The aim of this paper is to analyse the differences between the different Spanish translations of Karl Marx
twentieth-century masterwork DAS KAPITAL (1867). There are plenty of translations of Das Kapital into Spanish,
but in this paper the analysis is focused in 3 of them: Juan Bautista Justo (1898), Wenceslao Roces (1946) and Pedro
Scaron’s (1975) translations. The choice of these three translations was not hazardous; J. B. Justo’s is the
first genuine translation from the German edition of DAS KAPITAL into Spanish; W. Roces’ is the most
spread one and P. Scaron’s is considered the best of all of them.

This paper is organized in 4 main parts. The first one contains a brief biography of B. Justo and W. Roce,
and due to the impossibility of founding P. Scaron’s biography, we included a summarised description of P.
Scaron translation team and the context when the translation took place. The second part consists of a
thorough comparison analysis of the first chapter of the Volume I ("The commodity") of the 3 different
translations of DAS KAPITAL. Here it is outlined the differences in style and vocabulary and accuracy or
discrepancy to the original Marx’s edition. In the third part, you will find P. Scaron analysis and critique of the
translations until his own translations of DAS KAPITAL. Finally, the fourth part includes my own critique of the
3 translations. In this last one lies in the peculiarity of my work because until now there were critiques of the
Spanish editions of DAS KAPITAL, but until now there was no one that have done a complete and serious
analysis of Scaron’s translation.

2. INTRODUCTION

3. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF TRANSLATORS:

3.1. Juan Bautista Justo (JBJ)
He was born on 28th June 1865 in Buenos Aires (Argentina). He was a brilliant student at the Faculty of Medicine in UBA (University of Buenos Aires) and in order to finance his studies he worked as a journalist in the newspaper ‘La Prensa’, where he had the first contact with politics. He graduated as a doctor with honours in 1892, because of his excellent dissertation about ‘Arterial surgical aneurysm’ he received a gold medal prize in a public ceremony. After his graduation we went to Europe to improve his medicine knowledge and apart from this he started to develop his interest in socialist ideas. Back from his travel around Europe he worked as a surgeon in the ‘Hospital de Crónicos’ and from 1890 he started to write in the socialist newspaper ‘El Obrero’. When he was 27 years old he won a position as a professor in surgery in the Faculty of Medicine (UBA).

Although he was an excellent surgeon he did not feel complete with his profession, some years later he wrote: “There was a time in my life that I used to go out of the hospital every morning, after spending half of the journey with the sick and disabled people, victims of misery, fatigue, exploitation and alcohol. And after all the pride of the architect that works with the flesh of the worker whose raw material is the human being was gone I started to ask myself if my fight against the illness and death that absorbed all my energies was the best and most intelligently human I was able to do”1. So, in April 1894 he founded with Augusto Kühn and Esteban Jiménez the newspaper ‘La Vanguardia’, for this purpose he had to sell his car. The initial socialist newspaper some years later turned into a daily newspaper and a very important mean of communication and cultural diffusion.

The same year of the newspaper foundation, he joined the Partido Obrero (Working party). Gradually, JBJ was getting involved more deeply into the political life until he finally founded with E. Jiménez, A. Kühn and I. Salomó the Partido Socialista (Socialist Party). As the president of the Socialist party he was in charge of the culture and advertisement of the party’s ideas and the socialist conference in Copenhagen and Berne.

In 1985 he travelled to USA and Europe again to investigate about the industrial capitalism and he started the translation of the first Volume of Karl Marx’s Capital. He was the first person who translate DAS KAPITAL (DK) from its original language, German, to Spanish. The version of DK translated by him was the 2nd German edition (published when Karl Marx was still alive). JBJ’s edition does not include any prologue by the translator because he pointed out that “It is not my opinion what the people who are going to buy this book, are looking for”. There were two other editions of the same translation, the second one was published in 1918 and the third one in 1947. This last edition contains an index of ideas, order alphabetically and by order of development done by Esteban R. Ronanina.

