Chronotopos
A Journal of Translation History

Erwin Snauwaert

"L'Internationale" and its Spanish Versions Between Translation and Adaptation

1/2024
DOI: 10.70596/cts177

Herausgegeben am / Éditée au / Edited at: Institute of Applied Linguistics and Translatology (IALT), Leipzig University
ISSN: 2617-3441

Abstract

This contribution proposes to examine the intercultural transfer of "L'Internationale", the hymn of the socialist and communist movements, into the Spanish-speaking world. The original lyrics were written in French by Eugène Pottier in 1871 to commemorate the Paris Commune, a workers' rebellion which took place in that same year, and were set to music in 1888 by Pierre De Geyter, a Belgian socialist composer. They were promptly translated into an impressive number of other languages. The first Spanish translation was made in 1899. It still serves as the anthem of the Partido Comunista de España and differs from two later versions, which can be considered adaptations. One version is a rewriting from a sociopolitical perspective that adjusts itself to the principles of the FAI, an anarchist movement of the 1920s–1930s in Spain and Portugal. Another was influenced by the historical and geographical setting of the Cuban revolution and is used by many Latin American leftist movements as well as by the PSOE, the Spanish socialist party. This article contextualizes and compares these three versions, drawing on the concepts of rewriting and adaptation to frame the analysis.

Keywords: L'Internationale, intercultural transfer, translation into Spanish, adaptation

Zum Zitieren des Artikels / Pour citer l'article / To cite the article:
Snauwaert, Erwin (2025): "L'Internationale" and its Spanish Versions. Between Translation and Adaptation, *Chronotopos* 6 (1), 85-100. DOI: 10.70596/cts177

Erwin Snauwaert

"L'Internationale" and its Spanish Versions
Between Translation and Adaptation

This contribution proposes to examine the intercultural transfer of "L'Internationale", the hymn of the socialist and communist movements, into the Spanish-speaking world. The original lyrics were written in French by Eugène Pottier in 1871 to commemorate the Paris Commune, a workers' rebellion which took place in that same year, and were set to music in 1888 by Pierre De Geyter, a Belgian socialist composer. They were promptly translated into an impressive number of other languages. The first Spanish translation was made in 1899. It still serves as the anthem of the Partido Comunista de España and differs from two later versions, which can be considered adaptations. One version is a rewriting from a sociopolitical perspective that adjusts itself to the principles of the FAI, an anarchist movement of the 1920s–1930s in Spain and Portugal. Another was influenced by the historical and geographical setting of the Cuban revolution and is used by many Latin American leftist movements as well as by the PSOE, the Spanish socialist party. This article contextualizes and compares these three versions, drawing on the concepts of rewriting and adaptation to frame the analysis.

Introduction

Given that "L'Internationale" is an unambiguous expression of the working class during the Paris Commune – a rebellion crushed by the conservative French government in Versailles shortly after the Franco-Prussian War (1871) – and since then symbolizes worldwide social struggle, it is relevant to examine how this so-called 'international' hymn has been integrated into different cultural contexts. As Kuzar (2002: 88) states, "Socialists have always sought to foster a collective sense of community, based on class consciousness and solidarity, which transcends the national sentiment" and which materialized in "concrete assets of popular culture" such as rites, ceremonies, and canonical texts and slogans". This is specifically true for "L'Internationale", originally "merely a poem [that] became a song only in 1887" (ibid.: 90) and eventually became "the official anthem of the Second International (1889–1916), of the Comintern (the Third International, 1919–1943), and between 1921 and 1944 also of the Soviet Union" (ibid.: 89; see Pieter Boulogne's article in this focus issue for more on the song in the Russian context). From the viewpoint of intercultural transfer, it is challenging to investigate to what extent the song's universal message may have been affected by changes in its circulation through different cultural contexts.

As the universal character of "L'Internationale" is highly determined by its 'singability' (Franzon 2008: 374), which remains constant – that is to say, the melody does not change even if the language of the lyrics does – we will consider the intercultural transfer

from a textual viewpoint. As a consequence, we will not adhere to a multimodal approach, a very common research avenue in the study of songs, which often examines the "equivalence […] between music and text (and by extension the visual arts)" (MINORS 2013: 2). Rather, our focus is on the translations of the lyrics from the French original into one specific foreign language: Spanish. According to Apter (2016: 2), such "a singable translation must somehow set words of a language with one prosody to music composed to fit the prosody of a different language". Given that the prosodic and formal poetic features are not significantly modified in the case of "L'Internationale", the emphasis of the translation analysis will be placed on the "semantic-reflexive match", focusing on textual aspects such as "the story told, mood conveyed, character(s) expressed, description (word-painting) [and] metaphor" (FRANZON 2008: 390). This 'semantic reflexivity' is considered "the most subtle aspect" (ibid.: 394) for the "musico-verbal unity between text and composition", which makes "lyrics […] carry their meaning across and deliver their message in cooperation with the music" (ibid.: 375).

