



Nationalism and Literary Translation

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Abstract

This paper proposes that there is a clear link between the different kinds of nationalism and types of literary translation that we tend to find in political regimes which follow a certain kind of nationalistic orientation. The paper initially describes *Risorgimento*, Reformist and Integral programmes of nationalism, linking them respectively with the German Romantic translation ideas, centralized translation programmes, and the desire to avoid translation. I then look at the case of Brazil under the Getúlio Vargas nationalist authoritarian government of the 1930s and 1940s.

Introduction

This study begins with a discussion of the links between different kinds of nationalism and attitudes towards translation. It then moves on to a more detailed description of the tensions between the politics of the *Estado Novo* nationalist authoritarian government in the 1930s and early 1940s in Brazil, where the apparent contrast between the nationalist protectionist government of Getúlio Vargas and the increase in the number of translated works is examined. The final section then examines the importance of Monteiro Lobato in the growth of the Brazilian publishing industry and the way in which he inserts his own political opinions into his adaptations of children's works.

The initial part of the study will follow the tripartite division of concepts of nation and nationalism found in the work of Peter Alter, *Nationalism: Risorgimento* nationalism, Reformist nationalism: and Integral nationalism. This section will emphasize the importance of translation in nationalist movements, even those that emphasize the primacy of the national language and culture, attempting to avoid any contact with polluting outside sources.

Risorgimento Nationalism

Risorgimento nationalism characterizes the desire to unite the large number of small states and principalities we find in Germany and Italy in the 19th century, the desire to bring peoples with similar past histories and shared cultures under the banner of one nation. In both regions the nationalist movement was led by liberal thinkers. In Germany the major proponents of the movement came from the lower middle-classes, and were sons of pastors, teachers and writers who

believed that the full economic and cultural potential of the nation could only be realized in a national German state, and that the many petty principalities were blocking this development.

Alter describes *Risorgimento* nationalism (Alter 1985:19) as a protest movement, strongly influenced by the French Revolution, pitted against the existing system or a dominant state which is destroying the nation's traditions and preventing it from flourishing. Every nation, and within every nation, every individual, should have the right to autonomous and equal development.

Many of Herder's ideas formed the basis of thinking on *Risorgimento* nationalism. The *Volk* is seen as a metaphysical entity, which produces a particular language, art, culture, religion, customs, individuals, and these are all the manifestations of the spirit of the people, or the *Volksgeist*. Thus Hamlet is the highest expression of the *Geist* of the English people. According to journalist Ernst Moritz Arndt, one of the greatest proponents of German nationalism, "All great things which a man does, forms, thinks and invents as a hero, an artist, a law-giver, or an inventor - all that comes to him only from the nation" (cit. Monogue 1967:61).

Other important proponents of the state in Germany were Fichte, whose development of Kantian idealism was directed towards the formation of the national state and who aroused Germans to national rejuvenation in his addresses of 1807 and 1808 in Berlin, which was occupied at the time by a French army; and Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, the "father of gymnastics", instrumental in the development of Gymnastics clubs throughout the German-speaking states from 1811, which would make Germans fit for battles against the French, and, together with other clubs such as the *Sängerbewegung* and shooting clubs in Germany, helped to give a definite sense of national identity. Similar clubs and societies can be found in other countries: examples are the Italian *Società Nazionale*, formed in 1857, and the Irish National League of 1882. National icons, myths, legends were developed by the intellectual elites to reinforce this sense of nationalism. August Wilhelm von Schlegel looked back to the German kingdoms of the Middle Ages. Nationalist movements reawakened Czech, Slovak, Flemish, Rumanian, Catalan, Irish, Flemish and Basque language movements.

Mazzini shared this idealism. He envisaged an ideal Europe with 11 states based on linguistic divisions: "The old Europe of restored monarchies would be superseded by the young Europe of emancipated nations created as they were by God's intervention in language and geography" (cit. Monogue 1967:20).

The independence movements of smaller nations in Europe such as Greece and Poland were enthusiastically supported by intellectuals from the dominant powers. Byron celebrated the struggle of Greece towards independence in 1822, going to Greece to fight, only to die there in 1824. And Rousseau celebrated Polish nationhood in the early 1830s: "It is the test of education to give each human being a national form, and so direct his opinions and tastes, that he

should be a patriot by inclination, by passion, by necessity. On first opening his eyes, a child must see his country, and until he dies, he must see nothing else” (cit. Monogue 1967:41).

Let us look a little more closely at the importance of translation within this context and look again at some of the well-documented comments by A. W. Schlegel, Novalis and Schleiermacher (see Berman 1984).

Translation is at the centre of the culture of the new German nation. Translation of the world’s great works would help to create the strong German nation by giving it a strong cultural basis on which future German writers would be able to work. Thus, at an initial moment, translation is more important than original writing. This new basis would also be very different from that of dominant French literature. Humboldt stressed the links between Ancient Greece and Germany (Schulze 1996:165). Voss’ translations of Homer, *l’Odyssée* in 1781, et *l’Illiade* in 1793, and the Schlegel -Tieck translations of Shakespeare were highly influential in providing this cultural basis for the putative new nation.

The idealism behind the *Risorgimento* translation can be seen in a number of different ways. Schlegel and Schleiermacher broaden the purely nationalist focus of *Risorgimento* nationalism and envision Germany as the centre of world literature; the German language and literature would be strengthened by translating the great works of all languages into German, which would then become a kind of storehouse for translations and world culture and the central world language.

The possibility of a world cultural nation, with Germany at the heart, was put forward by Goethe:

Tout à fait indépendamment de nos propres productions, nous avons déjà atteint grâce à (...) la pleine appropriation de ce qui nous est étranger un degré de culture (*Bildung*) très élevé. Les autres nations apprendront bientôt l’allemand, parce qu’elles se rendront compte qu’ainsi elles pourront s’épargner dans une certaine mesure l’apprentissage de presque toutes les autres langues. De quelles langues, en effet, ne possédons-nous pas les meilleures oeuvres dans les plus éminents traductions? (cit. Berman 1984:26)

A. W. Schlegel, Novalis and Schleiermacher all emphasized the central role of German culture, which was much fitter than other cultures, especially the French, to receive foreign works:

Seule une multiple réceptivité pour la poésie nationale étrangère, qui doit si possible mûrir et croître jusqu’à l’universalité, rend possibles des progrès dans la fidèle reproduction des poèmes. Je crois que nous sommes sur le point d’inventer le véritable art de la traduction poétique; cette gloire est réservée aux allemands (cit. Berman 1984:26)

And, of course, Schleiermacher saw the German language being extended through translation which attempted to introduce foreign elements, his *Übersetzen*, the sublime translations of philosophy, religious texts and literature, contrasting with the more banal *Dolmetschen*, the translation of daily business.

