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L'*Urlo* di Fernanda Pivano: The History of the Publication of Allen Ginsberg's 'Howl' in Italy

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ABSTRACT

This article investigates the controversial history of Fernanda Pivano's Italian translation of 'Howl', Allen Ginsberg's manifesto of the Beat Generation. It examines the translation in the context of the existing publishing correspondence surrounding the poem in order to reveal the complex power negotiations that involved Pivano, Ginsberg, and Mondadori, particularly regarding problems of censorship. Drawing on previously unexplored archive materials, this essay highlights how the close collaboration between author and translator influenced the mechanisms that led to the publication of the poem in Italy, and how Pivano's hermeneutic work contributed to an unpublished collaborative commentary on Ginsberg's poem, which has proved useful to translators working in other languages.

SOMMARIO

Con il presente contributo si intende presentare l'intricata vicenda della pubblicazione della traduzione italiana di 'Howl', ad opera di Fernanda Pivano. Attraverso lo studio della corrispondenza riguardante la pubblicazione del poema, è possibile identificare i complessi meccanismi di potere e le negoziazioni editoriali che hanno coinvolto Pivano, Ginsberg e la casa editrice Mondadori, in particolar modo per le questioni relative alla censura del poema. L'analisi di materiali d'archivio inediti evidenzia come lo stretto rapporto di collaborazione tra l'autore e la traduttrice abbia influenzato i meccanismi editoriali italiani, e come il lavoro ermeneutico di Pivano abbia consentito la compilazione di un commento collaborativo inedito all'opera di Ginsberg, successivamente utilizzato come supporto per la traduzione in altre lingue da altri traduttori.

KEYWORDS

Fernanda Pivano; Allen Ginsberg; 'Howl'; censorship; publishing correspondence; translation

PAROLE CHIAVE

Fernanda Pivano; Allen Ginsberg; 'Howl'; censura; corrispondenza editoriale; traduzione

Introduction

The contribution Fernanda Pivano (1917–2009) made to the reception and dissemination of American literature in Italy after World War II is highly significant, especially with regard to the literature of the Beat Generation. Her activity as a translator, journalist, and cultural broker spans from the 1940s to the end of the 1990s; her work consists of thirty-nine

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translations (of which twenty-five are of American works), over a hundred articles and thirty volumes almost entirely dedicated to American literature and culture, and numerous prefaces, postfaces, and essays. Pivano's engagement and scholarly output started within the framework of increasing political, social, and cultural interest in and fascination with the United States and its literary culture. This fascination, which was particularly vivid in Italy during the 1930s and 1940s, is often referred to as the *mito americano*.[1] During those years, many Italian intellectuals turned their gaze towards American society and culture. Many scholars consider the engagement with American literature a reaction to the mechanisms of isolation and cultural autarky imposed by the Fascist regime on the Italian population, often associating it with anti-Fascism: Cesare Pavese and Elio Vittorini, for example, played a prominent role in the study and critical dissemination of American literature. Indeed, they are considered the most influential among the Italian *americanisti*: 'Their promotion of American literature during that period has tended to be regarded as a form of literary anti-Fascism, a covert reaction taken subtly to subvert a regime hostile to foreign influences'.[2]

Fernanda Pivano's early literary career path is directly linked to the work of the *americanisti*, in particular that of Cesare Pavese, who was one of her *liceo* teachers in Turin. Pivano established a close personal and professional relationship with the Italian intellectual, who acted as a mentor and collaborator at the start of her career as a translator and literary critic, and he also introduced her to American literature. At home, Pivano could access influential anti-Fascist publications such as *La Cultura*, in which Pavese had published articles between 1930 and 1934 about American authors, including Sinclair Lewis, John Dos Passos, Sherwood Anderson, Herman Melville, Theodore Dreiser, Walt Whitman, and William Faulkner. Commenting on her readings of these authors, Pivano claims '[i]n quel clima di "autarchia culturale" mi avevano aiutato a respingere il "principio di italianità" e a rivolgermi alla "plutocrazia decadente" e alla "democrazia giudaico-massonica", quali venivano definite le civiltà anglosassoni'.[3]

Her literary research developed while moving away from the then-current critical methodology that she had learned from Pavese: 'La critica, secondo me, dovrebbe spiegare gli autori, e invece secondo le nostre prassi la critica li esamina, li esamina esteticamente: questa era la critica crociana'.[4] Pivano abandoned the aesthetic approach in order to implement the 'socio-biographical method' she had borrowed from the American editor and literary critic Malcolm Cowley:[5] her methodology aimed to explain authors' works through their biographical history and their social context.

Pivano translated the works of, and built fruitful networks of collaboration with, some of the most prominent American authors of the twentieth century. Eventually, though, she made her mark as the Italian gatekeeper of the Beat Generation through the publication of two leading anthologies of poetry, *Poesia degli ultimi americani* (Feltrinelli, 1964) and *Jukebox all'idrogeno* (Mondadori, 1965).

Despite Pivano's extensive contribution to the Italian cultural and literary field after World War II, organic and in-depth academic research on her agency and cultural relevance seems to be lacking, with the exception of short sections and paragraphs dedicated to her in volumes focussed on the wider history of the literary reception of the *mito americano* in Italy,[6] and a few theses and dissertations (some of which were turned into books).[7] Mass-media and popular coverage of her, on the other hand, is abundant: interviews, articles, documentaries, and television appearances testify to the

wide popularity that Fernanda Pivano achieved in Italy. What critical works there are on Pivano tend to focus on her Italian version of Lee Masters's *Spoon River Anthology*, and in particular Pavese's interferences in Pivano's translation.[8] In terms of non-Italian scholarship, the main study remains American scholar Blossom Kirschenbaum's essay on Pivano's relationship with feminism, titled 'Fernanda Pivano: Italian *Americanista*, Reluctant Feminist'.[9] Although her crucial role as a cultural broker is widely recognised, very little has been written about Pivano's translation praxis. She has been criticised because of mistakes and errors of interpretation in her translations, while the translations themselves are often dismissed as merely 'interlinear' due to the closeness to the originals in terms of syntactical structure and style. As she claimed during her acceptance speech upon receiving the Monselice translation prize in 1975: 'Ancora una volta seguii il mio vecchio trucco di essere fedele all'originale; ancora una volta fui accusata di fare traduzioni interlineari';[10] truthfulness to the original meant, for Pivano,

> [e]vitare la tecnica in voga fra i traduttori francesi e seguita da alcuni traduttori italiani, che consisteva nell'alterare la struttura della frase inglese per ottenere i lunghi periodi cari ai ritmi francesi' and 'difendere una fedeltà totale al testo in tutta la sua gamma, dall'intonazione alla punteggiatura.[11]

It has been my experience that, when brought up in academic and professional publishing settings, the name of Fernanda Pivano often elicits comments about her flawed translations that are hardly ever published in official academic works. The mistakes she made when translating Lee Masters, Hemingway, or Fitzgerald are instead pointed out in many newspaper articles and blog posts written by journalists and translators.[12]

Symptomatic of the scepticism towards Pivano's translation are the events surrounding the republication of works and novels initially translated by Pivano, for example Queneau's *Le Chiendent*, and Ginsberg's 'Howl' and 'Kaddish'. Zanon observes that in the introductory note to the 1992 Einaudi edition of Raymond Queneau's *Romanzi*, Magrini defends the choice of publishing a new translation of *Le Chiendent* (which Pivano had translated for the same publisher in 1948) in the following terms: '[q]uella della Pivano è una traduzione "ingenua", e ne serba il fascino, ma è appunto questo che la rende inadeguata a un'opera stracolma di artifici "sentimentali", di cui fa poco sentire la massa, quindi anche l'energia'.[13] Similarly, Pivano's translations of Ginsberg's 'Howl' and 'Kaddish' were replaced in 1997 in the volume *Urlo e Kaddish* (Il Saggiatore) in a new translation by Luca Fontana. In this case, the publisher asked Pivano for permission to let Fontana edit and correct her original translations. Pivano denied it, leading to a clash between the translator and Luca Formenton, director of the publishing house. The reason for the new translation is revealed in the correspondence between Fontana and Formenton following Pivano's refusal: her work was considered inadequate and not up to the greatness of the poem because of its adherence to the structure and syntax of the original, its lack of rhythm, and its lack of linguistic experimentation.[14]

A further aspect of Pivano's approach to translation that is often questioned is her heavy reliance on the involvement of authors she was translating. Personal contact with the authors and autobiographical elements greatly influenced her approach, to the point that she claimed, commenting on her translation of Hemingway, that '[l]istening to him telling [a] story at the dining-table was more useful to understanding

his writing than reading thousands of words of criticism on his technique of writing'.[15] This approach does not entirely convince fellow translators and critics, such as the scholar Sergio Perosa, who claims:

> Insisto su questo aspetto del rapporto autore-traduttore da lei voluto e cercato, perché mi suscita qualche perplessità, anche se lo trovo interessante e affascinante […] Personalmente preferisco non conoscere i poeti o gli scrittori che traduco, per non venirne influenzato, sviato o condizionato – o deluso. […] sospetto molto del rapporto di collaborazione con l'autore, che ha idee sue, magari non collimanti con quelle del traduttore, il quale deve invece, tutto a proprio rischio e pericolo, mantenere una sua indipendenza linguistica, di scelta e di giudizio.[16]

Perosa's comment becomes even more interesting if we look at the correspondence between Fernanda Pivano and Allen Ginsberg surrounding the Italian publication of 'Howl'. As I aim to show in this essay, the close collaboration (and friendship) between the Italian translator and the American author facilitated the translation process at every stage, from the translation of difficult and obscure passages of the poems to the resolution of the intricate censorship issues raised by the publishing house. After the translation was published in 1965, Pivano's relationship with Ginsberg facilitated his presence in public readings, impacting positively on book sales.

