Exploring the backstage of translations: A study of translation-related manuscripts in the Anthony Burgess archives

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This article offers a preliminary exploration of the use of translators’ manuscripts in translation research. It will be argued that, aside from a philological interest, studying translators’ papers is crucial in reconstructing the prehistory and process of translations. It will also be argued that such a study is crucial in analysing and evaluating the factors that influence translations, including the roles of the people involved in the translation process. More specifically, applying to translators’ manuscripts the methods of enquiry developed by genetic criticism will be illustrated through a study of the available manuscripts pertaining to the Italian translation of Anthony Burgess’s libretto, Blooms of Dublin (1986). The aim of the study is to show the importance of developing a specific methodology for investigating the prehistory and process of translation.

1. Introduction

Jeremy Munday (2012, 2013) has recently called attention to the role that archival methodologies may play in widening the scope of descriptive translation studies. According to Munday (2013), this can be achieved by “combining analysis of the translated product with an investigation of the translation process” (p. 134). Translation-related draft manuscripts and papers appear to be particularly suited to the investigation of such a process because they are “interim products which offer crucial and more direct access to the creative process that is literary translation and provide written evidence of the translator’s decision-making” (Munday, 2013, p. 126).

The present study draws on and extends Munday’s analysis by approaching translators’ manuscripts from the perspective of genetic criticism (De Biasi, 1995; Deppmann, Ferrer, & Groden, 2004; Van
Hulle, 2011, 2014). Genetic criticism is a discipline of textual scholarship that focuses on processes rather than on products. Differently from textual criticism, manuscript genetics does not aim to reconstruct one particular state of the text, but rather the process by which the text came into being. Central to the genetic methodology is the notion of *avant-texte*. According to De Biasi (2000, pp. 30–31), the *avant-texte* is the result of the critical analysis of “all the documents that come before a work when it is considered as a text” (Deppman, Ferrer, & Groden, 2004, p. 8). It is a “critical production” in that it involves “the transformation of an empirical collection of documents into a dossier of ordered and meaningful items” (De Biasi, 2000, pp. 30–31).

In the case of translated texts, the *avant-texte* can therefore be described as the critical analysis of the documents pertaining to a translation that attest to the process by which the translated text came into being. Previous research on manuscript genetics and translation (Bourjea, 1995; Paret Passos, 2002; Romanelli, 2013, Scott, 2006) has primarily focused on investigating translation manuscripts “in an attempt to uncover the intricacies of the underlying creative processes” (Stallaert, 2014, p. 370), with an emphasis on “the agency of the translator as creator” (Stallaert, 2014, p. 370). In our study, we approach translator manuscript genetics from a different angle and with a different aim: not to observe the translator’s creativity at work but to reconstruct the forces at play in the translation process, the various stages through which the translated text came into being, and the roles played by the agents involved in the process itself.

As Munday (2013) points out, translators’ drafts are working documents that bear “visible traces of the translatorial act” (p. 134) and can therefore serve as primary sources for reconstructing the translator’s doubts and decision-making process. This purpose may also be pursued by analysing other types of document, such as translators’ correspondence, notes, and marginalia. In this article we present a case study that illustrates the application of process-oriented methodologies such as genetic criticism to the field of translation with a focus on questions of authorship and agency. An analysis will be offered of the manuscripts and other related documents pertaining to the Italian translation of Anthony Burgess’s *Blooms of Dublin*, a musical adaptation of James Joyce’s *Ulysses* (Burgess, 1986). These documents constitute the genetic dossier of the translation, which will be explored in order to reconstruct the various stages in the translation process as well as the roles played by the agents involved.

The reasons for the selection of this particular text are diverse. The source text itself is a translation, or rather an authorial adaptation of another author’s work. Since large portions of Joyce’s novel are reproduced almost verbatim in Burgess’s libretto, translating *Blooms of Dublin* entails coming to terms with the text of Joyce’s *Ulysses*. Moreover, the author (in this case Burgess) had a role in the adaptation of his work for the Italian stage and intervened at various stages in the
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A plurality of figures was therefore involved in the project, including Burgess’s wife, Liliana Macellari Wilson. This indeed adds to the interest and complexity of this particular enterprise.

2. Translating Anthony Burgess’s Blooms of Dublin

2.1 Blooms of Dublin

As stated above, Blooms of Dublin is an operetta by Anthony Burgess based on James Joyce’s Ulysses. According to Phillips (2010), “Blooms of Dublin presents Ulysses in a form celebrating the popular musical culture of Joyce’s Dublin” (p. 266). First broadcast by the BBC, simultaneously from Dublin and London, on 2 February 1982 to celebrate the first centenary of Joyce’s birth, it was published in book form by Hutchinson in 1986. Burgess had been thinking of composing a musical inspired by Ulysses for a long time. He was convinced of the importance of songs in Joyce’s work: “Ulysses sings all the way or, when it does not sing, it declaims or intones. It has been turned into a stage-play – Bloomsday; it could also be turned into an opera” (Burgess, 1965, p. 28).