JBJ had an intensive career as a socialist politician, doing conferences, writing his own theories about socialism and fighting against the found in the provincial elections. Finally, he was elected in 1912 as a congressman and he hold this position until 1924 when he was elected as a Senator of the Federal Capital (Buenos Aires). He was in charge of the Investigator Commission of Trusts and he took part in debate which ended finally in the University Reform of 1918. Because his political implications he was expelled from the University of Buenos Aires where he was working as a professor. JBJ proposed projects of laws about social issues, against game addiction and alcoholism and to eliminate the lack of literacy.

1 ROGELIO DEMARCHI, “Juan B. Justo: Biografía y Bibliografía – La brújula socialista”. Página 12, 18th August 2002
As a writer, JBJ was focused in the political and social essay. His main work was ‘Teoría y práctica de la Historia (1909)’, but it was not the only one. He had an active writing activity not only in his own newspaper but also in several national press. His others works were:
One year before dying he made one dream real, he inaugurated the ‘Casa del Pueblo’ with a public library, a big hall for conferences and some classrooms for night classes for workers. On 8th January, 1928 he died from a cardiac syncope during his holiday with his family in ‘Los cardales’ (Buenos Aires). To pay tribute to JBJ the Argentinian government called an Avenue in Buenos Aires and a train station in the same city with his name.

3.2. Wenceslao Roces Suárez (WR)

He was born on 3rd February 1897 in Soto de Sobrescobio, Province of Oviedo (Spain). He studied law in the Faculty of Law in University of Oviedo. He graduated with honours in 1919. He studied the PHD in the Faculty of Law in the Central University of Madrid, he received a special prize for his thesis ‘El caso fortuito en el Derecho de obligaciones’. His excellent qualifications allowed him to obtain a grant from the ‘Junta de Ampliación de Estudios’ to go to Germany to continue studying in the University of Freiburg. There he worked with Rudolf Stammler in ‘multiple lucrative issues related to the lack of possibility to fulfill obligations’.
He returned to Spain in 1922 and won the position of Professor of ‘Institutions of Roman Law’ in the University of Salamanca. When Primo de Ribera accessed to the government by the military coup, he was suspended from his position as a Professor in the University. The reason was that he wrote in 1924 an article for the Argentinian newspaper ‘La Razón’ against the exile of Miguel de Unamuno, who was a close friend of WR, imposed by Primo de Ribera’s government.
WR was inclined towards Marxism ideology and he became a critique and analyst of some legal works about scientific critique. He was in charge of the translations of the main important writings of Rudolf Stammler, E. Bloch, G.W. F. Hegel and several Marxism authors: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. Lenin, I. Stalin, R. Luxemburgo, etc. When the dictatorship Alfonso XIII ended, Roces started his career in the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) in Madrid. Also he took part in the ‘Unión de Escritores y Artistas Proletarios’ and in the institution of ‘Socorro Rojo Internacional’. In that period he also published the translation of ‘El Manifiesto Comunista’ by Karl Marx.
WR was involved in the revolution of 1934 which took place in Asturias. After the defeat. He was obliged to exile in URSS, where he improve his Russian and started the project of translating Marx’ masterwork DAS KAPITAL. He finished the first translation in 1935 and was published by Cenit Editorial.
He returned to Spain in 1936 when the elections for the II Republic tool place. During the Spanish Civil war he occupied the charge of deputy secretary of the Ministry of Public Institution and Beaux Arts. He was in charge of the robbery of the Archaeological National Museu’s Collection of gold coins and the transfer out of Spain of some important pictures of Prado Museum. Finally, after the

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2 Diccionario de catedráticos Españoles de Derecho (1847-1943). Universidad Carlos III de Madrid
Francisco Franco dictatorship was established, he took up exile in South America, first in Chile, then in Cuba and finally in Mexico. He worked in the University of La Habana and Santiago de Chile. According to José Martín Juárez, “His work as a Professor in South American lands was of great importance, he educated several generations of historians and philosophers in the critique and thorough analysis of the sources, making a deep lecture of Marxism writings and adding the most updated interpretations of this ideology”.