Translation and/or adaptation

According to Franzon, the translation of songs – an issue that only scarcely has been dealt with in translation studies because of a general "lack of clarity as to the professional identity" of the translators – mainly depends on the question of whether the "translation [is] going to be singable or not" (ibid.: 374). Since the answer to this question is positive in the case of "L'Internationale", whose worldwide dissemination is partially determined by its invariable melody, the study of its translation will basically focus on how the translators intended to match the text with the original music.[1] Although "one may plausibly surmise that the translators of the anthem have been committed to replicating the French original as closely as they could, not only because of the underlying premises of felicitous translation in general, but also because the anthem flagged a message of unity and uniformity" and, from such a perspective "only technical constraints of prosody, meter, and rhyme in the target language could count as justified causes of deviation" (KUZAR 2002: 89), the analysis of possible shifts in the translated lyrics may reveal deviant text interpretations in the target system. Kuzar delves into such modifications in the specific case of "L'Internationale" and, through his analysis of the English and Hebrew versions, distinguishes two kinds of textual changes: those that "overtly encode the standard version, but may covertly add accents which highlight interests particular to a certain sector or society" and others by which the anthem "is claimed to no longer express the spirit of the

[1] Franzon (2008: 376) proposes "adapting the translation to the original music" as one of five options for song translation. The others are "leaving the song untranslated", "[t]ranslating the lyrics but not taking the music into account", "[w]riting new lyrics to the original music with no overt relation to the original lyrics" and "[t]ranslating the lyrics and adapting the music accordingly sometimes to the extent that a brand new composition is deemed necessary".

times, and parts of it are erased and substituted to fit a modified ideology" (ibid.: 89).[2] Such a bias invites us to consider lyrical translation not only in its technical aspects but also from its ideological implications, as Kaindl (2013: 151) suggests:

The focus is no longer on the definition of a (good) translation, but on three central issues: how the translations react to social discourse; how the mental dimension of culture is interpreted; and what social function the translation project fulfills. Translation is not the copy of a source text, but the objectification of a discourse formed out of a dialogue between the Other and the familiar.

In such a scope, translation is definitely conceived as a process of rewriting, which is capable of manipulating the source text in favor of the perspective of the target culture and which is described by Lefevere (2002: xi) in the following terms:

All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way. Rewriting is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power, and in its positive aspect can help in the evolution of a literature and a society. Rewriting can introduce new concepts, new genres, new devices, and the history of translation is the history also of literary innovation, of the shaping power of one culture upon another. But rewriting can also repress innovation, distort and contain, and in an age of ever increasing manipulation of all kinds, the study of the manipulation processes of literature are exemplified by translation can help us towards a greater awareness of the world in which we live.

By relating translation to rewriting procedures such as additions, "passages that are most emphatically not in the original" (ibid.: 42), "ideological omissions" (ibid.: 64), and "explanatory note[s]" (ibid.: 50), Lefevere labels translation as "potentially the most influential [manipulation strategy] because it is able to project the image of an author and/or a (series of) work(s) in another culture, lifting that author and/or those works beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin" (ibid.: 9). In this regard, translation fits in with the concept of "refracted text", which was coined by Lefevre (1981: 72) and covers "texts that have been processed for a certain audience […] or adapted to a certain poetics or a certain ideology". Generally, these practices have to do with "any processing of a text whether in the same or in another language or in another medium" and commonly include "translation, criticism, reviewing, summary, adaptation for children, anthologizing, making into a comic strip or TV film" (Hermans 2004: 127).

[2] In his analysis of the English and Hebrew translations of "L'Internationale", Kuzar (2002: 106) discovered "a wide range of discursive strategies contingent upon the local representation of socio-political reality", oscillating between "a close translation which only tolerates deviation for reasons of rhyme and meter" and rewritings which "reduce [the] socialist revolutionary message and adapt the anthem to the socio-liberal discourse of the respective domestic national agenda".

Such rewritings have become a focus of translation research since the 'cultural turn' of the 1990s and clarify "that a study of the processes of translation combined with the praxis of translating could offer a way of understanding how complex manipulative textual processes take place" (BASSNETT 1998: 123). As the scope of "L'Internationale" is basically ideological – the versions in different languages should not primarily be regarded as a singable song but as a "written TT [target text]" which "has above all the role of conveying a song's global meaning" (LOW 2016: 26) – such manipulations may be rather frequent.

This is specifically true for "L'Internationale" in the Spanish context. In his study of song's "global travel" into different countries and languages, Gielkens (1997: 76) states that, according to the Russian musicologist Drejden, a translation into Spanish already existed in 1899, without further information about its authorship.[3] This translation, which adheres to the original poem and was sung by communists, was followed by two shorter versions that do not refer to any decisive actors such as translators or publishers either: one is attributed to the FAI (Federación Anarquista Ibérica), an anarchist vanguard organization that operated during Spanish Civil War; the other was used by the Spanish socialist party and by the leftist movements in Latin America after the Cuban revolution.[4]

As these versions only remotely reflect the French original, they contrast with the first translation and should be viewed as adaptations. Although "adaptation" is frequently used in an intersemiotic context, according to Chan (2012: 414), it basically refers to a "type of translation". The affinity between the two concepts gave birth to many discussions about/at the disciplinary borders between translation studies and adaptation studies, generally leading to conclude that the difference between both concepts "is never an essential, but always a gradual one" (VAN DOORSLAER & RAW 2016: 200). According to van Doorslaer and Raw (ibid.: 197), adaptation is frequently used in translation studies "for several transfer types involving significant changes in wording, style, mode or medium" and significantly illustrated by "adaptations in political discourse, in children's literature or in localization processes". As such adaptations are "performed under certain constraints and for certain purposes […] and the guidelines of translation are defined to serve this purpose by the translator and/or by those who initiate translation activity" (SHUPING 2013: 56), they are closely related to the context wherein they have been created

[3] At this stage, it is relevant to point out that, although many scholars in translation studies "have advocated a rapprochement in the perception of authors and translators […], others insist on keeping a categorical distinction between the two" since authors have a higher "responsibility or representational relationship to the text", conditioned by their personal involvement as creators (VAN DOORSLAER & RAW 2016: 195).

