and of the individual rewritings produced by agents that only intervened in one volume, show that not everyone assumed that mission. The example that follows shows that despite also being highly aware of its Mexican audience, the series admitted widely different interpretations of its mission, as well as a different use of prefaces and translations.

⁹⁶ He refers to the reprints of these works in *SC*.

5.2.3.2. María Elvira Bermúdez's defense of a disregarded literature and the reading experience

María Elvira Bermúdez (1912-1988) was born in the north of Mexico, in the state of Durango, but lived her entire life in Mexico City where she attended law school. When she graduated, in 1938, she became the first woman to attain a law degree at the *Escuela Libre de Derecho* (J. J. Reyes, 2015) and practiced as a lawyer at a time in which it was extremely rare to see women in Mexican courts (Trujillo, 2020). Between 1931 and 1970 she worked at the *Poder Judicial Federal* as a public defender and later became a clerk at the *Corte Suprema de Justicia*. Besides her work in the Judicial system, she was Deputy Director of Statistical Sampling at the *Ministerio de Comercio e Industria*, and *Maestra de Enseñanzas Especiales* at the *Secretaría de Educación Pública* (SEP).

Alongside her career in public service, Bermúdez was widely known as a literary critic and narrator due to her numerous collaborations in the newspaper *El Nacional* starting in the 1940s. Her first publications were short stories in the detective genre; later she established herself as a literary critic, writing columns for various periodicals (Arrieta Silva, 2004; Domínguez Michael, 2012). In her critical works, she was a fierce defender of detective literature [novela policiaca]. “Su gran aportación al género es haberlo mantenido con vida cuando la época de oro de la narrativa policiaca se fue desvaneciendo a fines de los años sesenta” (Trujillo, 2020). She wrote several articles justifying the genre. Among these were very direct pieces, such as “*En defensa de la novela policiaca*” published in *El Nacional* on September 24, 1978. However, her stance for the genre is also seen in the anthologies she authored: *Los mejores cuentos policíacos mexicanos* (1955) and *Cuento policiaco mexicano. Breve antología* (1987).

Bermúdez is now mostly known for her fiction pieces. Her longstanding work in the judicial system enabled her to live closely the *criminal drama of her time* (Trujillo, 2020). She wrote several detective short stories and a novel⁹⁷. Nowadays Bermúdez is gaining a lot of recognition as the only female voice in the history of Mexican detective novel (J. J. Reyes, 2015; Stavans, 1997). By the time of her death, in 1988, she was part of different writers' associations such as *Asociación de Escritores de México*, *Asociación de la Comunidad Iberoamericana de Escritores*, and the *Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana*. The numerous prefaces she wrote for *SC* are considered part of her most valuable contributions to literary criticism (Trejo Fuentes, 2020).

Bermúdez' micro-repertoire is one of the most extensive in *SC*. She prefaced 30 volumes for the series, which I transcribe below according to author.

Table 31. Volumes prefaced by María Elvira Bermúdez

Author	Title	Yr
Julio Verne	<i>De la tierra a la luna / Alrededor de la luna</i>	1969
	<i>Veinte mil leguas de viaje submarino</i>	1969
	<i>Viaje al centro de la tierra / El doctor Ox / Maese Zacarías. Un drama en los aires.</i>	1969
	<i>La isla misteriosa</i>	1969
	<i>Miguel Strogoff</i>	1971
	<i>Cinco semanas en globo</i>	1971
	<i>Un capitán de quince años</i>	1971
	<i>Dos años de vacaciones</i>	1971
	<i>Los hijos del capitán Grant</i>	1974
	<i>El castillo de los Cárpatos / Las indias negras / Una ciudad flotante</i>	1982
	<i>Hector Servadac</i>	1984
	<i>Escuela de los Robinsones</i>	1986
Edmundo de Amicis	<i>Corazón. Diario de un niño</i>	1970

⁹⁷ She wrote the novel *Diferentes razones tiene la muerte* (1955), and the collections of short stories: *Detente sombra* (1984), *Cuentos herejes* (1984), *Muerte a la zaga* (1985), and *Encono de hormigas* (1987).

Edgar Allan Poe	<i>Narraciones extraordinarias / Aventuras de Arturo Gordon Pym / El cuervo</i>	1972
Emilio Salgari	<i>Sandokan / La mujer del pirata</i>	1972
	<i>Los piratas de Malasia / Los estrangulados</i>	1973
	<i>Los dos rivales / Los tigres de la Malasia</i>	1973
	<i>El rey del mar / La reconquista de Mompracem</i>	1973
	<i>El falso Bracmán / La caída de un imperio</i>	1974
	<i>En los junglares de la India / El desquite de Yáñez</i>	1974
	<i>El capitán Tormenta / El león de Damasco</i>	1975
	<i>El hijo del león de Damasco / La galera del baja</i>	1975
	<i>El corsario negro / La venganza</i>	1975
	<i>Aventuras entre los pieles rojas / El rey de la pradera</i>	1982
	<i>En las fronteras del far-west / La cazadora de cabelleras</i>	1982
	<i>La soberana del campo de oro / El Rey de los cangrejos</i>	1982
	<i>Las 'panteras' de Argel / El futuro de los califas</i>	1985
	<i>La capitana del Yucatán / La heroína de Puerto Arturo</i>	1988
Conan Doyle	<i>Aventuras de Sherlock Holmes</i>	1979
Marco Polo	<i>Viajes</i>	1982

Many of the authors and works in Table 31 have been considered didactic literature, popular literature, “entertainment literature” and youth literature. According to their themes, they are partly travel and adventure novels (Salgari, Verne and Marco Polo) and partly mystery and detective narrative (Conan Doyle and Poe). Additionally, there is Edmundo de Amicis, whose work is central in the canon of didactic literature.

- **In defense of a disregarded literature**

Whereas Garibay introduced *classics* to a popular audience, Bermúdez was more concerned with elevating the status of popular literature. Although she does not describe her ideal reader, it is evident that Bermúdez’s repertoire is aimed at a young and popular audience, much like Garibay’s. Yet, unlike Garibay (who makes *highbrow* material more accessible to general readers) Bermúdez takes what is considered *medium* and *low brow* material and presents it through a more serious lens. Her task is one of legitimization.

Although some of the authors introduced by Bermúdez required less legitimization than others (e.g. Edgar Allan Poe), the genres these authors were linked to, did. As mentioned previously, the two main branches of her didactic repertoire are travel and adventure novels, and mystery and detective short stories. Bermúdez acknowledges the secondary status of the genres she presents, despite their immense popularity. She states on the subject of Conan Doyle's famous characters: "Tal vez el sitio que ocupan Holmes y Watson no sea tan elevado como aquel de que disfrutaban las criaturas de Walter Scott, Charles Dickens o William Thackeray; lo importante es que están ahí, todavía" (Bermúdez, 1979: xxxviii). In her view, Conan Doyle's ability to create memorable characters is what makes his work valuable. The contraposition between literary value based on linguistic artifice on one side, and plot construction and character creation on the other, is a *leitmotiv* in her prefaces. In Bermúdez's presentation of Edgar Allan Poe—an author that occupied a lofty position in the Mexican canon—she establishes a direct link between his work and the detective genre (*el género policiaco*), highlighting that he belonged to a genre that was regarded with contempt: "Bastaría con acudir de nuevo a la literatura policiaca para probar hasta qué punto la influencia de Poe ha sido duradera en las letras universales. Pero ello, naturalmente, no satisfaría a los cultivadores de la literatura *seria* y trascendente" (the emphasis is hers) (Bermúdez, 1972: xxi).

In a preface to Salgari's *Sandokan*, Bermúdez provides important information about the cultural context in which she writes: "Es cierto que los tiempos han cambiado, que la novela y el 'estructuralismo' pretenden anular toda especie de literatura profunda o divertida; pero los clásicos y los escritores populares siguen viviendo, pese a quien pese, en las aulas y en las editoriales, porque su obra continúa nutriendo al espíritu" (Bermúdez, 1972: vii). In this passage, the place of SC's repertoire in its larger Mexican context is synthesized. In the 1970s the

influence of structuralism was felt in Mexican intellectual life. The 1960s and 70s were an effervescent moment of literary creation based mainly on linguistic experimentation that saw the likes of Octavio Paz and Carlos Fuentes thrive. Against that background, classics and popular literature simply stagnated. In 1963, José Emilio Pacheco published an article about adventure novels at UNAM's *Revista de la Universidad de México* where he depicted Salgari and Verne's novels as a thing of the past. The consensus was that they did not compete with "serious literature"; Pacheco went on to write "...enjuiciado de acuerdo con la literatura, todo Salgari es deplorable" (Pacheco, 1963: 19). Furthermore, these authors' potential to entertain the youth now competed with the influence of television and other visual media: "...ya la novela de aventuras no existe como tal: se ha disuelto o ha derivado en el cine, en la *science fiction*, en las historietas y en las series filmadas de la televisión" (Pacheco, 1963: 20).

Bermúdez's serious handling of this forgotten and discredited repertoire is what made her introductions in *SC* noteworthy. A study about the dissemination of Emilio Salgari's works in Spanish highlighted Bermúdez's and Alianza Editorial's earnest approaches to this author as being exceptional. Alianza's editions of Salgari's novels were introduced and translated by Antonio Colinas who had been awarded with the Spanish National Literature Prize in 1982. Bermúdez had less prestige as an agent, but her manner in handling Salgari's works showed her appreciation for the author and the genre he represented. In this case, it was not Bermúdez's association with the repertoire that lent it more prestige, but a combination of her prefaces and the importance of the Porrúa publishing house:

negli anni Settanta, una casa di prestigio com'è Porrúa comincerà a proporre edizioni di un certo livello di almeno quindici titoli, con introduzioni a cura della studiosa María Elvira Bermúdez (1916-1988), sociologa e critica letteraria, teorica del genere poliziesco, che introduce le opere del veronese con grande rispetto e interesse per la figura di Salgari, da

lei paragonato a Edmondo de Amicis, e per il genere della narrazione di avventura per ragazzi. (Carrascón, 2012: 7)

Bermúdez carries out several tasks in her prefaces for *SC*, which are as follows:

- A) shedding light on the life of these authors;
- B) organizing the material and contextualizing it according to their given genres;
- C) justifying the validity of these genres, and
- D) making the reading experience of these works appealing.

Starting with the first point, Bermúdez is very open about the need to provide biographical information about these widely read authors, because despite their popularity, very little was known about them in Mexico. She singles out Verne and Salgari as particularly obscure characters. In part, she links this problem to the fact that previous editions of their work lacked paratexts that would have provided context to a Mexican readership. For Bermúdez, filling this gap was crucial to understanding their works: “la producción literaria no sólo es mejor comprendida, sino que en gran parte está determinada por el destino particular de su autor”⁹⁸ (Bermúdez, 1972: x). This goes hand in hand with her serious handling of these authors. Bermúdez search for Salgari’s biographical data led her to Italy, where the situation was similar to Mexico’s; she was unable to find any records or works about his life. “Me parecía increíble que, en su propio país, no existiera algún ensayo, escrito con dedicación y fervor, en torno a este escritor mundialmente leído” (Bermúdez, 1972: vii). This utter lack of information signals Salgari’s low prestige as a writer and confirm the relevance of Bermúdez endeavor.

⁹⁸ Bermúdez is visibly going against the current of the literary debates of her time. Take into consideration that in 1967, Roland Barthes proclaimed the death of the author arguing against the common practice in literary criticism to give a preponderant role to the author’s biography in the interpretation of literary text. Barthes decried that “The image of literature to be found in ordinary culture is tyrannically centred on the author, his person, his life, his tastes, his passions” (1977: 143).

The second most evident task in Bermúdez's paratexts pertains to organizing the works in her repertoire. A famous example that showed the need for this endeavour is Salgari's bibliography. Salgari's extensive writings cover vast and multi-layered sagas, many of which revolved around specific characters that inhabited rich and distinct universes. His well-known character of Sandokan, for instance, was featured in 12 novels that she calls the *Aventuras de Sandokan y de Yáñez* series. According to Bermúdez, Salgari's literary universes had never been formally organized in Spanish releases, signaling a gap that needed to be filled:

...la producción salgariana carece de continuidad propiamente dicha en lo que concierne a la aparición de sus protagonistas y ninguna de las editoriales que han publicado las obras de Salgari –al menos las españolas– las presentan por orden, esto es, ofreciendo uno tras otro todos los volúmenes en los que comienza, continúa y termina la actuación de cada uno de los entes salgarianos de ficción. [...] Al trabar conocimiento con algunos héroes salgarianos, he procurado seguir su rastro cuidadosamente con el fin de ordenar las novelas en que cada uno aparece. (Bermúdez, 1972: xxii).

Moreover, Bermúdez also mentions the role previous Spanish translations had in adding to the difficulty of organizing the works properly. When she consulted Salgari's works in the *Diccionario Literario Bompiani* (a source from Rome's National Library) she noticed that the titles of the works in Italian did not directly correspond with the ones translated in Spanish. This posed a significant challenge to Bermúdez's attempts to organize Salgari's works.