Exploiting previously unexplored archive materials,[17] I will examine the tormented history of the publication of *Jukebox all'idrogeno* through the lens of a micro-sociology and microhistory of translation, combined with a genetic approach to translation criticism.[18] The strength of the micro-sociological perspective – when applied to translation studies – resides precisely in its capacity to provide insights in different, yet related, fields. It does so through the study of elements that pertain both to the macro and micro level of analysis, putting the translator and their agency centre stage. By mapping the 'micro-level *inter-actions*, from the perspective of the *playing individual*',[19] we can identify a correlation between the translator's professional choices (both intra- and extra-textual) and their acquisition and administration of symbolic capital through their interaction with other parties and agents within the field.

Thanks to the investigation of overtly mediated testimonies (e.g. post hoc accounts and interviews) and less overtly mediated testimonies (e.g. archives, personal papers, and manuscripts),[20] the construction of a microhistory of translation allows us to 'better understand how the detailed analysis of the everyday experience of individuals can shed light on the bigger picture of the history of translation in specific socio-historical and cultural contexts'.[21] Consequently, we are able to focus on the 'specific interactions between a translator and other individuals, groups, institutions and power structures'.[22] The attention to 'little facts',[23] then, allows us to challenge and undermine 'dominant historical discourses of text production'.[24]

While the combination of a microsociological and a microhistorical approach brings into sharper focus Pivano's professional choices and positioning within the field as a translator, the use of genetic criticism to investigate the translation's *avant-textes* helps to 'unveil the role of authors, publishers, copy-editors, censors and other figures involved in the translation' as well as to 'elucidate a crucial aspect of the literary translation process, namely the relationship between translator and author'.[25] My investigation of the collaboration between Pivano and Ginsberg illuminates how the

renegotiation of authorship and authority between author and translator affected the intrinsic power mechanisms within the hierarchically arranged literary field, shaping the publishing history of Allen Ginsberg's 'Howl' in Italy.[26]

From Edgar Lee Masters's *Spoon River Anthology* to Allen Ginsberg's 'Howl': A 'New, Unseizable Moby Dick'

Pivano's career as a translator began in 1943, with the publication of her translation of Edgar Lee Masters's *Spoon River Anthology* (1915) by Einaudi. Pivano received the book from Cesare Pavese in 1938 and was immediately struck by its themes, which clashed with the then-current totalitarian and warlike literary propaganda: 'E un giorno questi sogni li avevo trovati tutti insieme in un libretto magico come un talismano che mi aveva portato Cesare Pavese […] e mi aveva detto che c'erano altre realtà nel mondo, oltre a quelle naziste'.[27] Her literary research was a response to a personal need to find and promote a literature that offered an alternative to the mannerisms of Italian writing under Fascism, and to the traditional and aesthetic Italian critical approach to literature:

> I had spent years looking for a connection between fiction and reality, between a book and its reality, between an author and his reality, all of which had very little to do with French or American or Italian or whatsoever literary 'naturalism' and which only concerned my eagerness to find […] a tentative way out of our Italian attitude towards literature as an abstract tournament where the 'Queen of Beauty' could be reached only by giving up any connection with so-called 'vulgarity' […], except that not being vulgar at that time for Italian Establishment meant being a Fascist.[28]

Pivano's fascination with the disruptive, anti-Establishment character that was associated with the literature coming from across the Atlantic, which she saw as the 'antitesi […] alla cultura ufficiale fascista',[29] deeply informed her cultural dissemination activities.

After translating works by some of the most influential American authors during the 1930s, the 1940s, and the early 1950s (e.g. Ernest Hemingway, Sherwood Anderson, Francis Scott Fitzgerald, William Faulkner), in 1956 Pivano travelled to the United States.[30] It was during her literary pilgrimage that she first heard about Allen Ginsberg's 'Howl' from American poet William Carlos Williams, who was writing the preface to Ginsberg's collection of poems.[31] The volume was published in 1956 by the San Francisco-based publisher City Lights Booksellers and Publishers (more commonly known as City Lights Books), directed by Lawrence Ferlinghetti. Although the book was immediately seized on the grounds of obscenity, the ban was lifted one year later, with all charges being dismissed on 3 October 1957.[32]

When Pivano was in Paris in 1957, she bought an issue of the literary magazine *Evergreen Review*, titled 'San Francisco Scene'.[33] It contained an abridged version of the poem 'Howl', along with texts by Jack Kerouac, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Josephine Miles, and Gary Snyder, among others. Just as the *mito americano* had started to wither in the eyes of the Italian *americanisti*, the discovery of Allen Ginsberg's poetry renewed Pivano's interest in American literature. Cesare Pavese argued that, in the post-war period, the *mito americano* had exhausted its mission of anti-Fascist resistance:

> A esser sinceri insomma ci pare che la cultura americana abbia perduto magistero, quel suo ingenuo e sagace furore che la metteva all'avanguardia del nostro mondo intellettuale. Né si può non notare che ciò coincide con la fine, o sospensione, della sua lotta antifascista.[34]

Likewise, Pivano associated the end of the *mito americano* with the new role that the US had adopted on the international, economic, and political scene; she claimed that, along with the 'postwar flooding rivers of Coca-Cola and economic imperialism', America had turned into 'a physical reality with not so much to be dreamt about'.[35] In this setting of the perceived diminished relevance of American culture, the verses of 'Howl' injected new life into Pivano's activity as a cultural broker of American literature:

> It was more or less at that time that Allen Ginsberg's 'Howl' blew my mind out when I read it in that *Evergreen Review* […]. [I]n his attitude during those McCarthy days, I rediscovered some of the emotions which I had shared at his age with some Italian writers while looking for that unclear something that might turn a brainwashed consciousness into a living one.[36]

Pivano's interest in Ginsberg's poetry was similar to the enthusiasm that had pushed her to read, translate, and write about American authors at the start of her career: '[I] unexpectedly happened to be involved with the Italian public consciousness again, much as twenty years earlier I had happened to be involved with it while dealing with our myth of the fabled American democracy and literature'.[37] In particular, she perceived the innovative potential of the language and the themes encapsulated in the verses of 'Howl' as a form of disruptive cultural expression, which clashed with the established literary and intellectual discourse that dominated Italy in the 1960s: '[I]t showed me a way out of the intellectual sclerotization that was stifling Italy during the sixties'.[38]

The linguistic and stylistic peculiarities of Ginsberg's poetry, which featured 'a language which was born from reality rather than from scholarly learning',[39] proved to be challenging for a translation into Italian: 'So there I was again in front of a book of poems, with another unseizable Moby Dick luring me from those long, urging lines, and, when the first shock was over, the technical problems started'.[40] The problems associated with the translation were primarily connected to the transposition in Italian of the poem's rhythm, which was a crucial aspect of Beat poetry, being influenced by bebop jazz music and blues. This rhythm is achieved through the use of short monosyllabic words, strings of nouns used as adjectives, repetition, reiteration, and alliteration:

> [H]ow was I to keep that rhythm with our slow […] Italian-language rhythm? How was I to contract our long words into short, sometimes snapping monosyllables? How was I to work out those clicking genitive inflections built up as they were in a vertical crescendo with our unruffled extensive sequences which were built up with endless 'of' and 'of the' and heavy syntactical constructions? How was I to invent an Italian way for those sequences of nouns-used-as-adjectives to build up a running-shot image large enough to include everything, […] all the ugly-beautiful ecological reality of whatever was rising up from those lines?[41]

A further challenge in the translation of Ginsberg's poetry was the extensive use of vulgar and slang words: 'Howl's long chant-like lines feature a highly informal register in the form of natural speech. This effect is conveyed by the extensive use of vulgarisms and slang, which mostly pertain to the realms of drugs and sex. Furthermore, 'Howl' presents a high degree of culture-specific elements that contribute to the highly autobiographical spectrum within which the poem moves.