[4] It should be mentioned that a Catalan version (1937) exists which has been translated word for word into a Spanish version that was never officially used by any leftist movement. Moreover, in the years of the Transition, between 1975 and 1978, a version in Basque and another in Galician appeared and there are also references to an older one, in the Balearic language, which allegedly would have been the first to have been sung in Spain (DAY 2003: 181).

and may shed an interesting light on the circulation of "L'Internationale" in the Spanish-speaking world.

An adequate translation: The communist PCE version

As mentioned above, the first Spanish version of "L'Internationale", "La Internacional", dates back to 1899 (GIELKENS 1997: 76) and aroused the interest of many Spanish leftist parties until the end of the Second Republic (1931–1936). The message of freedom and self-determination propagated by the anthem fit the spirit of the times that followed the reign of Alfonso XIII (1902–1923) and the subsequent dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923–1930). Characterized by a growing opposition to traditional forces such as the Catholic Church and the Army, those years promised a political change that filled the popular classes with enthusiasm and excited intellectuals, artists and avant-garde poets of the first order such as Federico García Lorca (1898–1936), Gerardo Diego (1896–1987) and Rafael Alberti (1902–1999). As this version clearly reproduces the leftist ideology, it also featured in *Land and Freedom* (1995), a film by Ken Loach about the struggle of the international brigades to save the Republican ideals during the Spanish Civil War, and was sung in 1999 at the funeral of Alberti, one of the aforementioned writers and a militant member of the communist party.

Although it is impossible to trace the exact circulation of this version of "L'Internationale" in that period, it is certain that in 1921 it was officially claimed by the PCE, the Communist Party of Spain. The adoption of the translated hymn is endowed with a high symbolic value since it coincides with the foundation of the PCE. In that same year, the PCE separated from the socialist PSOE, which it reproached for a too pronounced social-democratic interpretation of Marxism. This version of the anthem shows evident similarities with the original,[5] as can be seen in the text reproduced below.

French original final version	Spanish communist version
(1) Debout ! les damnés de la terre !	(1)¡Arriba parias de la Tierra!
Debout ! les forçats de la faim !	¡En pie famélica legión!
La raison tonne en son cratère,	Atruena la razón en marcha:
C'est l'éruption de la fin.	es el fin de la opresión.
Du passé faisons table rase,	Del pasado hay que hacer añicos.
Foule esclave, debout ! debout !	¡Legión esclava en pie a vencer!

[5] It should be noted that we take the original in its final (published) version as a point of comparison, which, according to Brécy (1974: 300–301), is quite different from the manuscript: "Il est probable que Pottier n'attachait pas à L'Internationale l'importance qui lui a été attribuée par la suite. Mais il y a aussi une autre raison que l'on peut inférer de l'existence d'un manuscrit conservé à Amsterdam: Pottier n'était pas satisfait de ce texte et ne s'est décidé à le publier qu'après l'avoir largement corrigé et remanié, ainsi qu'on peut le constater par la juxtaposition des deux versions, celle du manuscrit de Pottier et celle de l'édition de 1887. Précisons toutefois que rien ne prouve qu'il s'agisse d'un premier jet... Au contraire, l'absence de repentirs laisse penser que ce manuscrit non daté est déjà postérieur au texte primitif que Pottier aurait écrit, traqué à Paris, en juin 1871".

Le monde va changer de base : Nous ne sommes rien, soyons tout !	El mundo va a cambiar de base. Los nada de hoy todo han de ser.
(2) Il n'est pas de sauveurs suprêmes, Ni Dieu, ni César, ni tribun, Producteurs sauvons-nous nous-mêmes ! Décrétons le salut commun ! Pour que le voleur rende gorge, Pour tirer l'esprit du cachot, Soufflons nous-mêmes notre forge, Battons le fer quand il est chaud !	(2) Ni en dioses, reyes ni tribunos, está el supremo salvador. Nosotros mismos realicemos el esfuerzo redentor. Para hacer que el tirano caiga y el mundo esclavo liberar soplemos la potente fragua que el hombre libre ha de forjar.
(3) L'État comprime et la loi triche, L'impôt saigne le malheureux ; Nul devoir ne s'impose au riche, Le droit du pauvre est un mot creux. C'est assez languir en tutelle, L'égalité veut d'autres lois : « Pas de droits sans devoirs, dit-elle, Égaux, pas de devoirs sans droits ! »	(3) La ley nos burla y el Estado oprime y sangra al productor; nos da derechos irrisorios, no hay deberes del señor. Basta ya de tutela odiosa, que la igualdad ley ha de ser: "No más deberes sin derechos, ningún derecho sin deber"
(4) (5) (6)	
Refrain C'est la lutte finale Groupons-nous, et demain, L'Internationale, Sera le genre humain. (bis)	Refrain Agrupémonos todos en la lucha final. El género humano es la internacional (bis)

Figure 1: French original version and Spanish communist version of "L'Internationale"

Skating over the compelling role prosody may play in song translation and focusing on its textual aspects,[6] Franzon (2008: 386) states that "[i]f the music must be performed as originally scored, as in stage musicals or operas, it must be the translator who modifies the verbal rendering, by approximating more loosely, by paraphrasing or by deleting from and adding to the content of the source lyrics". In this regard, the most striking difference between the French original and the Spanish translation is the elimination of the last three of the six stanzas from the original.[7] Furthermore, both versions appear to

[6] Even though the present article does not broach prosodic issues, it appears that the three Spanish versions invariably substitute the octosyllables in the stanzas and the hexasyllables of the refrain by respectively eneasyllabic and heptasyllabic verses. This is a logical option since this Spanish versification systematically stresses the eighth and the sixth foot, just like the original.