Another strategy Bermúdez used to create order within her repertoire was to make links between authors in her prefaces. For instance, she comments on one similarity between Salgari and Poe. These authors who were enamoured with far-off places had actually travelled very little and never very far from their homeland. Curiously, despite this, they falsely boasted about having travelled extensively. Salgari used to say he travelled around the globe, and Poe claimed he had lived for a long time in England. In contrast, Verne's own life experience was the

complete opposite. It is believed that Verne did not travel a lot, when in fact he did: “Como curiosa contrapartida, y al menos en México, es a Julio Verne a quien se ha atribuido la circunstancia de que jamás salió de un reducido perímetro de su país natal. De hecho, el francés conoció diversos países de Europa y los Estados Unidos” (Bermúdez, 1972: x). In this example, Bermúdez not only weaves together part of her micro-repertoire using the notion of travel (authors writing about travel and their own relationship to travelling), but she also reinforces the need to dispel any misconceptions about these authors through precise biographical data.

Bermúdez grouped her authors in various ways. In some cases, she groups them based on the criticisms their work garners. For instance, she comments on Salgari’s, Verne’s and Poe’s detachment from the social issues of their time, which led many critics to consider them *escritores de evasión*. In another example, she points out the cases in which authors had a direct relationship—for instance, she observes that Verne and Edmundo D’Amicis were friends (Bermúdez, 1969: xvi). Finally, and most importantly, she discusses the influence that one’s work had over others. Through the following list, one can see the links Bermúdez established in her prefaces and the reader learns

- that Conan Doyle was an avid reader of Poe’s work (Bermúdez, 1979: xiv);
- that Poe’s influence is palpable in Verne’s *Cinco semanas en globo*, *De la tierra a la luna* and *La Esfinge de los hielos* (Bermúdez, 1972: xxii); and
- that Verne in turn, influenced Salgari heavily, something so evident that she states that in Mexico he was known as *El Verne italiano* (Bermúdez, 1972: vii).

They are also grouped together according to their readership. Edmundo D’Amicis is, alongside Verne, Salgari and Lewis Carroll one of those authors “who are read during puberty” (Bermúdez, 1970: xxiv). In such a way, Bermúdez inserts a birds-eye-view of her micro-repertoire in each

volume. As a result, the author that does not have access to all the works she refers to, can at least learn that the work at hand belongs to a larger literary universe.

By explicitly linking these authors throughout her prefaces Bermúdez also creates a common front. This literature, that relies heavily on adventures, travel, fantasy, mystery and suspense, has been highly popular among young and general readers, but not so much in the eyes of literary history. Bermúdez' direct justification of this literature throughout her prefaces reveals that her *rewriting* goes beyond the specificity of each author and volume. This group of works is included to defend an undermined literature. In this sense, perhaps the works by Poe and Marco Polo, whose literary qualities were less contested in 1969 than those of Verne or Salgari, are used as legitimizing forefathers. Bermúdez does not deny that many of these author's works have faults e.g. "No es Salgari, tal vez, un psicólogo profundo [...]. Tampoco es un estilista" (Bermúdez, 1972: xi-xii) or "En su propio país, el veronés ha sido considerado como un novelista que 'escribía mal'" (Bermúdez, 1975: ix). The past and present negative perceptions of this repertoire are yet another element linking it together. Of Marco Polo's *Travels* she states: "Los *Viajes* (o *Libro*) de Marco Polo fue recibido, a raíz de su publicación, no sólo con desconfianza, sino con cierto sarcasmo" (Bermúdez, 1982: xxviii). About D'Amicis work she points out: "En nuestro tiempo, *Corazón* puede merecer de algunos los tildes de sentimentalismo y cursilería" (Bermúdez, 1970: xxix). Despite the long list of criticisms, Bermúdez considers that one of the biggest merits of the literature these authors represent is their ability to capture the reader's attention, to entertain and excite them, while instructing them, in the old vein of *docere delectare* (to teach and delight).

After establishing the links between these authors and mentioning the genres with which they are linked: didactic literature, youth literature, adventure novels, detective and mystery short

stories, she carries out the justification of this literature. It is in the Verne-Salgari part of her repertoire that Bermúdez produces the most direct apology. This is evident in the sheer amount of prefatorial texts she wrote for these author's works: 12 prefaces for Jules Verne, and 14 for Salgari. Bermúdez promotes this literature for its didactic nature. But also, for its entertainment potential: because it has the ability to capture readers' attention and to give them an experience. These are not works that are important for their knowledge transmission and they do not necessarily provide an example of good prose. She states, in response to the criticisms to Salgari:

A sus lectores, en último análisis, interesa mucho más el drama—y, ante todo, la solución feliz que Salgari sabe darle—que el estilo en que lo desenvuelva. Por otra parte, esta especie literaria que él cultiva—la de aventuras—, nunca (ni siquiera en Verne) se ha caracterizado por una forma elaborada ni por una adecuada estructura. Las rápidas imágenes y el genuinamente inalcanzable desarrollo de la trama atrapan al lector sin dejarle el mínimo respiro ni permitirle la más leve distracción. Y éste, sin más, es el secreto de la pervivencia de los cuentos y novelas de Emilio Salgari. (Bermúdez, 1972: xxi)

In all the passages where Bermúdez defends the authors in her repertoire, the answer to the existing criticisms relies in their ability to entertain and offer an experience to the reader, and some of them have the additional quality of teaching moral values. Despite the wide popularity of these authors in Mexico, they had for long been considered secondary in the literary canon. In 1872, Justo Sierra, one of the most prominent Mexican writers and intellectuals of his time, wrote an article about Jules Verne.⁹⁹ However, in 1948, when Sierra's complete works were published by UNAM, this article was left out (Vieyra Sánchez, 2005: 30). This exclusion is very telling of the attitude towards the literature cultivated by Verne.

But not all of Bermúdez' prefaces are concerned with justifying the value of this repertoire. In the case of Salgari and Verne's works, for whom she penned more than 20 prefaces, there is a

⁹⁹ "Julio Verne. A propósito de *20,000 leguas de viaje submarino*". *El Federalista*, 339 (2), February 10 (1872): 1.

clear distinction between those that are informative and argumentative, and those that summarize the content of the work(s) included in the volume and contextualizes within the author's literary universe. These prefatory texts tend to be short and center on highlighting the most appealing parts of the plot. They are similar to movie trailers in that they reassure the reader about the action and suspense they will encounter. Bermúdez, the literary critic, is not as visible here as in her other prefaces. In these prefaces she presents herself as a reader who is also affected by the events in the story. Through phrases like *Ya era justo* (1973: x) and numerous adjectives like: “*El pobre cipayo pierde la vida cuando huye con todos los demás*” (Bermudez, 1973: x) she inscribes her own emotional involvement. Besides adding her perspective on the story and the characters, in all of these summaries Bermúdez reveals the entire plot. For instance, she concludes the last *Nota preliminar* to Salgari's *La caída de un Imperio* by summarizing the happy conclusion:

Las ciudades del imperio de Assam arden. La insurrección está triunfando. Guiados por el baniano, el portugués y los suyos se refugian en las cloacas. Y el relato termina con la inminente llegada de Sandokan y sus huestes. En posesión de este dato, el lector puede posponer con calma la lectura de las dos últimas novelas de la serie ya que, sin duda, con el concurso de Sandokan, el desenlace del conflicto en el que Yáñez se encuentra inmerso será completamente satisfactorio. (Bermúdez, 1974: ix)

Bermúdez is not concerned with giving away the resolution of the novel because it does not take away from the experience created by Salgari in the narration of the episodes. To Bermúdez, Salgari's mastery lies in the creation of suspense based on the rhythm of the narration. The linguistic properties of his prose are not remarkable, but that does not detract from the excitement that the quick succession of episodes produces in the reader. For the same reason, translation is not central to Bermúdez approach to her repertoire.

- **(Un)problematic translations**

I have explained above the apologetic nature of Bermúdez' prefaces, where the common criticisms to the literature she presents are minimized in favour of the effect they produce. Besides the low quality of the prose, she acknowledges some of these works' lack of verisimilitude. In the case of Salgari she states: "En las novelas del veronés suceden siempre muchas cosas, algunas de ellas increíbles. Ello no importa, porque en el mundo libre de la aventura nadie se toma el trabajo de ponerse a considerar la verosimilitud de los acontecimientos" (Bermúdez, 1975: xii). The inclusion of incorrect information is also recognized by Bermúdez, though she takes the time to correct it. For instance, once more regarding Salgari:

la terminología marina que emplea no siempre es ortodoxa, en sus cuentos habla con frecuencia de los tigres de Borneo y en Borneo no hay tigres [...]; Groenlandia es considerada en sus libros como una península, aunque es una isla—sólo a principios de siglo pudieron ser delimitados sus contornos—; a menudo habla de los delfines como si fueran peces—y no mamíferos—; y muchas veces resulta difícil entender a qué plantas o animales se refiere, sobre todo cuando las menciona con la lengua del país, pero con grafía incorrecta. (1975: xiii).

Despite all of the above, Bermúdez considers the virtues of this literature surpasses its defects. In fact, she states that Hispanic readers might avoid the problematic prose and the most obvious mistakes due to the correction a translator can carry out: "Un buen traductor puede corregir—si los hay—cualesquiera defectos en la prosa salgariana. Asimismo puede ocuparse de salvar los pequeños errores..." (Bermúdez, 1975: 10). And yet, as the examples that follow demonstrate, the recycled translations chosen for *SC* not only did not correct those mistakes but added their own complications.

None of the works prefaced by Bermúdez credit the translators. However, she reveals in some of the prefaces that these are recycled translations originally made in Spain. This is also made explicit in some of the footnotes where the point of view is markedly Spanish. In a passage from Emilio Salgari's *La venganza*, included in Vol. 302 (1975), a sword fight between the protagonist and a Spanish count takes place. A translator's footnote makes the Spanish focalization very clear: "El arte de la alta esgrima *se lo hicimos* conocer a los italianos, en las guerras sostenidas en Italia. Así lo reconocen varios historiadores, incluso italianos (*N del T.*) [emphasis is mine]" (in Salgari, 1975: 180). Perhaps this focalization is even more apparent in a different footnote in the same text, which states: "Así andan los escritores extranjeros respecto de conocimientos de la historia¹⁰⁰. Como no ignoran los lectores, Flandes y Holanda eran Estados dependientes de España por virtud del casamiento de Felipe *El Hermoso* con doña Juana *La Loca*. (*N. del T.*)" (in Salgari, 1975: 95). The presupposed knowledge of Spanish history marked by the phrase "como no ignoran los lectores" is the main giveaway of the Spanish source. In other volumes the reference to *pesetas* is also telling of the provenance of the translations.

These footnotes are interesting because they show the translator's marked point of view and opinions, which are offered in a judgemental manner. Recall the case of "Así andan los escritores extranjeros respecto de los conocimientos de historia", where the translator objects to Salgari's knowledge of Spanish history. A text in *Revista Proceso* discussing the legacy of Emilio Salgari in Mexico corroborates that the Spanish translators of Salgari were prone to excessive candor. The following citation is key for various reasons. It illustrates this candor and

¹⁰⁰ In the passage of the book this note refers to, one of the characters refers to the 1686 war between France and Spain: "Estallaba la guerra de 1686 entre Francia y España por la posesión de Flandes. Luis XIV, sediento de gloria en el auge de su poderío, queriendo aplastar a su formidable adversario, que tantas victorias alcanzara sobre las tropas francesas, invadió audazmente las provincias que el terrible duque de Alba había conquistado y domado con el hierro y el fuego" (Salgari, 1975: 95)

contextualizes the work of Salgari in Mexico, the role of Bermúdez in its dissemination, and the traits of some of its Spanish editions:

Es difícil pensar en otro autor que haya tenido en el México previo al medio siglo una difusión comparable a la de Salgari. A las publicaciones nacionales de Editorial Pirámide se sumaban las argentinas de la Editorial Molino y las españolas de Saturnino Calleja. En una de ellas, *La soberana del campo de oro*, aparece la más divertida nota al pie que hay en novela alguna del orbe castellano. En sus andanzas por el Far West los personajes se topan con unos mexicanos que les ofrecen su único alimento: “judías negras” (frijoles) y tortillas. Asterisco, aclaración: “Tortilla: asqueroso pan de maíz que comen los mejicanos. No confundir con nuestra deliciosa tortilla española”. Hoy la edición más accesible de algunas novelas es la de Sepan Cuantos... (Porrúa), con prólogos de la siempre recordada María Elvira Bermúdez. (La Redacción, 2011)

The footnotes in Salgari’s works (in *SC* and beyond) are very important to consider the mediating role of original preface writers. This becomes particularly important when the recycled translations openly address a Spanish reader and display an antagonistic (xenophobic, even) attitude towards the other cultural dimensions in the volume, be it the author or a culture represented in the work. These combative footnotes could be seen as a case in which one of the heads of the hydra enters in conflict with the others.

Although I have not found examples as shocking as the one offered in the last quote, I noted that María Elvira Bermúdez was aware of the difficulties these Spanish translations might pose for young Mexican readers being receptive to these works, especially when Mexican referents were a part of the text. In her preface to Vol. 302 Emilio Salgari, *El Corsario Negro* and *La Venganza*, which takes place partly in Mexican soil, she warns of the unusual denominations given to Mexican animals and places by the Spanish translators:

- “...el encuentro de Carmaux y un zorrillo. (Los traductores españoles de la Editorial Gahe ponen surrillo)” (Bermúdez, 1975: x).