Reformist Nationalism

Reformist Nationalism refers to central planned state reform and modernization, of which we can find clear examples in the Meiji era in Japan between 1868 and 1912, when an ossified state managed to modernize by making reforms of the army, administration, law and the economy under the motto “restoration of the Imperial Rule”, restoring a system which the shoguns had been pushing into the background for years. But the Emperor could only achieve power if his country opened itself to the modern world, and thus a veil was placed over the reforms by emphasizing national traditions. The economic opening of Japan led to a flood of translations from Europe, though without any central planning (Kondo and Wakabayashi 1998:489).

In the Soviet Union after the 1917 Revolution, a new publishing house set up by Maxim Gorky published translations by Balzac, Anatole France, Stendhal, Heine, Schiller, Byron, Dickens, Shaw, Twain, etc., and many of the country’s top scholars published translations in the national and local press in the 1930s and following decades. In addition, programmes were carried out to translate the literatures of languages other than Russian inside the Soviet Union into Russian (Kommisarov 1998:545).

In Canada, official government regulations as early as 1867 placed French on an equal footing with English in the Canadian House of Commons and in federal and Quebec courts, thus institutionalizing and officializing the need for translation in Canada, which, since this period, has grown enormously, employing a large number of translators in government (Delisle 1998:359). The federal Canadian government and provincial Quebec governments have also provided grants to support literary translations (Delisle 362-363).

The example I shall concentrate on and which best illustrates the importance of translation in reformist nationalism is that of Turkey, where, after the 1923 revolution, and the empowerment of Mustapha Kemal, later given the name of Atatürk (father of the Turks), considerable educational and cultural reforms were made in order to westernize the newly formed Turkish state, formed out of the Anatolian rump of the Ottoman Empire.

Amongst these reforms were the abolition of the Caliphate in 1924; the transfer of the capital from the centre of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul, to Ankara in 1923; the adoption of the western calendar; the prohibition on the use of the veil or the fez in public; the foundation of the Turkish Linguistic Society (1932), which was

the development of the Turkish Linguistic Academy (1926), whose task was to “make it easier for people to read” and “cut young Turks off from their Ottoman heritage” (cit. Volkan 295); the replacement of many words of an Arabic or Persian origin by equivalents from old Turkish or from Western languages, especially French; and especially the almost overnight change in the script from Arabic to Roman in 1928, thus making a clean cultural break with the past. All books would now be printed in Roman script, which all schools would use. Thus a new generation grew up unable to have any contact with past Turkish literature, or, for that matter, any books published before 1928.

As a result of the first Turkish publishing congress, held in 1939, the state Translation Bureau was finally set up in 1940 by the Minister of Education, Hasan Âli Yücel, with a mandate to translate classics from the West into Turkish classics. Much of the discussion at the congress was about translation, and the Translation Committee from inside the congress suggested that works relating to a humanistic culture should be prioritized (Tahir 2001:47).

Rather than reviving the work of respected non-religious Turkish writers, the Translation Bureau translated foreign works, which would provide the basis of a new Turkish literature, which would draw its sources from the West and not from the backward Islamic east.

The emphasis of the works published by the Translation Bureau was on Greek and Latin humanism, non-Christian Western works which supposedly reflected the roots of Western culture and produced most of the great works of Western culture. The authors initially recommended by the Translation Board, which met in February 1940 were Sophocles, Erasmus, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Molière, Rousseau, Goethe, Stendhal, Balzac, Aeschylus, Plato, Julius Caesar, Machievelli, Swift, Voltaire, Lessing, Tolstoy and Sadi, the only non-western writer (Tahir 2001:48-49). According to Yücel, the translations of the Bureau would result in a “*démarche dans l’appréhension du monde, une connaissance de la vie, (un) élan vers la découverte de nous-mêmes* » and « *l’expansion du grand humanisme turc* » (Hanamur 1997:X), and this understanding of oneself and others would be all the more important in the period of the World War which had just begun. For Turkish literary critic Nurullah Ataç, “*les ouvrages classiques (sont ceux qui) résistent au temps (...) La lecture d’un ouvrage classique élargit l’esprit, montre qu’il y a plusieurs façons d’être beau* » (cit. Ildem 1997 :55).

The Translation Bureau was particularly active in its first six years while Yücel was in power, publishing 467 translations, of which only 23 were eastern classics. It also published the magazine *Tercüme*, which included translations, reviews, criticism, bibliographies and news about the activities of the Bureau. In the twenty years between 1946 and 1966, 506 translations were published, with greater emphasis on publishing scholarly and philosophical works (Tahir 2001:10).

There is a symbolic significance to certain dates chosen by the Translation Bureau, linking it closely to the ideals of the Republic. The first issue of *Tercüme*, the translation journal, was published on 19 May 1940, the anniversary of the War of Independence from Greece, which began on 19 May 1919, and the translations were published every year by the Bureau on 29 October, the anniversary of the Proclamation of the Republic (Hanamur 1997:IX-X).

The Translation Bureau carried out its activities mainly in the field of canonical literature, and became a major institution in introducing a new canon of literature. Many of these translations formed parts of series that would shape reading habits and encourage readers to collect the next volume and continue reading. They were also important to encourage library formation. Among the series were *Dünya Edebiyatından Tercüme* (Translations from World Literature), which was the most popular, *Okul Klâsikleri* (School Classics), *Şarktan-Garptan Seçme Eserler* (Selected Works from the East and the West) by Ahmet Halit, *İnkılâp Kitabevinin Seçme Tercüme Serisi* (İnkılâp Publishing Houses's Series of Selected Translations). Some of these series covered what can be regarded as canonical literature, while others could be considered modern classics or bestsellers of the day.