[7] These are the original French stanzas, which have not been translated into any of the Spanish versions:

be rather similar. The first stanza maintains the exhortation ("Debout !"/ "¡Arriba!") to the dispossessed ("damnés de la terre"/ "parias de la Tierra") and their starving condition ("forçats de la faim" / "famélica legión") as well as the allusion to the seismic power ("La raison tonne en son cratère" / "Atruena la razón en marcha") with which the revolutionary ideas will put an end to exploitation ("l'éruption de la fin" / "el fin de la opresión"). In the second part, the imperative to cut with the past ("Du passé faisons table rase" / "Del pasado hay que hacer añicos") which is given to a slave crowd ("foule esclave" / "legión esclava") is preserved, as is the promise of change ("Le monde va changer de base" / "El mundo va a cambiar de base"). This objective will upend the relations of social forces ("Nous ne sommes rien, soyons tout" / "Los nada de hoy todo han de ser"), although the translation does not reproduce the first person pronoun: "we" ("nous") versus "them" ("los nada de hoy").

The translation of the second stanza respects the imaginary world of the original in a similar way: the major powers will be superfluous ("Ni Dieu, ni César, ni tribun" / "Ni en Dioses, reyes ni tribunos") and will give way to one's own initiative ("sauvons-nous nous-mêmes!" / "Nosotros mismos") in order to realize the common salvation ("Décrétons le salut commun! / "realicemos el esfuerzo redentor"). While the Spanish version directs its vengeance at the powerful ("para hacer que el tirano caiga") and the French version calls them thieves ("pour que le voleur rende gorge") the two texts come together in the image of the forge ("Soufflons nous-mêmes notre forge" / "soplemos la potente forgua") that will shape future life. At this point, the French text insists on the need to seize the historic

(4) Hideux dans leur apothéose,
Les rois de la mine et du rail,
Ont-ils jamais fait autre chose,
Que dévaliser le travail ?
Dans les coffres-forts de la bande,
Ce qu'il a créé s'est fondu.
En décrétant qu'on le lui rende,
Le peuple ne veut que son dû.
(5) Les Rois nous saoûlaient de fumées,
Paix entre nous, guerre aux tyrans !
Appliquons la grève aux armées,
Crosse en l'air et rompons les rangs !
S'ils s'obstinent, ces cannibales,
À faire de nous des héros,
Ils sauront bientôt que nos balles
Sont pour nos propres généraux.
(6) Ouvriers, Paysans, nous sommes
Le grand parti des travailleurs ;
La terre n'appartient qu'aux hommes,
L'oisif ira loger ailleurs.
Combien de nos chairs se repaissent !
Mais si les corbeaux, les vautours,
Un de ces matins disparaissent,
Le soleil brillera toujours !

opportunity by alluding to the figurative meaning "strike while the iron is hot" ("Battons le fer quand il est chaud!") and the Spanish one considers the forge mainly as an instrument that can give shape to the idea of freedom ("[la fragua] que el hombre libre ha de forjar").

The third stanza focuses on the law and the State, albeit in a different order ("L'État comprime et la loi triche" / "La ley nos burla y el Estado nos oprime"), which in the French text affects rather globally the unfortunate ("le malheureux") and in the Spanish version one specific economic actor, the producer ("el productor"). The two versions share the reference to rights and duties, even though the French version does so in more general terms ("Nul devoir ne s'impose au riche / Le droit du pauvre est un mot creux") while the Spanish version includes the reader/listener by using the first person plural "nos" ("El Estado nos da derechos irrisorios / no hay deberes del señor"). The last part opposes governance from above ("C'est assez languir en tutelle" / "basta ya de tutela odiosa") to social justice in both cases. The requirement for human equality appears more explicitly in the Spanish text ("L'égalité veut d'autres lois" / "que la igualdad ley ha de ser"), although the more balanced proportion between rights and duties expressed is intensified in the original by the personification of 'Equality', whose words are reproduced ("Pas de droits sans devoirs, dit-elle / Égaux, pas de devoirs sans droits !" / "No más deberes sin derechos / ningún derecho sin deber").

The translation of the refrain also follows the French text almost scrupulously, except for the verses' order ("C'est la lutte finale Groupons-nous, et demain [...]" / "Agrupémonos todos en la lucha final") and the imminent perspective of "tomorrow" ("demain"), which disappears in Spanish. This observation is also valid for the last lines ("L'Internationale / Sera le genre humain" / "El género humano / es la Internacional"), where the Spanish version exchanges the future for the present.