'It Almost Always Started with Nanda': Paving the Way for the Beat Generation and the Translation of 'Howl'

Archival material demonstrates that Pivano started to work on the translation of the poem after reading it in 1957. She pitched an initial idea to publish the translation of 'Howl' in a parallel text to Mondadori editor Vittorio Sereni on 2 January 1960,[42] and a few days later she wrote to the firm's director, Alberto Mondadori, to insist they acquire the rights. This letter shows that, in the years between 1957 and 1960, Pivano had been working assiduously on the poem's translation, preparing notes and studying the Beat Generation: 'Se decidi di pubblicarla tu, sarei lieta di darti la traduzione e le note che ho dovuto fare nel corso dei miei studi sulla Beat Generation e che sono già pronti. Dovrei prepararti solo la prefazione'.[43] Sereni's reply to Pivano's proposal reveals a certain degree of ambiguity regarding the opportunity to publish Ginsberg's poem: 'Cara Nanda, puoi mandarci la tua traduzione della poesia 'Howl' di Allen Ginsberg. Malgrado l'opzione di Feltrinelli, vedremo, dopo averla letta, cosa si potrà fare'.[44] This ambiguity was probably due to fears of potential censorship because of the poem's language which was considered obscene, particularly concerning the references to drugs and to homosexual intercourse. The cautious and wary approach of the publisher – afraid that the book might be seized – caused a substantial delay in the volume's publication in Italy.

In post-war Italy, book, film, theatre, and cultural production in general was still subject to state censorship, particularly when it came to scenes and themes deemed obscene and pornographic, and therefore liable to outrage public decency. In the years following the war, as David Forgacs argued, cultural policies presented a high degree of continuity with those of the Fascist regime: '[T]here was considerable *de facto* continuity between the operations of the Ministero della Cultura Popolare and those of the successive undersecretariats that succeeded it'.[45] Continuity was maintained mainly through the retention of several laws and the employment of the same personnel across different state organs, propagating 'inbuilt conservatism and hostility to reform'.[46] Moreover, particularly important in this context are the forms of party-state permeation that dominated the 1950s and the 1960s, and the 'entwinements of Catholic norms and prescriptions with secular ones – to do largely with the civic power of the Church and the Catholic movement and the central position of the Democrazia Cristiana as keystone of postwar coalitions'.[47] Among the works that were censored during the 1950s and 1960s there are those that featured overt and less overt homosexual themes, such as *La lunga notte di Singapore* by Bernardino del Boca (1952, Gastaldi) and *Ragazzi di vita* by Pier Paolo Pasolini (1955, Garzanti), but also those that featured elements clearly connected to the Resistance, such as Beppe Fenoglio's short story collection *I ventitré giorni della città di Alba* (1952, Einaudi) and *Il partigiano Johnny* (1968, Einaudi).[48] Among other works that were reported or taken to trial for obscenity and pornography between the 1940s and 1960s are the following Italian translations: David Herbert Lawrence's *L'amante di Lady Chatterley* (1946, Mondadori), Jean-Paul Sartre's *Il muro* (1947, Einaudi), and James Joyce's *Ulisse* (1960, Mondadori).[49]

Censorship requests came often from within the publishing houses themselves, worried about potential financial setbacks if their volumes were seized and destroyed.[50] This is the case, for example, with Pier Paolo Pasolini, who carried out an

operation of self-censorship for *Ragazzi di vita* in response to his publisher Livio Garzanti's sudden 'scrupoli moralistici'.[51] Although Pasolini replaced all the obscene words with dots and damped down the more explicit passages of his book, in 1955 he was issued with a summons to appear in court together with Garzanti after a joint operation of the judiciary and the Ministry of Domestic Affairs, led in those years by the Christian Democrat Ferdinando Tambroni. Similarly, during the 1960s, Pivano and Ginsberg engaged in a long and complex censorship debate with editors at Mondadori, who wished to expurgate from Ginsberg's poems any words and passages that might have caused problems with public decency. Pivano's reluctance to tamper with Ginsberg's poems resulted in a fierce battle with the editors at the Italian publishing house, which in turn led to the solution of replacing obscene words in the Italian translation by printing only the Italian initial, followed by an equal number of dots to the Italian equivalent, to indicate the omitted letters (leaving the original parallel text intact).

Simultaneously, Pivano was trying to pave the way for the reception and dissemination of the wider Beat Generation movement in Italy, writing articles and essays about, as well as introductions and prefaces to, the translations that were being published in Italy.[52] These publications were often directly linked to her agency, such as Jack Kerouac's *Sulla strada*, and *Pasto nudo* and *La scimmia sulla schiena* by William S. Burroughs.

My research into the *avant-textes* relating to the publishing history of *Jukebox all'idrogeno* (1965) shows that the final version of the anthology – which gathers the texts contained in the volumes *Howl and Other Poems* and *Kaddish and Other Poems* (1956 and 1961, City Lights Books) – is the product of a very long and laborious process. This process involved the selection of the texts, the revision of the translations, and editorial negotiations, which saw Allen Ginsberg and Fernanda Pivano working in close collaboration.

A crucial moment in Pivano's early career was her Paris encounter with Ginsberg in 1961. This encounter marked the beginning of a mutually fruitful professional and personal relationship, and it represented the core of a network that greatly affected the cultural dissemination of American counter-culture in Italy. Their correspondence between 1961 and 1963 is dominated by letters in which Pivano asks Ginsberg for clarifications and explanations of the difficult passages of his poems. In a letter Ginsberg sent Pivano in 1964, which reveals his awareness of the documentary value of their epistolary exchange, the poet urged Pivano to store all the proofs of her translation work with care: 'Be sure to keep ahold of these proof pages when you are all finished. They can be sold to raise money – all sorts of Universities here keep writing asking of items like this'.[53] Furthermore, while assisting Pivano in her translation efforts, Ginsberg seems to become aware of the challenges and difficulties that the translation of his poems entails, and expresses appreciation for the efforts of the translator:

> I see what a huge effort Herculean you've had to go through to translate my poetry. I hadnt realised till I received proofs what a huge book it will be and how much a weight it must have been on you. I only thank god I answered all your letters & detail questions before this. Poor Nanda what a load you've been carrying.[54]

Pivano and Ginsberg's joint efforts in the study and translation of the poems have indeed produced a wealth of documents, which engage with the most complex and problematic

linguistic and cultural aspects of the translation. Pivano's work became instrumental in the exchange between Ginsberg and other translators, thus facilitating the poems' interpretation and translation in several other languages. Ginsberg asked Pivano to collect the part of their correspondence that centred on the linguistic challenges of the translation in order to help him assist other translators (into Bengali, Czech, French, German, Hebrew, and Russian) who were working on his poems:

> I have also been working on correction of French Translation by Jean Jacques Lebel – it's heavy work. I am wondering for later use, is it possible for you to have made thermofax or ozalid copies of those parts of my letters explaining words or passages of the poems you translated? There must be 10 or more pages of exact explanations scattered in all these letters. It would be useful for me to have a copy available that I can recopy. The reason for this is that every few months I have correspondence with a translator, and I have never had the time to take the same pains that I did with you to make it as exact as possible.[55]

Pivano's extensive and scrupulous hermeneutical approach to Ginsberg's poems, together with the poet's attentive and highly organised collaborative responses, allowed them to produce an informal commentary on the translations of several of Ginsberg's poems. These correspondence items contain lists of poem titles followed by long sets of questions and/or clarifications about specific words, expressions or concepts to which Ginsberg replied individually and thoroughly. An analysis of Pivano's queries shows that Ginsberg's help was needed primarily to understand passages connected to his biography, especially those linked to his mother's mental health condition, a prominent theme in Ginsberg's poetry, particularly in 'Kaddish': 'Kaddish – a few of the things you question are specific literal reportage of my mother's paranoiac complaints, used as surreal fragments'. Further consultations revolve around terminology that is specific to Indian and East Asian religions and doctrines, such as 'mandala', 'yin' and 'Kra and Pukti'. Pivano also sought his assistance with the translation of popular, modern American television productions that were unavailable to the Italian public, such as 'Looney Tunes' and 'Woody Woodpecker'. Moreover, many of Ginsberg's clarifications refer to passages written under the influence of psychotropic substances and the visions connected to their use. Finally, a number of queries deal with Ginsberg's poetic device of composing lines made of sequences of nouns, such as 'boy soft fire in breast politics' or '[t]hink factory pushes junk autos tin dreams of eros'.[56]

The glossed proofs were sent to, and used by, many European translators, as confirmed by Bill Morgan, Ginsberg's personal archivist and bibliographer. During a phone interview we had in October 2018, he stated that 'Nanda really did play quite a significant role in his translations in almost every language':

> Nanda was very important throughout his [Ginsberg's] entire life […] she was one of the first translators of his work. He answered her questions about translations, especially American words or idioms she wasn't familiar with […] he would help her with the translation and then he would send copies of those translations to, let's say, the German translator or the French translator […] so it always started out with him looking back at what he had told Nanda, and so for that reason also their correspondence and their work together is important, and I think she translated most of his earliest works for an awfully long time […] in many many cases she would be the first translator of his works, and so Allen would go through the questions very carefully, answer her questions, and then keep those

> answers so when the French translator – for instance – would be translating the same poem, Allen would give that person the same answers, and I think it almost always started with Nanda, that's who he communicated with the most of all of the translators […] he basically used his letters to her answering her questions, to answer other translators' questions, even before they began to ask him, so she really did play quite a significant role in his translations in almost every language for that reason.[57]

Clearly, Pivano's engagement in disseminating Allen Ginsberg's poetry reached beyond Italian borders, becoming significant also within the broader European literary context.