The central role played by the Translation Bureau in official government planning can be seen in the fact that prefaces to the series *Dünya Edebiyatından Tercüme* (Translations from World Literature), launched by the Translation Bureau, were made by İsmet İnönü, President of the Republic, and Hasan Âli Yücel, Minister of Education (Tahir 2001:10). Yücel stated:

The time has come for us to take a look at ourselves ... The only means of looking at ourselves is to adjust our eye to the angle of the advanced world: to gain an in-depth knowledge of the West, to realize our intellectual and artistic Renaissance, to translate Greek-Roman and modern Western works into our language are all preparations for adopting that angle. In a single word, we have to agree to serve as an apprentice to the new civilization we have entered in order to become creative (cit. Tahir 2001:10).

Great attempts were made to increase the number of readers through literacy programs. The works of the Translation Bureau were distributed to libraries, barracks, and government-run educational centres, as well as Village Institutes, community centres, the People's Houses and the People's Reading Rooms.

We thus find a highly planned production of translations. The translators, however, were not given any real instructions as to the style of the translations, which vary in terms of being target or source-text based. Individual translators used very different techniques. Sehnaz Tahir describes some translations as being fluent and domesticating, and others as being "style-based", where the translator would take considerable care with the stylistic features of the translation, attempting to avoid a flat text (Tahir 2001:13-14).

Integral Nationalism

Finally, we look at the role of translation in Integral Nationalism, which believes the nation to be above everything else. The homeland is superior; foreigners may be persecuted; they are certainly kept out. The one nation is the absolute. The cult of the nation becomes an end in itself, unlike the *Risorgimento* nationalism of Mazzini where the nation would lead to a higher goal. The interests of the nation are defined by the highest public figure: Hitler, Mussolini, Franco. The existence of other nations is questioned or even denied. What is now moral and ethically acceptable is that which serves the nation and its power.

In integral nationalism, the national language and culture are emphasized and idealized. Minority languages may be banned for official use, as was the case of Galician, Catalan and Basque in Franco's Spain. The glories of the one national language will be emphasized. And translation, particularly of works from hostile countries, will not be encouraged and may even not be permitted.

Yet to what extent can a country keep out translation? Despite official efforts to "purify" the national culture, the censorship of translations seems permeable, much more so than that of original writing. Kate Sturge (1999) and Christopher Rundle (2000) show that translated popular fiction, especially from the US, continued to be published in Germany and Italy until well after the start of the Second World War. Rundle shows the interdependence of the Fascist government and the large publishing houses, the reluctance of the government to introduce a blanket censorship on translated works, and the negotiations between Valentino Bompiani, the head of the Bompiani publishing house, and the government in order to get an anthology of North American writers published. Rundle shows the "surprising permeability of the 'totalitarian' fascist state. Despite its nationalist partisan exaltation of all things Italian, it was unable to organize any effective resistance of Anglo-American culture, a culture that it so deeply disapproved of" (Rundle 2001:83).

Studies on the Franco era in Spain describe the laws which enforced dubbing, since all films shown in Spain would have to be spoken in Spanish (Ballester 2001, Vandaele 2002). Attempts were made to improve the Spanish film industry and increase the number of Spanish films produced, but American films proved much more popular. As the original would always be hidden, dubbed films could be much easier to censor or to alter the language, and the Spanish of the soundtrack would give an idea of *Hispanidad*, though, of course, it would be impossible to completely obliterate the American visual element. Likewise, post-Civil War Spanish theatre was dominated by North American melodramas and comedies, which were often naturalized to Spanish circumstances (Heredia 2000).

Fascist regimes also consider translations less dangerous than original writing, and many proscribed writers have expressed their antipathy to the totalitarian state in which they live through translation, which has also provided them with a living. In 1940 Bompiani in Italy published Eugenio Montale's translation of Steinbeck's proletarian novel *In Dubious Battle, La Battaglia*, though with an introduction which said that the class struggle such as that depicted was a thing of the past in Italy (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995:146). Similarly, the Brazilian book club, the *Clube do Livro*, published a translation of *Hard Times, Tempos Difíceis*, Dickens' most critical novel of the contemporary social system in 1969, during the toughest period of the Brazilian military dictatorship, when censorship was very strong, prohibiting the publication of any work from the Soviet Union, even any book with a red cover! The introduction contained a similar message: the social evils of *Hard Times* were a thing of the past. At the same time, the *Clube do Livro* also published a collection of Romanian short stories, *O Caminho do Céu (The Way to Heaven)* (1968), and a novel, *Um Pedaco de Terra (A Piece of Land)* (1970). Both are works of Eastern European realism, reflecting the harsh social conditions before the Soviet Revolution (Milton 2002).

One consequence of the German and Spanish regimes fascist was the large amount of writing and translation produced by both German and Spanish exiles, especially in the US, Mexico and Argentina. Amongst temporary German exiles in the US were Berthold Brecht, Thomas and Heinrich Mann. Thomas Mann wrote *Doktor Faustus* while living in the US, searching for the causes of the German catastrophe and became recognized as the representative of the true and real Germany. Pedro Salinas was a prominent Spanish writer exiled in the US.

The expressionist Ernst Toller, a participant in the revolutionary government of 1919, published "Unser Kampf um Deutschland" in New York in 1936 in which he formulates the principles of exile: the maintenance of the tradition of an alternative Germany and to be aware of a wider world.

Other well-known writers publishing in the US, where the historical novel tended to be the favoured genre, were Alfred Döblin wrote a trilogy on the conquest of South America and a cycle on the end of the First World War and the unsuccessful German revolution in 1919, and Lion Feuchtwanger, who remained in California until his death, writing on cosmopolitan and Jewish themes.

In Argentina the movement: "Das andere Deutschland" was founded, along with the cultural centre "Vorwärts" and the liberal newspaper "Argentinisches Tageblatt". Many German immigrants sent their children to the Jewish-German school "Pestalozzi", which maintains German language and cultural programmes until today.

And in Mexico the socialist president Cardenas welcomed all refugees from fascism. As a consequence, more than 10,000 Spanish Republicans and 100

German Communist Party members fled to Mexico. Even Trotsky was offered refuge by Cardenas. With such official support, the German exile writers established their own publishing house, El Libro Libre, which printed anti-fascist books in German and Spanish. The important Communist writer Anna Seghers contributed to both El Libro Libre and Freies Deutschland, the anti-fascist exile paper out of Mexico City, both of which were able to distribute their publications internationally. Paul Zech (1881-1946), expressionist writer, lived in Argentina but published in Mexico.