Despite the commented minor alterations, the communist Spanish translation of "L'Internationale" can be labeled as 'adequate' or 'foreignizing' (LAMBERT & VAN GORP 2006: 39) as it aims to reproduce as accurately as possible the linguistic and literary particularities of the source text, in contrast with an 'acceptable' or 'domesticating' strategy, by which the translator adapts the original to the expectations of the readers in the target language.[8] This foreignizing ambition valorizes the perspective of the source culture by "developing affiliations with marginal linguistic and literary values" and connecting with "foreign cultures that have been excluded because of their own resistance to dominant values" (VENUTI 2002: 148). Such a strategy ensures that "function and performance", which are of "primary importance for singable song translation" (FRANZON 2008: 389), are affected as little as possible. According to Franzon (ibid.), "respect for the original

[8] A translation that scrupulously follows the French source text, seeking an almost absolute lexical equivalence and even including the last three stanzas, was made by the Germinal Group, a Marxist cenacle created in 1988. Given that sometimes "amateur fans […] use the internet to display or exchange their own translations" (FRANZON 2008: 374), such a version is not exceptional, but since it is limited to its reproduction on the web page of this group http://grupgerminal.org/?q=system/files/Letra+original+de+la+Internacional+de+Eug%C3%A8ne+Pottier.html, and lacks official recognition, we will not take it into consideration.

lyrics must be shown, or assessed, contextually" and, in the present case, this respect is only slightly altered by a few fragments, which refer to more specific economic actors – the "producer" – or substitute the original's orientation to the future with the present. In this regard, the first Spanish version fits in with "[m]ost of the translations of the anthem into the major European languages [...], since they represented a similar socio-political situation at a similar point in history as did the French original" (KUZAR 2002: 106).

Two adaptations

In spite of the affirmation that the translations into most of the European languages "overtly encode the standard version", Kuzar (ibid.: 89) admits that other versions "may covertly add accents which highlight interests particular to a certain sector or society. In the more radical case, *The Internationale* is claimed to no longer express the spirit of the times, and parts of it are erased and substituted to fit a modified ideology". As such practices tend to convey a more specific message by challenging "the uniting force of *The Internationale* as an anthem of proletarian solidarity [...] at different degrees of strength by forces of dissent" or by empowering it "either by a further radicalization of a waning proletarian zeal or by a socio-liberal orientation which purports to supersede *The Internationale*'s faded message" (ibid.: 106), they are to be regarded more as adaptations than as translations or retranslations. Although, from an operational viewpoint, we agree with Chan (2012: 415) that, "after all, adaptations are like domesticated translations, where target values, conventions, and norms are superimposed on the source text, cultural differences are erased, and the foreign becomes palatable for the local audience", (re) translations and adaptations basically have a different purpose. According to Apter (2016: 65), (re)translations create a new target text because the existing translations are "bad" or "dated",[9] while adaptations "move the work into the target culture and/or update it to a contemporary, or at least more recent, time period" and simultaneously seek "to provide relevancy" for a certain group (ibid.: 60), a process which Low relates to a deliberate modification of the source text:

A translation is a TT where all significant details of meaning have been transferred. An adaptation is a derivative text where significant details of meaning have not been transferred which easily could have been. These are distinguishing definitions which offer a practical litmus test: to apply it one simply compares the actual wording of the ST and the TT. Both translation and adaptation draw on the ST, but only one has willfully modified it. (LOW 2016: 116)

[9] Apter (2016: 157) distinguishes "re-translation" from "multiple translations" which "are purposefully designed to elucidate one or more specific aspects of the original". For instance, "[w]here one translation might attempt to render literal meaning, another might strive to mimic poetic form, another to elucidate hidden meanings, another the cultural ambience. Where one translation might emphasize the cultural differences between the source and target cultures, another might emphasize similarities" (ibid.).

Exactly such intentional changes can be traced in the two remaining Spanish versions of "L'Internationale",[10] which aim at an anarchist and a socialist target audience, respectively influenced by the FAI and by the PSOE or the Latin American left-wing parties. These adaptations are reproduced in the figure below, which highlights the differences with the first translation in italics for the second version and in bold for the third version.

Spanish version 1 (PCE)	Spanish version 2 (FAI) (changes in *italic*)	Spanish version 3 (PSOE + Latin America) (Changes in **bold**)
(1)¡Arriba parias de la Tierra! ¡En pie famélica legión! Atruena la razón en marcha: es el fin de la opresión. Del pasado hay que hacer añicos. ¡Legión esclava en pie a vencer! El mundo va a cambiar de base. Los nada de hoy todo han de ser.	(1) Arriba *los pobres del mundo!* *¡En pie los esclavos sin pan!* *Alcémonos todos, que llega* *La Revolución Social.* *La Anarquía ha de emanciparnos* *de toda la explotación.* *El comunismo libertario* *será nuestra redención.*	(1) Arriba *los pobres del mundo* *En pie los esclavos sin pan* *alcémonos* todos **al grito:** **¡Viva la Internacional!** **Removamos todas las trabas** **que oprimen al proletario,** **cambiemos el mundo de base** **Hundiendo al imperio burgués.**
(2) Ni en dioses, reyes ni tribunos, está el supremo salvador. Nosotros mismos realicemos el esfuerzo redentor. Para hacer que el tirano caiga y el mundo esclavo liberar soplemos la potente fragua que el hombre libre ha de forjar.	*(2) Color de sangre* *tiene el fuego,* *color negro tiene el volcán.* *Colores rojo y negro tiene* *nuestra bandera triunfal.* *Los hombres han de ser hermanos,* *cese la desigualdad.* *La Tierra será paraíso* *libre de la Humanidad.*	**(2) El día que el triunfo alcancemos** **ni esclavos ni dueños habrá,** **los odios que al mundo envenenan** **al punto se extinguirán.** **El hombre del hombre es hermano** **derechos iguales tendrán** **la Tierra será el paraíso,** **patria de la Humanidad**

[10] Furthermore, Low distinguishes "adaptation" from a "replacement text", which is "not a derivative text at all" but is "invented – not derived – by the music-first pattern" (LOW 2016: 117). Low also states that adaptation is "less difficult than translation" and does not require the same creativity as "the production of a replacement text" (ibid.: 119). Consequently, for adaptations Low "suggests a recipe: *to adapt a song, first try to translate it, and later – if you realise you have failed – transform your draft translation into an adaptation that works well in the TL*. Then at least something of the original song will have crossed the language border" (ibid.: 121, emphasis in the original).