Erasure, Edulcoration, Omissions, or Dots: *Jukebox all'idrogeno* and Censorship

In Italy, Pivano regularly clashed with Mondadori's editors during the intricate and extensive negotiations about cuts and lexical changes to remove problematic words and phrases from *Jukebox all'idrogeno*: '[Y]our personal collection with Mondadori is also undergoing. Our next problems will be to persuade them against cuts or asterisks: but there I am exactly on this purpose, and I will let you know'.[58]

At Mondadori, Elio Vittorini was the director of the series 'Nuovi Scrittori Stranieri', which was to publish *Jukebox all'idrogeno*. Vittorini was in charge of the publication of Ginsberg's anthology, and Pivano mediated between the editor and the author on editorial matters and the choice of title. In fact, the agreed title – *Jukebox all'idrogeno* – was the result of a series of negotiations between Ginsberg and Vittorini. The first title the Italian editor had suggested was *Poesia come urlare*, but Ginsberg refused it: he preferred *The Hydrogen Jukebox*.[59] Vittorini's counterproposal was *Jukebox* H_2. This is how he justifies his second choice: 'Cara Nanda, Jukebox all'idrogeno mi lascia un po' incerto: preferire una traslazione più "concreta" di questo titolo in Juke-box H2; anche se la formula H2, indicante semplicemente doppia molecola dell'idrogeno, non è d'uso normale. Bèh: ripensiamoci sopra ancora un poco'.[60]

Pivano argued that the title *Jukebox* H_2 would associate Ginsberg's poetry with the Italian movement that centred around programmed art, promoted by groups such as *Gruppo T*.[61] Pivano did not want to create a possible connection to *Gruppo T* and warned Ginsberg about such a possibility in a letter dated 1 April 1964.[62]

In addition to the discussion around the volume's title, a very long and complex series of negotiations regarding the editing of indictable words and scandalous lines of the included poems preceded the publication of *Jukebox all'idrogeno*. Although the contract that Mondadori signed to obtain the rights stated that the poems had to be published 'as is', the publisher wished to edit or remove words or passages that might have raised issues of indecency. At the end of 1964, Mondadori asked two external collaborators to review Pivano's translation and evaluate possible editing options: Agostino Lombardo, a professor at Sapienza University and a leading English literature scholar and literary critic, whose opinion of Pivano's work was quite negative; and Angelo Mainardi, an Italian journalist and literary critic, whose judgement was more positive.

Lombardo listed all the edits he deemed necessary to ward off censorship measures, suggesting four options: (a) use dots to replace words considered to be obscene; (b)

remove poems containing scandalous passages from the selection; (c) substitute any problematic terms with 'more acceptable' ones; (d) leave the problematic lexis or sentences in English and add an explanatory footnote.[63]

A few days later, Mainardi commented on Lombardo's suggestions, endorsing the strategy of using dots for indictable words, while keeping the English version unaltered. He rejected the idea of leaving words or lines in English in the Italian translation, and he advised against substituting words with euphemisms. Mainardi also insisted on the problematic nature of such an operation, defining Ginsberg's disruptive language as 'exemplary poetic explosions' and highlighting its centrality in Ginsberg's poetry:

> A mio modesto avviso, un lavoro di forbici non può non alterare la portata del contesto ginsberghiano. *La danse du ventre c'est la danse du ventre*: spazzar via il turpiloquio di Ginsberg (ma si tratta di escandescenze poetico-liberatorie, al limite persino esemplari) è come cucinare il pesto senza basilico e la bagna cauda senz'aglio […].[64]

A further option Pivano herself put forward was to keep the initial letter of the word to be excised, followed by as many dots as the remaining letters of the word.

The censorship issues threatened to halt the publication of the entire volume, because the publishing house's intention to edit the obscene passages of *Jukebox all'idrogeno* represented a breach of contractual obligations. In a letter sent to Ginsberg in November 1964, Pivano claims that Mondadori's concerns about censorship had probably increased due to a court case the firm was facing for the publication of Mary McCarthy's *The Group* (1963, New American Library), published in Italy as *Il Gruppo* in 1964. To ensure an uncensored publication of her translation, Pivano suggested taking the project from Mondadori – through a breach of contract – to a publisher – Vallecchi in Florence[65] – that would be willing to take the risk of publishing the poem without cuts:

> Dear Allen,
>
> […] On Saturday I will speak with another publisher asking if he would be willing to take the full thing in his hands. If he agrees I will try to get the book from Mondadori; but before doing this I must be sure of having a new publisher.[66]

At the end of 1964, the editors at Mondadori seemed to have accepted the dots solution. Pivano recalled the intense editorial correspondence that followed with a pinch of irony, highlighting how much of the editing process revolved around vulgarisms connected to sex:

> Da allora cominciò una bizzarra corrispondenza a base di figa, cazzo, pompini, inculato, fottere, chiavare, 'b.d.c.' al posto di buco del culo e simili, dove gli elenchi di queste 'espressioni vernacolari' erano preceduti da un solenne 'Gentile Signora' e concluse da un formale 'Molti cari saluti'.[67]

The editing of the poems was still ongoing in January 1965, with Vittorini considering fully removing the more problematic passages of 'Howl': '[l]n *Urlo* le sottolineature sono più frequenti che altrove: vedi tu se non sia il caso di omettere per intero alcune strofe'.[68] By contrast, Allen Ginsberg was adamant that he would not accept any changes made to the poem: 'Is it too late for me to say NO either publish as is or don't publish?'[69]

Pivano was therefore caught between two opposing positions. To make sure that the anthology would not be delayed further, she informed Ginsberg that the quickest solution to have the book published would be to accept the dots while firmly rejecting any cuts:

> Dear Allen,
>
> […] My opinion is still that the best way (I mean the quickest way) to have the book out is to accept not any cut but some dots here and there. No Italian publisher whatsoever can possibly publish a integral version of the book without having it confiscated immediately: recent trials have been very hard for publishers. Mondadori was the safest because he published Lolita and Ulysses without any trial; the myth of his unvanquishness was broken by the trial for McCart[h]y's book. Now they are frightened.[70]

Simultaneously, Pivano reported Ginsberg's – initially – rigid stance on the matter to the editors at Mondadori, hoping this would give her leverage in resolving the issue.

In a postcard sent from Prague on 19 March 1965, Ginsberg endorsed the dots solution, but refused any cuts, especially in the poem 'Kaddish': 'Dear Nanda, dots are OK, but cuts of paragraphs, especially crucial ragged lips in Kaddish is impossible. I forbid you to say yes. Dots OK […] don't cut out that Kaddish paragraph'.[71]

The Negotiation of Authorship in the Translation and Publication of *Jukebox all'idrogeno*

After consulting with Pivano, Ginsberg sent several handwritten letters designed to get his poems published without cuts. The recipients included the director of ALI (Agenzia Letteraria Internazionale), Erich Linder, the Italian poet Giuseppe Ungaretti, and Alberto Mondadori.

Erich Linder, sub-agent in Europe for Ferlinghetti's publisher City Lights Books, was asked to put pressure on Mondadori. He gave the latter an ultimatum: publication by 30 October, otherwise a lawsuit would be brought. Linder contacted Pivano to tell her he would update her after a meeting scheduled with the editors at Mondadori to discuss censorship matters.