What Burgess went on to do was to compose a musical play, full of joyful songs and comic remarks, being convinced, as he was, that “Joyce wrote Ulysses to entertain, to enhance life, to give joy” (Burgess, 1965, p. 179). This “musical version of Ulysses”, as Burgess (1986, p. 5) calls it, is divided into two acts which follow the narrative patterns of Joyce’s novel and reproduce most of its dialogues almost verbatim. Burgess’s creative vein finds its expression mainly in the 37 songs that intersperse the various scenes. It must be remembered that Burgess was also a composer, and that both the musical scores and the lyrics are his own original contribution (see Phillips, 2010). As suggested by Zack Bowen (2002), the songs do successfully popularize Joyce’s novel by making its key themes accessible to a wider audience. Burgess’s capacity for catching the gist of Joyce’s works, which had already been demonstrated in his adaptation of Finnegans Wake (Burgess, 1966), is here confirmed and even improved upon.

2.2 Translation-related documents in the Burgess archives

As Burgess (1986) wrote in his Introduction, “[s]ome readers may feel that Blooms of Dublin has a theatrical future as well as a radio past” (p. 11). In the summer of 1982, Anthony Burgess started a close collaboration with Mario Maranzana, an Italian actor, stage director, and scriptwriter. They intended to produce an Italian theatrical version of
Blooms of Dublin, assisted by Burgess’s Italian wife, Liliana Macellari, who was a translator as well as a literary agent.9

The documents pertaining to this collaboration, and which are under scrutiny in this analysis, are located in three main depositories: the Burgess collection at the Harry Ransom Center in Austin, Texas; the International Anthony Burgess Foundation, based in Manchester, UK; and Mario Maranzana’s personal papers, owned by his widow Luisa Rado, which are located in Rome. More precisely, the documents are:

- a typescript catalogued “Ulysses Part II Italian version”, which starts on p. 78 with the “Oxen of the Sun” chapter and ends on p. 123 with an incomplete “Penelope”. The manuscript bears corrections in pen (HRC, Anthony Burgess Papers, Manuscript Collection MS-0601, box 48, folder 9, henceforth HRC 48.9);
- a typescript entitled “I Bloom di Dublino” (photocopy), consisting of 76 photocopied, numbered pages with corrections in pen and pencil (HRC, Anthony Burgess Papers, Manuscript Collection, box 5, folder 4, henceforth HCR 5.4);
- a typescript bearing the title “Ulissea, commedia musicale di Anthony Burgess” (act 1), adapted and translated by Mario Maranzana; musical adaptation by Guido Cergoli.10 The document consists of 121 pages with handwritten corrections and annotations in pencil and ink (IABF box 2 folder 7, henceforth IABF 2.7);
- a typescript entitled “‘Ulyssea’. Musical di Anthony Burgess”, consisting of 65 pages, containing annotations and corrections by Burgess and others. On the cover page, the text is presented as a theatrical adaptation by Mario Maranzana, translated by Liana Macellari and Mario Maranzana, and revised by Edmo Fenoglio. The manuscript is dated 20 February 1993 (IABF box 2, folder 5, henceforth IABF 2.5);11
- a typescript entitled Ulyssea, consisting of 180 bound pages bearing corrections in pen, as well as cut and pasted fragments, resulting from the assemblage of various versions in different typewriting styles (Maranzana, personal papers, henceforth Maranzana);12
- seven loose, numbered, pink paper sheets containing a translation of Molly’s monologue in Liana Macellari’s handwriting; on the back of the sheets there are notes in Maranzana’s handwriting (Maranzana, personal papers, henceforth L. Burgess).

We know that a musical entitled Ulyssea, based on Blooms of Dublin and adapted by Mario Maranzana, was to be staged at the Sala Tripcovich of Teatro Comunale “Giuseppe Verdi” in Trieste in May 1993. It was listed as the last event in the 1992–1993 theatrical programme, but for various reasons the musical was never performed.13
The genetic dossier of the translation is complemented by tape recordings of Maranzana’s discussions with Anthony Burgess and his wife Liana regarding the project. Signora Maranzana informed us that these meetings took place in Trieste in the summer of 1982. The project went on for more than a decade, during which Anthony and Liana met Mario Maranzana several times, not only in Rome, where the Maranzanas lived, but also in Bracciano, where the Burgesses lived, and in Trieste, where the musical was to be performed. The conversations were recorded on two tapes labelled “Discussion” and dated 31 July and 2 August 1982 respectively (Maranzana).

3. Interpreting the documents

The diasporic location of the documents, the difficulty of dating them, and their fragmentary nature posed a problem of interpretation from the very beginning of our study. As we have described elsewhere (Bollettieri & Zanotti, 2014), our curiosity about the possible existence of an Italian translation of *Ulysses* by Anthony Burgess was aroused when we unexpectedly came across a manuscript at the Harry Ransom Center (HRC 48.9) which looked like a rather faithful translation of fragments of *Ulysses* for a stage production. Further research in the HRC archives and the International Anthony Burgess Foundation in Manchester allowed us to identify the documents pertaining to this project that had been owned by Burgess. The fact that they were found among Burgess’s papers tells us something about the importance that the author attached to a project that involved having his musical transposed into Italian. We were able to consult Maranzana’s personal papers only at a later stage. In addition to various audio and manuscript materials, which are mostly typewritten drafts of the text that Maranzana was preparing for the Italian stage, these papers include musical scores with the Italian versions of the lyrics, which we know were provided by Burgess’s wife, Liana.¹⁴