(3) Refrain Agrupémonos todos en la lucha final. El género humano es la internacional (bis)	Refrain Agrupémonos todos *a* la lucha *social.* *Con la FAI lograremos* *el éxito final (bis)*	Refrain Agrupémonos todos, en la lucha final, **y se alcen los pueblos** **por la Internacional/** **alzan la voz los pueblos** **con valor por la** **Internacional**.

Figure 2: comparison of the three Spanish versions of "L'Internationale"

Since both adaptations are rooted in a very specific historical period, we will first clarify their respective sociopolitical contexts. As Kaindl (2013: 151) puts it, this "sociological dimension" is closely related to "the semiotic complexity" of the target text and will subsequently enable us to assess the global intercultural transfer of "L'Internationale" into the Spanish-speaking area in a pertinent way.

An anarchistic adaptation: the FAI version

The second Spanish version was used by the organizations CNT and FAI. CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo) was founded in 1910 at a conference held in Barcelona (ARNAL 2020: 21) and took up the anarcho-syndicalism ideology formulated by Mikhail Bakunin and spread in Spain by Giuseppe Fanelli (ibid.: 9)[11]. While it could continue its activities during the government of Primo de Rivera, it became a clandestine movement during Francoism and only reappeared after the reestablishment of democracy in 1979, with its name changed to CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo). In 1937 it split from the FAI (Federación Anarquista Ibérica) (VADILLO MUÑOZ 1981: 218), which was created in 1927, during Primo de Rivera's dictatorship (ibid.: 114), and comprised three anarchists movements from Portugal and Spain: União Anarquista Portuguesa, Federación Nacional de Grupos Anarquistas de España, and Federación Nacional de Grupos Anarquistas de Lengua Española en el Exilio. Nowadays this Iberian organization is a part of the Internacional de Federaciones Anarquistas and publishes the journal *Tierra y Libertad.*

The FAI perspective that permeates the hymn, which is even further reduced than the first translation and only contains the first two stanzas of the original, is already clear in the refrain. While the first version adequately translates the French verses, the second changes them almost completely. The present text draws attention to the FAI acronym in the repeated refrain. Simultaneously it deletes the explicit reference to the international movement and modifies the "final" aspect of the struggle ("la lucha final") into a

[11] As far as Spanish anarcho-syndicalism is concerned, "L'Internationale" was not the only song that was adapted by its corresponding movements. During the Spanish Civil War, CNT also proclaimed as its hymn "A las barricadas". This song is also known as "La varsoviana" (ARNAL 2020: 29), a Spanish adaptation of the Polish composition "Warszawianka", by Wacław Święcicki.

"social" one ("la lucha social"), which should eventually lead mankind to "el éxito final" ["final success"].[12]

The first stanza is affected by this same bias: if the first two verses communicate an analogous image of poverty and malnutrition – the translations "parias de la Tierra" ["pariahs of the Earth"] is replaced by "pobres del mundo" [the poor of the world] and "famélica legión" ["starving legion"] by "esclavos sin pan" ["slaves without bread"] – the third and fourth verses constitute an exhortation, openly calling for revolution: "Alcémonos todos, que llega La Revolución Social" ["Let us all rise up, for the Social Revolution is coming"]. In the second part of the stanza, the ideological models that enable people to "emancipate [themselves] from all exploitation" ("emancipar[se] de toda la explotación") and consequently constitute their "redemption" ("redención") are made explicit: "Anarchy" ("Anarquía") and "Libertarian communism" ("El comunismo libertario").

In the first part of the second stanza, the reference to the FAI pervades the chromatic metaphor implied in the interplay between the "colores rojo y negro" [colours red and black]. If the colour black can refer to the ashes expelled by the volcano and thus recalls to a certain extent the seismic images of the "crater" and the "thunder" ("tonne en son cratère") of the French original, its contrast with "rojo" ["red"] or "sangre" ["blood"] mainly serves to allude to the "bandera triunfal" ["the triumphal banner"] of the anarchist movement, which is composed of these very colours. This triumph correlates with the emphasis put on the concept of equality – "Los hombres han de ser hermanos, cese la desigualdad" ["Men must be brothers, let inequality cease"] – and prepares an utopian discourse that foreshadows a totally "free Humanity" and "paradise" on "Earth" ("La Tierra será el paraíso libre de la Humanidad").

By conforming vocabulary and metaphors to the viewpoint of FAI, this second version significantly changes the source text. Such an explicit alteration can be explained as a claim for identity of the FAI-movement, given that the anarcho-syndicalism was expulsed from the Second International. While the First International (1864–1876) comprised (left-wing) socialists, communists, trade unions as well as anarchist groups, the Second International of 1872 proceeded to a schism between Marxists and anarchists, who adhered to the insights of Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin, respectively.[13] According to Munday (2009: 166), this version of the hymn "denotes a TT that draws on a ST but which has extensively modified it for a new cultural context": as it fully embodies the perseverance to disseminate the anarchist vision among the many other political ideologies that permeated the Spanish Second Republic, this version substantially and deliberately diverges from the original, and can be definitely classified as an adaptation.

[12] Although we will not delve deeper into formal features, the difference with the original is also visible in the lack of effort to respect rhyme.