- “El Corsario y sus amigos encuentran en su trayecto repugnantes tembladeras (los traductores los llaman *tremedales*)” (Bermúdez, 1975: x)
- “Elementos novedosos son también el burlote –barco cargado de materias combustibles para incendiar las naves enemigas–, y la almadía (canoa)...” (Bermúdez, 1975: x)
- “El fuerte de San Juan de Ulúa es erróneamente llamado *San Juan de Luz*” (Bermúdez, 1975: xi)

These examples depict Bermúdez’s distancing from the translation choices or misguided solutions offered in the translations reproduced by the series. Bermúdez indirectly reveals that SC reproduced the translation originally published by Editorial Gahe in Madrid in 1970. *El Corsario Negro* and *La Venganza* are the only Salgari novels that take place in Mexico in my corpus. In the 10 volumes prefaced by Bermúdez that I was able to examine, this is the only one where she addresses the features of the translation. The appearance of Mexican culture in the source text created the need for these clarifications. At one point, Bermúdez concedes that Salgari himself named some of the Mexican flora and fauna erroneously. The *zorillo* and the *San Juan de Luz* examples prepare the reader for an encounter with familiar referents in unfamiliar words. Not only is *surrillo* not the word used in Mexico to designate a skunk, but it also does not exist in the Spanish language. San Juan de Luz is the incorrect name that the Spanish translators at Editorial Gahe gave to San Juan de Ulúa; the translators probably ignored that San Juan de Ulúa is an important historic site in Veracruz (the Spanish Empire’s most important fortress in the early colonial times). María Elvira Bermúdez corrects these distortions restoring the opportunity for Mexican readers to recognize their reality in Salgari’s adventures. She does so as well in the *tremedales* example, where despite *tremedales* and *tembladeras* being synonymous,

the last is the most frequent in the Mexican dialect, and is more likely known by the readers of *SC*. The *burlote* example is interesting because it clarifies words that belong to the specialized field of navigation, that was not likely known by a general reader. In that case, Bermúdez clarifies their meaning in parenthesis.

I only found another volume where Bermúdez acknowledges that some confusion can arise from the translation used. In the case of Marco Polo's *Viajes* she declares: "la diferencia entre los sustantivos antiguos y los modernos, sumada a la que adquieren al ser traducidos a los idiomas actuales (varían incluso del español, al argentino y al mexicano) da origen a numerosas confusiones y dificultan la identificación plena de un lugar o de un personaje dados" (1982: xxii). It seems that Bermúdez accepts the limitations of the translations in a similar way she reacts to the limitations of the repertoire she presents. Although in the examples above there is an evident effort on her part to clarify some of the aspects that can obstruct the reading experience, her intervention in the volumes is restrained. Unlike Garibay, Bermúdez does not opt to produce new translations, and unlike other agents in the series that include their own footnotes to recycled translations, Bermúdez does not touch the text. Those who read her prefaces will encounter these clarifications, but those who do not are left alone with the footnotes designed for a Spanish readership.

In the Bermúdez micro repertoire, conflicting rewritings can coexist within one volume without a thorough articulation, and this is a phenomenon that is more common in *SC* than not. Although both Garibay and Bermúdez believe in the need to make the language more accessible to Mexican readers, the distance they travel to achieve it is notably different. Bermúdez shows a reserved attitude towards translation. She does not retranslate the texts, as Garibay did. She provides very few comments about the recycled translations used for *SC*'s edition of the works.

Bermúdez's paratexts, and the translation's paratexts (the footnotes) address different audiences. However, the tensions that arise from this are barely discussed by Bermúdez.

Studying original prefaces offers valuable information about the cases in which certain preface writers enabled their agency in the series. In the cases described above the proximity or distance to the publishing house proved to have effects on the freedom given to preface writers. Although their cultural capital also played a role in the extent of their intervention, it was not a determining factor, as some preface writers with high cultural capital did not show a strong interest to fulfill an objective in the series other than providing information about the source text and there are preface writers with lower cultural capital that did. The extent of a preface writer's intervention in a volume or micro-repertoire is indicative of greater agency, and of a more profound rewriting. Those preface writers who had wider control over the presentation, selection, configuration and translation of a volume or a micro-repertoire in *SC* are the ones with more agency. In some cases, the rewritings produced by agents with more power in the series challenge the poetics and ideology of the time. This was observed in Garibay's presentation of Nahuatl literature as classic, at the same level as ancient Eastern, Greek and Hebraic texts and in his decision to produce direct translations in Mexican Spanish. María Elvira Bermúdez also shows this freedom in her choice to re-activate a repertoire lacking prestige, and in her defense of the entertainment potential of literature.

Agency is not limited to authors of micro-repertoires or to those that challenge the Mexican ideology and poetics of its time. Sergio Pitol shows agency in his choice to focus on the autonomous nature of literature. His approach is ground-breaking in *SC*'s universe, though consonant with the practices in the Mexican literary field of the 70s and 80s. But Pitol is exceptional. *SC*, however, is not readily known for this author's intervention in the series. These

are disruptions to the nationalistic, heteronomous portrayal of the repertoire that prevailed during the *Teixidor period*, which is the period with the highest number of original prefaces and original rewritings for the series.

5.2.4. Recycled prefaces

With time, prefaces specifically made for the series become less common. The recycling practices observed in the translation sources started to permeate prefaces during the 1980s. Even though a few recycled prefaces appeared in the series before the 1980s, this strategy became more popular after 1983 (See Chart 10). In fact, after that year, an inversion in the original/recycled preface trend took place in the series. The greater resort to recycled prefaces signals the attenuation of the strong nationalism and social mindedness that characterized the *Teixidor period*. During the first years of the series, original prefaces localizing the foreign works in the catalogue and assuming the social task of democratizing culture were common. However, as recycled prefaces started being used, these objectives began to diffuse. Recycled prefaces introduce a new context of production that is not necessarily explained to *SC*'s audience.

Although not all recycled prefaces in *SC* are far removed from the Mexican context, most of them are. Some exceptional recycled prefaces by Mexican authors include those by Antonio Gómez Robledo (Aristóteles, *Ética nicomacea*), Gabriel de la Mora (Juan Amos Comenio, *Didáctica magna*), Alfonso Reyes (J.K. Chesterton, *El hombre que fue jueves*), and Agustín Loera y Chávez (Selma Lagerlöf, *El carretero de la muerte*). There are also a few cases in which foreign authors produced texts that were indirectly linked to the Mexican context. For instance, the text used to preface Vol. 467, Franz Kafka (1985) *La metamorfosis / El proceso*, is the

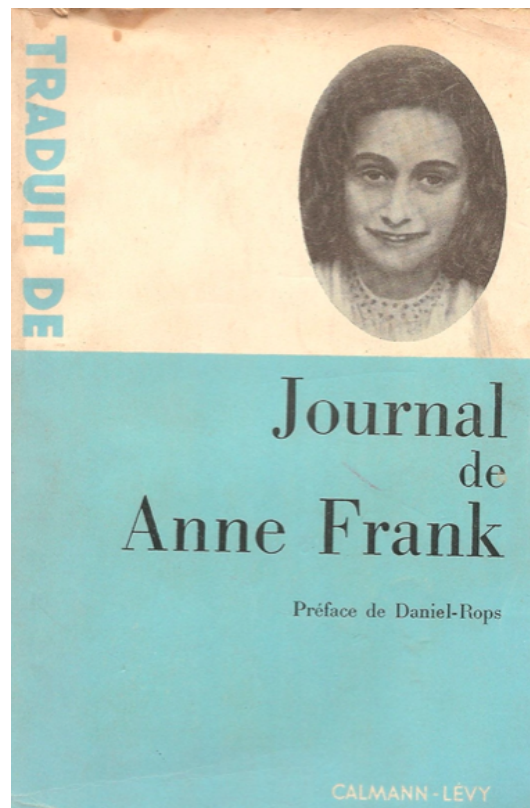
transcription of a conference dictated by Milan Kundera at UNAM in 1979 (this detail is indicated in a footnote). Another example is Edward Larocque Tinker's preface to Vol. 596, Ralph Waldo Emerson (1990), *Ensayos*, where this American critic specifically addresses Mexican readers. Larocque Tinker had originally written this text for the 1943 edition of Emerson's *Essays* published by *Ediciones de la Secretaría de Educación Pública*.

Notwithstanding these examples, the majority of recycled prefaces are not linked to the Mexican context at all. In many cases, the foreignness of the preface is very evident. I identified two broad groups of recycled prefaces that are very obviously repurposed. The first group is made up by texts written by renowned Spanish intellectuals like Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo and Emilia Pardo Bazán. In these cases, what appears as a preface in *SC*, used to be part of a lengthier monograph or an article. Therefore, not only were these works not meant for a Mexican audience, but they were not paratexts originally. However, their original nature is concealed, as no source is given for most of them and they are usually presented in a fragmented way. I offer a detailed example of this in section 5.2.4.1.

The other prominent group of recycled prefaces I identified is made up by translations. Besides being geographically and chronologically distant from *SC*, most of the prefaces included in the series in the 1990s and onwards were originally written in a different language. However, none of these characteristics are problematized in *SC*'s editions. Just as with the Spanish texts I discussed above, many of these translated prefaces are taken from monographs and critical works and turned into prefaces for the series. However, there are some that were originally crafted as prefaces. *SC* reproduces texts that were originally produced to preface foreign editions of the same source text. For instance, in the case of Vol. 654, Anne Frank (1995) *Diario*, Daniel-Rops

is credited for the preface. This is in fact the paratext that had originally been published in the French edition of this work by Calman-Lévy in 1951.

Figure 25. Front cover of Calman-Lévy's 1951 edition of Journal de Anne Frank



Preceding Daniel-Rops' preface in *SC*, there is a brief note explaining that the publication of Anne Frank's diary is Porrúa's way to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the concentration camps liberation. However, no comments are made regarding the choice of Daniel-Rops paratext. Daniel-Rops' moment of enunciation is highly present in his text. When reflecting about Anne Frank's age he points out: "Ahora, en 1951, tendría veintidós años" (Rops-Daniel, 1995: ix). Perhaps the fact that Daniel-Rops' wrote this text relatively close to Anne Frank's death made the selection of this text more appealing to Porrúa. Nevertheless, these prefaces are

in stark contrast with the proximity often created by the original prefaces discussed in the previous section. By introducing Daniel-Rops' cultural horizon (France in the 1950s) a new layer of decodification is presented to the readers of *SC* edition. Who is Daniel-Rops and what is his relationship with the work? Is he a writer? An important cultural figure? All those questions are left unanswered.

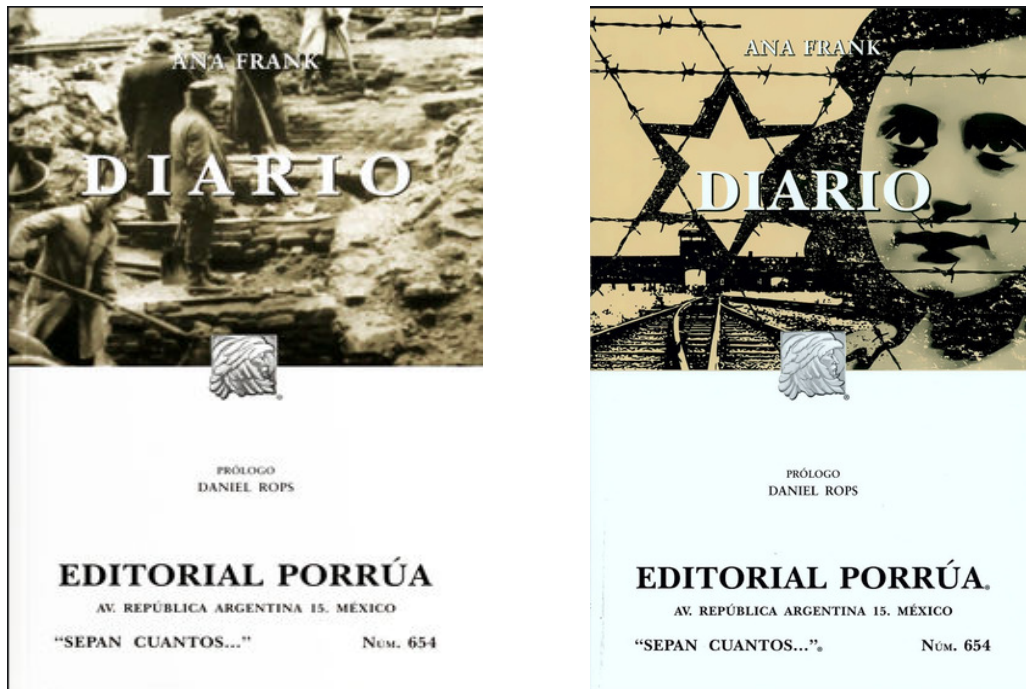
The combination of Daniel-Rops preface for Anne Frank's *Diario* (already alluded to in the previous section) in the Spanish speaking world existed before *SC*'s edition. I have been unable to compare the translations in these editions, but it is likely that if Porrúa reproduced the preface choice, it did the same with the translation. The case of Anne Frank's *Diary* is interesting because Porrúa reproduces a pre-existing object in the Spanish book market which is in turn a reproduction of an object in the francophone book market. Although the three Spanish editions I know of reproduce the same text-paratext combination, the comparison of the covers reveals the important role of cover design in the framing of the same textual rewriting. The edition by Editorial Hemisferio (shown right in Figure 25) originally published in Buenos Aires in 1962 adds a quote from Daniel-Rops' preface, giving it a centrality that is not comparable to the other editions. The, also Argentine, edition by ELA S.A. (shown left in Figure 25) does not mention Daniel-Rops on the front cover at all, and the image it presents does not match the dread exposed on the cover of Hemisferio's edition. The selection of a soft pastel coloured palette and the calm semblant of the girl on the cover, overpower the tenuous scene of destruction in the background. In stark contrast, the two most recent covers in *SC*'s edition of this work reference the war context more explicitly.