In 1942, he started to work in the publisher Fondo de Cultura Económica where we published in 1946 his second translation of DAS KAPITAL, Volume I, II and III. According to his prologue of the translator, he based his translation of the volume I in the fourth German edition of DAS KAPITAL (1980); the Volume II in Engels’ second edition (1893) and the Volume III in the first edition 1894 done by Engels. Therefore he based his translations on editions that were published after Marx’s death by F. Engels. He added at the end of each volume an appendix with a collection of documentation, letters, other Marx works, reference index, table of equivalences of measurements units, etc., in order to help the reader to understand Marx’ masterpieces.

W. Roces received special awards from several South American Universities: Profesor Emérito de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México UNAM (1969), Prize of UNAM de Docencia en Humanidades (1985), Orden Ágila Azteca (1980) and Doctor honoris causa by the UNAM and the University Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo.

He died in Mexico on 29th March, 1992 from a heart attack. His body lies in the Pantheon Gardens of Mexico (Federal District).

3.3. Background and context of P. Scaron’s (PS) translation team

Unfortunately, the search of Pedro Scaron biography was not successful. It was impossible to find any data from his life, studies, etc. We know that he was an Argentinian researcher and the only information found about his work was an analysis of his translation of DAS KAPITAL – Ed. Siglo XXI. P. Scaron 1975, done by María Teresa Rodríguez and some PS’s writings. The analysis of T. Rodríguez gives us important information about the process of Scaron’s work, the temporal context and background when the project of making a ‘critical edition’ of Marx’s DAS KAPITAL took place.

First of all, PS called his translation the first ‘critical edition’ of Marx’s Kapital. In order to explain this meaning we have to analyse the original Marx’s writing. There is not only one original text of DAS KAPITAL Volume I, indeed PS considered that there are 3 original editions of this first volume:

1. The first German edition, published in 1867 by Karl Marx
2. The second German edition, published in instalments from June 1872 to May 1873 and in final volume in June 1873
3. The first French edition, published in instalments from August 1872 to November 1875. This edition was corrected under Marx’ supervision and it is important because he added some comments and explanations which help the understanding of his masterwork.

Then, there are 3 more editions that are important because they have significant changes, but they are not considered genuine original editions because they were published after Marx’s death by

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Engels:

1. The third German edition, 1883
2. The English edition, 1887
3. The fourth German edition, 1890

The editions mentioned above had been taken into account by PS because “the editions looked after by Engels can not be taken as the definitive text of ‘The capital’ (there is not such a definitive text), but as valuable and authorized effort to establish the body of what might have been a new edition of the first volume prepared by Marx”.

PS were obliged to ‘rebuild’ one final edition from all of them that were in existence. PS read all these editions compared each one. He realized that all the editions were different. The editorial team of Siglo XXI understood that each one of that 6 editions represented ‘a stage in the dialectical evolution of The Capital’. All this research trying to find the original text of DAS KAPITAL results in a ‘critical edition’ which contains the following texts:

1) PS’ translation is based on the second German edition (1873). This edition was the ‘body’ of the book. The notes of this second edition were considered as notes of the author.

2) PS added the Chapter I (‘Die Ware’) and the appendix of ‘the form of the value’ (‘Die Wertform’) and Marx’s underlinings of the first German edition of the volume I (1867), at the end of his book (precisely at the end of PS’ volume III of the book I).

3) The notes extracted from the Engel’s editions (3rd and 4th) were included as ‘sub notes’ (separated from the original text with a line along the whole page) with the initials FE and marked between square brackets.

4) He included, as an exception, some variants (which were not considered in Engels 3rd and 4th editions) extracted from the French edition “Marx, Karl ‘Le capital’ lib. I Roy’s translation, Paris 1969.

5) PS translated all the foot notes done by Marx and Engels in original language (English, French, Italian, etc) directly from the original language to Spanish.

6) In the case of the quotes that Marx introduced in the main text (not in foot notes at the end of the page), normally they were in German (not in the original language). So, PS decided to translate from the original language if Marx’s translations matched up with the original. If Marx’s translations did not match up with the original, PS translated from Marx’ German translation.