[13] The inspiration of Third International (Comintern, Moscow, 1919), finally, was exclusively communist, which was due to the clash between the reformist socialists, who demonstrated a patriotic reflex in the First World War, and the revolutionary socialists, which interpreted this war as a conflict of the bourgeoisie that was irrelevant for the proletariat and which considered chauvinism to be incompatible with internationalism.

A socialist adaptation: the version for PSOE, Cuba and Latin America

The third version, which is reproduced in figure 2 as well, is the one used by the PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español), the Spanish socialist party. The PSOE was founded by Pablo Iglesias Posse in 1879 and operated clandestinely during Franco's regime (1939–1977), returning to the political scene during the 'Transición', the transitional period between the end of Franco's dictatorship in 1975 and the introduction of democracy in 1978. This version of "L'Internationale" was adopted by the Cuban Revolution of 1959, and, due to the increasing influence of Fidel Castro's ideology, also by other leftist regimes in Latin America (Day 2003: 181). This version is still performed at the assemblies of the Partido Comunista de Cuba (PCC) and was also sung at important events for the Latin American left wing, such as the installation of Soviet missiles on Cuban territory in 1962 or the funeral of Pablo Neruda, the Chilean poet and sympathizer of the socialist government of Allende, which was violently deposed a few days earlier by the military coup of Augusto Pinochet in 1973.

The refrain shares the first two verses of the first version but adds a more combative revolutionary tone to the last two with "se alcen los pueblos por la Internacional" ["may people stand up for the Internationale"], repeating them, moreover, with a variant that emphasizes the character of the revolutionary people, who are seen as "pueblos con valor" ["people with courage"].

This idea of rebellion permeates the two stanzas to which, as in the previous case, the third version of the hymn is limited. Even though both versions do not depend on each other, the first stanza of the third version repeats the first two lines of the second one, but subsequently formulates the exhortation "alcémonos todos al grito" ["let us all rise to the cry"] in terms of the International movement itself: "¡Viva la Internacional!" ["Long live the International!"]. The second part of the stanza points out that the class struggle will be achieved "hundiendo al imperio burgués" ["by destroying the bourgeois empire"]. By eliminating the representatives of wealthy classes, which "oprimen al proletario" ["oppress the proletarian"], there will be no more obstacles – "Removamos todas las trabas" ["Let us remove all obstacles"] – to realize a completely different world: "cambiemos el mundo de base" ["let us change the world's fundaments"].

Although the third version does not use such a specific vocabulary as the second, which focuses on a very peculiar faction, it puts forward a similar emancipatory message – "ni esclavos ni dueños habrá" ["there will be neither slaves nor masters"] – as well as the ambition to guarantee a peaceful coexistence: "los odios que al mundo envenenan al punto se extinguirán ["the hatreds that poison the world will eventually be extinguished"]. More specifically, the "upcoming triumph" ("el día que el triunfo alcancemos") is related to the ideal of fraternity – "el hombre del hombre es hermano" ["man is man's brother"] – and, most of all, of social equality – "derechos iguales tendrán" ["they will have equal rights"]. These principles, which are fundamental from a socialist perspective, will be the key to change the face of the world: "La Tierra será el paraíso, patria de la Humanidad" ["Earth will be paradise, the homeland of Humanity"].

This reference to an egalitarian and peaceful future society constitutes a significant and intentional bias to the source text, which is also traceable in some occasional Latin American variants such as the one proposed by Quilapayún, a Chilean band specialized in Andean music, which slightly modifies this last version. Apart from some minor changes,[14] it substitutes in the second stanza "los odios que al mundo envenenan [...] derechos iguales tendrán" by verses that focus on the peasant aspect: "Que la tierra dé todos sus frutos / dicha y paz a nuestro hogar / que el trabajo sea el sostén que a todos / de su abundancia hará gozar".[15] Through the words "land" ("tierra") and "fruits"("frutos"), this variant evokes two agricultural issues that are of great historical and political importance and adapts Latin American reality to the perspective of the indigenous. More specifically, the inclusion of these people, who are traditionally regarded as the oppressed, into a world of abundance, spans a promising vision over the whole continent. By overtly linking fraternity to equality, this third version demonstrates, both in the contexts of Spanish socialism and Latin American emancipation, to what extent it "follows the norms and conventions of the area in question" (KAINDL 2013: 160) and has to be read as an adaptation.

Conclusions

The analyses of the different versions illustrate the complexity of the intercultural transfer of "L'Internationale" in the Spanish-speaking context. More precisely, this process is governed by a tension between translation and adaptation. The first Spanish version, which was sung during the Second Republic and is still being used today by the Spanish communist party, can be read as an adequate translation, since it scrupulously respects the lexicon and the images of the French original. This strategy contrasts with those elaborated by the other two Spanish-language rewritings. The second version takes over the song, changing its universalist meaning for a message that refers to the anarchist designs of one specific faction, the FAI, to such an extent that it replaces the name of "L'Internationale" in the lyrics by this very acronym. The third version, finally, retains the universal

[14] As can be seen in the Quilapayún version (see https://www.letras.com/quilapayun/946135/), these changes affect the fragments "alcémonos todos al grito", "oprimen al proletario", "ni esclavos ni dueños habrá", and "patria de la Humanidad", which are respectively replaced by "gritemos todos unidos" ["let us shout all together"], "que nos impiden nuestro bien" ["that hinder our wellbeing"], "ni esclavos ni hambrientos" ["neither slaves nor starving people"], and "de toda la Humanidad" ["of all mankind"].