Figure 26. Front cover of two Argentine editions (Editorial Hemisferio on the right and editorial ELA on the left¹⁰¹) containing the same source-text and preface combination.



¹⁰¹ This edition does not credit Daniel-Rops on the front cover, but I confirmed his text was used as a preface.

Figure 27. Two front covers of SC post-2000 editions of Ana Frank, *Diario*



As I mentioned in the previous section, Porrúa's edition includes a brief note explaining that this volume is meant to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the liberation of the concentration camps:

Con ocasión del quincuagésimo aniversario de la liberación de los campos de exterminio judío, que tantas manifestaciones de repulsa ha renovado, la Editorial Porrúa se suma a ese sentimiento general y publica una vez más, uno de los testimonios más conmovedores de aquella gran tragedia; el *Diario de Ana Frank*. (1995: viii)

This explains the centrality of the war in the images chosen for the cover. The image on the left does not necessarily circumscribe the image to the Second World War, but the depiction of

destruction is the protagonist. The image on the right, however, includes Anne's photograph in combination with concentration camp imagery. This volume shows that although the core textual elements of this volume come from the same previous source, the insertion of it in the series' own design and the inclusion of its brief original prefatory note affect SC's rewriting of this work.

I already hinted at the fact that there are different types of texts used as prefaces. Critical texts and articles are the most common sources for recycled translated prefaces, but there are also papers read at conferences, letters and authorial prefaces, to name a few. The content, scope and function of these texts varies according to their original conditions of production. A critical essay on the subject of the source text or the author will tend to be longer and more informative than a letter; authorial paratexts tend to leave out biographical information and do not contextualize the work directly; and allographic prefaces produced in a country that is not Mexico often come with references to their own context and address a reader with different presupposed knowledge. An original preface is included at times to contextualize the recycled preface or to offer some clues about SC's intentions in publishing the work and its paratexts, but this rarely happens.

The inclusion or omission of an original preface determines whether a dialogue is established between the rewritings in a volume. In a previous section I presented the case of William Prescott's *Historia de la Conquista de México*, where an original preface takes on the task of pressing the wrinkles produced by the combination of the notes and prefaces from different editions of two translations of the work. In volumes like this, an agent creates a coherent global rewriting for SC despite the inclusion of paratexts and translations from diverse sources. I chose two examples that represent the opposite phenomenon. These are cases of

editions that reproduce the paratexts of a recycled translation, which show the layered rewritings at its most complex state.

5.2.4.1. Reviving a recycled translation's paratexts

Some volumes in my corpus included the paratexts from the recycled translation that was used in the volume. I have already mentioned one of these examples in the previous chapter: Vol. 481, (1985) León Hebreo, *Diálogos de amor* in El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's translation. The translation is reproduced in *SC* with its original paratexts. Although it is not advertised on the front cover, the volume includes a preface by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo. The text was extracted from Menéndez Pelayo's *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España. Siglos XVI y XVII* (1883-1889). Not only was this not originally meant as a preface, but it also suffered some cuts while being transplanted to *SC*. The parts left out are the ones related to the pertinence of León Hebreo's work for Spanish culture, whereas the parts that were kept focus on explaining the concepts in the text. Menéndez Pelayo mentions Garcilaso de la Vega's translation when he lists the existing Spanish translations of the text, however, he does so in a footnote.

Some of the information Menéndez Pelayo provides could reveal why de la Vega's translation might have been chosen to be produced under *SC*'s banner. First, he comments on Garcilaso de la Vega being renowned as a writer rather than a translator: "Este Inca Garcilaso es más conocido que como traductor de León Hebreo, como autor de los *Comentarios Reales del Perú* y de la *Historia de la Florida y del adelantado Hernando de Soto*, obras de capital importancia histórica..." (Menéndez Pelayo 1985: xii). In fact, De la Vega initially appeared in *SC* as an author. His *Comentarios Reales* had been published in 1984 (volume 439) a year before this translation was included in the catalogue. Second, this translation is presented by Menéndez Pelayo as having superior style over other efforts: "su traducción resulta mucho más amena de

estilo que las otras dos que tenemos en castellano” (Menéndez Pelayo, 1985: xii). Additionally, he comments on how the Spanish Inquisition harshly condemned this translation: “La Inquisición puso en su Índice la traducción del Inca, pero no las demás. Sin duda fue por algunos rasgos de cabalismo y teosofía, que Montesa [author of another well-known translation of the work] atenuó y suprimió” (Menéndez Pelayo, 1985: xiii). Indirectly, this reveals the completeness of Garcilaso de la Vega’s translation, who did not censor the work by omitting fragments. Finally, an important detail is revealed by Menéndez Pelayo that could explain the choice to reproduce the paratexts in Garcilaso de la Vega’s translation: “...la traducción del Inca había sido examinada y aprobada, según él dice, por tan doctos y piadosos varones como el jesuita Jerónimo de Prado, comentador de Ezequiel, y el agustino Fr. Hernando de Zárate...” (1985: xiii). As I will show below, these details are preserved in the permissions and approvals reproduced in *SC*’s edition.

All of the information provided by Menéndez Pelayo in this recycled paratext, is indirect evidence that helps elucidate *SC*’s editorial choices for this volume. Although he provides information about Garcilaso de la Vega’s translation, he also offers details about the other translations of the work: he does not put this translation at the centre. Additionally, the fact that this information is presented in a lengthy footnote, makes it less central to the argumentation in his paratext, where the concepts present in the source text are the focus.

The localization of the paratexts in this volume is very important to understand the different status given to the translation’s paratexts. In book design, three main parts of the book are acknowledged: the front matter, the body matter and the end matter. The front matter (also known as preliminaries) contains preliminary material, which can include any of the following: half title, frontispiece, title page, colophon, dedication, epigraph, table of contents, foreword, preface, acknowledgments, introduction, prologue. The body matter constitutes the main text of a

book. which can be presented according to different segmentations: volumes, parts, chapters, sections, modules, units, to name a few. The transition from the front matter to the body matter is usually evidenced by the change in page numbering. Conventionally, the pages of the front matter are numbered using lower-case Roman numerals, whereas the pages of the body matter are numbered using Arabic numerals. The numbering sequence of the body matter does not continue the one started in the front matter, emphasizing the break between the contents of one and the other. Another element that marks the boundary between these sections is the half title page. A half title page contains an abbreviated title of the work (it does not include the subtitle nor other information related to the work like the author or publisher) and is usually presented in a page that is blank for the most part. In *SC*'s design the half title page and the change in page numbering are the telling signs of the shift from the front matter to the body matter. Finally, there is the back matter, which usually contains epilogues, afterwords, conclusions, postscripts, addendum, glossaries, bibliographies, indices, colophons and postfaces¹⁰².

This brief review is useful to explain that the elements that were part of the front matter in the original publication of Garcilaso de la Vega's translation from 1590 became part of the body matter in *SC*'s edition. In *SC* the front matter contains the following elements:

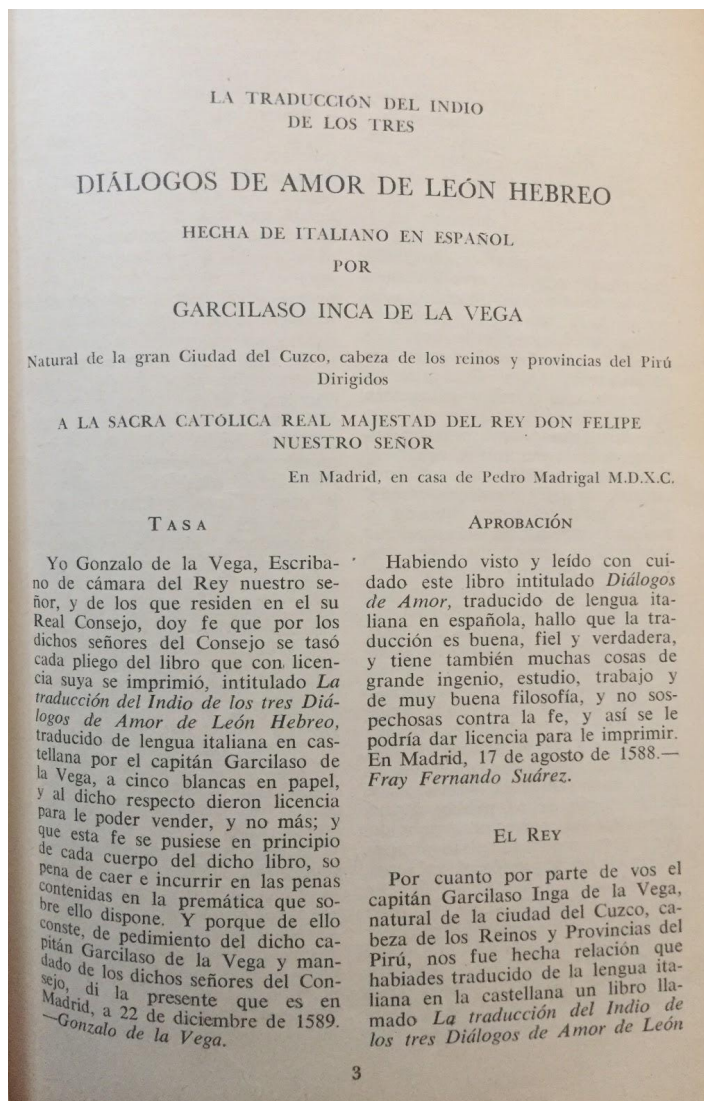
- Title page
- Copyright page
- Half title 1: "Prólogo"

¹⁰² I follow Wikipedia's article "Book design" for this description. Surprisingly, I looked in vain for academic sources offering a specific and extended description of this kind. The books cited in the Wikipedia article are not available at the University of Ottawa and I was unable to consult them directly. Thus, despite my reticence to use Wikipedia as my source, this was the clearest and more focused article I was able to find about the parts of a book. *The Oxford Companion to the book* (2010) offers some scattered information about the preliminaries, the half-title and the end-matter, however it is considerably more schematic than the one provided by Wikipedia. In an older source, *The Practice of Typography: Modern Methods in Book Composition* (1904), (Low de Vinne, 1904) offers a thorough description of the composition of a book. However, his segmentation is different: Title-page, preface matter, chapter headings and synopsis, subheadings, extracts, notes and illustrations, running titles and paging at head or at foot [...] (111-171).

- Prologue by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo (1985: ix-xxxvii)
- Half title 2: *Diálogos de amor*
- Paratexts of Garcilaso de la Vega's 1590 edition (Hebreo, 1985: 3-14)
- Half title 3: "Primera parte: De los Diálogos de Amor de León Hebreo, traducido del italiano al español por Garcilaso de la Vega, natural de la gran ciudad del Cuzco"
- Main text by León Hebreo (Hebreo, 1985: 17-271)

This unusual presentation of the two paratexts as text is done without any explanation on behalf of the publisher's or an agent directly linked to SC.