3.1 The HRC manuscripts

As stated above, we have two typescripts from the Burgess collection at HRC. We were at first misled by the catalogue heading “Ulysses Part II Italian version” (HRC 48.9), which made no mention of Burgess’s musical, but we soon realized that this was an Italian translation of a work conceived for the stage. Closer scrutiny told us that the manuscript was in fact an Italian version of *Blooms of Dublin* (henceforth *BD*). The other document, entitled “I Bloom di Dublino” (HRC 5.4), referred without doubt to Burgess’s musical. A comparative analysis of the two documents revealed that the latter was a word-for-word translation of the libretto, probably done by Liana Macellari. The manuscript has corrections and
annotations in two different handwritings. We have identified the corrections to the translated text as being in Liana’s handwriting, whereas alternative translation solutions are found on page 1 in Maranzana’s handwriting (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Maranzana’s annotations on p. 1 of HRC 5.4
This seems to suggest that a literal translation was produced for Maranzana to assist him in the Italian adaptation for the stage, because he had a very scant knowledge of English, as emerges also from the recorded conversations with the Burgesses.

Quite differently, the other manuscript (HRC 48.9) offers a more refined and elaborate version of the source text, which leads one to hypothesize that this comes after HRC 5.4. Below is an example of the translator’s work on Burgess’s text:

Example 1

WOMEN: Send us, bright one, light one, hornhorn, quickening and womb-fruit. \textit{(BD, p. 57)}

\textit{DONNE: Inviaci, splendore, lumen, numen, ravviva, frutto del ventre.} (HRC 5.4, p. 41) 
[Women: Send us, splendour, lumen, numen, quicken, womb-fruit]

\textit{DONNE: Dacci, clarus, levis, cornus, hornus, fructum ventris.} (HRC 48.9, p. 71)  
[Women: Give us, clarus, levis, cornus, hornus, fructum ventris]

It is clear that HRC 5.4 offers a more literal translation than HRC 48.9, where the choice of Latin makes the women’s prayer more evocative and in line with Burgess’s reading of Joyce’s “Oxen of the Sun” chapter, where Anglo-Saxon and Latin represent the masculine and feminine elements respectively, as clearly emerges from the tape recordings in Maranzana’s archive (tape 1a). This favours the interpretation that HRC 5.4 precedes HRC 48.9 and it also seems to suggest that Burgess was the inspirer of the translator’s choice.

We can also notice that in order to render the archaic language in the original, the translator opted for allusions to and quotations from Dante’s \textit{Commedia}. In the following excerpts, “enfiata labia” (swollen lips) is a quotation from \textit{Inf. VII.7} and “nel foco che l’affina” (“in the fire that purifies them”) echoes \textit{Purg. XXVI.148}.

Example 2

STEPHEN: Thou chuff, thou puny, thou got in peasestraw, thou losel, thou chitterling, thou dykedropt, thou abortion, thou. Shut thy drunken drool, ape. \textit{(BD, p. 58)}

\textit{STEFANO: Tu zoticone, tu sparuto, tu nato nella paglia di pisello, tu buono a nulla, tu trippa di maiale, tu caduto dalla diga, tu aborto, tu. Chiudi il tuo becco ubriaco, scimmiotto.} (HRC 5.4, p. 43)
[Stephen: You yokel, you skinny, you born in peasestraw, you good for nothing, you pig belly, you dykedropt, you abortion, you. Shut your drunk beak, ape.]

STEPHEN: Tu pula, tu pusillo, frustulicchio, idropico scherzo e aborto di natura, tu. Macaco malforme chiudi l’enfiata labbia. (HRC 48.9, p. 73)

[Stephen: You chaff, you mean, you little bit, hydropic joke and monstrosity, you. Malformed monkey, shut your swollen lips.]

Example 3

STEPHEN (drunk): [...] Both babe and parent now glorify their maker, the one in limbo gloom, the other in purge fire. (BD, p. 58)

STEFANO: (ubriaco) [...] Sia l’infante che il genitorerice ora glorificano il loro creatore, l’uno nel limbo cupo, l’altra nelle fiamme del purgatorio. (HRC 5.4, p. 42)

[Both infant and genetrix now glorify their creator, the one in gloomy limbo, the other in the flames of purgatory.

STEPHEN (UBRIACO): [...] Nascituro e madre ora glorificano entrambi il loro creatore, l’uno nel limbo fosco, l’altra nel foco che l’affina e purge. (HRC 48.9, p. 73)

[Both unborn babe and mother now glorify their Creator, the one in dark limbo, the other in the fire that hones and purifies.]

Once again, the examples above confirm the different purposes of the two translations and the higher level of sophistication or elaboration that characterizes HRC 48.9. No doubt they come from the same source text and we may hypothesize that they were both carried out under Burgess’s supervision. We can reasonably surmise that in both cases the translator was Liana, who probably wrote annotations in HRC 48.9 such as the following: “Anthony Burgess desidera sopprimere questo numero” [Anthony Burgess wants to delete this song], which can be found on p. 72 in reference to Song No. 18, which was not transcribed, as well as “ANTHONY NON HA ANCORA DECISO TRA MODIFICARE O SOPPRIMERE IL No. 19” [Anthony has not yet decided whether to modify or delete song No. 19], which appears on p. 74.