Ginsberg wrote to Giuseppe Ungaretti, asking him to intervene and support the cause of the unaltered publication of his poems. In fact, Ungaretti showed appreciation for his poetry, having met Ginsberg in the United States in 1964 and spent time with him and other writers gravitating around the Beat Generation movement. He had also held a collective reading at the home of poet Frank O'Hara, where he read his 1914 poems while the American authors read their 1964 poems. As reported in a letter from Ungaretti to Ginsberg, the Italian poet wrote to Mondadori asking them to 'lasciare intatto il testo'.[72]

Ginsberg also wrote to Alberto Mondadori. In a long, handwritten letter, the American author clearly communicated his desire to have the poems published, suggesting a compromise that 'might satisfy everybody':[73] print the first letter of the Italian words to be excised and indicate the number of omitted letters through an equal number of dots. The English text should be published 'as is', and no section or paragraph was to be removed. In a letter sent to editor Raffaele Crovi, Ginsberg attempted to defend Pivano's arguments against censorship of the texts by linking the translator's role to the cultural and symbolic capital associated with the concept of the 'scholar':

> I do not assent to any censorship of the language or the texts of my poetry – I have been in contact with Mrs Pivano all along, and I leave all negotiations on this matter in her hands, she is completely competent to speak for me […] Mrs Pivano will make all decisions for me as regards the text. This is completely proper as she is the scholar and translator of the work.[74]

Moreover, by claiming that Pivano 'will make all decisions for me', Ginsberg engaged with the complex notion of authorship and its renegotiation in translation, making the long-standing dilemma of translation – defined as either a recreation or a copy of the original – a central issue. In this instance, Ginsberg suggested that the translator retains ownership over the translated text – and thus authority in editorial decisions – by changing the ontological understanding of the translated texts, which become representations of a literary work, and not mere copies. Hence, they are the sole responsibility – and property – of the translator:[75]

> I had left judgement on these matters in the hands of Nanda Pivano, because she has worked so long, so hard, so lovingly and so carefully on the editing and translation of the text. I wish to leave the final judgement in her hands, because, after all, the book is perhaps more hers than mine or yours. She has done the difficult work.[76]

Pivano's involvement in the translation, editing, and publication phases of Ginsberg's poems in Italian ensured that the texts were made available to the public without major cuts and expurgations. The latter could have significantly affected the specific literary and linguistic features of 'Howl', 'Kaddish', and the other poems included in the anthology. Pivano's stubborn defence of the integrity of her translations, and her ongoing exchange with Ginsberg, prevented any alterations to the translated texts, as happened in other languages, for example in French. While checking Lebel's French translation in order to identify possible solutions to the Italian censorship issues, Pivano spotted the use of 'half-scientific' terminology to replace words considered obscene. For example, 'gyzym' was replaced with 'ejaculation', 'asshole' with 'anus', 'buggered' with 'sodomisé', and 'lays' with 'fornications'. This is how she responded to these changes: 'Dear Allen […] I mean, if I were allowed to use such half-scientific words, I might avoid several dots. It would be enough to say member instead of saying cock, for instance; but I thought you would resent for any edulcoration?'[77] Ginsberg's reply demonstrates that the author was not aware of such changes ('Lebel must have tinkered with the corrected translation'),[78] proving how the close-knit collaboration between author and translator allowed them to maintain a stronger control over the recreation and dissemination of their work into a new language. It can be argued that, unlike the initial-plus-dots solution, a translation that replaces the words considered obscene with 'less indecent' ones (such as the French translation) might serve the purpose of providing a context for these expressions. On the other hand, it is also true that the initial-plus-dots automatically catches the reader's eye, possibly redirecting them to check the original parallel English text to figure out what the Italian initial stands for. The solution adopted by Pivano, although not the most desirable one, represents a compromise that strives to retain and convey the nuances of the original text, and stands out as a perfect representation of the moral limitations that cultural products were subject to in Italy during those years, as made clear by Vittorini in a letter sent to Pivano dated 16 December 1964:

> Cara Nanda,
>
> faccio il punto sulla questione Ginsberg. L'editore ha accettato la mia proposta (l'unica, permanendo il moralismo della Magistratura Italiana, che ci permetta di realizzare l'edizione italiana delle poesie di Ginsberg): dare il testo inglese integralmente; dare, invece, il testo della tua traduzione con omissioni nei punti incriminabili, contrassegnati o da spazi bianchi o da righe di puntini (meglio le righe di puntini).[79]

Both Lebel's and Pivano's translations suffered changes due to the moral limitations imposed by the then-current socio-cultural context. While Lebel's French translation can work as a standalone text, Pivano's translation has to refer back to the original poems, visually signaling that several words present in the American version could not be included in the Italian one. In the case of Lebel's translation, in fact, his tampering with the English is visible only through a close contrastive reading of the original and his version, while Pivano's chosen solution made her changes obvious.

Notwithstanding the interventions of Ginsberg, Linder, and Ungaretti, and in spite of Pivano's constant pressure, the editors at Mondadori remained unsure about the use of initials and dots until September 1965, when the final agreement was communicated to Ginsberg and Pivano. In a letter to Crovi dated 1 October 1965, Pivano wrote the following:

> [L]a ringrazio molto della sua lettera con l'acclusa copia della lettera di Alberto a Ginsberg. Immagino che l'avrà letta anche lei. Da questa lettera risulta che avete deciso di far seguire alle iniziali il numero di puntini corrispondente alle lettere omesse: leggo infatti: 'some words will be indicated by the initials alone, followed by the same number of dots as the omitted letters in the word'. Da questa lettera mi sento autorizzata a correggere le bozze secondo una decisione diversa da quella da voi seguita finora […] mi rallegro di vedere realizzati, seppure soltanto in parte, i desideri di Ginsberg.[80]

The book was printed at the end of the year and went on sale on 4 January 1966. Fernanda Pivano and Giuseppe Ungaretti presented it for the first time in a bookshop in Naples, on 12 February 1966.[81] The Hellas bookshop in Turin, managed by Angelo Pezzana, hosted two important events connected to the volume: a first presentation by Pivano on 5 March 1966, and a second reading with Ginsberg, on 20 September 1967.

Jukebox all'idrogeno found fertile ground for reception among younger generations, becoming a catalyst for the blossoming of Beat Generation-inspired fanzine publications and groups like *Mondo Beat*, *I Lunghi Piedi dell'Uomo*, and *Grido Beat*. Mondadori printed 4835 copies of the anthology's first edition and, by 30 September 1966, 3783 copies had been sold.[82] Considering that, in those years, the average circulation of volumes of poetry was around 3000 copies (such as for Einaudi's series 'Collezione di poesia', established in 1964, and Mondadori's 'Lo Specchio', established in 1940),[83] it quickly becomes clear that the sales figure of *Jukebox all'idrogeno* were particularly good. It seems likely that Fernanda Pivano's visible advocacy for Allen Ginsberg's poetry (as well as for that of the other Beat authors) played a central role in ensuring strong sales in Italy compared to other European countries, as Nancy J. Peters – publisher, writer, and co-owner of City Lights Books and Publishers – claimed in an email exchange:

> The Beat poets were published in France, Spain, Germany, Portugal, and other countries, but their books-in-translation never sold in such large numbers as in Italy. Sales of Ginsberg's

> work in Italy were continually good. More copies of his books were sold in Italy than any other European country for many years, and this was principally due to Nanda Pivano's endorsement and promotion. The translations of his books were excellent, Pivano always overseeing every detail and striving for perfection. Ginsberg had deep respect for her and was grateful for her scrupulous attention to getting the language just right. Their collaboration was an unusually close and productive one.[84]

Conclusion

The evidence I have examined here highlights the existence of different editorial practices and aims among translators and publishers. In the specific case of Allen Ginsberg's 'Howl', the translator was surprisingly successful in securing a contract to publish a new, disruptive, and niche form of poetic literature with a major publishing house. After the initial, crucial mentorship of Cesare Pavese, Fernanda Pivano's literary career path appears to have been influenced by strategies aimed at the administration and accumulation of cultural and symbolic capital, which she primarily achieved through the establishment of strong networks of collaboration with the authors she wished to disseminate. Her ability to build fruitful professional relationships with the American protagonists of the Beat Generation allowed her to make her mark as the gatekeeper of American counter-cultural literature, thus becoming a pivotal representative of a specific element of the cultural flow between the United States and Italy.

On a textual level, Pivano's close-knit interactions with Ginsberg led to *Jukebox all'idrogeno* becoming a product of collaborative translation. As Serenella Zanotti stated in her 2011 study, 'in the presence of a living author engaging in a dialogue with his translators, translation becomes a cooperative process in which author and translator act as communicating vessels',[85] blurring the boundaries between authorship and the constrained representation of the literary work. In the specific case of Pivano and Ginsberg, the author's involvement appears to have been non-interventionist, although we should not forget that the absence of a linguistic barrier might favour more extensive authorial interference in the translation process.[86] Indeed, if we exclude the censorship issues with Mondadori where Ginsberg pushed to see his text published without expurgation and excisions, the author offered the translator extensive help but refrained from suggesting specific solutions, giving instructions, or imposing translation strategies on Pivano, who maintained complete freedom in her choices. This particular relationship of cooperation takes on the traits of co-authorship in the author and translator's interactions with the editors, brilliantly illustrated by Ginsberg's following statement: 'Mrs Pivano […] is completely competent to speak for me'. Acting as a proxy, Pivano involved Ginsberg in the editorial process (which is often carried out exclusively by translators and editors), causing the figures of the author and translator to align with one another in the editorial negotiations. Through constant communication with the translator, Ginsberg was in fact able to maintain full control over and play a central role in the editing process of the Italian versions of his poems – something that does not usually happen in translations, as Lebel's French version of 'Howl' perfectly exemplified, with the author unaware of the changes that had been made. Pivano's desire to preserve the innovative linguistic and thematic features of Ginsberg's poetry, and to see it published without expurgations or alterations, clashed

with Mondadori's evident concerns about a potential financial loss that a ban on the publication might have caused. In the complex – and unequal – power relationship between editors and translators, Ginsberg's interference allowed Pivano to limit manipulation of the texts by the publishing house; she thus managed to persuade the editors to accept the compromise of maintaining the initial letter of problematic words followed by the appropriate number of dots.