7) In the case of the short expression and literary quotes that Marx introduced in the main text, PS introduce them in the original language (as Marx did) and added in brackets the translation into Spanish.


5 M. Teresa Rodríguez. “Las formas de la traducción y de la edición al interior del campo cultural de la nueva izquierda argentina de los ’70. El caso de la edición “crítica” de EL CAPITAL de Karl Marx en la versión de SIGLO XXI de Argentina”, La Plata 2012
8) In the beginning of the first book he included an “Advice of the translator” in which he point out all the information mentioned above.

9) Finally, he added “explicative notes” and bibliographical notes at the end of each volume.

There can be no doubt that PS research and analysis result in a complex and unique version of DAS KAPITAL. The nomenclature of ‘critical edition’ is fairly assigned.

About PS’ translation team, M. T. Rodríguez explained that all the members: Pedro Scaron, (translator and editor in charge of the work), Diana Castro, Miguel Murmis, León Manes and José maría Aricó (colaborators) had the same social and intellectual background. All of them were intellectual militants of communist parties, so they have a ‘shared cultural experience’⁶. Apart from that, all the members were in charge of translation and edition of several Marxism texts⁷. The main problem this team had to face was the fact that the majority of communist militants read Marxism texts but never the original one (as they considered that JBJ, WR and Cartago’s editions were not original version of DAS KAPITAL). All the people of the ’70 were used to reading interpretations of Marx’s thoughts done by Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, etc. Therefore, this critique suggested by PS’ team was not very welcome between the orthodox Marxists on the seventieth, who took this critique as a “heresy”⁸.

The aim of PS critical edition was to make the Marxism militant a critical reader and from this critical reader a revolutionary.

4. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE 3 DIFFERENT SPANISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE CHAPTER I (VOL. I) OF DAS KAPITAL (K. MARX 1867)

First of all, a short explanation about the choice of the translations for the comparative analysis must be given. The choice of these three translations of the first volume of DAS KAPITAL was not hazardous:


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⁶ (Aricó 2005: 30), M. Teresa Rodríguez. “Las formas de la traducción y de la edición al interior del campo cultural...”, La Plata 2012

⁷ (Burgos 2004: 125-149), M. Teresa Rodríguez. “Las formas de la traducción y de la edición al interior del campo cultural...”, La Plata 2012

⁸ M. Teresa Rodríguez. “Las formas de la traducción y de la edición al interior del campo cultural de la nueva izquierda argentina de los ’70. El caso de la edición “crítica” de EL CAPITAL de Karl Marx en la versión de SIGLO XXI de Argentina”, La Plata 2012
2. ‘El capital: crítica de la economía política’, Ed. Fondo de Cultura económica, Mexico 1946, Translator W. Roces: is the most spread one.


Differences of all kind were found between the three translations: in style, in vocabulary, accuracy or discrepancy to the original Marx’s edition (KM), etc. We will start pointing out the less important discrepancies, which do not affect to the interpretation and understanding of Marx’s thoughts, and finally we will identify the most important differences between the translations:

- **JBJ – Page 22**
- **WR – Page 4**
- **PS – Page 44**
- **KM**

The expressions: “técnica mercantil”, “conocimiento pericial de las mercancías” and “merceología” are very different. The most accurate to the German Word “Warenunde” is “merceología” that it is the Spanish word for the science which study the origin, composition and functionality of the goods. The most different to the correct meaning is “técnica mercantil”, because this expression means more that the study of the goods, it means “commercial technique”. The expression “conocimiento pericial de las mercancías” could be considered correct. There are ones who can say that it is better to translate one word “Warenkunde” with also one word if it exists in Spanish, but it is important to take into account that “merceología” is not a very common word in Spanish. Everyone can easily understand “conocimiento pericial de las mercancías” and probably not all the people know the meaning of “merceología”

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9 As all the 3 translations of the Chapter I (Die Ware) were based on the same German edition (1873), when we write “original Marx’s edition” we are referring to this version.