Recent findings have provided evidence that this was indeed the case. On 18 November 1992 Mario Maranzana informed Gianni Gori, the production manager of the Teatro Verdi of Trieste, that an Italian version of Act 1 of Blooms of Dublin done jointly by Burgess and his wife Liana had been sent to him. Maranzana resentfully remarked that Mrs Burgess
had entirely ignored the work that he had done. He thus informed Gori that the final version of the libretto that he was preparing for the stage was the result of a “mélange” of the two versions, his and the Burgesses’.

Figure 2. Burgess’s correction on p. 14 of IABF 2.7

3.2 The *Ulyssea* project

When we compared the IABF and Maranzana manuscripts with those of the HRC, we were puzzled by the differences exhibited by these two sets of items. After various attempts at analysing the manuscripts as a part of the same corpus, we realized that we were in fact facing two different projects that were hardly comparable, despite their apparent affinity. First of all, the original title was replaced by a new one, namely *Ulissea* in IABF 2.7, and then changed to *Ulyssea* in IABF 2.5 and in the Maranzana manuscript. Both are a lexical blend of *Ulisse/Ulysses* and *Odissea* (Italian for *Odyssey*). Furthermore, while the content of the three manuscripts allows us to establish a textual connection immediately, their relationship with the manuscripts held at HRC is less immediately observable.

IABF 2.7 contains only Act 1 and bears evidence of an original project that was a complete re-elaboration of *Blooms of Dublin*, with an elaborate overture by Maranzana which included the projection of a film where the same actors that were to play Stephen, Bloom, and Molly in the musical appeared as Telemachus, Odysseus, and Penelope in a Homeric setting. The pages containing the overture (1–12) are crossed out and the whole manuscript contains a large number of corrections, deletions, and revisions. The text is a rather free adaptation of *Blooms of Dublin* that Maranzana probably prepared for Burgess’s approval. There is evidence that Burgess did read the manuscript and intervened in the translator’s choices, as suggested by the corrections on p. 14 (Figure 2), where the vocative *Dedalus*! was inserted and the epithet *pauroso* (“fearful”) was replaced with *orribile* (“dreadful”). These corrections are most likely to be imputed to Burgess.
And so is the correction on p. 25 (see Figure 3 below).

![Figure 3. Burgess’s correction on IABF 2.7, p. 25](image)

We therefore consider IABF 2.7 as the first draft of *Ulysses*, a text which was amended by the author and rewritten by the translator-adapter at various stages. The numerous corrections and translation variants that appear on the typescript provide evidence of both authorial intervention and the translator’s decision-making. The manuscript also shows that the core idea of the project was to establish a parallel between Joyce’s Dublin and the Italian city of Trieste, where the Irish writer lived for more than 10 years, and to use the Triestine dialect and setting as a means of evoking and transposing the Irish element in *Ulysses*. The problem of how linguistically to mark Bloom’s and Mr Deasy’s speech was a central object of discussion in the recorded conversations and in both cases the decision made was to have them speak like “Triestini”. This is in line with Burgess’s view of Joyce’s *Ulysses* as a novel deeply indebted to Trieste: “*Ulysses* may be about Ireland, but only turbulent and cosmopolitan Trieste could have given Joyce the impetus to start setting it down.” Burgess also thought of Leopold Bloom as being “more a Triestine figure than a Dublin one” (Burgess, 1982).

### 3.3 Agents in the translation process

The recordings in Maranzana’s archive proved particularly useful in identifying the roles played by the various agents in the translation process. Some of the translation solutions that are found in the manuscripts were arrived at during the conversations with Burgess and his wife Liana. The “cuckoo theme” is a case in point. In one of the chapters of Joyce’s *Ulysses*, Bloom hears a cuckoo clock that reminds him of his adulterous wife. Burgess rewrites the scene in his *Blooms of Dublin*, adding a march and a chorus singing the word “Cuckoo”, which alludes to Bloom as a cuckold. In his conversations with Maranzana, Burgess explains the wordplay and Maranzana immediately suggests a solution that we find almost unchanged in IABF 2.7.

At the end of Burgess’s adaptation of the “Eumaeus” chapter, after Bloom and Stephen part, the stage directions say that, while Bloom’s steps fade into the night, Stephen tries out some lines, which are the following:
Mr Leopold Bloom ate with relish the inner organs of beasts and fowls. He liked thick giblet soup, nutty gizzards, a stuffed roast heart, liver slices fried with crust-crumbs, fried hencods’ roes. Most of all he liked grilled mutton kidneys which gave to his palate a fine tang of faintly scented urine … (BD 88)

This is a verbatim quotation from the opening lines of Joyce’s “Calypso” chapter, which therefore provides the audience with a clear indication that in Burgess’s reading of *Ulysses*, Stephen is to be identified with Joyce. This interpretation emerges quite clearly in the recorded conversations where Burgess explains that in his version of Joyce’s novel Stephen is a writer whose ambition to write a great work remains unrealized until he meets Bloom (Tape 2a, 16’).17

A comparison of the translated texts available for this passage leads us to speculate on the purpose and authorship of the various versions.