My reading of the evidence suggests that author and translator engaged in a power negotiation that indirectly reinstated three crucial aspects: (a) the translator's authorship of the translation (as a representation of the literary product in the target language); (b) the status of the translation as an artistic creation that was no longer inferior to the original; and (c) the translator's cultural power. By renegotiating the concept of authorship and rejecting his own authorship over the Italian version of his poems ('[t]he book is perhaps more hers than mine or yours'), Ginsberg conferred upon Pivano full authority over publication and creative choices (a). In this way, the ontological understanding of *Jukebox all'idrogeno* shifted from that of derivative work to literary work proper (b), which directly linked to, and resulted from, the cultural expertise and artistic work of the translator-author (c). Fernanda Pivano's translation ethics and praxis resulted in a work of literary recreation that takes advantage of a tight dialogical relationship with the text's author. As Franco Buffoni cleverly puts it, Pivano's translation method can be defined as a method of *poietic* encounter:

> [L]'incontro tra due *poiein*, tra due 'fare' poetici, che induce a configurare la traduzione non più come un sottoprodotto letterario, ma come un *Überleben*, un *afterlife* del testo. Nella convinzione che, prima di essere un esercizio formale, la traduzione sia un'esperienza esistenziale […] come risultato di una interazione verbale con un modello straniero recepito criticamente e attivamente modificato. In questa ottica, il rapporto originale-copia (che implica una gerarchia di precedenza, di maggiore importanza dell'originale rispetto alla copia) acquista un'altra dimensione: diviene dialogico, e non è più di rango, ma di tempo.[87]

Thanks to this mechanism, Fernanda Pivano was able to establish herself as the primary administrator of the specific cultural and linguistic exchange that relied upon her strongly synergetic relationship of collaboration and mutual trust with Allen Ginsberg. In this operation, the translator exploited the different types of capital at her disposal: first, the social and cultural capital deriving from the network of collaboration she had skilfully established; second, financial capital in the form of lawsuit threats, ownership of her translation, and competition from other publishers. In this regard, it is interesting to note that she proceeded to have the translation of 'Howl' notarised so as to retain proof of the original, unedited translation, which could then be used in potential legal actions that might have arisen against the publisher.[88] As seen above, crucial in the resolution of the censorship debate was Ginsberg's legitimation of Pivano's role as the translation's owner, thus strengthening her authority over decisions and requests made to the editors. In this role, she overturned the dominant narrative, according to which the translator is subservient to the publisher, from within the hierarchical framework of the perceived deprivation of cultural power experienced by translators in the literary market.

Notes

1. For further reading on the *mito americano* see: Luigi Barzini, *O America!* (Milan: Mondadori, 1978); Guido Bonsaver, *Literature and Censorship in Fascist Italy* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2007); *Chi stramalediva gli inglesi: La diffusione della letteratura inglese e americana in Italia tra le due guerre*, ed. by Arturo Cattaneo (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2007); Emilio Cecchi, *America amara* (Florence: Sansoni, 1941); Edoardo Esposito, *L'America dopo Americana: Elio Vittorini consulente Mondadori* (Milan: Mondadori, 2008); Dominique Fernandez, *Il mito dell'America negli intellettuali italiani dal 1930 al 1950* (Caltanissetta and Rome: Salvatore Sciascia Editore, 1969); David Heiney, *America in Modern Italian Literature* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1964); Martino Marazzi, *Little America: Gli Stati Uniti e gli scrittori italiani del Novecento* (Milan: Marcos y Marcos, 1997); Giaime Pintor, *Il sangue d'Europa* (Turin: Einaudi, 1950); Mario Soldati, *America primo amore* (Florence: Bemporad, 1935).
2. Jane Dunnett, 'Anti-Fascism and Literary Criticism in Postwar Italy: Revisiting the *mito americano*', in *Culture, Censorship and the State in Twentieth-Century Italy*, ed. by Guido Bonsaver and Robert S. C. Gordon (London: Legenda, 2005), pp. 109–19 (p. 109).
3. Fernanda Pivano, *Diari 1917–1973*, ed. by Enrico Rotelli and Mariarosa Bricchi (Milan: Bompiani, 2008), p. 38.
4. See Vanessa Chizzini, 'Fernanda Pivano e la letteratura americana del '900' <http://www.parol.it/articles/chizzini.htm> [accessed 4 March 2021].
5. See Pivano, *Diari*, pp. 490–94; Fernanda Pivano, 'Malcolm Cowley: L'inventore della letteratura americana', in Pivano, *Viaggio americano* (Milan: Bompiani, 2017), pp. 47–57.
6. Jane Dunnett, *The 'Mito Americano' and Italian Literary Culture Under Fascism* (Ariccia: Aracne, 2015), in particular Chap. 5, 'Mediating the Myth: The "Discovery" of American Literature by Italian Critics', pp. 369–482, and her chapter 'Anti-Fascism and Literary Criticism'. See also Carla De Fusco, 'Fernanda Pivano: La scoperta della letteratura americana 1930–1960', in *La creatività: Percorsi di genere*, ed. by Margarete Durst and Caterina M. Poznanski (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2011), pp. 141–56.
7. See Elena Tapparo, *Fernanda Pivano e la letteratura americana* (Civitavecchia: Prospettiva editrice, 2006).
8. Julianne VanWagenen, 'Masters vs Lee Masters: The Legacy of the Spoon River Author between Illinois and Italy', *Forum Italicum*, 53.3 (2019), 679–98; Iuri Moscardi, '*Spoon River*: Una traduzione a quattro mani', *Letteratura e letterature*, 7 (2013), 59–68.
9. Blossom S. Kirschenbaum, 'Fernanda Pivano: Italian *Americanista*, Reluctant Feminist', *VIA Voices in Italian*, special issue *Americana Italian/American Women Authors*, 7.2 (Fall 1996), 83–100.
10. Fernanda Pivano, 'Grazie, cari amici', in *Premio 'Città di Monselice' per una traduzione letteraria*, vol. 5, ed. by Amministrazione comunale (Monselice, 1976), pp. xiii–xxxii (p. xxxi). Regarding the 1975 Premio Monselice, see the volume *Premio 'Città di Monselice' per la traduzione letteraria e scientifica*, vol. 21, ed. by Gianfelice Peron (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2013), with four contributions on Fernanda Pivano by Sergio Perosa ('Fernanda Pivano Traduttrice', pp. 357–65), Franco Buffoni ('Grazie Nanda', pp. 367–73), Carlo Carena ('Nanda in casa Einaudi', pp. 375–83), and Tobia Zanon ('Un piccolo giallo editoriale: Un piccolo caso d'archivio: Fernanda Pivano traduttrice dal francese', pp. 385–98).
11. Pivano, 'Grazie, cari amici', pp. xxiv, xxvii.
12. See, among others, Piero Ambrogio Pozzi, 'Le cavolate di Fernanda Pivano' <https://cosedalibri.wordpress.com/2014/04/18/le-cavolate-di-fernanda-dove-si-parla-di-hemingway-dei-suoi-biografi-menzogneri-e-di-altre-disattenzioni/>. Francesco Pacifico, 'Fernanda Pivano: La groupie dal cuore beat', appeared in *L'Espresso* on the tenth anniversary of her death, 1 August 2019; among the many translators interviewed to pay her homage, one, who wished to remain anonymous, comments: 'Non farlo dire a me – per pura viltà, ma dillo tu che … faceva degli errori enormi! E non si può dire! Non è solo che non c'era internet. Faceva errori di dizionario, anche di comprensione' <https://espresso.repubblica.it/plus/

articoli/2019/08/01/news/quell-incontrocon-levi-e-pavesefernanda-pivanola-groupie-dal-cuore-beat-1.337457/>. Antonio Armano, 'Pivano e gli svarioni nel "Grande Gatsby"', *Il Fatto Quotidiano*, 20 June 2011 <https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2011/06/20/la-pivano-gli-svarioni-nel-grande-gatsby-e-tre-nuove-traduzioni/119414/> [all links last accessed 5 March 2021]. See also: Piero Ambrogio Pozzi, 'The Italian Translation of *Across the River*: Will It Ever Reach the Juncture?', in *Hemingway and Italy: Twenty-First-Century Perspectives*, ed. by Mark Cirino and Mark P. Ott (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017), pp. 177–94.