Figure 28. Page following half-title page marking the beginning of the body matter



Between pages 3 and 14 the following paratexts from Garcilaso de la Vega's translation are included:

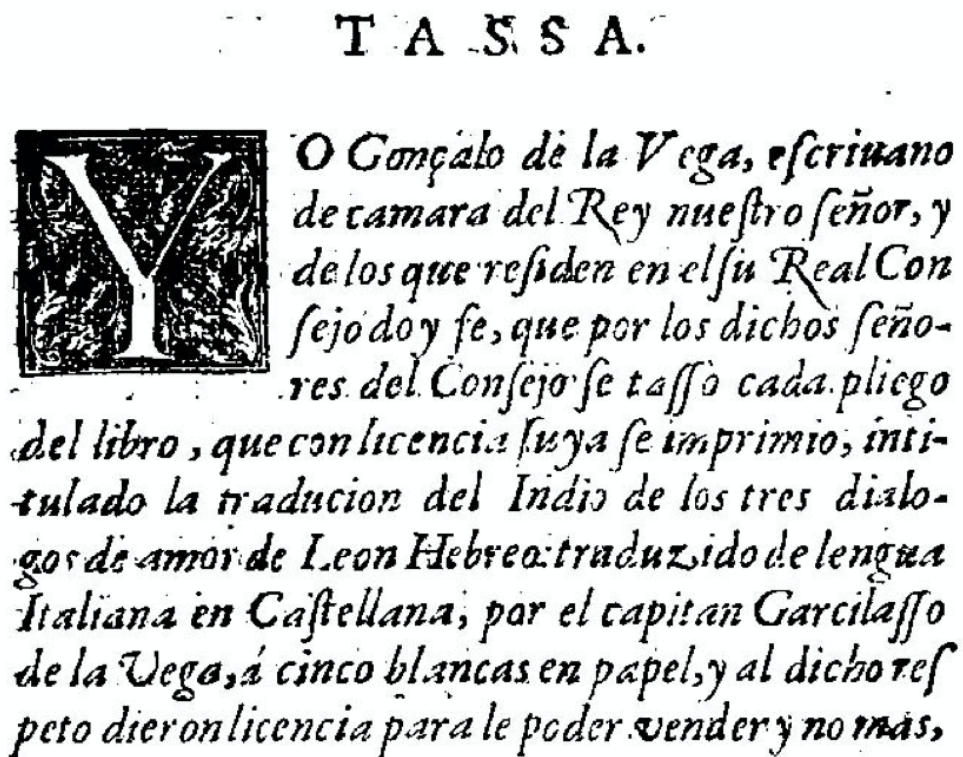
1. Tasa (1985: 3)
2. Aprobación [Approval granted by Fr. Fernando Xuárez] (1985: 3)
3. El rey [privilege granted by the king] (1985: 3-4)
4. A don Maximiliano de Austria, Abad Mayor de Alcalá la Real, del Consejo del Rey
Nuestro Señor [Letter from Garcilaso de la Vega to Maximiliano de Austria] (1985: 5-6)
5. Al capitán Garcilaso Inca de la Vega [Maximiliano de Austria's response] (1985: 6)
6. Sacra católica real majestad. Defensor de la fe [Garcilaso de la Vega's dedication to
Felipe II] (1985: 7-9)
7. A don Maximiliano de Austria. Abad Mayor de Alcalá la Real, del Consejo de su
majestad su muy aficionado servidor, Garcilaso Inca de la Vega [Another letter from
Garcilaso to Maximiliano de Austria] (1985: 10-13)
8. Señor [Letter from Garcilaso de la Vega to the King] (1985: 14)

In the footnote where he describes this translation, Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo lists these items as the "Preliminares," confirming that these texts are considered part of the front matter of Garcilaso de la Vega's translation. In fact, as the image shows (also recall Figure 7 from Chapter 4) the title and contents of the first edition's front cover are reproduced: "La traducción del indio de los tres Diálogos de Amor de León Hebreo hecha de italiano en español por Garcilaso Inca de la Vega natural de la gran ciudad de Cuzco, cabeza de los reinos y provincias del Pirú Dirigidos a la Sacra Católica Real Majestad del Rey Don Felipe Nuestro Señor en Madrid, en casa de Pedro Madrigal M.D.X.C." (Hebreo, 1985: 3) By including the preliminaries of the first edition

of the translation in the body matter, *SC* presents these paratextual elements as part of the text. In this sense, although de la Vega is visibly presented as a translator, he is concurrently presented as an author.

However, this is not a carbon copy of the original edition, but a transcription that had to undergo certain changes. *SC* reproduces the content but not the form of the original. The coat of arms on the front cover, the typographical choices, the capitular letters are absent in this edition. The spelling, in fact, is modernized.

Figure 29. Digitized version of the first edition of Garcilaso de la Vega's translation



Although the term *reprint* is often used in the literature, this example shows that more is required than the reproduction of a source. There is transformation.

This volume shows the co-presence of prefatory texts that were not meant for *SC*'s audience. Although Menéndez Pelayo's text provides some information about Garcilaso de la Vega and his translation, the connection between them is very subtle. Menéndez Pelayo's paratext centers on the work, whereas the first pages of the body matter in *SC*'s edition focus on Garcilaso de la Vega's translation of the work and the colonial context in which he carried out this task. Furthermore, the patronage is made explicit in de la Vega's paratext.

A second example of a volume in *SC* that reproduced the prefatory texts of a recycled translation is found in Vol. 715, Aristotle's *Ars Poetica* and *Ars Rhetorica*, which was first published in the series in 1999. This volume is intriguing to begin with, because the rest of Aristotle's works were published very early in the series. This late addition, however, displays several interesting features that, in my opinion, also attest to the mutation of some practices in *SC* in the late 1990s. The volume has two prefatory sets of paratexts. Just as in the case discussed above, they are distinguished by their location in the front matter and in the body matter. Thus, in the front matter there is a lengthy and anonymous monographic introduction, followed by a list of Aristotle's works "Obras de Aristóteles", and a chronology "Cronología: el siglo de Aristóteles". In this case, the introduction does not offer any information about the translation of this work into Spanish. The translation credit is included in the copyright page, where the reader learns that two translators were in charge of the task: "Traducciones de José Goya y Muniain y de Francisco P. Samaranch".

After the half-title page introducing *La Poética* the reader finds a text that exhibits the characteristics of a letter. A title in capital letters is the address of the letter, where we immediately learn this paratext belongs to the Spanish translation:

Al Excelentísimo Señor Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos

Excmo. Señor:

Como al Rey nuestro Señor dediqué el *César*, traducido en castellano, y al serenísimo señor Príncipe de Asturias el *Catecismo Católico* trilingüe del padre Pedro Canisio, así ahora, por especiales razones, ofrezco a V.E., puesta nuevamente en castellano, la *Poética* de Aristóteles, con algunas notas que para su mejor inteligencia me parecieron necesarias. (Goya y Muniain, 1999a: 3)

The rhetorical conventions and referents are visibly distant from those prevalent in Mexico in 1999, time of publication of this text. The opening formula, the use of the honorific (V[uestra].E[xcelencia].), and the allusion to a king demarcate a social sphere that is neither local nor contemporary in Mexico. The remoteness of the social dimensions shown in this dedication is verified by the signature of the text:

Madrid, 20 de junio de 1798.

Excmo. señor:

B.L.M.D.V.E.

José Goya y Muniáin [sic] (Goya y Muniain, 1999a: 3)

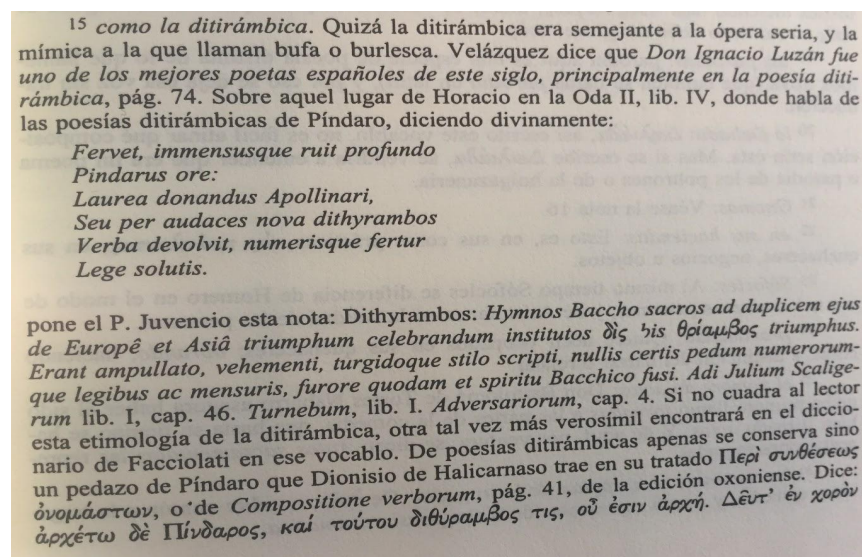
A three-page long translator's preface titled *Al que leyere* follows this dedication. In it, José Goya y Muniain, the translator, explains that translating ancient Greek works into Spanish is crucial for the development of good taste in Spanish literature: "He pues aquí, los medios sólidos y únicos para llegar al buen gusto, y he aquí también por qué yo, [...], me atrevo a pronunciar que la presente falta de gusto y solidez en las letras seguirá sin remedio, mientras no se favorezca por todos modos el estudio de la lengua y erudición griegas" (Goya y Muniain, 1999: 8).

This paratext spells out the poetics at work in the background of Goya y Munain's translation. The importance of the Greek model motivates this translator to print his Spanish rendering side by side the Greek original: "ha sido preciso imprimir el griego a la par del castellano" (6), to which *SC*'s editors add on a footnote: "Dada la índole de la presente edición, se ha suprimido el texto griego que acompaña la traducción de José Goya y Muniain (N. de los

E.)” (in Goya y Muniain, 1999: 8). This cut is explained as a function of a different purpose for *SC*’s edition: whereas Goya y Muniain’s purpose was to use classical Greek authors as models for the development of the literature of his country in the 18th century, *SC*’s intent is more centered in providing a Spanish version of Aristotle’s work in a popular, non-erudite, edition in 20th and 21st century Mexico.

The choice of this translation in particular is not explained in *SC*’s edition, and it cannot be inferred like in the case of Garcilaso de la Vega’s rendering of León Hebreo’s work in the previous example. Once again, the inclusion of the translation’s paratexts introduce a second original: the work of Goya y Muniain as a translator in 18th century Spain. Although *SC* omitted the Greek text that was meant to accompany this translation, it did not suppress Goya y Muniain’s lengthy and numerous notes. These notes are presented at the end of each chapter, and at times they take more space than the chapter itself. They are highly specialized and require knowledge of Greek, which contradicts the editor’s declaration “dada la índole de la presente edición” to justify not presenting this work as a btext. For example, the first chapter of the *Poética* occupies two pages, whereas the translator’s notes expand throughout four pages. Almost all of the notes include citations of the Greek original and a few Latin passages that are not translated into Spanish. They are also highly oriented to a Spanish-erudite reader as revealed by the numerous references to Spanish authors and highly specialized sources. The following reproduction of one of the notes exemplifies all of the above:

Figure 30. Example of Muniain's footnotes



These notes not only contrast with most of the footnotes in *SC* but with the ones included in the translation of the other work presented in this volume. The translation of Aristotles' *Retórica* included in this volume was carried out by a different translator, Francisco P. Samaranch, also in Spain but in a different century, in 1964. Samaranch's notes are not only considerably briefer (they usually do not exceed one sentence), but they are globally less in number: two pages of notes for the entire work. Although Samaranch includes Greek words and phrases in a few notes, he always explains their content, which shows that he does not address an audience that necessarily reads Greek.

The volume at hand reproduces two translations with distinct purposes. What is more, by reproducing their respective paratexts, the difference between them is emphasized. A single footnote explaining the decision to leave out the Greek text in Muniain's translation, represents the voice of the publishing house. However, the lack of congruence by the inclusion of lengthy, erudite footnotes in one translation, and the briefer and more simple footnotes in the other translation, show that the presentation of the texts in this volume was not carefully crafted. The

unsigned preface that opens this volume is perhaps the best indication of the lack of perspective in this rewriting of Aristotle's works. This preface is exclusively concerned with establishing the historical coordinates of Aristotle's work. As I mentioned earlier, it does not provide any comments on the subject of the translations presented in the volume. This preface is not signed, and thus it is difficult to determine whether it was specifically made for the series or not. However, it is representative of the progressive lack of authorial voices seen in the series in previous years. In volumes like this, paratexts and translations share the space of the volume, but barely enter in contact with one another.

5.2.5. The slow disappearance of preface writers and prefaces

After the 1990s there is a slow dissolution of the nationalistic and original (in the sense of uniqueness) stamp that is seen in the volumes produced by highly committed agents. The move away from *ad hoc* prefaces not only happens through the repurposing of pre-existing texts, but through the progressive increase of unsigned prefaces. This phenomenon is more recurring in the volumes produced after the 1990s. In some cases, there are no hints that allow us to determine whether the preface is original or recycled. In other cases, however, mentions to Porrúa reveal that some of the prefaces presented as anonymous, were made exclusively for the series. It appears that throughout the development of *SC* providing introductions to the works was considered relevant but commissioning that work to an intellectual with cultural capital became less of a priority in later years.

Another phenomenon that accompanies the production of anonymous prefaces is the publication of volumes without paratexts. This starts occurring during the 1980s during the intense publication of French *roman-feuilleton*. For instance, none of Eugenio Sué's nor Miguel

Zévaco's works in the series include paratexts. Not all of Alexandre Dumas' works include a prologue. This happens too with other 19th century European novels whose authors are highly represented in the series. One volume tends to include a preface, whereas the rest do not.

Bermúdez does this too in her Verne and Salgari repertoire. However, beyond the 1980s, when the lack of prefaces are linked to the status of 19th century novels in the series more as a sole form of entertainment than a repertoire worthy of study and major appreciation (with the exception of the Bermúdez' micro-repertoire), the highest number of works without a preface are published in the late 1990s. During this time period a surge in anglophone literature is published in the series, much of which introduced a significant change in the series' repertoire (more modern, more *literary*), but at this point in time, the production of prefaces was seemingly no longer a priority. I already referred to this phenomenon in section 3.3.1. But just as a reminder, the works of H.G. Wells, Virginia Woolf, Graham Greene, Maxence Van Der Meersch, William Somerset Maugham, George Orwell, Thomas Merton, Robert Louis Stevenson, to only mention a few, are presented without paratexts in the series.