Summary

The above discussion leads us to the following table:

	Risorgimento	Reformist	Integral
Importance of translation	Important	Important	Not important
Instigators of translation	Intellectuals	State	Publishers, films, theatres. Exiles
Openness of translation	Open	Open	Often hidden
Open to foreign	Open	Open	Closed –only in exile
Belief in translation	Idealistic	Pragmatic	Refusal
Planning	Unplanned	Planned	Planned avoidance
Finance	Private	Public	Private
Individual agents	A.W. Schlegel	Hasan Ali Yücel	-
Examples	19 th century Germany and Italy	USSR, Israel, Turkey, Japan, Quebec	Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, Franco's Spain

In both *Risorgimento* and Reform nationalism, translation is of importance to the state to bring in new and different ways of thinking, which will help to get rid of the old, to renovate the national language and cultures. However, in *Risorgimento* nationalism groups of intellectuals tends to instigate the translation movement, which will be idealistic and unplanned, whereas in Reformist nationalism the new centralist state will carry out reforms from inside and will support programs for translations.

The *Risorgimento* movement will carry the seeds of both the Reformist and Integralist nationalistic state. A. W. Schlegel proposed the setting up of literary institutions such as a German Academy of Letters and a *Jahrbook* of literary

works published in German. Of course, nationalistic idealism and fervour had disastrous consequences in the cases of Germany and Italy.

The Brazilian Case

Let us now examine a particular case study, Brazil during the 1930s and 1940s, the period of Getúlio Vargas' nationalist government, to see how these forces can be seen at work.

The economic and cultural policies of the Getúlio Vargas government were overtly nationalist. On the economic side, a policy of import substitution was followed in order to free Brazil of dependence on manufactured imported goods. Thus less importance was given to the free-market demands of the São Paulo coffee producers, who had always feared reciprocal measures if high tariffs were introduced from the main North American and European markets. This resulted in the São Paulo Constitutional Revolution of 1933, which was relatively easily quashed by the central government.

Politically, the Getúlio Vargas regime looked to a certain extent to Mussolini in Italy. It contained strong fascist elements, and the Movimento Intergralistas greatly resembled the Blackshirts. Indeed, Vargas verbally supported the Axis powers until the tide began to turn in 1942, when he became much more receptive towards the Allies.

Like other authoritarian regimes of the period (e.g. Turkey, Germany, Italy), there was an attempt to idealize symbols and leaders. The mythical base of the nation was going through an important stage of its development, and, as in Italy, the traditional values of Catholicism were one of the bastions of this ideology.

Culturally, there was a certain coalescence between the nationalistic aims of the government and the aims of the Brazilian modernists, although considerable differences can also be found in political agendas. The *Semana de Arte Moderna* (Modern Art Week) held in São Paulo in 1922 crystallized the nationalistic feelings of prominent intellectuals and artists, who preached a return to Brazilian roots, forgetting the French-oriented dominant culture. This can be found particularly in the work of modernist author and musicologist Mário de Andrade. In his major work, *Macunaima*, Andrade looks towards the popular roots of Brazil and portrays the slothful yet sexually active cheating anti-hero, who would bring together the characteristics of the three races which forged Brazil, the native Indians, the Portuguese colonizers, and the negro slaves. Oscar de Andrade (no relation) and his concept of anthropophagy, which has been well-publicized in translation publications through the work of Else Viera (1994), Edwin Gentzler (2001), Susan Bassnett (1991) and others, states that Brazil could never lose its European culture, but would copy certain native Indian tribes by eating up

European cultures and regurgitating them in a different form. In other arts the *Semana de 22* was highly influential: in painting it emphasized the return to Brazilian motifs in the work of Anita Malfatti and the primitives of Tarsila de Amaral. In music, Heitor Villa-Lobos used native Indian rhythms and bird songs in such pieces as *Floresta Amazona* (Amazon Forest), and his *Bachianas Brasileiras* put into practice Oswald de Andrade's idea of reproducing the European inheritance in a different "regurgitated" form. Mario de Andrade also wrote a number of Orphean songs on patriotic themes to be sung by large groups of schoolchildren: "The Orphean song, practised by children and taken by them into homes, will give us generations renewed by a marvellous social discipline, in benefit of the country, singing and working, a while singing, dedicating themselves to the motherland!" (Villa-Lobos cit. in Schwartzman et alli:90).

The Vargas government, through the very active Minister of Education, Gustavo Capanema, invested greatly in nationalist cultural production. And although Brazilian intellectuals may not have approved of some of the more repressive political policies of the government, many of the most renowned intellectual and artistic figures cooperated with and were employed by the Getúlio Vargas regime. Modernist poet Carlos Drummond de Andrade was the Chief of Staff of Capanema, the Minister of Education; Mário de Andrade worked in the Cultural Department of the State of São Paulo, and later in the *Instituto Nacional do Livro* (National Book Institute). Artist Cândido Portinari was employed to paint a large number of murals in the Palácio de Cultura. Plans were made for a national university in Rio de Janeiro, which would be designed by Marcello Piacentini, the architect who designed the fascist-inspired *Città Universitária* in Rome, and a Palace of Culture. Le Corbusier was highly influential in architectural circles, influencing particularly Lúcio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer, the main designers of Brasília, which would only be inaugurated in 1959.

And now to what at first sight appears to be an anomaly. Although translation was anything but a priority for the Andrades and other modernist intellectuals, the nationalist Getúlio Vargas period was a period of considerable increase in the number of translations published. The explanation must take into account broader economic, editorial and social factors.

The book industry benefited from the high tariff barriers on imported goods established by the Getúlio Vargas government. High tariffs were placed on most imported goods, including books and paper, thus virtually eliminating competition between, for example, poor quality home-produced paper (which often created problems for the imported printing presses used to higher quality paper) and the much better quality imported paper. In the case of literary works, there was reduced competition between imported foreign works (mostly French) and Portuguese translations produced in Brazil, which had previously been more expensive than the imported works¹.