[15] A similar version of the last stanza is displayed on the Cuban website Ecured (see https://www.ecured.cu/La_Internacional) although it seems less authoritative as it contains some erroneous transcription of the lyrics: "removamos todas las ramas" ["let us remove all branches"] instead of "removamos todas las trabas" ["let us remove all obstacles"] and "cambiemos el mundo de fase. Un viento al imperio burgués" ["let us change the world's phase, a wind to the bourgeois empire"] instead of "cambiemos el mundo de base hundiendo al imperio burgués" ["let us change the word from the bottom up by destroying the bourgeois empire"]. Ecured also provides indications on how to sing the hymn: the hands are joined together while the arms are raised and movements are made from one side to the other. As the anthem also commemorates people killed by bourgeois intervention, it should be sung standing upright, with the right arm raised and the fist clenched.

projection of the original but unconditionally relates it to equality and brotherhood, which are seen as pillars of a social paradise, an ambition which is also included in the variant that alludes to the typically Latin American agricultural and emancipatory context. By deliberately reshaping the text according to the global socialist ideology, which applies to the Spanish PSOE, as well as to the principles of leftist Latin American cenacles where the Cuban Revolution found resonance, these last two versions should be considered adaptations and finally show how the intercultural transfer of "L'Internationale" in the Spanish-speaking world is determined by the target context into which the anthem has been integrated.

References

Primary sources

"La Internacional", Spanish version 1:
https://www.uv.es/~pla/PCPV/intcast.html

"La Internacional", Spanish version 2:
https://es.wikisource.org/wiki/La_Internacional_(Versi%C3%B3n_anarquista)

"La Internacional", Spanish version 3:
https://es.wikisource.org/wiki/La_Internacional_(Versi%C3%B3n_latinoamericana_y_de_los_socialistas)

"La Internacional", Spanish version 3 (alternative Ecured):
https://www.ecured.cu/La_Internacional

"La Internacional", Spanish version 3 (alternative Quilapayún):
https://www.letras.com/quilapayun/946135/

"La Internacional" French (final) original version:
https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%27Internationale

Secondary sources

ARNAL, Rafael V. (2020): *La CNT y la FAI. Apuntes históricos (1868-1939)*. Valencia: L'Eixam Edicions.

APTER, Ronnie & HERMAN, Mark (2016): *Translating for Singing: The Theory, Art and Craft of Translating Lyric*s. London: Bloomsbury.

BASSNETT, Susan (1998): "The Translational Turn in Cultural Studies". In: BASSNETT, S. & LEFEVERE, A. (eds.): *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 123–140.

BRÉCY, Robert (1974): "A propos de "L'Internationale" d'Eugène Pottier et de Pierre Degeyter", *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 21 (2), 300–308.

CHAN, Leo (2012): "A Survey of the 'New' Discipline of Adaptation Studies: Between Translation and Interculturalism", *Perspectives* 20 (4), 411–418.

DAY, Hem (2003): "La Internacional", *Tierra y Libertad*. 181, 1–18.

FRANZON, Johan (2008): "Choices in Song Translation: Singability in Print, Subtitles and Sung Performance", *The Translator*, 14 (2), 373–399.

GIELKENS, Jan (1998): "Hoe de Internationale haar wereldreis maakte". In: SOUBRY, L. & VERMOTE, M. (eds.): *Pierre De Geyter: het grote lied van een kleine man (1848–1932)*. Ghent: AMSAB, 70–88.

HERMANS, Theo (1999): *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and System-Oriented Approaches Explained*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publication.

KAINDL, Klaus / BRODBECK, Liselotte & PAGE, Jacqueline (transl.) (2013): "From Realism to Tearjerker and Back: The Songs of Edith Piaf in German". In: MINORS, H. J. (ed.): *Music, Text and Translation*. London: Bloomsbury, 151–161.

KUZAR, Ron (2002): "Translating the Internationale: Unity and Dissent in the Encoding of Proletarian Solidarity", *Journal of Pragmatics* 34, 87–109.

LAMBERT, José & VAN GORP, Hendrik (2006): "On Describing Translations". In: DELABASTITA, D.; D'HULST, L. & MEYLAERTS, R. (eds.): *Functional Approaches to Culture and Translation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 37–47.

LEFEVERE, André (1981): "Translated Literature: Towards an Integrated Theory", *Bulletin: Midwest: MLA* 14 (1), 68–78.

LEFEVERE, André (1992): *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*. London: Routledge.

LEFEVERE, André (ed.) (2002): *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*. London: Routledge.

LOW, Peter (2016): *Translating Song: Lyrics and Texts*. London: Routledge.

MINORS, Helen Julia (2013): "Introduction: Translation in Music Discourse". In: MINORS, H. J. (ed.): *Music, Text and Translation*. London: Bloomsbury, 1–6.

MUNDAY, Jeremy (2009): *The Routledge Companion to Translation Studies*. London/New York: Routledge.

SHUPING, Ren (2013): "Translation as Rewriting", *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 3 (18), 55–59.

VADILLO MUÑOZ, Julián (1981): *Historia de la FAI. El anarquismo organizado*. Madrid: Catarata.

VAN DOORSLAER, Luc & RAW, Laurence (2016): "Adaptation Studies and Translation Studies: Very Interactive Yet Distinct". In: GAMBIER, Y. & VAN DOORSLAER, L. (eds.): *Border Crossings: Translation Studies and Other Disciplines*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 189–204.

VENUTI, Lawrence (2002): *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London/New York: Routledge.