Example 4

*Mr Leopold Bloom mangiava con gusto le interiora di bestie e pollame. Gli piaceva una densa zuppa di rigaglie, stomaco con noci, un cuore arrosto ripieno, fettine di fegato fritte con la mollica del pane, uova di merluzzo fritte. Più di tutto gli piacevano i rognoni di montone alla griglia, in quanto davano al suo palato un sottile sapore di urina lievemente profumata … (HRC 5.4, p. 96)*

[Mr Leopold Bloom ate with pleasure the offal of beasts and fowls. He liked nicely thick giblet soup, stomach with nuts, a stuffed roast heart, liver slices fried with bread crumbs, fried hencods’ roe. Most of all he liked grilled mutton kidneys since they gave to his palate a fine taste of faintly scented urine.]


[Ulysses, a novel, chapter four. Mr Leopold Bloom ate with pleasure the offal of beasts and winged animals. He liked nicely thick giblet soup, nutty flavoured gizzards and onions, stuffed roast heart, liver slices breaded and fried, fried hencods’ roe. But more than anything else, he liked grilled mutton kidneys which left...
[imparted to] his palate a fine faintly aromatic je ne sais quoi of urine.]

Mr Leopold Bloom mangiava con gusto le interiora di bestie e pollame. Gli piaceva una densa zuppa di rigaglie, stomaco con noci, un cuore arrosto ripieno, fettine di fegato fritte con la mollica del pane, uova di merluzzo fritte. Più di tutto gli piacevano i rognoni di montone alla griglia, in quanto davano al suo palato un sottile sapore di urina lievemente profumata … (Maranzana, pp. 165-166)

[Mr Leopold Bloom ate with pleasure the offal of beasts and fowls. He liked a thick giblet soup, nutty gizzard, a stuffed roast heart, liver slices fried with bread crumbs, fried hencods’ roe. Most of all he liked grilled mutton kidneys since they gave to his palate a fine taste of faintly scented urine.]

This passage proves that Maranzana did not translate anew, but rather revised and rewrote HRC 5.4, which contained a literal translation of the libretto.

A slightly revised version of the passage is found in the final version of the libretto (IABF 2.5), which seems in turn to be indebted to Giulio De Angelis’s Italian translation of Ulysses (Joyce, 1922/1960). A literal reprise of the text of this translation is, for instance, the sentence “Più di tutto gli piacevano i rognoni di castrato alla griglia”. We may therefore assume that, in preparing the final version of Ulyssea, Maranzana revised the translated passages from Joyce’s Ulysses, checking his version against the text of De Angelis’s translation and picking up some of his translation solutions.

3.4 Towards a genetic study of translations

The following passage is taken from “Scene Eight”, which is based on the “Oxen of the Sun” chapter of Ulysses. The transcribed excerpts show that
there is an indubitable relationship between HRC 48.9 and the final version of *Ulyssea* (IABF 2.5).

**Example 5**

Stephen (drunk): [...] But what of those *God-possibled souls* that we *nightly impossibilize*, which is the sin against the Holy Ghost? *We catch our seeds in sacks* or else drop it on the ground, which is the sin of Onan (*BD*, p. 58)

*STEFANO: (ubriaco) [...] Ma cosa dire di quelle anime che Dio ha reso possibili e che noi ogni notte rendiamo impossibili, il che è il peccato contro lo Spirito Santo? *Raccogliamo il nostro seme in sacchi oppure lo lasciamo cadere per terra, il che è il peccato di Onan.* (HRC 5.4, p. 42)

[Stephen (drunk): [...] But what to say of those souls that God has made possible and that at night we make impossible, which is the sin against the Holy Spirit? We catch our seeds in sacks or else drop it on the ground, which is the sin of Onan]

*STEPHEN (UBRIACO): [...] Ma che dire, illustri, di quelle anime possibilizzate da Dio e che noi notturnamente in amplexi di sola lussuria impossibiliziamo [sic], peccando contro lo Spirito Santo? *Raccogliamo il finalico seme in sacchetti di leggera pellicola o altrimenti disseminiamo al suolo macchiandoci del peccato di Onan?* (HRC 48.9, p. 73)

[Stephen (drunk): [...] But what to say, eminences, of those souls possibilized by God that we nightly impossibilize in embraces of pure lust, sinning against the Holy Spirit? We catch our seeds in sacks of thin film or else disseminate it on the ground, thereby staining ourselves with the sin of Onan]

The passage does not appear in the Maranzana manuscript.