¹ Yet the equation is slightly more complicated. In 1918, Monteiro Lobato, then beginning his publishing career, criticized the Brazilian government for the low tariffs on imported books,

Protected against imports, book production in Brazil increased substantially in the 1930s and continued increasing right through the period of the Second World War. Government policies had considerable effects on the book industry: a reform of basic education resulted in greater demand for school textbooks; and the devaluation of the currency, the *mil-réis* (1930-31), resulted in imported books becoming, for the first time, more expensive than those published in Brazil. This helped to increase the number of translations and reduce the number of imported French books, and also increase exports of books from Brazil to Portugal. Moreover, the precarious copyright situation of the period enabled publishers to openly infringe copyright laws, thus allowing for multiple translations of the same volume, which could be aimed at different markets.

Translations of successful literary works were usually a sound investment. If the work was in the public domain, then royalties were zero, and the chances of the foreign work being accepted by the Brazilian public, which had always looked abroad, were much better than those of a book written by an unknown Brazilian author.

The *Instituto Nacional do Livro* was set up by the Getúlio Vargas government to improve the distribution of books to public libraries. It reissued out-of-print classic Brazilian works and planned to publish the *Enciclopédia Brasileira*, a project based on the Italian encyclopaedia *Triccani*, which had been published under the auspices of Mussolini. However, this final project never got off the ground.

Adriana Pagano (2001) details the growth of a number of important private publishing houses in both Argentina and Brazil during the 1930s: Editora Globo, Companhia Editora Nacional, Martins, and José Olympio in Brazil, and Sudamericana, Losada, Emecé, and Claridad in Argentina.

The period from 1930 to 1950 saw a growing process of industrialization and urbanization in Brazil and Argentina. The labour market was expanding, allowing for a rise in the purchasing power of those who had hitherto had little access to consumer goods. A rise in people's personal income therefore meant a rise in consumption. The changes in the educational policies adopted by the government to improve basic education and literacy already mentioned led to a

whereby imported books were often cheaper than their Brazilian counterparts, and, through a special agreement and a need to supply the small market for technical and scientific works, all books imported from Portugal were untaxed. As a publisher, Lobato naturally wished his books to compete favourably with imported works and favoured high tariffs on imported works.

However, he was at the same time in favour of low tariffs on imported paper. The fledgling Brazilian paper industry, which had a powerful lobby, needed to import expensive machinery and cellulose and did not have the techniques to produce high quality paper. So Lobato wanted cheaper and better quality imported paper but did not want the competition of cheap imported books.

rising number of literate people and hence of potential readers of books and magazines. Other sources of consumption involved new forms of mass media such as the cinema and the radio.

Both in Argentina and Brazil a large number of series were issued, appealing to the new lower-middle-class reader who had little cultural capital, and who did not know foreign languages. The books translated and published for this new reader were generally for leisure purposes, often tie-ins with Hollywood films, in addition to serial novels, translated soap opera scripts, adapted screenplays, comics and cartoons.

A large number of collections were published in both countries with titles like "Grandes Novelistas" [Great Novel Writers], "Grandes Ensaístas" [Great Essayists], "Os Grandes Livros Brasileiros" [Great Brazilian Books], "Obras Primas Universais" [Universal Masterpieces], "Novelistas Americanos Contemporâneos" [Contemporary Novel Writers of the Americas], "Biblioteca de Obras Famosas" [Library of Famous Books].

Each collection often brought together a wide variety of authors. For example, the Brazilian collections "Biblioteca dos Séculos" [Library of the Centuries] or "Coleção Globo" [Globo Collection], published by Globo, and "Fogos Cruzados" [Cross-fire], published by José Olympio in Rio de Janeiro, include authors such as Montaigne, La Fontaine, Stendhal, Flaubert, Maupassant, Verlaine, Balzac, Plato, Shakespeare, Fielding, Emily Brontë, Dickens, Nietzsche, Tolstoy and Poe.

Such collections could be very profitable for the publishing houses, as the purchaser of the initial volume in the series was naturally induced to buy the second volume, and so on. It is also a form of introducing an assembly line Fordism into the book industry. The collection may also classify authors in a very different way to that which is conventionally used, and will plan the readers' reception and organize their expectations of the text.

Once the work is translated it becomes part of the national language and culture. The collections launched in Brazil played an important role in establishing the currency of Brazil on the international intellectual market. A number of collections are devoted to Brazilian subjects: "Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira" [Brazilian Pedagogical Library], which includes the famous series "Brasiliana" [Brazilian], "Grandes Livros do Brasil" [Great Brazilian Books], "Biblioteca Médica Brasileira" [Brazilian Medical Library], all published by Companhia Editora Nacional, or "Os Grandes Livros Brasileiros" [Great Brazilian Books] published by José Olympio. These collections were published alongside other series made up mostly of translated texts, such as the collections "Paratodos" [For all], "Terramarear" [Landsealand], "Biblioteca das Moças" [Library for Young Ladies], all published by Companhia Editora Nacional. José Olympio, for example, issued the collections "Documentos Brasileiros" [Brazilian Documents] and "Os Grandes Livros Brasileiros" [Great Brazilian Books] together with other series such as

“Rubáiyát, Jóias da Poesia Universal” [Rubáiyát, Gems of World Poetry] or “Fogos Cruzados” [Cross-fire], both mainly made up of translated foreign texts. Martins, for instance, launched the collections “Biblioteca Histórica Brasileira” [Brazilian Historical Library] and “Biblioteca de Literatura Brasileira” [Brazilian Literary Library] alongside a collection labelled “Excelsior”, mostly containing translated books.

Another important factor is that Brazil was starting from a very low base in terms of the number of books published, particularly from the English language. In a certain number of fields such as children’s literature and detective and suspense fiction there was virtually no Brazilian production. Indeed, very few novels had been translated from English until this period. In the period from 1931 to 1956 Editora Globo de Porto Alegre introduced the following authors to the Brazilian public: in the *Coleção Amarela*, the detective fiction of Edgar Wallace, Agatha Christie, Sax Rohmer, G.K. Chesterton, Ellery Queen, Georges Simenon, and Dashiell Hammett; in the *Coleção Nobel*, Mann, Joyce, Gide, Virginia Woolf, Kafka, Aldous Huxley, Proust, Steinbeck, Pirandello and Faulkner to the Brazilian reading public (Amorim 108-110). The crowning achievement of the company was a carefully annotated edition in 17 volumes of the *Comédie Humaine* (1947-1955), organized by Paulo Ronai, with print runs from 20,000 (for the first in the series to 9,000 (for the last volumes in the series) (Amorim:157-159). Its children’s series also included Lewis Carroll and Robert Louis Stevenson.