13. See 'Nota alla presente edizione', in Raymond Queneau, *Romanzi*, ed. by Giacomo Magrini (Turin: Einaudi, 1992), p. xxxix, cited in Zanon, 'Un piccolo giallo editoriale', p. 385.
14. Allen Ginsberg, *Urlo e Kaddish*, trans. by Luca Fontana (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 1997). The correspondence regarding the publication of this volume is collected in the now out-of-print volume *Allen Ginsberg e il Saggiatore* (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 1997). The same correspondence is also included in Allen Ginsberg, *Saluti cosmopoliti: Poesie 1986–1992*, trans. by Luca Fontana and with a preface by Luca Formenton (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 2011), pp. 9–65.
15. Fernanda Pivano, 'Modern Translations into Italian', *The World of Translation*, ed. by Gregory Rabassa (New York: PEN American Center, 1971), pp. 321–33 (p. 329).
16. Perosa, p. 363.
17. Archival research was carried out at Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori in Milan, Fondo Fernanda Pivano in Milan, Special Collections and University Archives at Stanford University in California, and Bancroft Library Archives at the University of California, Berkeley. I thank Francesca Tramma at Fondo Fernanda Pivano, Tiziano Chiesa at Archivio Fondazione Mondadori, and Tim Noakes at Stanford University for their valuable assistance with my archival research. In the archival documents that have been quoted in this essay, I have reproduced Ginsberg's and Pivano's English exactly as it appears in the original sources, including the errors of grammar, syntax, and typography.
18. On genetic criticism applied to translation studies see: Rosa Maria Bollettieri and Serenella Zanotti, 'The *avant-textes* of Translations: A Study of Umberto Eco's Interaction with his Translators', *Translation Studies*, 10.3 (2017), 263–81; Bourjea Serge, 'La Génétique comme Traduction', *Œuvres & Critiques*, 25.1 (2000), 49–62; Peter Bush, 'The Writer of Translations', in *The Translator as Writer*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and Peter Bush (London: Continuum, 2006), pp. 23–32; *Towards a Genetics of Translation*, ed. by Anthony Cordingley and Chiara Montini, special issue of *Linguistica Antverpiensia New Series – Themes in Translation Studies*, 14 (2015); Eva Karpinski, 'Gender, Genetics, Translation: Encounters in the Feminist Translator's Archive of Barbara Godard', *Linguistica Antverpiensia New Series – Themes in Translation Studies*, 14 (2015), 19–39; Jeremy Munday, 'The Role of Archival and Manuscript Research in Investigation of Translator Decision-Making', *Target*, 25.1 (2013), 125–39.
19. Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, 'Translators' Identity Work: Introducing Micro-Sociological Theory of Identity to the Discussion of Translators' Habitus', in *Remapping Habitus in Translation Studies*, ed. by Gisella M. Vorderobermeier (New York and Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014), pp. 43–55 (p. 49), original emphasis.
20. Jeremy Munday, 'Using Primary Sources to Produce a Microhistory of Translation and Translators: Theoretical and Methodological Concerns', *The Translator*, 20.1 (2014), 64–80 (p. 68).
21. Ibid., p. 65.
22. Ibid., p. 77.
23. István M. Szijártó, 'Four Arguments for Microhistory', *Rethinking History*, 6.2 (2002), 209–15 (p. 210).
24. Munday, 'Using Primary Sources', p. 77.
25. Bollettieri and Zanotti, pp. 265–66. The category of *avant-textes* includes drafts, notes, manuscripts, diaries, marginalia, letters, and documentary material found in translators' and publishers' archives (p. 265).
26. On the concepts of sociology, field, microhistory, and microsociology of translation see also: Pierre Bourdieu, 'A Conservative Revolution in Publishing', trans. by Ryan Fraser, *Translation*

Studies, 1.2 (2008), 123–35; Pierre Bourdieu, 'Codification', in *In Other Words: Essays toward a Reflexive Sociology*, trans. by Matthew Adamson (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp. 76–86; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. by Richard Nice (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990); Jacob Blakesley, *A Sociological Approach to Poetry Translation: Modern European Poet-Translators* (New York: Routledge, 2018); Carlo Ginzburg, 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things that I Know About It', trans. by John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi, *Critical Inquiry*, 20.1 (1993), 10–35; Ervin Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1956); Reine Meylaerts, 'Translators and (Their) Norms: Towards a Sociological Construction of the Individual', in *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*, ed. by Anthony Pym with Miriam Shlesinger and Daniel Simeoni (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008), pp. 91–102; Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, 'The Translators' Personae: Marketing Translatorial Images as Pursuit of Capital', *Meta*, 53.3 (2008), 609–22.

27. Edgar Lee Masters, *Antologia di Spoon River*, trans. by Fernanda Pivano, first published in 1943 (Turin: Einaudi, 2005), pp. 5–6.
28. Pivano, 'Modern Translations into Italian', p. 330.
29. Fernanda Pivano, 'Vittorini traduttore e la cultura americana' (panel with Claudio Gorlier, Carlo Izzo, Agostino Lombardo, Fernanda Pivano), *Terzo Programma: Quaderni Trimestrali* (Omaggio a Elio Vittorini), 3 (1966), 152–61 (p. 154).
30. In *Diari*, p. 425, Pivano claims that she was awarded a Leaders' Grant by the American cultural attaché Frank Snowden 'probably' in recognition of her collection of essays on black history. The publisher Bompiani eventually published the same collection in 2015, under the title *Lo zio Tom è morto*.
31. Pivano, *Diari*, p. 451.
32. For further information on 'Howl' and the trial for obscenity see: *On the Poetry of Allen Ginsberg*, ed. by Lewis Hyde (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1984); *The Letters of Allen Ginsberg*, ed. by Bill Morgan (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2008); *Howl on Trial: the Battle for Free Expression*, ed. by Bill Morgan and Nancy J. Peters (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2006); Jonah Raskin, *American Scream: Allen Ginsberg's* Howl *and the Making of the Beat Generation* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2004).
33. *Evergreen Review*, 'San Francisco Scene', March 1957, p. 2.
34. Cesare Pavese, *Letteratura americana e altri saggi* (Turin: Einaudi, 1951), p. 173.
35. Pivano, 'Modern Translations into Italian', p. 327.
36. Ibid., p. 330
37. Ibid., p. 331.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., pp. 331–32.
42. Fernanda Pivano, *C'era una volta un beat: Dieci anni di ricerca alternativa* (Roma: Frassinelli, 2003), p. 14.
43. Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, Milano, Archivio storico Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, *Alberto Mondadori*, fasc. Fernanda Pivano, 13 January 1960.
44. Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, Milano, Archivio storico Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, *Segreteria editoriale estero – AB*, b. 34, fasc. 34 (Allen Ginsberg), 18 January 1960.
45. David Forgacs, 'How Exceptional were Culture–State Relations in Twentieth-Century Italy?', in *Culture, Censorship and the State*, ed. by Bonsaver and Gordon, pp. 9–21 (p. 17).
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., p. 19.
48. On the censorship faced by del Boca's *La lunga notte di Singapore*, see the interview in Giovanni Dall'Orto, *La pagina strappata* (Turin: Gruppo Abele, 1985), pp. 79–97; on Pier Paolo Pasolini's *Ragazzi di vita*, see Silvia De Laude, *I due Pasolini:* Ragazzi di vita *prima della censura* (Roma: Carocci, 2018); on Beppe Fenoglio's *I ventitré giorni di Alba* and *Il partigiano Johnny*, see Philip Cooke, 'The Italian State and the Resistance Legacy in the

1950s and 1960s', in *Culture, Censorship and the State*, ed. by Bonsaver and Gordon, pp. 120–33. For further reading on post-war Italian publishing history and editorial censorship see Gian Carlo Ferretti, *Storia dell'editoria letteraria in Italia, 1945–2003* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004) and *Siamo spiacenti: Controstoria dell'editoria italiana attraversi i rifiuti* (Milan: Bruno Mondadori, 2012).