*Ma che dire, illustri, di quelle anime che Dio vuole entrino in un corpo, anime possibili, che noi in amplexi di sola lussuria senza finalità di perpetuazione, rendiamo impossibili? *Peccato è contro Lo Spirito Santo! Raccogliamo il nostro finalico seme in sacchetti di leggera pellicola, oppure lo spargiamo per terra, commettendo il peccato di Onan.* (IABF 2.5, p.33)

[But what to say, eminences, of those souls that God wants to enter into a body, possible souls, that we make impossible in embraces of pure lust with no procreative intent? Sin this is against the Holy Spirit! We catch our seeds in sacks of thin film or else spread it on the ground, thereby committing the sin of Onan.]
In HRC 48.9 there are two remarkable additions to the source text (i.e. BD) – namely the phrases “in amplexi di sola lussuria” and “in sacchetti di leggera pellicola” – which were included in the final version (IABF 2.5) word for word. This particular passage therefore seems to suggest that, at some stage in the translation process, Maranzana had a copy of HRC 48.9 in his hands and used it for his adaptation of Burgess’s libretto. It must also be noted that traces of De Angelis’s version can be found in the translation contained in HRC 48.9. De Angelis’s version reads as follows: “Ma […] che dire di quelle anime da Dio possibilizzate che noi di notte in notte impossibilizziamo, che è peccato contro lo Spirito Santo […]?” (Joyce, 1922/1960: 527). [But what of the souls possibilized by God that we, night after night impossibilize, which is a sin against the Holy Ghost]. This passage seems to indicate that the author of the translation in HRC 48.9 consulted De Angelis’s version, at least for the translation of “Scene Eight”. The point is that the collation of manuscripts not only illustrates the working method of the agents of translation, but also casts light on the interplay between different translators’ voices and the inevitable influence of a canonical translation on subsequent retranslations. Considerations of this kind play in favour of our main argument: the relevance of studying translations’ avant-textes.

Unlike the case of Burgess’s rewriting of “Oxen of the Sun”, as discussed in example 5 above, the translation of Molly’s monologue seems independent of De Angelis’s version, as illustrated by the passage below, where Molly recounts her confession to Father Corrigan (Joyce, 1922/1960, p. 966).

Example 6

He touched me, father. […] But whereabouts on your person, my child? On the leg behind was it, high up? Yes father. Rather high up was it, where you sit down? Yes father. O Lord, couldn’t he say bottom right out and have done with it? (BD, p. 90)

Mi ha toccato, padre. […] Ma dove sul tuo corpo, figliola? Sulla gamba, dietro, era? Sì, padre. Un po’ verso l’alto, era, dove ci si siede? Sì, padre. O Dio, non poteva dire sedere e farla finita? (HRC 48.9, p. 120)

[He touched me, father. […] But the proximities of your person, my child? On the leg, behind, was it? Yes father. Rather high up was it, where you sit down? Yes father. Oh Lord, couldn’t he say bottom and have done with it?]

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[He touched me, father. […] But where on your body, my child? On the leg behind, high up? Yes father. Rather high up, was it? Where you sit down? Yes father. Oh God, couldn’t you say bottom right out and have done with it?]

mi ha toccato padre […] ma dove sul tuo corpo figlia mia sulla gamba dietro in alto si padre abbastanza in alto vero dove ci si siede si padre oh Dio non poteva dire sedere direttamente e farla finita (Maranzana, p. 176)

[he touched me father […] but where on your body my child on the leg behind high up yes father rather high up was it where you sit down yes father oh God couldn’t you say bottom right out and have done with it]

mi ha toccata padre […] ma dove sulla vostra persona figlia mia sulla gamba dietro in alto era mica piuttosto in alto era mica dove ci si siede si Oh Signore non poteva dir subito il sedere e buona notte (Joyce, 1922/1960, p. 966)

[he touched me father […] but where on your person my child not on the leg behind high up was it not rather high up was it where you sit down yes Oh Lord couldn’t he say bottom right away and that’s it]

Compared to the above translations, De Angelis’s text reads rather differently:

Maranzana seems to reproduce Liana’s version almost verbatim except for punctuation, which carefully follows Joyce’s text instead of Burgess’s libretto, where a rather standardized version of Molly’s monologue is provided.

In order to establish the authorship and purpose of HRC 48.9, we decided to investigate the manuscript further by taking a close look at “Scene Nine”, which is Burgess’s adaptation of Joyce’s fifteenth chapter, “Circe”.

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Example 7

MULLIGAN: Born out of bedlock hereditary epilepsy is present, *the consequence of unbridled lust*. He is prematurely bald from self-abuse [...]. (BD, p. 71)

*MULLIGAN: Nato fuori del vincolo del letto, l’epilessia ereditaria è presente, la conseguenza di lussuria sfrenata. Egli è precocemente calvo a causa dell’onanismo …* (HRC 5.4, pp. 56–57)

[MULLIGAN: Born out of bedlock, hereditary epilepsy is present, *the consequence of unbridled lust*. He is prematurely bald due to onanism.]

*MULLIGAN: Figlio abusivo, nato fuori del legame patrimoniale [sic], è affetto da epilessia ereditaria, conseguenza di lussuria sfrenata. Precocemente calvo, per eccesso di mano menante …* (HRC 48.9, p. 89)

[MULLIGAN: Illegitimate child, born out of the matrimonial bond, he suffers from hereditary epilepsy, *the consequence of unbridled lust*. He is prematurely bald due to an overuse of jerking the Johnson.]

*MULLIGAN: […] Figlio abusivo, concetto fuori dal legal letto, presenta alla visita epilessia ereditaria, conseguenza di lussuria sfrenata. Calvo precoce e mano tremolante per eccesso di mano menante. (Maranzana, p. 129–130)

[MULLIGAN: Illegitimate child, conceived out of matrimonial bed, he shows hereditary epilepsy, *the consequence of unbridled lust*. Premature baldness and shaking hand due to an overuse of jerking the Johnson.]