Indeed, publishing in Brazil got off to a very late start. The first legal printing press was only allowed in Brazil by the Portuguese when the Portuguese Court was forced to come to Brazil through Napoleon’s invasion of Portugal in 1808 (Wyler 65). The first universities, bringing together already existing schools of medicine, engineering and law, were only established in the 1930s .

This period, from 1930 to 1945, a golden age for the book industry and translation in Brazil, can be contrasted with the open door policies pursued after the downfall of Vargas in 1945, when, with an artificially high exchange rate to please the coffee exporters, books in a number of areas received preferential tariffs, and, in many cases, were actually sold at a lower cost in Brazil than in their country of origin. Right through the 1950s imported books were sold at a preferential dollar rate which ranged from 33% to 60% of the official dollar rate, with the result that it was cheaper to import books than paper on which to print books. As translation rights had to be paid at the official dollar exchange rate, it was much cheaper to import a translation made in Portugal than to buy the rights in Brazil and to carry out the translation in Brazil. Obviously, this period slowed growth in the Brazilian publishing industry, particularly in the area of translations, and Brazilian books became too expensive in Portugal.

Monteiro Lobato - "A Nation is made by men and books "

The one key figure in the development of the Brazilian book industry is José Bento Monteiro Lobato, a writer of fiction, children's books and treatises on bringing a more forward-looking mentality to Brazil, and a publisher, first at Monteiro Lobato e Cia., and then at Companhia Editora Nacional. Lobato was the first publisher in Brazil to attempt to develop a mass market for books and to develop the book industry as a consumer industry. Until Lobato, most publishing was in the hands of Portuguese or French-owned companies, and the target market was very much that of the Francophile middle-class elite.

Lobato's initial success was with *Urupês* (1918), stories about rural life inspired by his experience as a farm owner near São Paulo, in which he introduced Jeca Tatu, the indolent yokel who represented rural backwardness and ignorance. This was followed by his first collection of children's stories, *A Menina do Narizinho Arrebitado* [*The Girl with the Little Turned-up Nose*] (1921), in which he introduced his cast of children and dolls at the Sítio do Picapau Amarelo [Yellow Woodpecker Farm]. The success of both books was phenomenal and in many ways started the book industry in Brazil. *Urupês* went into five editions, and the first edition of *Narizinho* sold 50,500 copies, 30,000 of which were distributed to schools in the state of São Paulo. By 1920 more than half of all the literary works published in Brazil were published by Monteiro Lobato e Cia., and in 1941, 1/4 of all books published in Brazil were produced by Lobato's Companhia Editora Nacional (Koshiyama 1982:133). Lobato was a major public figure in Brazil from 1918 to 1927 as, in addition to the success of these two books, he wrote a regular column for the influential newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo* and bought the middle-brow journal, *Revista do Brasil*.

Lobato believed that a growing book industry would greatly aid Brazilian development, "Um país se faz com homens e livros" [A country is made by men and books] (Koshiyama 1982:99). People act through knowing the human experience of other people, which is found in the means of communication, especially books, and then acting. But despite this exaltation of the book, Lobato had a hard-headed commercial attitude to selling books, which he saw as commercial objects which could be sold just as other goods were, in a variety of sales points: "livro não é gênero de primeira necessidade... é sobremesa: tem que ser posto embaixo do nariz do freguês, para provocar-lhe a gulodice" ["Books are not staple products... they are desserts: they must be put under the nose of the customer, to excite his gluttony"] (in Koshiyama 1982:72); He managed to increase the sales points for his works from 40, the total number of bookshops in Brazil, to 1,200, including chemists and newsstands. He innovated in terms of the visual presentation of the book, and was responsible for much more attractive covers than the dull yellow featureless covers which followed the French fashion.

Like the Modernists, Lobato stressed the importance that Brazil should give to its own culture. He was always against following the dominant Francophile culture, copying the latest Parisian fashions in art, music and literature. He refused to visit

France. He wanted to open Brazil out to German, Russian, Scandinavian and Anglo-American literatures and translated and adapted such works as *Peter Pan*, *Alice in Wonderland*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Tom Sawyer*, *Huckleberry Finn* and *Gulliver's Travels*. Lobato's Companhia Editora Nacional, opened in 1925 after the bankruptcy of Monteiro Lobato e Cia., which over-invented in printing presses, also published works by Conan Doyle, Eleanor H. Porter, Hemmingway, H. G. Wells, Melville, Jack London, Steinbeck, and Kipling. Thus Lobato helped to initiate a movement towards the importation of works written originally in English, which would continue right up until the Second World War, when English finally ousted French as the major foreign language studied and spoken in Brazil.

French dominance, as in many countries, had been considerable. One reason for the lack of translations of highbrow literature, poetry etc was that the elite spoke and read French and would look to Paris for ideas and fashions. Theatrical fashions came almost exclusively from France. And the French influence would be doubled as troupes coming from Portugal would be performing Portuguese works which had been influenced by French fashions (Brandão 2001). Much literature from outside France, for example, the poetry of Byron, came into Brazil through the French translations (Barbosa 1975). And the Brazilian legal system, following many other countries, adopted the Napoleonic Code in 1916.

Lobato's publishing companies also published unknown authors, thus democratizing access to the publishing industry, as getting published had usually meant the need for influence of friends in high places or money.

Lobato believed that Brazil should look to the interior, its own folklore and own traditional myths. But the interior of Brazil needed reawakening. Lobato, always the practical man, encouraged vaccination campaigns and improvements in basic sanitary conditions. The government needed to stimulate investment in the interior, and the country people themselves suffer from indolence, characterized in his picture of the idle yokel, Jeca Tatu, who is in total contrast to the idealized rural figures found in the works of José de Alencar.