This tendency, however, does not deny the possibility of having some very sporadic appearances of agents that produce original rewritings for the series with a clear point of view. In 1991 José Emilio Pacheco prefaced and completed Rafael Cabrera's translations of Marcel Schwob's *Vidas imaginarias* and *La cruzada de los niños* in vol. 603. Ilán Stavans, a writer, translator and academic, published two anthologies and some prefaces for the series: Vol 625 (1992), Isaac Babel, *Caballería roja*, Vol. 635 (1993) *Antología de cuentos de misterio y terror*, Vol. 639 (1993), Machado de Assis, *El alienista y otros cuentos*, Vol. 651 (1994) *Cuentistas judíos*. One of the last volumes added to the catalogue in 2018 is the anthology *Ángel María Garibay K.: Trayectoria y antología* prepared by Miguel León-Portilla and presented as volume

747. These cases demonstrate that some intellectuals still keep ties with *SC* and are capable of producing volumes with a singular, Mexican perspective. Pacheco's volume pays homage to Rafael Cabrera, a well-respected translator to whom he devotes an entire section in his preface. Ilán Stavans brings in his particular experience as part of the Jewish community in Mexico in his representation of Jewish literature in *Cuentistas judíos* and *Caballería roja*. León-Portilla, pays tribute to his mentor Garibay. Furthermore, in this anthology the volumes published by Garibay in the series, and Garibay himself, become the subject matter. This volume pays homage to the early years of the series and one of its first agents' trajectory. However, an anthology such as this is exceptional, as the later volumes of the series are, for the most, either prefaced by a recycled translated preface, by an anonymous preface, or have no preface at all.

Conclusions

The performance of a publishing formula

Through the specific use of the paratexts described in this chapter Porrúa taps into a publishing template invested with meaning: colour-blocked covers that establish order and logic in encyclopedic book series; a paperback format that embodies the democratization of culture; the translation of authors' names that naturalizes foreignness; and the inclusion of prefaces to guide readers through this constructed universe. However, when the commercial logic defeats the symbolic, the series' suit becomes a costume. Significant changes occur under the guise of the uniformity of these books' covers. Although they are possible, order and coherence are not a unified block in this series, according to the paratextual evidence shown here. A main mandate appears to underlie: to make a repertoire of classics present.

Various ways of producing presence

The crux of the matter is what presenting entails. Presenting at times means providing a book in Spanish that corresponds to the title advertised on the front cover. In this sense, the task of accessibility is met in its most basic sense, as these volumes allow Mexican readers in different contexts to obtain a cheap version of, for instance, Rousseau, in their native language. But as I observed through various examples, the inclusion of a preface, the features of said preface, along with the choice of a translation, give a more complex meaning to the presenting task. In this sense, presenting is also the addition of discourses on the subject of the source text, where the origin and intents of the senders can be disparate and sometimes conflicting between each other.

3. Original rewritings with very different causes

In spite of the undeniable presence of original prefaces observed mostly during the first 20 years of the series' development, the absence of cohesive characteristics amongst them show that they depended mostly on each agent's own plan. Certain nationalistic tints can be seen in some of them, as well as an interpellation to a young general readership. However, this is not overarching and thus it is doubtful that such characteristics were dictated by the series.

The grotesque in recycled rewritings

The volumes of the series, then, become the grotesque bodies I described in the first chapter, and that I characterized through the analogy of the many-headed hydra. Hydras, along with other mythological creatures such as glyphs, are prototypical representatives of grotesque bodies, understood as bodies either lacking essential parts, being made up by a combination of incompatible parts or possessing additional body parts that produce incongruity and ambivalence (Edwards & Graulund, 2013: 2-4). Volumes such as those created by Garibay are less incongruous and ambivalent. Nevertheless, many are the cases in which volumes opt for presenting a copy of a given title without working out the tensions provoked by the combination

of translation sources and paratexts. In its most grotesque volumes *SC* becomes a performer of its publishing format: it repurposes translations and prefaces and grafts them together. In general, and within certain volumes, the series' admits the most erudite and the most anti-intellectual discourses. Footnotes and prefaces from unnamed translators are left. Paratexts and translations are cut and transformed. All of these appear to be valid practices for the sake of *producing the presence* of classics.

CONCLUSIONS

This research started by interrogating the what, who, and why of translation in *SC*. Through these questions, I attempted to shed light over a paradoxically well-known and at the same time unknown, valued and yet neglected publication that has enabled the contact of many Mexican readers with culture, literature and translation. My specific objectives were to elucidate the translation practices in *SC* across time and to explore the different types of translation agency in it. Yet, it is important to note, that as I gathered empirical data, this thesis also became an evaluation of the methods that can be used to explore translation in series. Thus, through a periodization, I proposed a model to navigate the diachronic changes in the translated repertoire and in the types of interventions on behalf of the agents. By analyzing two of the series' catalogues, I noted the changing ways in which the Porrúa publishing house has represented the series. By means of the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the genres, authors and languages, I pinpointed the most significant trends in the series, which helped me contextualize the translations and contributions of the series' few agents. The exploration of the localization of translation credits in the volumes in correlation with the types of translation agents helped me untangle the sources of *SC*'s translations. Finally, the study of paratexts allowed me to unravel the various *thresholds of interpretation*, borrowing Genette's metaphor, offered to the readers of the series.

Early on, this object of study posed various challenges. How to identify importance in this broad and heterogeneous object of study? How to resist the urge to go down the most obvious routes such as focusing on the contributions of the most renowned Mexican intellectuals in it? How to respect the series' formless nature whilst trying to impose on it analytical models in

search of trends and order? I recognize that many other and more interesting paths could have been followed in the exploration of translation practices in *SC*. I rehearsed more routes than the ones presented in the previous pages: a focused study of the anthologies in the series; an analysis of the translated repertoires within specific genres (for instance, the translated works that dealt with Mexican history); a study of the representation of indigenous culture, the *peripheric centre* of the series (as observed in the prefaces of the Conquest chronicles and in the modern adaptations of works such as *Popol Wuj* and *Rabinal Achi*); and a detailed exploration of several translation agent's work in the series. However, despite my conviction that these routes would lead to interesting places, it seemed like my main goal of describing the series as a whole would not be respected if I were to follow them. In the end, the work I presented in the previous pages became the necessary groundwork that will allow for future research on these more enticing case studies.

The metaphors of the grotesque, the monstrous, and the many-headed-hydra were instrumental in depicting this object of study. *SC* is above all, a mixture of elements that clash with each other due to their stark differences. Although the image of the many-headed hydra was useful to present the ramification of authors and rewriters within each volume and the whole series, I would like to establish a parallel between *SC* and yet another emblematic fantastic creature: the hippogriff. As a whole, *SC* is caught up in a series of dualities that are best represented by the image of this creature. A hippogriff is a hybrid entity, half horse and half eagle. It is the expression of an impossible combination. Hippogriffs' presence in literature can be traced back to Ludovico Ariosto's 1516 epic poem *Orlando Furioso*. In the Hispanic canon it was immortalized in the opening lines of Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *La vida es sueño* (1636).

In these lines, the character of Rosaura, referring to her horse by comparing it with a Hippogriff, states:

Hipogrifo violento,
que corriste parejas con el viento,
¿dónde, rayo sin llama,
pájaro sin matiz,
pez sin escama,
y bruto sin instinto natural,
al confuso laberinto de esas desnudas peñas
te desbocas, te arrastras y despeñas? (1636)

There are three elements from this depiction that I would like to retain and challenge. The first one is the characterization of the hippogriff by the absence of one of its essential characteristics (*rayo sin llama*, / *pájaro sin matiz*, / *pez sin escama*...). The second is the presentation of the hippogriff's violence. The third is the hippogriff's association with a self-destructive chaos in the last two verses, as it gallops recklessly into a confusing labyrinth.

Calderon de la Barca's description of the hippogriff is very suitable to represent the conventionally negative representation of grotesque monsters. However, I would like to argue that his verses also offer the key to understand the richness that lies behind the duality of these creatures. This duality can be represented from two angles. The first one, the one provided by Calderón de la Barca, is defined by subtraction (for instance, the verse "*rayo sin llama*" accentuates the absence of a constitutive part of what is being described). The second angle, by contrast, is that of summation. In other words, instead of seeing these entities according to what is missing in them, it is also possible to focus on what is added to the conjoined individual forms. This second route reminds of Bakhtin and his positive conceptualization of grotesque bodies. The continuous growth characterizing grotesque realism, the transgression of the body that I cited in the introduction, and the resulting exaggeration are seen by him not as something

negative. All the contrary: “This exaggeration has a positive, assertive character. The leading themes of these images of bodily life are fertility, growth, and a brimming-over abundance” (19).

In many ways, just as the hippogriff, *SC* is made by dualities that perhaps have been regarded as incongruous, but instead can be seen as a *locus* of fertility. There is a procreative power in these mixes. From the over-abundance of discourses inscribed in *SC*’s volumes, the overlapping of Spanish and Mexican rewritings from different times, the representation of various forms of translational agency, the freedom in the expression of the involved actor’s agency, as well as very diverse representations of the Spanish language, this object embodies the overlapping and syncretism of cultures that are so common in the Mexican and Latin American contexts.

Perhaps one of the main dualities in *SC* is the concatenation of highly canonical and popular works. For instance, it contains the more or less fixated *canon* of the theocratic age (in Bloom’s categorization) as well as 19th century novels whose association with the canon, would raise some brows, i.e., Salgari, Sué and Ponson du Terrail. The work of recognized literary figures in the national sphere such as Sor Juan Inés de la Cruz, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, and Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera coexist with anthologies gathering Mexican popular culture like *Leyendas del Sureste*, *La pastorela y el diablo en México* and *Refranes y aforismos mexicanos*. These combinations not only show that *SC* is a creature made by the two different and very distinct bodies, but it also highlights the fuzzy edges of its boundaries. It is partly a series of classics, and partly not.¹⁰³ It is a series of classics plus a lot more. And in this regard, the openness represented by the ellipsis of its title must be remembered.

¹⁰³ An illustrative counterexample is the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Mexicana*, a series of ancient Latin and Greek classics published by UNAM since 1944. In this series’ website, <http://scriptorum.humanidades.unam.mx>, the objectives of the project are clearly stated, as well as the structure of

The mixed nature of the hippogriff's body means that neither of its two constitutive parts are whole. The phrase *Ofrecer obras cimienta de ilustración* used to characterize SC's repertoire in the 1979 catalogue is, in my opinion, the subtle link between SC and its canonical part. Yet, if that declaration is taken at face value, there are a lot of works considered *obras cimienta de ilustración* missing from this repertoire, and there are some that despite being included do not fall under that category necessarily. If we focus on what might be missing in SC from a canonical perspective (something that is very difficult to pinpoint due to the chronological and geographical relativity of canons discussed earlier) some would find a lot of absences¹⁰⁴. The combination of highbrow and lowbrow literature in SC (as an addition and not a subtraction) could very well be indicative of the concomitant goals in Mexican education history to teach and transmit certain knowledge, alongside the aim to make reading attractive through less instructive

the volumes and characteristics of the translations. For instance, a clear list of the elements provided in each volume are presented on the series' website: "1. Un estudio preliminar [...], 2. El texto griego o latino original [...], 3. La traducción [...], 4. La anotación a la traducción [...], 5. El comentario leamático al texto [...], 6. Índices [...], 7. Una bibliografía. This series is fully committed to its mandate to publish Greek and Latin *classics* exclusively. SC contains many of the texts included in the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum* plus a lot more. But it does not share the *Bibliotheca*'s well-delineated volume composition and translation mandates.

¹⁰⁴ It could be argued, for instance, that among the ancient classics, there is the absence of the Babylonian text *The Gilgamesh*. From the Anglophone canon some absences could be John Donne, William Blake, Laurence Sterne, William Wordsworth, Lord Byron, Whittier, Whitman, Thoreau and Longfellow. In fact, very few anglophone poetry is included in the series. Even some novels that would have fitted in the series' repertoire for young readers are absent, such as Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* or one of Henry James' *A turn of the screw*. French poetry that had had an important impact on Mexican *modernistas* and in other 20th century Mexican poets are not in the series either. For instance: Jules Laforgue, Mallarmé, Théophile Gautier, Arthur Rimbaud, Gérard de Nerval, and Appollinaire are not in the series. In theatre, a demonstrably significant genre in SC, more modern and fundamental writers like August Strindberg, Samuel Beckett, Luigi Pirandello and Bertolt Brecht are missing. From the the Latin American canon the absence of the likes of João Guimarães Rosa, Jorge Luis Borges, César Vallejo, Felisberto Hernández, Macedonio Fernández, Carlos Fuentes, Clarice Lispector or Rubem Fonseca (who could have represented a continuation of the *detective novel* trend in the series albeit its more somber and violent tone). And within the national canon, some central figures are missing. There is no sign of Federico Gamboa, Rafael Delgado, Enrique González Martínez, José Juan Tablada, Juan Rulfo, Agustín Yáñez, Ramón López Velarde and José Gorostiza. Certainly, no female Mexican writers, with the exception of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, are included in the series. Thus, the works of Inés Arredondo, Elena Garro or Josefina Vicens are omitted. The Mexican novel of the Revolution is a noticeable absence in view of the relevance of the Revolution among SC's historical works. Neither *Los de abajo* by Mariano Azuela or any of the works by Martín Luis Guzmán are included in the series. Important Mexican authors that collaborated as preface writers in the series, are not included through their original work, for instance Alfonso Reyes, Salvador Novo, José Emilio Pacheco and Sergio Pitó. However, all selection involves exclusions, and focusing on those is not very fruitful.

material. In one case, canonical works would have been needed and in the other, entertainment literature, would have been more suitable. In that case, *SC* is not incongruous; its two constitutive parts are complementary. It is partly a series of the world's greatest works and partly a repertory of attractive reading material for a nation where better reading practices have long struggled to take hold.