Passage not included in IABF 2.5, p. 58.

This excerpt demonstrates that Maranzana had access to both HRC 5.4 and HRC 48.9, since the version of the passage that is found in the manuscript in his archive is, quite evidently, an expansion of the source text (BD), based on both the HRC 5.4 and the HRC 48.9 versions. The rendering of “the consequence of unbridled lust” as “conseguenza di lussuria sfrenata” is found in all of the manuscripts. “Born out of bedlock” is rendered as “Nato fuori del vincolo del letto” in HRC 5.4 and was further re-elaborated in HRC 48.9, where it became: “Figlio abusivo, nato fuori del legame [matrimoniale]”, which is the text that triggers the translation in Maranzana’s version: “Figlio abusivo, concetto fuori dal
legal letto.” Maranzana here attempts a further musically rhymed rendition, and does so again with the following fragment. The phrase “prematurely bald from self-abuse” is in fact translated as “Calvo precoce e mano tremolante per eccesso di mano manente”, which is an elaboration of “Precocemente calvo, per eccesso di mano manente” in HRC 48.9. The literal version HRC 5.4 had “precocemente calvo a causa dell’onanismo”. None of the three versions seems to have been inspired by De Angelis’s translation: “La calvizie prematura è dovuta alla venere solitaria” (Joyce, 1922/1960, p. 656).

We may therefore conclude that the systematic comparison of our diasporic corpus of manuscripts is fruitful in more than one respect. It has allowed us to identify the existence of two distinct translation projects: an Italian translation of *Blooms of Dublin*, as appears in HRC 48.9, and an Italian adaptation of Burgess’s libretto by Maranzana, entitled *Ulyssea*, which entails substantial rewriting of the source text (IABF 2.7, IABF 2.5 and Maranzana). HRC 5.4, a word-for-word version of *Blooms of Dublin*, served as a working draft for the other versions. It has also allowed us to establish the different contributions of the two translators: Liana Macellari provided the translation of *Blooms of Dublin*, which Maranzana partly rewrote and adapted for the stage. Liana was also responsible for the translation or adaptation of the lyrics. The translation process for the lyrics is exemplified in the next two examples.

Example 8

Still to us at twilight
Comes love’s old song,
Love’s old sweet … (*BD*, p. 87)

Ancora a noi al crepuscolo,
Giunge la vecchia canzone d’amore
La vecchia canzone … (HRC 5.4, p. 75)
[Still to us at twilight
comes love’s old song,
Love’s old song …]

Al tramonto ancora
Pipistrelli e bruna
Pipistrelli e brina
Mi ricordo ancor
della mia piccina
La canzon … (RHC 48.9, p. 116)
[Still at twilight
bats and mist
bats and frost
I still remember]
of my little one
the song …]

It is once more clear that HRC 5.4 is a literal translation and that HRC 48.9 goes a step forward in adapting the song for the performance, even if in the final version the song and the surrounding dialogue were deleted.

3.5 Anthony Burgess’s role in the translation

There is no doubt that it was Mario Maranzana who was responsible for the adaptation of the libretto, but we have evidence that Liana Macellari did more than just translate the lyrics and that Anthony Burgess himself played a crucial role in the translation, as emerges from the tape recordings. The recordings in the Maranzana archive reveal that Burgess was very active in the translation/adaptation process, with Liana acting as a mediator, stepping into the conversation whenever she felt that extra information was needed in order for Maranzana to understand Burgess’s Italian or English words that Burgess was unable to translate into Italian.

Both tapes and annotations bear evidence of the fact that Burgess did play an active role in the translation process and did want to remain in control of his own reading choices and interpretations of Joyce’s work. In the final version of *Ulysssea* (IABF box 2.5), notes in English were inserted by Burgess concerning aspects of Joyce’s text that he considered fundamental. For instance, on page 1 of the manuscript he made it clear that Mulligan should always address Stephen as “Dedalus”, and he corrected the translated text accordingly: “Dedalus – never Stephen”. On page 5, towards the end of “The School” episode based on “Nestor”, we find the following annotation: “Where is Haines? Where is the mother theme? The school is totally unnecessary.”

In the final version, the dialogue between Stephen and Haines in the first chapter of *Ulysses*, one of the crucial moments of the novel, had been deleted, and what Burgess calls “the mother theme” had been left somewhat in the background, whereas the school scene had been given prominence. This annotation shows that both the political aspect of *Ulysses* and the theme of the mother were crucial to him, and if cuts were to be made, they should therefore not have affected these themes. Burgess’s comments reveal, therefore, that the final version of the text as prepared by Maranzana did not obtain the author’s full approval.

4. Conclusions

At the start, our study aimed at finding answers about the authorship and scope of disseminated documents regarding a hypothesized Italian
translation of Anthony Burgess’s libretto for the musical play *Blooms of Dublin*, based on James Joyce’s *Ulysses*.