Lobato was an internationalist and clashed with the Getúlio Vargas government over his criticisms of the often slow, inefficient, corrupt and backward Brazilian way of doing things. From 1927 to 1931, during the Washington Luís government, which was overthrown by Getúlio Vargas's nationalist insurgents in 1931, Lobato was commercial attaché for the Brazilian government in the US and was greatly impressed by American economic organization and efficiency. He was a great fan of Henry Ford and visited Detroit. Such mass production could be used in the book industry. The way in which the US had taken advantage of its mineral wealth, particularly iron ore, coal and oil, showed Lobato what Brazil might be capable of if the country took the correct steps, and developed its own oil industry, rather than leaving it at the mercy of the trusts, especially the Standard Oil Corporation. On his return from the US, Lobato invested all his

efforts and capital in oil prospecting in Brazil. However, these plans were foiled by the onset of the hardening of the Vargas dictatorship in 1937 and the advent of the hardline dictatorship of the *Estado Novo*, when all prospecting plans were centralized and placed under the control of the government, and Lobato's financial losses were considerable.

All the children's literature which was available in Brazil when Lobato began writing was written in the Portuguese of Portugal, and the desire to provide stories his own and other Brazilian children could read stimulated Lobato to write texts for his own and all other Brazilian children. Lobato believed in developing the Brazilian language, and that after 400 years of subservience to Portugal, it was now time to definitively break away from Lisbon and develop a separate Brazilian language.

In a 1921 letter he mentions his plans to produce a series of books for children "with more lightness and wit" (Vieira 2001:146) than the previously published stories organized by Jansen Muller, which he would rework and "improve". Lobato was puzzled by the language used in the Brazilian translations published by the French-owned house, Garnier, and remarked "Temos que refazer tudo isso - abasileirar a linguagem" ["We must redo all of this – Brazilianize the language"] (Koshiyama 1982:88), and he recommended that the translator Godofredo Rangel took the liberty of improving the original where necessary. Thus Lobato's translation technique is one of adaptation, using a more simplified and colloquial language, which could immediately be understood by children, Lobato's target audience.

A number of his translations, or rather adaptations, show us the way in which he managed to insert his political views. His adaptation of *Don Quijote*, *Don Quixote das Crianças*, clearly shows his adaptation technique: The naughty rag doll, Emília, Lobato's alter ego, prises a thick book off the shelf, a Portuguese translation of *Don Quijote*, which Dona Benta begins reading to her grandchildren and the dolls. However, they and Dona Benta herself find the literary style turgid. After hearing "lança em cabido, adarga antiga, galgo corridor" (Monteiro Lobato 1957:16). Emília, who, like Lobato, is against everything which is old-fashioned and backward, fails to understand anything, loses interest and is ready to go off and play hide and seek. So, Dona Benta herself retells the story to the children. This retelling and adaptation also takes place in *Peter Pan*, while *Robinson Crusoe* (1930), *Gulliver's Travels* (1937), *Alice no País das Maravilhas* [*Alice in Wonderland*] and *Alice no País do Espelho* [*Alice through the Looking Glass*] are adapted with no interventions. Near the end of *D. Quixote das Crianças*, Pedrinho asks whether his grandmother Dona Benta is telling all the story or just parts, and Dona Benta replies that only mature people should attempt to read the whole work, and that only what will entertain children's imagination should be included in such versions (ibidem, p.152). "Literary" qualities have no place in a work for children, whose imaginations should be stimulated by fluent, easy language. In a 1943 letter, Lobato describes the difficulties he had to

extirpar a “literatura” de meus livros infantis. A cada revisão nova mato, como quem mata pulgas, todas as literaturas que ainda as estragam. O último submetido a tratamento foram *As Fábulas*. Como achei pedante e requintado! De lá raspei quase um quilo de “literatura” e mesmo assim ficou alguma...

(cit. Abramovich 1982:152)

[get rid of the “literature” in my children’s books. With each revision, I kill, just like someone who is killing fleas, all the literatures which are spoiling them. The last one I did was Aesop’s *Fables*. How pedantic and sophisticated it was. I managed to shave off almost a kilo of “literature”, but there was still some left...]

In *Peter Pan* and *D. Quixote das Crianças* this intimate contact with the story is emphasized through the interaction the listeners have with the story and the characters. Lobato uses the technique of Sherazade, with Dona Benta interrupting the story every night at nine o’clock, bedtime, and promising more entertainment for the next evening. The listeners get caught up with the stories: In *Peter Pan*, Emília makes a hook to put on her hand. In *D. Quixote das Crianças*, she dresses up as Don Quijote, and attacks the hens and the cook, saying she is the giant Freston; Pedrinho, Lobato’s other alter ego, gets involved in books in the same way as Don Quijote does. After reading the history of Charlemagne, he says that Roldon became incarnated in him as he got an old sword, went to the corn plantation, and, thinking the corn plants are 300,000 moors, cut them all down (Monteiro Lobato 1957: 94-95).

Lobato produced a large number of paradidactic works such as *Geografia de Dona Benta* [*The Geography of Dona Benta*] (1935), a magical trip right around the world, with Dona Benta explaining the main economic, topographical and political characteristics of the countries the children visit, *Historia do Mundo para Crianças* [*The History of the World for Children*] (1962), and *O Minotauro* [*The Minotaur*], Dona Benta’s retellings of Greek myths and legends.

He usually makes his translations and retellings of fictional works didactic as he places his pet themes in the middle of the story. One of the most prominent is that of expanding the book market in Brazil. At the beginning of *Peter Pan*, the children, Pedrinho and Narizinho, and the doll, Emília, having heard about Peter Pan in *As Reinações de Narizinho* [*The Reigns of Narizinho*], ask their grandmother, Dona Benta, who Peter Pan is. As Dona Benta doesn’t know, she writes to a bookshop in São Paulo, who send her Barrie’s work in English. Lobato thus inserts an advertisement for mail orders for book shops, and then Dona Benta retells the story to the children and dolls in Portuguese, thus re-enacting in the book the situation of an oral retelling. Pedrinho has also inherited Lobato’s entrepreneurial spirit as he intends to set up a toy factory when he grows up, and intends to market a variety of dolls, including copies of those at the Sítio do Picapau Amarelo (Monteiro Lobato 1957:12).