10 Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Second German edition 1873

11 Definition of “merceología” in Wikipedia.org
JBJ is the only one that translate the measurement unit “Ztr.” into a “kilogramos” (Kilograms in English). This last unit is more generally and commonly used in Argentina and in Spanish country. Really this difference does not change anything in Marx’s explanation, but when Marx start explaining calculations it is better to be familiar with the measurements units.

PS is the only one who translated the word “Doppelcharakter” in a different way. JBJ and WR did a literary translation and PS used a more formal work in Spanish. All of the 2 possibilities are correct and really do not affect to the understanding.
Tomemos dos mercancías, por ejemplo una chaqueta y 10 varas de lienzo. La primera vale el doble que la segunda, de modo que si 10 varas de lienzo = V, la chaquete = 2 V.

KM – Page 46

Nehmen wir zwei Waren, etwa einen Rock und 10 Ellen Leinwand. Der eritere habe den zweifachen Wert der letzteren, so daß, wenn 10 Ellen Leinwand = W, der Rock = 2 W.

WR and PS have in common the translation of the word “Leinwand”, for both of them the Spanish word is “lienzo”. JBJ instead, translate that word as “tela”, which is a more common and ordinary word. None of them did the same translation for the word “Rock”: for JBJ it is “vestido” (dress), for WR it is “levita” (rock coat) and for PS it is “chaqueta” (Jacket/coat), in the English edition it is translated as “coat”. All of them could acceptable, but again the more accurate to the German word “Rock” seems to be “chaqueta” because there is an specific German word for “levita” = Gehrock and for “vestido” = Kleid.

JB – Page 27

(indispensable para la división social del trabajo. En la antigua comunidad de la India, el trabajo estaba socialmente dividido, sin que sus productos fueran mercancías. Un ejemplo más inmediato: en el mundo, un trabajo, no por social del trabajo. Así, por ejemplo, la comunidad de la India antigua, supone una división social del trabajo, a pesar de lo cual los productos no se convierten allí en mercancías. O, para poner otro ejemplo más

WR – Page 9

PS – Page 52

del trabajo. En la comunidad paleoíndica el trabajo está dividido socialmente, sin que por ello sus productos se transformen en mercancías. O bien, para poner un ejemplo

KM – Page 46

Existen condiciones que facilitan la división social de la trabajo. En la altindischen Gemeinde, la labor es socialmente desigual, sin que la producción de bienes se convierta en productos. O, de un ejemplo más cercano, en una fábrica moderna, la labor es socialmente dividida.

JB and WR’s translation for the word “altindischen Gemeinde” are very similar and has exactly the same meaning. But the expression used by PS is very different “paleoíndico”, although it has practically the same meaning it is not a normal and common word now a days and less in Marx’s period of time, so this translation is less accurate than JBJ and WR’s.

JB – Page 32

La objetividad del valor de las mercancías se distingue de la vida Hurting en que no se sabe dónde encontraría. En directo contraste con la más objetividad sensible del cuerpo de las mercancías, no hay ni un átomo de materia en la objetividad de su valor.

WR – Page 14
In this paragraph we found 3 differences. The first one is in the translation of “Wittib Hurtig”. JBJ translated this name as “viuda Hurtig” (half in Spanish and half in German); WR left the same German word “Wittib Hurtig”; and PS wrote the original name of Shakespeare’s character “mistress Quickly”. JBJ’s translation may be considered a wrong one, it is not acceptable to translate only a half part of an expression. The second discrepancy is in the omission done by WR of the adjective “groben”, it does not affect to the general understanding but this omission changed a little bit the style of Marx’s explanation. The last difference is the expression “wo sie zu haben ist”, JBJ did a wrong translation “no se sabe dónde encontrarla”, meanwhile WR and PS did a better one but between them they have a small difference due to the different nationalities of the translators. As PS is Argentinian he used the verb “agarrarla” and WR who is Spanish used the verb “cogerla”.

There is an important difference in the style used by each author in the translation of “bloße Gallerten”. JBJ used the expression “simples pulpas” (simple pulp), WR used “no son más que cristalizaciones” and PS
used “mera gelatina”. The more literary translation is PS’s one, but the expression of WR is very formal and gives the explanation a better register to Marx’s translation.