After collecting six manuscripts from The Harry Ransom Center (HRC) in Austin, Texas and the International Anthony Burgess Foundation (IABF) in Manchester, UK, plus the papers and tapes in the archive of Mario Maranzana (Maranzana) located in Rome (Italy), we realized that what our documents had in common was that they were either draft translations or materials concerning the transformation into Italian of a musical by Anthony Burgess inspired by James Joyce’s work. The agents of this translation process were Liliana Macellari, Mario Maranzana and Anthony Burgess, who acted not only as supervisor of the translation, but also as promoter, interpreter, and problem-solving contributor during all the stages of the translation process.

We also came to realize that the project of rendering *BD* into Italian, which lasted nearly a decade from 1982 to 1992, was carried out in two phases. At first the translators aimed at a word-for-word translation of *BD*, which was then to be reworked and adapted for the stage for an Italian audience. Later, however, the project turned into the production of a script for a play called *Ulyssea*, a ‘Triestinized’ version of *BD* which was to be performed in Trieste in 1993. As a result of miscommunications between Maranzana and the Burgesses, two parallel Italian versions of the text were produced, the final version being a blend of these two.

We approached the analysis of the available documents by applying the methodology of genetic criticism to the translation *avant-texte* and the conclusions we were able to reach demonstrate how fruitful it can be to work on translators’ manuscripts. The methodology of comparing and contrasting fragmented documents coming from diasporic archives has allowed us to identify the authors and scopes of each item, to hypothesize a reasonable chronological sequel as to the time of composition, and to underpin the interplay between the manuscripts as well as the influence, as the case occurred, of the canonical translation of Joyce’s *Ulysses* (Joyce, 1922/1960) on the script of *Ulyssea* that was prepared for the stage.

In other words, by making our manuscripts speak their histories, we were able to reconstruct the voyage of Anthony Burgess’s creation, *Blooms of Dublin*, from London and Dublin, where it was first broadcast, to the city of Trieste, where it was never performed. Our case study has allowed us to analyse and discuss relevant questions related to the genesis of translations, their *avant-textes*, and the role of authors in the process of decision-making. This study has also specifically highlighted the importance of process-oriented methodologies in the study of translations.

**References**


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Research for this study has been carried out jointly by the two authors. However, Rosa Maria Bollettieri drafted sections 2.1, 3.3, 3.5; Serenella Zanotti drafted sections 1, 2.2, 3–3.2, 3.4 and 4.

Quoted and translated in Van Hulle 2014, p. 11, footnote 10.

Burgess’s wife shortened her first name to “Liana” and that was how Anthony Burgess used to call her. We will refer to her either as “Liana” or as “Liana Macellari”.

For a preliminary study of the materials connected with the Italian translation of *Blooms of Dublin* see Bollettieri and Zanotti 2014.

A previous musical adaptation was conceived for the American stage in 1971 with Zero Mostel in the title role, but “the project [...] came to nothing” (Burgess, 1986, p. 5, Burgess, 2002, p. 285, & Biswell, 2005, p. 344).

Here Burgess is referring to *Bloomsday*, a dramatisation of *Ulysses* by Allan McClelland, which was produced in the 1960s and broadcast on television on 10 June 1964 (see *James Joyce Quarterly*, 3–4, 1965, p. 152).

In his autobiography, Burgess (2002, p. 378) recalls that he asked his friend Mario Maranzana to recite some of the poems by Gioacchino Belli that he had translated into English.

Phillips (2010, p. 278) maintains that the project of an Italian translation of *Blooms of Dublin* was carried out by Anthony Burgess and Liana Macellari between 1991 and 1993, but according to Maranzana’s widow the project started long before, in 1982 (Maria Luisa Rado, personal communication).
10 Guido Cergoli was an Italian orchestra director, pianist, and musician. Edmo Fenoglio was a well-known film and stage director, and writer.

11 According to Maria Luisa Rado, this is the version that was officially registered with the Italian Authors’ and Publishers’ Copyright Agency (SIAE) at the beginning of 1993 (personal communication). The Burgess papers at the IABF also include 68-odd typewritten pages pertaining to various stages in the translation process of *Blooms of Dublin* (IABF box 2 folder 6). They show the use of different typewriters and provide fragmentary versions of different scenes.

12 Mario Maranzana’s papers include a vast array of material pertaining to the project. For the purposes of the present study, two items have been selected for analysis, namely the manuscript material described in (5) and (6).

13 As has been pointed out by Elisabetta D’Erme (2015), there are a number of factors that played a role in the failed staging of *Ulyssea*. These include delays in finalising the text of the Italian version as well as a lack of communication and understanding between the translators, the author, the Teatro Verdi, and Burgess’s agent.

14 This information is found on the front page of IABF 2.7.

15 Letter by Mario Maranzana to Gianni Gori, file “Corrispondenza”, Archivi della Fondazione Teatro Lirico G. Verdi of Trieste.

16 This identification is confirmed by the poster for the musical as outlined in the manuscript (IABF 2.7, p. 6), which labelled Joyce as “scrittore eriotriestino” (“Irish-Triestine writer”).

17 This view is also expressed in *Re Joyce*, where Burgess (1965) writes that “Joyce appears under the name of Stephen in his autobiographical novels” (p. 17).

18 On the indebtedness of the final version of *Ulyssea* to De Angelis’s translation see Bollettieri and Zanotti 2014.