Lobato introduces vocabulary extension exercises as Dona Benta explains

“pigmento (Monteiro Lobato 1971:22), cinegética [related to hunting] (ibid, p. 60), “excêntrico” (ibid:85) the use of “líquido” in “uma questão líquida” (ibid., p. 59), and “interpolada” (Monteiro Lobato 1957:190) References to Marie Antoinette (Monteiro Lobato 1971:30), the etymology of the name of Captain Hook’s ship, “Hiena dos Mares” [“Hyena of the Seas”] (ibid, p.75), the background to Cervantes writing Don Quijote (Monteiro Lobato 1957:18) the fact that barbers used to work as surgeons (ibid, p.100), the explanation of stalactites and stalagmites (Monteiro Lobato 1971:59), the different formats of books: folio, octavo, etc. (Monteiro Lobato 1957:152-3), also broaden the general knowledge of the reader.

Narizinho says she enjoys Peter Pan because it is a modern story, funnier and so different from the traditional stories of Grimm, Andersen, Perrault, with their never-ending succession of kings, queens, princes, princesses and fairies, thus reflecting Lobato’s attempts to renovate Brazilian children’s literature (Monteiro Lobato 1971:28).

Lobato was no friend of the *Estado Novo* nationalist government of Getulio Vargas, who despised him for his internationalism, his constant negative comparisons of Brazil to the US and the UK, his atheism, and his continual meddling. In March 1941 Lobato was accused of sending an insulting letter to dictator Getúlio Vargas, the President of the Republic and the General Gois Monteiro, and was imprisoned for six months, of which he served three, despite considerable protest from intellectuals against his imprisonment.

Lobato’s *Peter Pan* suffered considerable political problems. In June 1941, a São Paulo state public prosecutor, Dr. Clóvis Kruehl de Moraes, reported to the Tribunal de Segurança Nacional in favour of prohibiting the distribution of *Peter Pan* as it would give children the wrong opinion of the government of Brazil and gave an impression that Brazil was an inferior country to Britain.

When the narrator, Dona Benta, compares Brazilian children to English children, she says that, unlike Brazilian children, all English children have a special room of their own, a nursery, which will be full of toys, have special furniture and wallpaper. By contrast, the room of the Brazilian child will be “um quarto qualquer e por isso não tem nome especial” (Monteiro Lobato 1971:59), demonstrating the inferiority of living conditions of Brazilian children. Likewise, he compares heating systems. In forward-looking cold countries all houses have central heating, and not an open hearth. Although central heating is not needed in Brazil, it is clearly linked to the “países atrasados” (ibidem, p.59-60).

A further passage in which Lobato betrays Brazil is when Emilia asks whether English children play with a “boi de xuxu”, a toy animal made by sticking pieces of wood into a vegetable, common in country areas in Brazil where children had to improvise toys out of odds and ends. One of the main characters of Lobato’s children’s stories is the doll Visconde, who is made from an old shuck of corn

(ibidem, p.12). Dona Benta replies that English children are very spoilt and are given the toys they want, and that they are not incredibly expensive, as they are in Brazil. High-quality German toys made in Nuremberg are also praised. Whereas, in Brazil, the toy industry is only just beginning. Of course, here, as in the section quoted, Lobato is inserting his opinions against the economic protectionism of Getulio Vargas' Estado Novo government. Another report for the Tribunal de Segurança Nacional [National Security Tribunal], made by Tupy Caldas, accused Lobato's works of being excessively materialistic, and lacking any kind of spiritualism, and that they should be banned as they were dangerous to the national educational programme as they failed to contribute to the formation of a "juventude patriótica, continuadora da tradição cristã, unificadora da Pátria" [patriotic youth, continuing the Christian tradition, and unifying the motherland"]. Vargas himself, aware of the possible role which books could play, underlined this very danger:

Todo e qualquer escrito capaz de desvirtuar esse programa é perigoso para o futuro da nacionalidade. O nosso mal até aqui foi justamente dar liberdade excessiva aos escritores, quando é o livro o mais forte veículo de educação.
(cit. Carneiro 1997: 76)

[All written matter which may pervert this programme is dangerous for the future of the nationality. Our problem until now has been that we have given excessive freedom to our writers, when the book is the most powerful means of education.]

Both Peter Pan and Don Quijote can be seen as anarchic figures, failing to respect authority. Pedrinho says of Don Quijote: "- O que eu gosto em D. Quixote - observou Pedrinho, é que êle não respeita cara. Mêdo não é com ele. Seja clérigo, seja moinho de vento, seja arrieiro, êle vai de lança e espada em cima, como se fôssem carneiros." [What I like in Don Quixote is that he doesn't respect anybody. He's not one to be afraid. Whether it's a priest, a windmill, or a mule-driver, he goes at them with his lance and spear as if they are sheep."] (Monteiro Lobato 1957:91) Lobato's anti-clericalism was not surprisingly unpopular with the right-wing of the Catholic Church, whose views can be seen in Padre. Sales Brasil's *A Literatura Infantil de Monteiro Lobato ou Comunismo para Crianças* [*The Children's Literature of Monteiro Lobato or Communism for Children*] in which he accused Lobato of encouraging the Communist revolution, bad manners within the family, atheism, and rebellion against the right to private property.

As a result of the instructions given by the Tribunal de Segurança Nacional, the São Paulo Department of Social and Political Order (DEOPS) apprehended and confiscated all the copies of *Peter Pan* it could find in the state of São Paulo.

Conclusion

An authoritarian government will find it difficult to always fully control the book market. And anti-government ideas can be introduced much easier in translations than in original works. My study of the Clube do Livro translations in the post-1964 military dictatorship (Milton 2002) shows that, during the most repressive period of the dictatorship, in the immediate post-1968 period, the Clube do Livro issued translations of Rumanian socialist realist fiction. In addition obvious targets such as Marx, Engels, etc, even non- political works coming from the USSR were banned, and all books with a red cover were suspect, but gaps in the net were many. The case of Lobato's Peter Pan is obviously different. Lobato was a strong opponent of the Vargas regime, and all his movements and publications were suspect. Thus we can find an over-reaction from the Vargas regime.

My above table and typology on the connection between different kinds of nationalism and translation remains no more than a tentative suggestion, and other factors such as the importance of other factors such as individual cultural agents, economic policy and the development of specific nationalisms must be stressed. As Kenneth Minogue has put it, the nation may well begin as Sleeping Beauty and end up as Frankenstein's monster (Minogue 1967: 7).

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