49. See Ferretti, *Storia dell'editoria letteraria in Italia* [Kindle version], loc. n. 2048, and De Laude, p. 111.
50. See Cooke, p. 123.
51. De Laude, p. 93.
52. Fernanda Pivano, 'La Beat Generation', *Aut Aut*, 49 (January 1959), 1–14; Fernanda Pivano, 'L'America si allarma per la Beat Generation', *Epoca* (6 March 1959), 73–77; Fernanda Pivano, 'I ritornelli di Kerouac', *L'Europa letteraria*, 1 (1960), 165–68; Fernanda Pivano, preface to Jack Kerouac, *Sulla strada*, trans. by Magda De Cristofaro (Milan: Mondadori, 1959); introduction to Jack Kerouac, *I sotterranei*, preface by Henry Miller (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1960); introduction to William S. Burroughs, *La scimmia sulla schiena*, trans. by Bruno Oddera (Milan: Rizzoli, 1962). The publication of Kerouac's *Sulla strada* (Mondadori, 1959) and *I sotterranei* (Feltrinelli, 1960), and Burroughs's *La scimmia sulla schiena* (Rizzoli, 1962) and *Pasto nudo* (SugarCo, 1964), is directly linked to her agency as a cultural mediator. She also edited the anthology *Poesia degli ultimi americani*, published by Feltrinelli in 1964, translating the poems contained therein with Giulio Saponaro. Saponaro translated the following authors: Ray Bremser, Robert Creeley, Diane Di Prima, Edward Dorn, Robert Duncan, LeRoi Jones, Bob Kaufman, Robert Kelly, Jack Kerouac, Kenneth Koch, Philip Lamantia, Denise Levertov, Ron Lowinshon, Norman Mailer, Frank O'Hara, Charles Olson, Joel Oppenheimer, Peter Orlovsky, Ed Sanders, Gary Snyder, Lois Sorrells, Lewis Welch, Philip Whalen, John Wieners, and Jonathan Williams. Pivano translated poems by Gregory Corso, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Allen Ginsberg, and Michael McClure, as well as Jack Kerouac's poems 'Sept. 16 1961' and '241st Chorus', and Ed Sanders's verses dedicated to Marilyn Monroe.
53. Archivio storico Fondazione Corriere della Sera, Fondo Fernanda Pivano – Sezione Michele Concina, fold. Ginsberg, Allen, Allen Ginsberg's letter to Fernanda Pivano, [1961 – estate 1967], dated 4 July 1964.
54. Ibid.
55. Archivio storico Fondazione Corriere della Sera, Fondo Fernanda Pivano – Sezione Michele Concina, fold. Ginsberg, Allen, Allen Ginsberg's letter to Fernanda Pivano, [1961 – estate 1967], dated 14 August 1964.
56. See: Archivio storico Fondazione Corriere della Sera, Fondo Fernanda Pivano – Sezione Michele Concina, fold. Ginsberg, Allen, Allen Ginsberg's letters to Fernanda Pivano, [1961 – estate 1967], dated 7 February 1963; 4 May 1964; 24 May 1964; 25 June 1964.
57. Interview with Bill Morgan, 5 October 2018.
58. Archivio storico Fondazione Corriere della Sera, Fondo Fernanda Pivano – Sezione Michele Concina, fold. Ginsberg, Allen, Fernanda Pivano's letter to Allen Ginsberg, [1961 – estate 1967], dated 13 November 1963.
59. Other titles that Ginsberg suggested include *Howl of the Hydrogen Jukebox*, *Taste My Mouth in Your Ear*, and *Death Is a Letter that Was Never Sent*. Further titles that were rejected include *The Sexy Lamb*, *Trembling Lambs*, *Laughing Gas*, and *Ghost Traps*; see: Fondo Fernanda Pivano, Allen Ginsberg (cartella 1), 1961 – estate 1967 (3/3), 116.1_1 (34), 1 April 1964.
60. Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, Milano, Archivio storico Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, *Segreteria editoriale estero – AB*, b. 34, fasc. 34 (Allen Ginsberg), 27 March 1964.
61. For further reading on 'arte programmata' in Italy and 'Gruppo T' see: Lucilla Meloni, *Gli ambienti del Gruppo T: Arte immersiva e interattiva* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2004); *Gli ambienti del gruppo T: Le origini dell'arte interattiva*, catalogo della mostra, Roma, ed. by Mariastella Margozzi and others (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2006).
62. 'Dear Allen, […] he says he would rather call it Jukebox H2. […] He probably wants it because there is a group of poets here who are making what they call the programmed poetry […] I

would hate to raise even the suspicion of any connection of you with them, although they are serious and nice persons. But I don't want to interfer too much and I let you decide, I am just obliged to beg you to send me as soon as you can your word'. Archivio storico Fondazione Corriere della Sera, Fondo Fernanda Pivano – Sezione Michele Concina, fold. Ginsberg, Allen, Fernanda Pivano's letter to Allen Ginsberg, [1961 – estate 1967], dated 1 April 1964.

63. Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, Milano, Archivio storico Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, *Segreteria editoriale estero – AB*, b. 34, fasc. 34 (Allen Ginsberg), 4 November 1964.
64. Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, Milano, Archivio storico Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, *Segreteria editoriale estero – AB*, b. 34, fasc. 34 (Allen Ginsberg), 11 November 1964.
65. See: Fondazione Corriere della Sera, Fondo Fernanda Pivano – Sezione Michele Concina, fold. Ginsberg, Allen, Fernanda Pivano's letter to Allen Ginsberg, [1961 – estate 1967], dated 9 January 1965.
66. Fondazione Corriere della Sera, Fondo Fernanda Pivano – Sezione Michele Concina, fold. Ginsberg, Allen, Fernanda Pivano's letter to Allen Ginsberg, [1961 – estate 1967], dated 22 November 1964.
67. Pivano, *C'era una volta un beat*, p. 56.
68. Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, Milano, Archivio storico Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, *Segreteria editoriale estero – AB*, b. 34, fasc. 34 (Allen Ginsberg), 11 January 1965.
69. Fondazione Corriere della Sera, Fondo Fernanda Pivano – Sezione Michele Concina, fold. Ginsberg, Allen, Allen Ginsberg's letter to Fernanda Pivano, [1961 – estate 1967], dated 5 January1965.
70. Fondazione Corriere della Sera, Fondo Fernanda Pivano – Sezione Michele Concina, fold. Ginsberg, Allen, Fernanda Pivano's letter to Allen Ginsberg, [1961 – estate 1967], dated 9 January 1965.
71. Pivano, *C'era una volta un beat*, p. 57.
72. Fondazione Corriere della Sera, Fondo Fernanda Pivano – Sezione Michele Concina, fold. Ginsberg, Allen, Giuseppe Ungaretti's letter to Allen Ginsberg, [1961 – estate 1967], dated 11 July 1965.
73. Pivano, *C'era una volta un beat*, p. 58.
74. Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, Milano, Archivio storico Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, *Segreteria editoriale estero – AB*, b. 34, fasc. 34 (Allen Ginsberg), 5 August 1965.
75. See Katerina Bantinaki, 'The Literary Translator as Author: A Philosophical Assessment of the Idea', *Translation Studies*, 13.3 (2020), 306–17.
76. Pivano, *C'era una volta un beat*, pp. 58–59.
77. Fondazione Corriere della Sera, Fondo Fernanda Pivano – Sezione Michele Concina, fold. Ginsberg, Allen, Fernanda Pivano's letter to Allen Ginsberg, [1961 – estate 1967], dated 2 June 1965.
78. Fondazione Corriere della Sera, Fondo Fernanda Pivano – Sezione Michele Concina, fold. Ginsberg, Allen, Allen Ginsberg's letter to Fernanda Pivano, [1961 – estate 1967], dated 9 June 1965.
79. Pivano, *C'era una volta un beat*, p. 56.
80. Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, Milano, Archivio storico Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, *Segreteria editoriale estero – AB*, b. 34, fasc. 34 (Allen Ginsberg), 1 October 1965.
81. The Italian poet read some of Ginsberg's poems and then gave a talk titled 'Allen Ginsberg e la nuova poesia americana', published under the title 'Presentation of Allen Ginsberg's Poems (Naples 1966)', *World Literature Today*, 63.2 (1989), 212–14.
82. Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, Milano, Archivio storico Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, *Segreteria editoriale estero – C*, b. 18, fasc. 17 (Allen Ginsberg), 12 December 1966.
83. See Mila Milani, 'The Role of Translation in the History of Publishing: Publishers and Contemporary Poetry Translation in 1960s Italy', *Translation Studies*, 10.3 (2017), 296–311 (p. 301) <https://doi.org/10.1080/14781700.2017.1334579>
84. Private email correspondence, 18 May 2021.

85. Serenella Zanotti, 'The Translator and the Author: Two of a Kind?', in *The Translator as Author: Perspectives on Literary Translation*', ed. by Claudia Buffagni with Beatrice Garzelli and Serenella Zanotti (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2011), pp. 79–90 (p. 86).
86. Bollettieri and Zanotti, pp. 272–74.
87. Buffoni, pp. 369–70.
88. The document, still sealed, is held at the archives of the Fondo Fernanda Pivano in Milan.

Acknowledgements

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