The second most visible duality in *SC* pertains to the sources and types of rewritings in the series. *SC* at times establishes a direct dialogue with its intended Mexican readership. Other times, the series is a mere medium, the vessel that reproduces a previous dialogue established by distant translators and preface writers with their ensuing audience. The combination of original and recycled rewritings has direct repercussions in the ways in which the pedagogical function of the series is executed, as well as in the ways in which agency takes place in it. By suppressing most of the translation credits in the series and by offering translations without discussing their provenance, as well as the poetics and ideology they represent, *SC* privileges those poetics and ideologies. We are before a series that, for the most part, appropriates and transforms Spanish rewritings. The rare original rewritings in the series are not enough to contribute to the series otherwise highly nationalistic features. Thus, the translated works are very often presented via a double lens of foreignness, whereby the context of the source texts and the source translations have to be deciphered.

However, as I pointed at the beginning of this work, recycling practices such as the ones observed in *SC* are also found in Argentine series of classics such as the ones studied by Cámpora (2017). A broader comparative study is necessary to trace to what extent these hybrid translation practices in series are common in Latin America. This could allow for a global understanding of the specific history of the region's publishing industry (in which certain

colonial dynamics still linger) and the production and circulation of translations within it. In this regard, *SC*'s absorption and transformissions (Colidron, 2019) of pre-existing translations, can be seen as a cannibalistic gesture (as described by Mario de Andrade in his 1928 *Manifesto Antropófago* and by Haroldo de Campos in his 1992 *Da tradução como criação e como crítica*). Cámpora (2017) in fact lays the ground for such an interpretation in her description of the strikingly similar mixes of recycled translations and original paratexts in the Argentine series she studied: “El choque de ese contacto queda grabado en la materialidad del libro y dice algo del apuro, del hambre con que la cultura argentina absorbe la tradición anterior” (329). The notion of the hunger is crucial here, as it is closely related to the cannibalistic semantic field. The broad integration of old Spanish translations into these local Latin American contexts could be approached in a future study through the lens of the anthropophagic terminology: devouring, chewing, or swallowing without chewing, digesting and absorbing (for a more recent overview and reinterpretation of the Brazilian anthropophagy applied to translation and articulated according to the aforementioned terms, see Guldin 2017).

In the concrete case of a series like *SC*, the result of these cannibalistic practices is a monstrous and wondrous entity with positive potentialities: “The Other that is embodied in monsters can be integral to the construction of identity, not merely an imaginative foil” (Ambrose, 2013: 15), in view of the fact that the monster is “a universal symbol, which fuses contraries and ultimately stands for 'our innermost selves'” (Ambrose, 2013: 15). Editorial monsters such as *SC* can play a positive role in the formation of Latin American identities. Recognizing this positive function, linked to fertility and identity formation, it could be possible to dismiss their representation as violent, chaotic and self-destructive as per Calderón de la Barca's verses. I must also underline that allowing this positive perception of the monster does

not diminish its strange nature. After all, “the grotesque is the estranged world” (Kayser 1981: 185). But despite the ambivalent reactions these entities can produce, their inclusion in scholarly reflections (particularly within Translation Studies, a discipline that is greatly concerned with the approximation to an *otherness*¹⁰⁵) should not be neglected. After all, grotesque realism, according to Mazour-Matusevich (2009) is the “Dionysian affirmation of the world as it is, without subtraction, exception or selection” (6).

When I started this research the study of agency in the series was my priority. Given the very visible translator’s invisibility, the few visible names linked to translation appeared like the most interesting avenue of research. However, in view of my findings, I realize that it is perhaps not agency but the lack of agency that was the most interesting phenomenon at hand. This fact reminded me of the importance of negative space in the composition of art. Agency in the series is mostly localized in the *Teixidor period*. After that, it becomes very sporadic. Furthermore, the agents associated with the series during the first years of its development, show to have been very independent projects, linked mostly to their personal agendas. In contrast, the great resort to recycled translations and prefaces shows that this project offers great possibilities to explore the survival of translation and translation agency.

In the late 2000’s Robert Darnton, reviewed his seminal article “What is the history of books?” which I cited in the introduction. In this new appreciation of his previous work, he alludes to a phenomenon that seems to be particularly pertinent for weighing up the data I have presented in this thesis: survival. Darnton states: “I made room for libraries, but I omitted to take into consideration the reworking of the texts in the new editions, the translations and the

¹⁰⁵ For a detailed study of another clear manifestation of the grotesque in translation see Ryan Fraser (2016). *Underground Games: Surface Translation and the Grotesque*. *TTR*, 29 (2), pp. 99-128.

changing contexts of both reading and literature in general" (Darnton, 2008: 165). By doing this, he recognizes the importance of studying the transformations that texts undergo in their passage through different "editions, translations, compendiums and compilations" (Darnton, 2008: 165), a phenomenon that is equivalent to that described by the concept of *transmissions* (Colidron, 2019). And as it has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, products such as *SC* encapsulate not only the transformations of original texts but also of translations in their print form.

In this context of translations' survival, we are before a project that calls into question some of the main presuppositions about retranslation. In his famous article on the subject, Antoine Berman discussed the caducity of translations. Translations become old, and thus we need to update them: "Il faut retraduire parce que les traductions vieillissent, et parce qu'aucune n'est *la* traduction : par où l'on voit que traduire est une activité soumise au temps, et une activité qui possède une temporalité propre : celle de la caducité et de l'inachèvement" (Berman, 1990: 1). Nevertheless, Berman admits that some translations survive because they are great translations: "l'Histoire nous montre qu'il existe des traductions qui perdurent à l'égal des originaux et qui, parfois, gardent plus d'éclat que ceux-ci. Ces traductions sont ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler des *grandes traductions* (Berman, 1990: 2). Yet, as I showed in many of the examples I presented, not all recycled translations in *SC* (the survivors) are great translations. They survive due to the pragmatic needs of the publishing system. The need to produce the presence of certain authors in translation admits the revival of translations that are deeply antiquated (like the translation of Montaigne that omits all the passages of the Spanish conquest) or that push different objectives to the ones of *SC* (like Goya y Muniain's translation of Aristotle's *Poetica*).

If “retranslations reflect changes in the values and institutions of the translating culture, but can also produce such changes by inspiring new ways of reading and appreciating foreign texts” (Venuti, 2003: 36), what does the pervasive absence of retranslation in *SC* say about the Mexican translation culture? This study has revealed that one of the most important series of classics in the country contains a very small proportion of original retranslations. Although it is true that other publishing houses in Mexico have been important sources for original translations in the country, very few of them have focused on actually retranslating the classics. In the Hispanic publishing industry, the classics seem to be trapped in their old rewritings, which continue to be recycled *ad nauseam* in *SC* and beyond. An interesting future avenue of research would be to contrast the translation practices in books versus periodicals. Since the 19th century and throughout the 20th century, Mexican newspapers and literary magazines have been the place where some classics have been retranslated. For instance, the newspaper *El Universal* hosted a very obscure Mexican version of *Alice in Wonderland* by Joel S. Quiñones that was published between 1915 and 1921 (see López Guix, 2015). Literary periodicals such as *Revista Azul* (1894-1896), *Revista Moderna* (1898-1903), *Contemporáneos*, *Revista Mexicana de Cultura* (1928-1931) and *Revista Plural. Crítica y literatura* (1971-1994) gave an important role to the retranslation of (partly but not entirely) classics by the hands of renowned national authors. But Mexican retranslations of the classics that reach the book form are not many. The retranslation that Tomás Segovia carried out of Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* (2002, *Editorial Norma*) or those of Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* and Jane Austen’s *Emma* by Sergio Pitol that were published in the form of books are very rare. Perhaps their translator’s prestige in the Mexican cultural field has enabled these translations to be printed in book form. There is seemingly no interest in broader

publishing projects to commission retranslations of the classics in book format, and this could be linked to the pervasive reliance on pre-existing translated material carried out in Spain.

SC's hybridity is fundamental in the completion of a clearer map of translation practices in 20th and 21st century Mexico. *SC* has galloped through its 61 years of existence in a joyfully heterogeneous way. It has offered classics and popular literature as well as original and recycled rewritings under the guise of an uncomplicated physical body that erases differences by concealing credits and avoiding any reflections about the heterogeneous sources it resorts to. The underlying assumption of transparency is very reminiscent of Venuti's (1998) decry of the suppression of the translated status of texts in the pedagogy of literature in the United States: "Current pedagogy implicitly conceives of translation as communication unaffected by the language that makes it possible" (92). By not emphasizing the historical and cultural coordinates of the translation used to teach or disseminate a given work, there is an assumption of full transparency, and furthermore "what is preserved here is the authority [...] of the language in which it is communicated" (92). In the case at hand, what is preserved is the authority of a foreign culture and of a distant time. What *SC* and the common resort to pre-existing Spanish translations in the Hispanic publishing world reveal is the superimposition of Spanish cultural values over the interpretation of a very broad foreign repertoire. The very rare agency observed in *SC* and the lack of reflections regarding why so few retranslations of classics have been produced in Mexico, show to what degree recycled translations as the ones used in *SC* are perhaps considered defective but useful overall.

In hindsight, I realize that I started this project moved by certain positive perception of translation phenomena. I was looking for translation in action, translation in the present tense. Not only translation history has called repeatedly for centering our work on translators, but

concepts that are so popular in our field such as translation policy, translation norms, rewriting, retranslation and agency, show our concern with studying the instances of translation with a cause or intention. And rightly so. However, what this object led me to was to the absence of a clear policy, dubious translation norms, the mixes of contrasting rewritings, the resistance to retranslate, and very scarce cases of agency. In contrast to other series with a more straightforward thematic thread, this object's repertoire appeared initially as very incongruous and chaotic. However, *SC* was always straightforward about the openness that defined it. In fact, the paratext included in Appendix 1, which I found at the last stage of this research, was even more transparent than any other account I had found: "La Colección 'Sepan Cuantos...' ofrece una diversidad impuesta por el deseo de hacer llegar a los lectores obras de esparcimiento, y de muchas otras que enriquecen nuestros conocimientos" ("*Sepan Cuantos...*", 1970: 432). The imposition of the label *series of classics* to this series appears to be a function of history. The classics included in this project have greatly contributed to its survival, however the series never restrained itself to only being a series of classics. The citation above shows that, actually, the mission to entertain came before that of teaching. Perhaps the assumption of a single label for *SC* shows a certain proscription of the intermingling of popular and canonical works. Calling *SC* a series of *classics* appeases, at least superficially, the ambivalence produced by its heterogeneous repertoire. But trying to apprehend this series in a monolithic way is counterproductive, especially if we consider that from the outset it declared its shape-shifting nature. It is us, perhaps, that must allow for the strangeness and indeterminacy of monsters.

As a very last note I would like to add that as I conclude this project, the mixes in the repertoire selection are not as striking to me as the mixes of rewritings that I described in the last two chapters. In fact, as I conclude these pages, I would like to make a brief terminological

reflection, as I wonder if a more suitable label for the phenomena I have described is not André Lefevere's original term *refraction* instead of rewriting. The survival of many of the translations reproduced in *SC* and their interaction with the others with which they are presented in these editions, appears to be the product of a process where clear intentionality is hard to detect (undeniably linked to Colidron's use of the term *transmission*). In this sense, the movement of translations from one vessel to another throughout time, the addition or omission of paratexts and the names of the translators in *SC* are a function of the inertia of publishing practices and of that *hunger* perceived in Mexico (just as in Argentina), where the characteristics of the publishing field have pushed towards intense translation recycling and the monstrous wonders this creates.

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"Sepan Cuantos..."

*Los que leen, gozan,
los que estudian, aprenden.*

P. ANGEL MARÍA GARIBAY K.



"SEPAN CUANTOS..."
FREDÓN DE LA CULTURA

La Colección "Sepan Cuantos..." ofrece una diversidad impuesta por el deseo de hacer llegar a los lectores obras de esparcimiento, y de muchas otras que enriquecen nuestros conocimientos.

Es una de las tareas más arduas de un editor consciente de su responsabilidad en la propagación de la cultura, satisfacer a multitud de paladares. ¿Qué es lo que en función de editores podremos darles? ¿O, qué es lo que no les daremos? Cada quien pide cosas muy distintas, y no todos estiman las mismas cosas. Este rehúsa las viandas que pide el otro. Puestos en esta encrucijada, no dejamos de sentirnos perplejos en el mismo punto en que tenemos que elegir autores y materias, imaginados en círculos concéntricos capaces de alcanzar a la mayoría de lectores... Y esta suele ser la hora menguada del editor.

Sin embargo, si recorremos la ya muy nutrida lista de títulos aparecidos en la Colección "Sepan Cuantos...", quizás nos sea permitido sentirnos optimistas. Hemos contado hasta ahora con las preferencias de grandes núcleos de lectores, de México y del extranjero. Buena señal, la mejor. Que ello sea incentivo de perfección para la Editorial Porrúa, dándole sana y larga vida a "Sepan Cuantos..."

I

APPENDIX 2

"La prosapia de 'sepan quantos' in *boletín bibliográfico mexicano* Vol. 30, 1970

LA PROSAPIA DE "SEPAN CUANTOS..."

Recordando a Gracián, que no plagiándolo, bien podríamos decir que si todo regalo es bueno, siendo éste un libro, es dos veces bueno. Manos amigas* dejaron en nuestra mesa de trabajo el presente de un curioso volumen, máspreciado aún, si cabe, por el encabezado de su portada, y cuya feliz coincidencia notará el amable lector luego de que se digne leerla:

SEPAN CUANTOS....

COROZA CRÍTICA
PUENTA A LA EXCEPCIONAL EDICIÓN QUE DE LAS

OBRAS DE LOPE DE RUEDA

PROPOSIÓ

DON EMILIO COTABELO Y MORI

ya del todo colocada en la picota después
de la SATISFACCIÓN A LA REAL ACADE-
MIA ESPAÑOLA, que el mismo felibre tu-
vo la desgracia de concebir y dar á luz,
por el Bachiller Alonso de
San Martín.



En Madrid, en la Imprenta de Porriat, 1900.

Este antiquísimo *Sepan Cuantos* con todo y sus puntos suspensivos, apa-

* Nos referimos a nuestro antiguo y respetado amigo Don Alberto Vázquez del Mercado, quien, en sus fructuosas correrías por librerías y barutillos de Madrid, encontró el libro cuya portada reproducimos. Le llamó la atención ese *Sepan Cuantos...*, y, gentilmente, lo obsequió a esta Casa a su regreso del Viejo Mundo.

rece aquí con idénticas intenciones a las nuestras.** Pregonar, en este caso, la aparición de un libro.

Pregón de plebeyos, y también de Reyes. Es el mismo de Don Alfonso el Sabio, de los años de 1261: "Sepan quantos esta carta vieren como nos Don Alfonso..." Del Rey Don Sancho, en documentos fechados en 1285; de Fernando IV en 1302. En dos solemnes alcaldes de un pueblo de la provincia de Segovia, de 1486: "Sepan quantos esta carta de obligación vieren..." Y hasta el de un humilde zapatero del pueblo de Lorca, llamado Ginés Pérez, que en 1575 anunciaba a "sepan quantos esta carta de obligación vieren, como yo... etc." Y esto, y más, en España.

Con distinto alcance lo usó en México nuestra Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, cuando por boca de Castaño, en *Los Empeños de una Casa*, se advierte:

Señor, ¿estás dado al diablo?
¿No ves que hay en esta casa
una tropa de lacayos,
que sin que nadie lo sepa
nos darán un *sepancuantos*,
y andarán descomedidos
por andar muy bien criados?***

Cita que nos lleva *recta via* a la página 1191, col. 2a., de la flamante edición del *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, de la Real Academia, en donde a la letra se dice:

sepancuantos. (De las palabras *sepan cuantos*, con que generalmente principiaban los edictos, amonestaciones, cartas reales, etc.) m. fam. Castigo, zurra.

Es decir, un *sepancuantos*, convertido ahora en zurra, la misma que temía Castaño en la comedia de Sor Juana.

Pero sin más disquisiciones, apresurémonos a devolverle a *sepancuantos* su noble significado. El que esta Casa ha querido que tuviera: Pregón de la cultura, la de México mancomunada a la Universal, tal y como aparece —en la medida de nuestras fuerzas— en los ciento cincuenta números de la Colección "Sepan Cuantos..."

E. E.

** Véase la justificación de "Sepan Cuantos..." en nuestro *Catálogo*. "Primavera de 1970". Editorial Porrúa, S. A. México, 1970. Pág. 72. (Pídase al Apartado Postal M-7990.)

*** Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. *Obras Completas*. "Sepan Cuantos..." No. 100. Editorial Porrúa, S. A. México, 1969. Pág. 759.

APPENDIX 3

Volumes with more than 20 editions

Vol	Title	Author	Prologist	First ed. in SC	Editions	Translator
2	<i>La Ilíada</i>	Homero	Alfonso Reyes	1959	37	Luis Segalá y Estalella
34	<i>El lazarillo de Tormes / Vida del buscón don Pablos</i>	Anónimo/Francisco de Quevedo	Guillermo Díaz-Plaja	1965	34	
210	<i>Narraciones extraordinarias</i>	Edgar Allan Poe	María Elvira Bermúdez	1972	34	Not identified
62	<i>Clemencia. Cuentos de invierno -- Julia. Antonia. Beatriz. Atenea</i>	Ignacio Manuel Altamirano	Guillermo Díaz-Plaja	1966	33	
6	<i>El ingenioso Hidalgo, don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra	Américo Castro	1960	32	
13	<i>Diálogos</i>	Platón	Francisco Larroyo	1962	32	Not identified
14	<i>Las siete tragedias</i>	Sófocles	Ángel María Garibay	1962	32	Ángel María Garibay
15	<i>La divina comedia</i>	Dante Alighieri	Francisco Montes de Oca	1962	32	Not identified
1	<i>El periquillo sarniento</i>	José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi	Jefferson Rea Spell	1959	31	
4	<i>La Odisea</i>	Homero	Manuel Alcalá	1960	31	Luis Segalá y Estalella
118	<i>Pensativa</i>	Jesús Goytortúa Santos		1969	30	
299	<i>El principito</i>	Antoine de Saint Exupéry	María de los Ángeles Porrúa	1975	30	María de los Ángeles Porrúa

97	<i>Cuentos</i>	Horacio Quiroga	Raimundo Lazo	1968	29	
17	<i>Rimas, leyendas y narraciones</i>	Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer	Juana de Ontañón	1963	28	
61	<i>El Zarco. La Navidad en las Montañas</i>	Ignacio Manuel Altamirano	María del Carmen Millán	1966	28	
9	<i>Novelas ejemplares</i>	Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra	Sergio Fernández	1961	27	
10	<i>Cuatro comedias</i>	Juan Ruiz de Alarcón	Antonio Castro Leal	1961	27	
11	<i>Las siete tragedias</i>	Esquilo	Ángel María Garibay	1962	27	Ángel María Garibay
58	<i>Don Juan Tenorio / El puñal del godo.</i>	José Zorrilla	Salvador Novo	1966	27	
85	<i>Poema de Mío Cid / Romancero del Cid.</i>	Anónimo	Amancio Bolaño	1968	27	Amancio Bolaño e Isla
3	<i>Los bandidos de Río Frío</i>	Manuel Payno	Antonio Castro Leal	1959	26	
152	<i>El príncipe</i>	Nicolás Maquiavelo	Antonio Gómez Robledo	1970	26	Not identified
157	<i>Corazón</i>	Edmundo de Amicis	María Elvira Bermúdez	1970	26	Not identified
223	<i>Flor de leyendas / La sirena varada / La dama del alba / La barca sin pescador</i>	Alejandro Casona	Antonio Magaña Esquivel	1972	26	
86	<i>Hamlet / Penas por amor perdidas / Los dos hidalgos de Verona / Sueño de una noche de Verano / Romeo y Julieta.</i>	William Shakespeare	Los editores	1968	25	Leandro Fernández de Moratín (Hamlet) / Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo (Romeo y Julieta)

136	<i>Las mil y una noches</i>		Teresa E. Rhode	1970	25	Not identified
253	<i>Comedias / La andriana / El eunuco / El atormentador de sí mismo / Los hermanos / La suegra / Formión</i>	Terencio	Francisco Montes de Oca	1973	25	Not identified
255	<i>Mariana Pineda / La zapatera prodigiosa / Así que pasan cinco años / Doña Rosita la soltera / La casa de Bernarda Alba / Primeras canciones / Canciones</i>	Federico García Lorca	Salvador Novo	1973	25	
467	<i>La metamorfosis / El proceso</i>	Franz Kafka	Milan Kundera	1985	25	Not identified
5	<i>Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España</i>	Bernal Díaz del Castillo	Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas	1960	24	
16	<i>Fábulas -- José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi. José Rosas Moreno. Esopo. Fedro. Juan de la Fontaine. Arcipreste de Hita. Tomás de Iriarte. Félix María Samaniego. Concepción Arenal. Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch. Ramón de Campoamor</i>	Varios autores	María de Pina	1963	24	Not identified
31	<i>Mitología griega -- Dioses y héroes</i>	Ángel María Garibay K.		1964	24	
36	<i>Popol Wuj -- Antiguas historias de los indios quichés de Guatemala</i>		Albertina Saravia	1965	24	Albertina Saravia
94	<i>Otelo. La fierecilla domada. A vuestro gusto. El rey Lear</i>	William Shakespeare	Montserrat Alfau	1968	24	Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo (Otelo)
149	<i>Comedias. El avaro / Las preciosas ridículas / El médico a la fuerza / La escuela de mujeres / Las mujeres sabias</i>	Molière	Rafael Solana	1970	24	Not identified

388	<i>Niebla</i>	Miguel de Unamuno		1983	24	
7	<i>Cartas de Relación</i>	Hernán Cortés	Manuel Alcalá	1960	23	
70	<i>Ética Nicomaquea. Política.</i>	Aristóteles	Antonio Gómez Robledo	1967	23	Antonio Gómez Robledo
177	<i>Discurso del método / Meditaciones metafísicas / Reglas para la dirección del espíritu / Principio de la filosofía</i>	Descartes	Francisco Larroyo	1971	23	Not identified
277	<i>El llamado de la selva / Colmillo blanco</i>	Jack London		1974	23	Not identified
24	<i>Las diecinueve tragedias -- El cíclope. Alcestes. Medea. Los heráclidas. Hipólito. Andrómaca. Hécuba. La locura de Heracles. Suplicantes. Ion. Las troyanas. Ifigenia en tauris. Electra. Helena. Las fenicias. Orestes. Ifigenia en Aulis. Báquides. Reso</i>	Eurípides	Ángel María Garibay	1963	22	Ángel María Garibay
69	<i>Miau</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós		1963	22	
133	<i>El retrato de Dorian Gray. El príncipe feliz. El ruiseñor y la rosa. El crimen de Lord Arthur Saville. El fantasma de Canterville</i>	Oscar Wilde	Montserrat Alfau	1969	22	Montserrat Alfau
134	<i>El niño de la bola</i>	Pedro A. De Alarcón	Juana de Ontañón	1969	22	
256	<i>Hace falta un muchacho</i>	Arturo Cuyás Armengol		1974	22	
21	<i>Fausto y Werther</i>	Goethe J. W.	Francisco Montes de Oca	1963	21	Not identified
41	<i>La vida es sueño. El alcalde de Zalamea</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca	Guillermo Díaz-Plaja	1965	21	
42	<i>Azul... El salmo de la pluma. Cantos de vida y esperanza. Otros poemas.</i>	Rubén Darío	Edición de Antonio Oliver Belmás	1965	21	
107	<i>Doña Perfecta</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós		1968	21	
8	<i>Ocho siglos de poesía en lengua española</i>	Varios autores	Francisco Montes de Oca	1961	20	

12	<i>Fuente Ovejuna. Peribáñez y el comendador de Ocaña. El mejor alcalde, el rey. El Caballero de Olmedo</i>	Lope de Vega	J.M. Lope Blanch	1962	20	
46	<i>María</i>	Jorge Isaacs	Daniel Moreno	1966	20	
56	<i>Pepita Jiménez</i>	Juan Valera	Juana de Ontañón	1966	20	
66	<i>Platero y yo. Trescientos poemas (1903-1953)</i>	Juan Ramón Jiménez		1967	20	
67	<i>Las once comedias -- Los acarnios. Los caballeros. Las nubes. Las avispas. La paz. Las aves. Lisístrata. Tesmoforias. Las ranas. La asamblea de las mujeres. Pluto.</i>	Aristófanes	Ángel María Garibay	1967	20	Ángel María Garibay
77	<i>Los miserables</i>	Víctor Hugo	Javier Peñalosa	1967	20	Not identified
116	<i>Viaje al centro de la tierra. El doctor Ox. Maese Zacarías. Un drama en los aires.</i>	Julio Verne	María Elvira Bermúdez	1969	20	Not identified
167	<i>Didáctica magna</i>	Juan Amós Comenio	Gabriel de la Mora	1971	20	Not identified
249	<i>Otra vez el diablo / Nuestra Natacha / Prohibido suicidarse en primavera / Los árboles mueren de pie</i>	Alejandro Casona	Antonio Magaña-Esquivel	1973	20	
591	<i>México Bárbaro</i>	John Kenneth Turner		1990	20	Not identified

APPENDIX 4

Photograph of SC's display in Porrúa bookstore (taken in 2019)

